

City University of New York (CUNY)

CUNY Academic Works

Dissertations, Theses, and Capstone Projects

CUNY Graduate Center

6-2016

Kongo to Kings County

Marcus Alan Watson

Graduate Center, City University of New York

[How does access to this work benefit you? Let us know!](#)

More information about this work at: https://academicworks.cuny.edu/gc_etds/1288

Discover additional works at: <https://academicworks.cuny.edu>

This work is made publicly available by the City University of New York (CUNY).

Contact: AcademicWorks@cuny.edu

Kongo to Kings County

African Cultural Continuities at The Lott Farmstead, Brooklyn, New York

by

Marcus Alan Watson

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Anthropology in partial fulfillment of

the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,

The City University of New York

2016

© 2016

Marcus Alan Watson

All Rights Reserved

Kongo to Kings County
African Cultural Continuities at The Lott Farmstead, Brooklyn, New York

by
Marcus Alan Watson

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Anthropology to satisfy the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

H. Arthur Bankoff

Date _____

Chair of Examining Committee

Gerald Creed

Date _____

Executive Officer

Supervisory Committee:

Dr. H. Arthur Bankoff

Dr. Sophia Perdikaris

Dr. Diana Z. Wall

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

Abstract

Kongo to Kings County

African Cultural Continuities at The Lott Farmstead, Brooklyn, New York

by

Marcus Alan Watson

Advisor: Professor H. Arthur Bankoff

This dissertation aims to provide evidence to support the hypothesis that the artifact assemblage found in 1998 under the garret room floor in the attic of the Lott Farmstead is an extension of Kongo-descended cultural practices. This connection is shown by the presence of several artifacts that taken together, invoke a Kongo Cosmogram called the diKenga, alongside artifacts arranged in what is believed to be a Kongo N’Kisi, or spiritual container, that also originates in Kongo ideology. The ceramic found in the kitchen house with an incised X indicates a reverence to this diKenga symbol. Similar symbols have been found on ceramics and other items both in the present-day areas of Central Africa where the Kongo Kingdom (Fig. 2) held influence during the majority of the Atlantic Passage. These same symbols are also found all over the New World in different contexts.

Additionally, there is a rather extensive collection of items that were discovered under the floorboards in a small attic room over the lean-to kitchen structure on the east side of the main house. The way that the items were laid out indicates that at least several items in the assemblage were placed purposely in their last known location. Part

of this assemblage was a diKenga symbol made out of one whole corncob and one that was broken into two pieces to form the two vertices of an 'X'. Many of the items in this assemblage are similar to items that would be placed into a N'Kisi in Western Africa and are also found at various places around the the Eastern United States where African-descended individuals were present.

The items found in the cache (Fig. 28) included a hand stitched sachet of soil. Soil, especially soil from cemetery or burial contexts holds powerful meaning in Kongo spiritual practices and is an essential component to many Haitian Voodoo ceremonies. Additionally, small white pearlware fragments were found. In Kongo cosmology, the color white is believed to symbolize the world of the dead, and the color white is very important in rituals, as well. White items are also found in most of the spiritual caches discovered in the New World. There were two pieces of lantern glass from two separate globes; these fragments could have functioned as something shiny to lure the spirit to the cache and activate it. Additionally, two nails were found. It is believed by Leone (2005) that nails at times were used as protection from whipping (Leone 2005:227), but the instances of nails being discovered, as researched by Leone (2005) were from contexts buried in the ground (Leone 2005:227). Iron is also a very important Kongo ritualistic item (MacGaffey 1986). Other items included in the cache were a sheep/goat pelvis bone (Fig. 38), which are often found as parts of spiritual caches, as well as an oyster shell and a hand-stitched baby shoe. While the relevance of bones in a cache are yet unknown (Leone 2005:226), shells are known to be symbols of cyclical life and prosperity in the Kongo mindset (MacGaffey 1986:117), and serve as a reminder that life is in constant motion.

The entire artifact catalog from the Lott House assemblage was reevaluated for possible signs of African-descended spiritual practices. A few items were singled out, including the presence of both a blue and clear bead. The presence of beads, especially blue and beads in African-descended contexts is well documented. All in all, this research connects the Lott Farmstead to a growing list of places in the United States where evidence of African spiritual practices has been discovered.

There is a possibility that the Lott Farmstead was a stopover for the Underground Railroad. This is based on several factors. One, there is corroboration of oral histories in different branches of the Lott family that fleeing captives were harbored in the home, including in the area over the kitchen, where there is a hidden stairwell in the closet of the lean-to kitchen leading to the former slave quarters. Secondly, some of the architecture of the home is peculiar in that there are some false walls and areas, such as the garret room, that have been hidden from view. Thirdly, much of the Underground Railroad traffic was in the form of boats. The Lott Farmstead is in close proximity to the water and there was constant boat traffic all around the area, including many free black sailors, oystermen and longshoremen. It is possible that this spiritual cache was created by escaping slaves, perhaps as a protective measure against being apprehended.

The Lott Farmstead has a great deal of importance to the history of the City of New York and the region at large, not just as the story of a progressive pioneering Dutch family, but also as a story of race relations in New York City. There are many misconceptions about the magnitude of slavery in the north and its importance to the local and global economies, and the farmstead can help answer many of these questions, especially as the Lott family kept slaves over a very long period starting in the early

eighteenth century. Furthermore, the Lott House Site will be the only place that one can see slave quarters in their original contexts within the City of New York, and the fact that individuals, under the oppression of slavery were carrying out rituals that are extensions of the Kongo Culture is both extraordinary and rare.

Acknowledgements:

Firstly, I would like to thank Dr. H. Arthur Bankoff for nearly a decade and a half of cooperation and tutelage. Our good cop/ bad cop routine out in the field (see Fig. 64) has worked well over the years. I miss waking up at 4 a.m. to get the college students to the field by 5 a.m. I have added several pins to my map through working with you. I really appreciate your genius. Thank you to your family as well for welcoming me into your home.

Thank you to the rest of my committee for your sustained interest and feedback: Dr. Diana Z. Wall, thank you for exploring the African roots of colonial New York/Amsterdam and for digging deeper than most researchers think to go. To Dr. Sophia Perdikaris, thank you for our time together since *Bones to Behavior*; I learned quite a bit about interactive teaching based on our experiences together.

Thank you to my external reader, Dr. David Dalby, you have seen many things during the decolonization period and beyond in most of Africa. You have been an inspiration to me, both through your publications and premise; and for showing that the ideas about race and racism that are today labeled as “progressive” have existed in the ideologies and actions of certain people; and that the ideas about trying to get information about “prehistoric” African civilizations is not necessarily new. I thank you for the over 6 hours we spent on the phone and constant e-mails to complete this manuscript.

I would like to thank all of the students from Science Technology and Research (STAR) Early College High School at Erasmus and Brooklyn College students who haven taken part in our summer archaeology classes over the last thirteen years (see Fig.

65). Throughout my development as an archeologist and historian, I have been learning alongside my students.

I thank David Patient and Neil Orr, my South African Uncles, for an intensity of inspiration that I have not experienced elsewhere and for being great role models, teachers and life coaches and for being the best examples for how people should treat one another that I have ever experienced. Thank you to both of you for opening up your house to me so that I could camp out in the living room and type; even in your own time of need. Neil, I thank you specifically for chaining me to the desk at the farm and for the monitor and the keyboard (and the constant harassment to get it done)!

I want to thank Nicole Lunsford for your wit, snark and keen eye, and continued cheerleading throughout the entire process; all eight years. Without your diligence and razor sharp grammar skills, I do not know how I would have gotten through this project. I want to thank Sarah DeSantis, photographista extraordinaire! I am so grateful to have had your assistance with the photos. They look amazing. These artifacts certainly deserve the Glamour Shots treatment.

I also want to thank Konrad Smiarowski and Ramona Harrison for your help in identifying the faunal remains that were present under the floorboards. Big up to Nakeisha McClellan for your brilliance in helping to create the architectural layout schematics, Henry Arias for the Underground Railroad Code diagram recreations, and to Stephen Tripodi and Malik Dupree, thank you for the last minute diagram-fixing. In addition, I would like to thank some of the City Polytechnic High School students: Najah J. Ridgel, Nataniel Felder, Amy Zeng, Tashea Nestor, Mesha Johnson and Niseria

Vaughn for your assistance with the rupestrian design and pottery sketches. I could not have finished the final edits without all of you.

Diane George, I thank you for your expertise, articulation, strength and support. You always said it would be a long lonely road and you were right. However, I would not have even started, let alone finished, this program if it were not for you. Your encouragement was tantamount. It isn't the destination, it's the journey. Think of all we have experienced and been witness to, the joy and the pain, since we started in the program. I will work with you to make sure you complete your research despite all the obstacles, including missing artifacts (I sense a pattern here), trips to Albany and whatever other things that seem to be standing in your way.

I would like to thank my mother Linda for always showing me that I am loved and my sister Milinda for helping to remind me what is important. I thank my auntie Linda for guidance, support and reflection throughout the years. Lastly, this dissertation is a tribute to my father, the late Dr. Michael Allen Watson; who always inspired me to ask more questions and seek out more knowledge; and to my grandparents and all of the rest of my relations who have passed on; my ancestors old and new, for helping to guide me in my path to understanding just what to make of this journey that we call life.

“Emancipation”
by Elizabeth Alexander

Corncob constellation,
oyster shell, drawstring pouch, dry bones.

Gris gris in the rafters.
Hoodoo in the sleeping nook.
Mojo in Linda Brent’s crawlspace.

Nineteenth century corncob cosmogram
set on the dirt floor, beneath the slant roof,
left intact the afternoon
that someone came and told those slaves
“We’re free.”¹

¹(Alexander 2002) First appeared in the Antioch Review, volume 60, number 2 (Spring 2002) <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/12/27/arts/27iht-poet.1.18936672.html>

Table of Contents

Abstract	iv
Acknowledgements:	viii
Introduction:	1
Dissertation Outline:	4
Verbiage:	7
1: Rituals, Symbols, History of the “CROSS”	10
Chapter Introduction:	10
The Cross:	11
The Crossroads:	18
Personalization of Ritual:	19
Importance of Symbolism and Ritual Practice:	20
Terminology:	21
2: The Kongo Worldview:	23
Chapter Introduction:	23
Kongo Vs. Congo	25
History of The Kongo Kingdom:	26
Kongo Cosmology:	30
DiKenga and The Ankh:	36
Cave Archaeology:	37
Kimpasi Ritual:	38
Kongo Rupestrian Designs/ Rock Art and Engravings:	39
Other Kongo Cultural Markers:	40
Cemeteries:	43
The N’Kisi:	45
Mirrors and Other Reflective Things:	47
Iron:	48
Animal Sacrifices:	49
Dirt:	49
General Requirements of an N’kisi:	50
Other African ‘Crosses’:	50
The Ifa:	53
Pottery:	54
Adinkra Symbols:	55
Multiple Possibilities:	56
3: Contact with the Europeans and Christian Hybridity:	59
Chapter Summary:	59
Conversion and Orthodoxy:	59
European Contact:	60
Cross Before Christ:	61
Syncretism:	64
Hybridization:	66
African Christian Practice:	67
The Crucifix:	68
Bakongo Adapting the Rituals:	69

Central Africa, Western and Central Western:	70
The Slave Trade:	71
4: New World Cosmograms:	72
Chapter Summary:	72
The Dikenga:	74
Origins of Captive Africans:	75
Permutations of The Signs of the Cross:	76
N’Kisi Composition:	77
New World Caches:	79
N’Kisi Placement:	80
White Items Calling to The Spirits:	81
Other Archeological Examples of African Material Culture In The New World:	81
Barrel from Broad Financial Center:	83
Medicine Bottles and Other Buried Artifacts:	84
Gamepieces:	86
Crystals:	87
Shells:	87
Graveyard Dirt:	87
Annapolis and Baltimore:	88
Other Ritual Finds:	91
Colonoware:	91
Ownership Markings:	92
Other African-Descended Ritual Practices Outside The United States:	94
Major Hybrid Religions of The New World:	95
Haitian Voodoo:	98
Palo Mayombe of Cuba And Puerto Rico:	99
Candomblé of Brazil:	99
Body Movements as Dikenga: Capoeira:	101
Pontos-Riscados as Dikenga:	102
Descendent Communities In The United States:	103
Hoodoo:	104
Use Of Iron:	107
Lessons for Archaeology of the African Diaspora:	109
Not Just Kongo:	109
Chapter Conclusion:	110
Ch 5: Concealed Items, Euro-Pagan Beliefs	112
Chapter Introduction:	112
Concealing Items Within Buildings:	116
Concealed Item Database:	119
European-Descended Ritual Concealment:	121
Changing Views On Pagan Practices:	124
Iron and Metal:	126
Iron	127
Ideological Connections:	128
Chimneys:	129
Chapter Conclusion:	130

Ch 6: African-Descended Existence on the Lott Farmstead:.....	132
Chapter Introduction:.....	132
Origin Of Captive Africans:.....	138
Theory:.....	140
African Spiritual Practice:.....	141
The Cache Under the Floorboards:.....	143
‘X’s On Pottery and Other Designs:.....	145
Other Items from The Lott Farmstead as Supplemental Evidence of African Material Culture:.....	147
Re-Examining the Artifact Assemblage from The Farmstead for “African” Cultural Continuities:.....	148
Other Items of Possible African-Descended Connection Found at the Farmstead:....	150
Arrowhead and Pestle:.....	150
Locket:.....	150
Gamepiece:.....	151
Bone Handle of Knife with Crisscross Pattern:.....	151
Toothbrush:.....	152
Beads:.....	152
Spiritual Cache Under the Garret Room Floor:.....	152
Shells:.....	154
Faunal Analysis:.....	155
Table 3: Faunal Assemblage from under floorboards in the Lott House Garret Room.....	155
The Soil Sachet or ‘Paket Kongo’:.....	156
Metal Spheres:.....	157
Chapter Conclusion:.....	157
Ch 7: Underground Railroad.....	159
Chapter Introduction:.....	159
Lott Architecture And The Underground Railroad:.....	161
Quilts and the Crossroads to Freedom:.....	162
Role of Seafaring Individuals in The Underground Railroad:.....	166
Southern Blacks Appear in Brooklyn:.....	168
Lotts and The Underground Railroad:.....	168
Radiocarbon Dating of Corncob Samples:.....	169
Resistance:.....	170
Local Influences on The Lotts:.....	173
Harlem African Burial Ground:.....	174
Architectural Changes to The Farmstead and The Underground Railroad:.....	177
Additional Physical Evidence of African Spiritual Practices at The Homestead:.....	179
Lott Farmstead and Its Proximity to Water, a Link to The Underground Railroad:...	183
Fleeing Along the Water:.....	184
Flatlands Family Connection to The North Shore:.....	185
Boatmen as Agents Of Freedom:.....	185
Chapter Conclusion:.....	189
Dissertation Conclusion:.....	192
Importance of The Lott Homestead to African-Descended Individuals:.....	194

Post Script:	196
Archaeology of Everyone, for Everyone:	196
.....	199
Appendix 1: Additions and Changes to Architectural Layout Over Time:	232
PHASE I:1720	233
PHASE II: PRE-1803	234
PHASE III: 1803-1820	235
PHASE IV DOWNSTAIRS: 1825-1840	236
PHASE IV UPSTAIRS: 1825-1840	237
PHASE V: AFTER 1840	238
Appendix 2: Faunal Remains.....	239
References:.....	240

Table of Figures:

Figure	Description	Page
1	Kongo Cosmogram (DiKenga) with labels	198
2	Map of the Kongo Kingdom circa 1648	198
3	Cavazzi's image of a Kongo spiritual practitioner with N'Kisi	199
4	Cavazzi's image "A Cappuccino in black Africa in the seventeenth century"	200
5	Heimlich et al. "Figure 5 Example of 'Kongo cross' at the rock-art site of Mbanza Mbota"	201
6	Lovo Cave Complex Rupestrian Designs	202
7	Sketches of Kongo pottery with possible Cosmological meaning	203
8	Sketches of additional Lovo Cave Complex rupestrian designs to compare with the "Apotropaic Marks from England" in Figure 9.	204
9	Apotropaic Marks From England, 1998 Courtesy of Timothy Easton	205
10	Lott House southern view	206
11	Lott House northern view	206
12	Lott House historical photo circa 1908	207
13	Lott House western View	208
14	Lott House eastern View	208
15	Map of Flatlands indicating Lott House	209
16	Close up of Flatlands showing Lott Farmstead property boundaries	209
17	Map of Lott House Trenches and Excavations as of 2005	210
18	Image of Pottery Sherd with incised "x" from Stone Kitchen House	211
19	Diagram of DiKenga (simplified)	211
20	N'Kisi N'Kondi statue from Carnegie Museum	212
21	Garret room door with square cut out	213
22	Corncobs from garret room cache, side view	214
23	Birdseye view of the garret room corncob DiKenga	214
24	Lott House Garret Room Cache with Bone and Shell	215
25	Garret room chimney area showing proximity of cache to door and chimney stack	216
26	Image of peculiar hidden areas of Lott House second floor	216

27	View of hidden staircase in the Lott House kitchen lean-to	217
28	The garret room cache	218
29	Two aspects of the hand-stitched <i>Paket Kongo</i> from the Lott House cache	219
30	The corncobs from under the floorboards in both garret rooms	219
31	Concrete fragments from under the garret room floorboards	219
32	Fowl ulna	220
33	Turkey humerus	220
34	Indeterminate fowl humerus	220
35 and 36	Two aspects of indeterminate epiphysis	220
37	Charred indeterminate bone (2 pieces)	220
38	Innominate pelvis	221
39	Fowl ulna, indeterminate	221
40 and 41	Two aspects of Mandible LTM sawn fragment	221
42	LTM CEV Cervical Vertebrae	221
43	Atlas LTM	221
44	Unidentified fowl fragments	222
45	Scorched fowl epiphysis	222
46	Fowl femur with burn and chop mark	222
47	Glass buttons	223
48	Clear handmade glass bead	223
49 and 50	Marbles	223
51	White bead from N39E5U2	224
52	Teardrop shaped bead with perforation	224
53	Black bead	224
54	Black bead (close up)	224
55	Blue Bead	224
56	Possible blue and white ceramic game piece	224
57	Bone knife handle with herringbone pattern	225
58 and 59	Pestle from N44.5E9	225
60	Arrowhead from N44.5E9	225
61	Toothbrush	226
62	Locket with cutout	226
63	Iron Ball	226

64	Image of author and his advisor Dr. H.A. Bankoff, 2012	227
65	Image of author and several field school students, 2012	227
66	Calibration curves for corncobs from Lott garret room	228
67	Four examples of Haitian Voodoo Vévés	229
68	Candomblé spiritual practitioner creating a <i>ponto riscado</i>	229
69	Codes and symbols of purported "Underground Railroad Quilt Codes"	230
70	Image of likely African-descended ritual practice from Prospect Park, Brooklyn,	231
Table of Tables		Page
Table 1:	List of Items in Cache	1
Table 2:	Origin of Enslaved from Slave Voyages	138
Table 3:	Faunal Analysis	155

Introduction:

In the summer of 1998, at the Lott House historic site in Flatlands, Brooklyn NY, a very curious cache of seemingly random artifacts was found by archaeologists working under the direction of Dr. Arthur H. Bankoff at the Brooklyn College Archaeological Research Center.

Table 1: Contents of the Purported Cache

Found in this assemblage were the following items:

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -four pieces of broken glazed ceramic- peachy yellow - will try to match to other pieces from house -one whole and one-part square head nails -3 ½s of inner peach pits -5 fragments of peach pits- all from different peaches- seem to have been broken open to get the inner pit out. -one pecan? half? two pieces of walnut? shell -pouch with interesting buckle-bandage clip? -seems some of the newspaper is adhered to the fabric of the pouch -what looks like a smaller pouch -interesting piece of paper with foil backing- is light blue with dark blue writing- 1 190 (6?) with "ing" under it -one piece of lantern globe glass- has bubble one smaller piece of slightly thicker and slightly curved lantern glass with a bubble 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> --one piece of linoleum, blue with scratches one straight edge -piece of crimped crown like metal- I believe is the same connector as the end of a light pull chain with a four section flap -a crushed metal button interesting slit-rectangle opening on one side -one piece of wallpaper with metallic brown and silverish leaf flower print -2 pieces of roof tiles? concrete from chimney? super flat but rough on one side like it cleaved off something (Fig. 31) -two pieces of incongruent pieces of thick paper with a fold- perhaps the side of a book binding- has holes inside the crease on the smaller piece perhaps where stitching was -one piece of leather scrap with visible small scratches from missing or marking -7 lead shot pieces -3 pieces of a letter- no whole words discernable- written in script with pencil on both sides <u>Recorded in original photos, but not found within artifact assemblage:</u> Hand stitched child's shoe (shown in one photo) Oyster Shell (shown in photos)
---	---

According to Charles Orser: “after about A.D. 1500, conscious agents of colonialism, capitalism, Eurocentrism, and modernity created a series of complex, multidimensional links that served to tie together diverse people around the globe” (Orser 2005:77). These links between people were often non voluntary. The colonial period of the United States and the Caribbean is fraught with cultural interaction that was often violent and unequal. Not only were the Europeans fighting amongst themselves to lay claim to the various lands and natural resources that existed there, but the various groups of indigenous native groups were often brutally massacred so that the Europeans could take their land. After a long, difficult journey, enslaved Africans were literally tied to these lands and forced to produce cash crops for the white hegemony. These inequalities have persisted into modern day society. In a similar vein, archaeology was for quite a while, focused on plantation estates, landowners and other trappings of the dominant culture. Only in the last thirty or so years have people began to reinvestigate the story of these oppressed and marginalized cultural groups to try and put the pieces of the shattered picture back together as best as possible.

The Archaeological discipline as a whole seems to be taking its time catching up with history when it comes to the African Diaspora. “The immaturity of historical archaeology is undoubtable part of the reason for the archaeologists’ late acknowledgement of the historical and cultural importance of diasporic studies, and it has been only within recent years that archaeologists have even begun to use the word ‘diaspora’ in their writings” (Orser 1998:65). Since the famous Herskovits-Frazier debates posed the question about how much “Africanism” the enslaved peoples retained,

the answer is still largely unanswered. Charles Fairbanks, who is considered the grandfather of historical archaeology, excavated the Kingsley Plantation in Jacksonville, Florida in the late 1960's. He was convinced he could find evidence of African cultures in the slave residences on the plantation. After almost six years of excavations, he defeatedly admitted that "no surely African elements in the material culture could be identified" (Fairbanks 1974:90).

Laura J. Galke's (2009) unique research on colonial sites in and around Manassas Virginia involved white plantation owners, enslaved Africans and two families of freed blacks. This is the only research that I came across that compared the household inventories of enslaved and free blacks. While the study only includes two free black households – the Nash family and the Robinson family – the results are telling. The Anglo-American and freed black households only contained white colored ceramics. The assemblages from the freed black and/or "mulatto" families contained no colonoware at all, even while there were other "Africanisms" found there. When the Nash family site was excavated, there was a "ritual cache that included quartz crystals, galena and a quartz projectile point [found that indicated] . . . the Nash family clearly maintained an identity rooted in African traditions" (Galke 2000:318). According to Maret, archaeology is not the best tool for analyzing the social political and religious structures but more for the "environment[al] and material culture [that] lend themselves better to the reconstruction of ecology, technology and economy" (Maret 1994:183: in African Religion, Blakely, Ed).

Dissertation Outline:

This research will first discuss the history of the Kongo Kingdom (Fig. 2), and how the spiritual ideology permeated all aspects of life for the Kongo people, known as the *baKongo*; including the very fabric of their political and social organization. These spiritual practices include the use of the diKenga, the symbol of the crossroads between the world of the living and the dead, as well as the employment of spiritual containers known in the Kongo language *baKongo* as *N'Kisi* (*minkisi:pl*). Analysis of what their composition and function generally entail will follow.

There will be some discussion about what is believed to have transpired in Central Africa at the point of European contact and onwards. First, I will discuss the discrepancies in the timeline of when the diKenga was first used by the Kongoleses, and whether or not it existed before Christianity came to the area. Then, I will explore some possible reasons for how Christianity seemed to be easily integrated into the preexisting Kongo cosmology, along with some extant artifacts from the era of European contact. Finally, the components that illustrate some aspects of both Christian and Kongo ideologies will be examined.

There will also be a rather cursory glance at some Kongo and Kongo-descended art forms that are present in The New World as well as the Old World, most importantly in the former regions of the Kongo Kingdom. The symbolism of these works as they relate to the ideologies will be examined and the significance of different materials to the manipulation of the spirit world will be addressed.

While the point of this dissertation is not to explain the meaning of the objects, I will attempt to shed some light on the creation of art or ceremonial objects, as well as the

materials that are used to create them. I will also touch on the possible symbolism of their placement in a particular location and their purported function during ritual practice.

There will then be a discussion of the general trends in locations all around the New World where African spiritual practices continued despite the fact that the practitioners were largely enslaved. Individuals were supposedly stripped of their cultural and individual identities, yet these cosmological ideologies persisted through oral tradition and ritual, despite centuries of oppression. These performances include incantations, dances and other body movements alongside the placement of ritual objects into a cache. They also include the use of certain symbols, including the invocation and inscription of the 'X' symbol.

The European apotropaic symbols (Fig. 9) and practices of concealing items within the home as acts of protection and cleansing will be discussed. The Lott farmstead was a multiracial household, and therefore the ideologies of all agents inhabiting the space need to be discussed. As will be shown, there is quite some overlap in the paganistic practices of the Europeans with those of the Africans. Some of these similarities will be laid out. To show that the European-descended individuals most likely did not place the objects under the floorboards, several factors are considered including the location. The objects' placement in the garret room, which served as slave quarters, suggests evidence of Kongo spiritual ceremonial practices, or at least evidence of some hybridized spiritual practice that drew on Kongo, as well as other Central and Western spiritual ideologies. Therefore, this evidence rules out the possibility of these items having been placed under the boards by one or more of the Euro-descended members of the community.

The discussion will then move on to the different locations in the United States where there is evidence of spiritual practices and cultural manifestations of old Kongo traditions, and their similarity to what has been found at the Lott Farmstead. The archaeological evidence of African cultural practices at each site will be summarized with some connections between the sites. This type of comparison of items in caches does not lend itself well to statistical analysis, because of the variability of the components in each and every cache and their placement, and the lack of concise records at many sites where these objects have been noted.

The history of African American presence on the Lott Farmstead through the ages of slavery and post-emancipation will be discussed, including most probable dates that the enslaved individuals were emancipated. There will be some anecdotal evidence about the treatment of the enslaved by the overseers, and small glimpses into the ideologies of the Euro-descended individuals living at the farm as well. These are particularly interesting because of the site's likely involvement with the Underground Railroad in the mid nineteenth century. The evidence for the Lott Family's participation in the Underground Railroad will then be laid out, including a list of reasons why the Farmstead's participation in the Underground Railroad is probable. This will be based on the site's proximity to and conspicuousness from the water, along with the architecture of the house, the time period that certain alterations to the house took place, and a comparison to other buildings from the time period that had similar peculiar architecture, and are known or suspected of being a part of the Underground Railroad. The discussion will then move on to the social dynamics of the communities of Flatlands Neck and

Flatlands that would lend credence to the family's involvement in the passage of those in bondage into the arms of freedom.

This dissertation ends with the present-day situation at the Lott Farmstead and the extreme importance of the African-descended legacy represented here, and how it functions as a microcosm of the nearly invisible participation of African-descended individuals in the region and country as a whole. Finally, I will discuss how the artifacts found here can help us learn and remember from our past to inform our future.

Verbiage:

In this dissertation, people will often be described as African-descended because some enslaved individuals working in a particular place might have themselves come directly from Africa, or they might be the descendants of Africans living in captivity.

Also, in freedom and bondage, throughout the generations, African-descended individuals are part of the African Diaspora, but the term “*descent*” itself is a complex of relationships and processes by which the allocation of people to descent groups is managed over time” (MacGaffey 2000:9). In fact, the two terms “slavery” and “descent” “are ideological concepts, although historians of Central Africa cling to the notion that they record historical events” (ibid: 9).

In many places in this dissertation certain practices and artifacts will be referred to as pertaining to the Kongo. I would like to make a disclaimer here that it is probable that the symbols and ideologies that the baKongo used were also relevant to the neighboring areas of Central and Western as well. While the interpretations of the symbols were likely divergent, they were most likely already symbols of importance to many cultures in Central Western and beyond. Since the Egyptian Ankh is a form of the cross, and the cross symbol, also known as the “X”, also existed in Ethiopia before the

spread of Christianity to the region, it is likely that the cross was important to more regions of Africa as well.

Based on my experience while serving in the United States Peace Corps in Mozambique, on the south eastern coast of Africa, I am constantly amazed by the commonalities of words used in modern Mozambique and the surrounding region with the same words used in ancient kiKongo. Therefore, it is not a surprise that if language diffused and remained seemingly intact, that the ideologies of the people spreading the language would also diffuse. Here one needs to note that there exists a vast variety of languages that stretch across the continent farther north from Senegal to Kenya, in a region David Dalby, referring to his earlier publications from the 1960's, has called the Sub-Saharan "Fragmentation Belt" (Dalby). The languages that are spoken today from the Congo- Angola region and the Mozambican coast were and all belong to the larger group of Bantu languages.

Since the symbol of the 'X' is important to the Kongo-descended people of Central Africa, as well as to the Fon and Yoruba people of Western Africa, it may not be possible to determine what part of the African continent the use of the cosmogram ideology represents. The truth is that these symbols are linked to the baKongo first and foremost because, while there are still many unanswered questions about the Kongo Kingdom and its people, there are more historical documents available about the baKongo than many of the other neighboring cultures. The African spiritual practices that took place at the Lott Farmstead may have already been hybridized through contact with people of different ethnic and cultural groups who were also unwilling participants in the Atlantic Slave Trade. As will be explained through this dissertation, however, the

artifacts left under the floorboards seem to be less influenced by the ongoing hybridization that occurred post-contact with the European exploiters.

baKongo	The people of the Kongo Kingdom
Bamindele	kiKongo word for Europeans, “great ship like whales”
muKongo	a Kongo individual
kiKongo	Kongo language
diKenga/ Yowa	the symbol of the crossroads between life and death
Kalunga	the boundary line between the living and the dead, the sea
Nza yayi	world of living
Nsi a bafwa	world of the dead
Banganga:	ritual specialists, create N’Kisi (Used for both divination and enchantment)
Mpemba	world of the dead, other side of Kalunga
Nkita	a witch (one who can communicate with the dead)
Nzambi Mpungu	is remote Godhead (top of diKenga)
Bisimbi (Simbi sing.)	are intermediary spirits
Minkisi (N’Kisi sing.)	container for the manifestation of the spirit used to communicate with and control Bisimbi
Maboondo (Diboondo sing.)	Kongo funerary jar

1: Rituals, Symbols, History of the “CROSS”

Chapter Introduction:

This chapter will give a whirlwind tour of the world history of the symbol of the “cross” - ‘X’ or ‘+’ and demonstrate how this symbol is widespread and has multiple meanings, and will discuss how crosses have been shown to indicate the movement of the heavens, whether the stars or the sun, and will end with how the Kongo people, the *baKongo* used the sign of the cross, what is called in *kiKongo* (the Kongo language) a *diKenga*; used to indicate a crossroads. The universality of the concept of a crossroads in cultures across time and space will also be discussed.

Whether the symbols used by indigenous Africans in prehistoric times can be considered a “language” is a matter of debate. What defines a writing system is that it is a precise linguistic system; with exact meaning being conveyed by the symbols. The lack of a complete system of signs does not mean that information is “not permanently memorialized in material form” (Martinez-Ruiz 2013:6). While these symbol structures do not equate directly to letters and syllables in English, the importance of these symbols in the worldview of those who used them is tantamount. The capturing or passing down of history did not happen on paper in pre-colonial Africa, but it in his text “Man and His Symbols”, Dr. Carl G. Jung states that a symbol by default, cannot have just one definition; as matter of fact, it has no definition because a symbol must have multiple meanings. If you can give a precise definition, then, according to Jung, you have a sign, not a symbol (Jung 1964).

A symbol is a concept that is difficult to comprehend in the full scope of its meaning at first. Take a work of art for example. Many works of art defy any

straightforward answer to their meaning. Symbols are idea. Whenever someone uses one, they are presenting the idea behind that symbol. As Jung states: “The sign is always less than the concept it represents, while a symbol always stands for something more than its obvious and immediate meaning” (Jung 1964:18). Symbols stir our imagination and trigger our intuition allowing us to discover new insights and meanings. They force us to push past our limits of concrete thinking if we want to understand the meanings or concepts they represent.

According to Fennell (2003), a symbol is something that can be used by members of a culture in a multitude of meanings. When a symbol is used in public spaces or for large groups, it will often be a very elaborate and complex representation. When it is used in a more private, intimate setting, though, “it is typically expressed as an instrumental symbol which uses only abbreviated components of the full array of the core symbol” (Fennel 2003:2). The cache found under the floorboards (Fig. 28) would have been a very private setting. Symbols, emblems or objects that are displayed in contexts of low visibility, such as the assemblage under the floor, may not be perceptible at all to outsiders, but will have a great deal of meaning to the insiders (Sterner 1989), lending feelings of understanding and a sense of belonging. The shape of the cross is the perfect example of such a symbol.

The Cross:

Since prehistoric times, the basic shape of the cross has been used by almost every culture throughout the world. While similar, cross symbols have vastly different meanings. Over the course of human history, it is believed that the cross has come to symbolize immortality, life, death, the spirit, union of heaven and earth, fertility, matter,

the sun and the stars. It has been used as a symbol of the cosmic axis, as well as the center of the world. The cross even represents the human form. If one talks about the four cardinal points of a cross, it can be used to represent several fourfold systems: the points on a compass – North, South, East and West, the four seasons, the four elements, or perhaps the four winds. It is also, according to Milani, a symbol of the sun (Bertrand 1897:159), and seems to denote its daily rotation. The origin of the English word cross is the Latin word “crux” which comes from the verb *cruciare*, which, cheerfully enough, means to torture. With the spread of Christianity, the worship of suffering also spread. In fact, many of Jesus’ disciples had literal torture racks named after them: the crosses of Saint Andrew, Saint Phillip, and Saint Peter.

Before the time of Christ, the cross already had symbolic meanings. It has been used as a decorative, sacred, or protective emblem in almost every culture throughout the world. The symbol of the cross has been found in a Swedish rock carving and other Scandinavian bronze-age stones (Cowling 1940), in ancient Greece, in pre-Columbian America, and in numerous scenarios between Egypt and Mesopotamia since at least 3000 B.C.E.

Since the cross is one of the most used archetypes in all of humankind, the symbol of the cross is deeply engrained in the deepest parts of the collective human psyche. For many, cross symbols have a commonality, a significance that transcends. A cross is two lines intersecting. The cross can be “nothing else” than a coordinate used to represent the point in space, the location of a point. In Astrology, the symbol of a “cardinal cross”, the cross within a circle can be used to represent the earth itself.

One of the most widespread understandings of the symbol of the cross is its use as a representation of the never-ending cycle of day and night, as the heavens move above the earth, and seasons change from one to another and back again are represented by a cross within a circle. This simple representation of the enclosure of opposite poles could very well be the oldest symbol in the world. It can be found in Asian, European, Indian and Native American art. In North America, the swastika was used by the Navajos and is known as a spinning log (Aigner 2000:34). The swastika appears in many different cultural horizons and may very well have been etched into existence since humans started leaving marks on the stones they touched.

A cross within a circle is also known as the wheel cross, and there are two versions of this cross- the four armed cross and the six arm cross, both which are thought to show the shadows that are cast on the ground during the Winter and Summer solstices. (Gardner 2006:36). The Indian cross (swastika) this word comes from the Sanskrit word '*svastika*' sva (one's own) and astika (it is). It is also known by different names in different countries - like 'Wan' in China, 'Manji' in Japan, 'Fylfot' in England, 'Hakenkreuz' in Germany and 'Tetraskelion' or 'Tetra Gammadion' in Greece. - The earliest swastika ever found was uncovered in Mezine, Ukraine, carved on an ivory figurine, which dates an incredible 12,000 years ago (Hancar 1966).

According to prominent plasma physicist Anthony Peratt, the swastika along with a variety of other shapes are all phases of a massive plasma column which was visible in the sky around the end of the Neolithic Age to the early Bronze Age (Peratt 2003). Peratt studied thousands of rock carvings around the world and compared them to naturally occurring forms in lab plasmas with outstanding results. The sight of such things in the

heavens would have been both terrifying and awe-inspiring. According to Peratt, these shapes were given off by a multi mega ampere gamma radiation. Carl Sagan also hypothesized that perhaps a comet had come so close to the Earth's atmosphere that the effluence streaming from the comet's head would have looked like a swastika, and for Sagan, this is why there are images of Swastikas that seem to crop up in civilizations all across the globe during a relatively short time period (Sagan 1985:946). Whatever the reason for this symbol's prominence in sites scattered around the globe, of all the symbols and marks produced by humans throughout time, the swastika is the most contradictory, mostly since the swastika is now, since the 1930's, most closely related to the racism of Nazi power.

In Nordic Myths, the god Odin is represented passing through space as a whirling disk or swastika looking down through all worlds. Under the streets of Rome, in the catacombs, one can find swastika symbols etched into the walls next to an inscription "ZOTIKO ZOTIKO" which means "Life of Life" (Grabar 1968). There are artifacts from Harappa with the swastika symbol that date to at least 4000 years BP (Wilson 1896). According to archaeologist Hauerstein, the cross within a circle has been around since prehistory (Hauerstein 1967:30).

In Hinduism, the right-hand swastika is a symbol of the God Vishnu and the Sun, while the left-hand swastika is a symbol of Kali and Magic, in other words, to the right is positive and to the left is negative. This would indicate that this cross symbol predates Vedan, Aryan and Hindu cultures. The swastika has been used by the Phoenicians as a symbol of the Sun and was a sacred symbol used by the priestesses. It is believed that for the Phoenicians, the Swastika is a representation of the rotation of the stars around the

pole (Richter 1884). It could also depict a four-armed cross that is turning. As such, it can represent the course of the solar year: two solstices and two equinoxes at equal intervals, which turns constantly. Excavations at Hissarlik on the site of ancient Troy discovered swastikas in many places: on a cube, on spindle-racks, and even etched on the womb of a female idol (Schliemann 1875:120), a detail also noticeable on a small statue of the goddess Athis. In Ancient Greece, Pythagoras used the Swastika under the name 'Tetraktys cross'. This cross was also used to turn the spindle of a fire-drill, for starting fires -- often a religious act at the winter solstice. In its most basic form, the swastika is a "sun-wheel", and would have been intuited by any tribe of people who studied the annual course of the sun, hence it may not be only assigned to one culture or race (Wilson 2010:807). It is a natural form of art developed as the human mind and society developed.

Guillame and Perrot's excavations of Galatia and Bithynia have shown these swastika symbols on monuments (Guillaume and Perrot 1872:Pl. IX) A representation of a swastika was also found on a cylinder among Hittite monuments (Wright 1882:259). The swastika can be seen at the beginning and/ or end of Buddhist inscriptions carved in certain caves of Western India (Greg 1885). In Buddhism, the swastika is a symbol of good fortune, prosperity, abundance and eternity. It is directly related to Buddha and can be found carved on statues on the soles of his feet and on his heart. It was a symbol linking heaven and earth, with the right arm pointing to heaven and the left arm pointing to Earth. This same hand position is used by baKongo people and their descendants in funeral statuary called *N'Kisi nkondi* (MacGaffey 1986).

In ancient Egypt, a cross known as the Tau, the shape of which is similar to an anvil, indicates the godly like powers of the blacksmith. This symbol was used in Egypt along with the swastika and another “hammer headed” cross. These symbols can also be found inscribed on water jars that were interred with rulers. The Tau itself may have evolved from the ancient symbol of the sun god (the solar or wheel cross as described above) and may have begun to look more like an anvil into the Iron Age, as metallurgy was used often to create both sacred and functional artifacts. In the Old Testament, the Tau was the cross mark used by faithful Israelites to distinguish themselves from their paganistic brethren (Tenenbaum 1976).

In the ancient Egyptian culture, the ankh is a hieroglyphic that is believed to represent life and regeneration and rebirth. While in biology, the ankh is used to represent the female sex, (Morgan 1896:37) the Ankh is also known as the “crux ansata” which means cross with a handle. Both the Coptic Christians (Gayet 1882) and the Gnostics used this sign to represent the physical and afterlife. The loop in the top of the cross is thought to symbolize the sun at the horizon, (Morgan 1896-98) but little is known of the true meaning of the ankh for the ancient Egyptians, while Fu-Kiau believes that the symbol of the ankh represents a person standing in the prime of their life within a cosmogram, which is very similar to the Kongo diKenga. The swastika symbol has also been found on earthenware vessels from Cyprus and on coins in both Gaza and Lycia in modern-day Israel and on Corinthian coins (Raoul-Rochette 1848:377-380) and in Etruria, both on urns and a fibula from Cere (Grifi 1841), and on murals in Pompeii. The starburst pattern of the swastika mentioned above is also similar in form to that of a Kongo Cosmogram (Figures 1 and 19).

For the Kongo, the chief of a village needs to “stand up superbly, straight and strong . . . between earth and sky, that is between the living in the dead”, (Laman 1962:106). The idea that the Kongo chief must stand straight up and be strong is reminiscent of the Ankh indicating a person standing in the prime of their life, directly in the middle of the world of the living, exactly opposite to the pinnacle of the spirit world.

The Greek cross has equilateral arms and the diKenga looks more like this type of cross. This sign was used in pre-Columbian America, in the near east and in the fertile crescent as far back as 1500 BCE. It has been found on Persian and Assyrian monuments, stone tablets and even on Greek statues and coins. The modern day symbol for the red cross uses the Greek cross in a sanguine red. In Greek, the Chi is a cross symbol and is the first letter of the Greek word for Christ. The Baptismal cross has eight arms. Since the number eight is known to be a symbol of rebirth or regeneration, this is why it is being used to represent baptisms. The Ethiopian Cosmic Cross (Kreamer 2012:165: Fig 8.8) contains within its design a cosmogram similar to that of the Kongo people, but these arms of the cross are thought to represent either wind patterns or the four dimensions of the Cosmos.

While there are many cruciform figures that resemble the diKenga, as described above, the baptismal cross is an interesting outlier, since it has either six or eight arms. These arms are supposed to represent the sun at different times of the year, but it is interesting that the baptismal cross found in Ethiopia, could be construed as a swastika in motion. While we may never know exactly what the other lines in the baptismal cross represent, and while this research question is outside the scope of this particular research strand, it is important to mention that while Westerners most likely presume that

symbols like these that are found in African-descended contexts derive from the Kongo Kingdom, it is very possible that other cultural groups in Central and Western did in fact use this symbol as a way to invoke something in relation to their cosmology.

The Crossroads:

The idea of crossroads and their otherworldly connections is a common subject in the folklore and religions of many cultures throughout the world. A crossroads is defined as a place where two roads cross perpendicular to each other, creating right angles. A crossroads can also be known as a “fork in the road”. The crossroads is an area that generally belongs to no one, no individual or community would claim it for themselves, and is outside the borders of the community. The crossroads are used in many cultures as sites of spell casting and performing magic rituals. In both African and European folklore, the crossroads can be used as a type of altar upon which one can carry out a ritual. In Ancient Greece, the god Hermes was etched onto stones that were set at the crossroads. In Ancient Rome, it was often the god Mercury who watched over the intersection. In India, the gods Siva or the more ancient Bhairava guarded the crossroads through depictions of a set of eyes or a phallus. In Guatemala, images of Maam, the lord of the underworld, (who is also represented through the Catholic Saint Simon or Maximon) sitting in a chair at a crossroads are often found near to the front entrance of churches.

Some modern anthropologists have given these crossroads gods a new collective name - trickster gods. This is a misnomer, for not all crossroads gods and spirits are tricksters (unreliable, clever, deceitful) and not all trickster gods or spirits are crossroads gods -- the water dwelling Kapi of Japan, the shoemakers' elves of Germany, and the

wide-ranging Coyote of Native Americans being prime examples of trickster gods and spirits who do not inhabit crossroads.

The discussion of the symbol of the swastika or the symbol of the cross are important to the research discussed in this dissertation because the symbol of the cross is one of the main symbols used in the Kongo Cosmology. The name of the incised X in *kiKongo* is known as a *diKenga*, following Fennell, 2007. The cross symbol will be referred to as such throughout this manuscript. The design of the cosmogram is significant in that it signifies the crossroads or crossover of the worlds of the living and the dead. While the diKenga has many permutations, it is often abbreviated in its simplest form, an 'X' or a "+" sign. Calligrams are words or letters whose design or layout create a visual description of the words themselves. Both cosmograms and calligrams are etymologically forms of inscription; one representing the cosmos, the other beauty or harmonic proportions. While calligrams are figurative representations or extensions of poetic content by way of their constitutive typographical layout, the cosmogram gravitates towards an abstract codification of how the universe is constructed and came into being (Pereira 2012:14). There are many other instances of x's possibly being used for representations of Christianity in other parts of the world, including Jewish ossuaries (Smith 1974).

Personalization of Ritual:

Pierre Bourdieu's (1977) theory of habitus is one of continuous interaction of structure and agency can be used to describe the diKenga and how the meaning of the diKenga would have shaped a person's conscience, actions and beliefs. Each individual then personalizes the group worldview and the meaning of the diKenga and related

symbols evolve uniquely for each person through small daily changes (Bourdieu 1977:78-93).

It will be shown that the 'X' symbol found under the floorboards at the Lott farmstead is most likely a permutation of the Kongo diKenga and that the other items near to it were probably an *N'Kisi*. There is a likely connection between this symbol of the X in the baKongo Kingdom and other cultural groups from nearby in Africa- for example symbols found on Benin bronzes, the Ankhs of Egypt, the Ethiopians and other crosses. These forms of this symbol have been found in many sites where African-descended individuals have lived and died. There is little to no evidence as to the reason an individual would choose to invoke a symbol. The limited evidence available in the archaeological record cannot reasonably comment on the expressive intentions of past social actors.

Importance of Symbolism and Ritual Practice:

It is a slippery ledge archaeologists put themselves on when they seek to derive 'meaning' from material culture. When it comes to religion and spirituality, anthropologists "can rarely say what anybody believes and has reason to think that belief varies not only from one individual to another but also from one situation to another" (MacGaffey 1986:2). It is all too common for researchers to pigeonhole thoughts and ideas with preconceived notions or other biases, often unconscious ones. Many times "our categories 'religious', 'economic', etc., are not real subdivisions which are present in the cultures we study, but are merely abstractions which we make for our own convenience when we set out to describe cultures in words. They are not phenomena present in culture, but are labels for various points of view in our studies" (Bateson

1972:64). Speaking of labels, the basic terminology that will be used throughout this dissertation are as follows:

Terminology:

Philosophy is an understanding of the nature of the spirit-world in terms of its inhabitants and their relations.

Religion is understanding the desires of spirit-world inhabitants so that we can obey their demands. “A religion is a system of symbols which acts to establish powerful pervasive and long-lasting moods and motivations . . . by formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and clothing [individuals] with such an aura of factuality that the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic” (Geertz and Banton 1965:4).

Cosmology is the construction and the working of this world and the spirit-world as a unified entity or cosmos. Kongo cosmology is the current that runs through all Kongo rituals and myths. Different societies may place more or less emphasis on cosmology, but it would be impossible for a human being or a society not to think about all the things “concerning the nature of the world and the place of [humans] within it” (Forde, 1954:x).

Ritual looks to “describe in advance a desired but uncertain state of affairs” (MacGaffey 1986:11). All rituals are in effect, rites of passage. Because of the oppression and other detriments enslavement brought, these rituals allow the members of a social group to rationalize and explain and respond to misfortune, diseases, death, and of course control others willing to cause harm (Orser and Funari 2001:63; Raboteau 1980:286; Wilkie 1997:84). According to Leach, Ritual serves to remind the congregation just where each member stands in relation to every other and in relation to a larger system (Leach 1968:524)”. As will be shown throughout this research, looking at

ritual practices spanning the globe, there is a great deal in common. According to Raboteau, “because magical beliefs tend to be similar worldwide . . . it is rarely possible to speak with certainty about the origins of particular magical practices” (Raboteau 1980:33). Trying to describe how one feels about a ritual would be like trying to describe what the color red looks like to a person, it is so inherent and innate one would not be able to describe it adequately in words.

Pagan comes from the Latin word *paganus*, which means “country folk,” hence indigenous, traditional, folk, ethnic religious practices, etc. The remnants of the materials under the floorboards are just one part of the ritual, and while it is amazing that these materials lasted as long as they have, it is also important to realize that a major part of the meaning in the ritual would have been in the movements that the people made as well as the words that the people involved in the ritual used; whether it be in the form of invocations or songs. It would have been what was spoken that would explain “what was going on and the results to be achieved” (MacGaffey 1986:107).

Magic is “ultimately addressed to the mind of the person or persons concerned, its exterior object being no more than an extrapolation of his own desires or fears; and although, like prayer or ritual- its direct effect on external reality is almost certainly nil, its influence on the mind of the participant might be considerable” (Evans 2012:55). In a place where movement is restricted and rights are non-existent, magic could give a person the strength to live through another day.

2: The Kongo Worldview:

Chapter Introduction:

The contents and placement of the probable N’Kisi discovered at the Lott farmstead has many aspects in common with other N’Kisi found in locations across the New World. In this paper, the New World will be defined as anywhere within North America, South America and the Caribbean. In the process of this paper, Kongo Ideas of how the universe is constructed will be discussed in depth. This directly relates to the cache of materials found under the floorboards in the Lott Farmstead (Fig. 28). This ideology about the continuity of the world has been replicated, specifically in symbols used by individuals throughout much of the African Diaspora and continuing into present day in the New World. This cache also possesses many of the characteristics of N’Kisi found in the former Kongo region of Central Africa. Since many parts of the ritual are words spoken or movements taken, performances and body movements based on Kongo spirituality will be used as additional lines of evidence connecting this deposit with the Kongo culture.

While more research is needed on ancient African symbols and writing systems other than Egyptian hieroglyphics, it is probable that the Egyptian form of script was actually derived “5,000 years ago, from even older traditions of graphic symbolism in Africa” (Dalby 1986:2). It is believed that in prehistory, pictograms evolved into ideograms and these led to phonetic and then alphabetic and later syllabic systems (Norman 1975:7-12). Perhaps the graphic symbols that eventually became hieroglyphics have evolved from the same origins as the creation of the Kongo symbols; some of which will be discussed in the context of this dissertation. The Symbol for Ogdoad, the

primeval forces of chaos in Egyptian mythology is two 'X's on top of each other, effectively making an eight sided equilateral cross. The eight points of this cross represent the eight deities which existed before the creation of the sun god, *Ra* (Massey 1883:64). One of the issues in deciphering the use of these African graphic symbols is that many were meant to be used only by a select few in the society, and therefore have been "kept closely guarded secrets by society members" (Dalby 1986:4). Although there has not been adequate research into the evolution of African writing systems or symbology in prehistoric African civilizations, it will not be the primary focus of this paper and is better left for another research initiative.

A large portion of the research on Kongo cultural history relies on European accounts of indigenous customs and practices. One needs to keep in mind the atmosphere and cultural understandings present in the European mindset of the fifteenth through eighteenth centuries. Because not much attention was paid to African customs during the colonial period aside from their supposed heathenism and lack of civilization, it is necessary to include some of primary sources that are nontraditional in the sense that some are stories, proverbs, and vocabulary words. There are also several "living traditions" such as religious practices, dances, symbols, architectural styles and worldviews tied to Kongo culture. While European derived primary sources are used, it is necessary to include these alternative sources, mostly of African and African-descended origin, to make connections between pre-historic African cultures and the evolution of these customs over time and space. It is important to mention here that there are always complications in using modern-day analogies to explain mindsets or ideologies that may have existed in the past.

While Anthropologists like to separate out different lifeways into performances, and want to tease out ritual practices from other daily practices, as well as divide religious or spiritual activities from secular activities, it is difficult to separate African life and African spirituality. In effect, multiple spirits influence every part of life in the Kongo worldview, whereas in Christianity, it is one spirit that influences everything. In the Kongo Ideology, the lives of the living are intertwined together so that everything, every aspect of daily life, politics, love, family, finances, are all influenced by the spirits. The dead are very much a part of life, and are active in the decision making as well as communicating through dreams (Denbow 1999:406).

Kongo Vs. Congo

To minimize confusion between the terms Congo spelled with a “C” and Kongo with a “K”, Following Thompson and Cornet (1981), throughout this dissertation, *Kongo* will refer to the people or cultural group while anything spelled *Congo* will refer to the river, or shifting political boundaries and entities. Following David Dalby (1986), who has helped establish the modern conventions of Bantu languages, the prefixes to nouns will be written in lowercase and the first letter of the proper noun that follows will be capitalized. The people of the Kingdom of Kongo were Kongoleses or *baKongo*; *kiKongo* is the language spoken and an individual Kongoleses person is a *muKongo*.

The *baKongo* are a Bantu-descended group. The idea of a “Bantu People” is a purely anthropological term that generalizes hundreds of dialects and cultures into one broad sweeping pigeon hole (Fu-Kiau 2001:127). Archaeologist John Desmond Clark extensively researched the central African region and has said that the evolution and diffusion of the Bantu culture could be one of the most difficult “and challenging problems in African studies today” (Clark 1984:4), since the region at large frequently

experiences political and social instabilities that make ongoing research in many places impossible. Desmond Clark's hypothesis that the Bantu people originated in the area of present-day Sudan and Chad is based on studying the similarities and differences of the language structure in most of Central Africa. The Bantu-speaking people now cover much of central and southern Africa, and the languages used by different cultural groups across a large geographic area are similar.

According to James Newman (1997), this cultural diffusion was through two flows of expansion. One flow moved westward from Chad through the Congo, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Angola; the other flowed eastward into the present-day areas of Kenya, Tanzania and Mozambique. Delineating when and how this cultural linguistic diffusion occurred may never be possible and is beyond the scope of this research.

History of The Kongo Kingdom:

The boundaries of the ancient kingdom of Kongo now encompasses the ever-shifting area part of present Democratic Republic of Congo, The Congo, Angola and surrounding areas that follow the Congo (also known as both the Lualaba and Zaire) River (see map, figure 2). If we were to superimpose the area this group controlled at the time of European contact onto the current geographic outline of The United States, it could have run from the area of Richmond, Virginia to New York City and from Erie, Pennsylvania through to Baltimore Maryland (Thompson and Cornet 1981:27). It is likely that the Kingdom was even larger at times than understood by the Europeans.

It is uncertain how long this Kingdom was in existence. One theory argues that the Kongo Kingdom was established at least as early as 1390 (Mukenge 2001:19); another researcher places it event earlier at 1000 AD (Vansina 1978). The lack of

radiological analyses and the dearth of primary sources, or artifacts with definitive contexts from prehistoric Africa, make an exact determination nearly impossible.

The Kongo people take their name from the great river that runs through their territory. While a present-day map of Africa would separate the territory occupied by this and related cultural groups (MacGaffey 1986:7) into Zaire, Angola, Congo Brazzaville and Cabinda, at the time of European contact in 1483 this diverse cultural group was a very well organized society. MacGaffey places the Kongo on the same level of complexity and cultural endurance as Israel, China and Japan in what he calls “eternal civilizations” (MacGaffey 1986: ix). Future research may show a wider significance of the ‘X’ symbol in other neighboring regions of Central and Western in addition to the Kongo culture.

The name Kongo means “ally of the panther”, and was the name of the first king of the area well before the arrival of the Portuguese in 1482 (Martinez-Ruiz 2013:17).

The language of the baKongo is *Kikongo*, which has many words in common or words that are phonetically similar to dialects across the African continent. One of the nuances of the Kongo language that separates it from these similar dialects is the double-entendres that words have, which are subsequently embodied in the objects named. It is not just the kiKongo and related languages that are coded and metonymic; the entire Kongo ideology is itself metonymic. For example, a word in kiKongo can mean two seemingly disparate things that are actually similar in form. For example, the word *Esoko* can mean a condition that makes one’s spine have a marked deformity. It can also be the name of a vine that contains components that can soothe the back problem, but also happens to look

like an affected person's spine (Fu-Kiau 1999:63). As we discuss various objects used by Kongo-descended people, this double use of meaning will become more apparent.

Everything in the Kongo world is symbolic. Just as a calligram is a play on form, meaning the shape of the letters that make up a word and the symbols are drawn to mimic what the word represents, so are the baKongo words. Many kiKongo words, phrases and proverbs have multiple meanings. The ideas of life and continuity can be seen in the close relation of the kiKongo words for the verbs *zinga* (to live) and *zinnga* (to circle or enclose) (Bittremieux 1936:39). MacGaffey goes on to show that this word is related to other words that also pertain to the concept of the spiral universe symbolized by the diKenga (MacGaffey 1986:117). The term *zinga* also means "long life" in Kongo, and therefore, the presence of shells in a Kongo-descended context can indicate that one placing the shell means for someone to live a long time, or perhaps a person who crossed the threshold to the world of the dead had lived a long life before expiring. Shells implore a pun to imply eternal life. *Zinga* has two meanings: 'spiral shell' and 'live long'. It was sometimes thought in the Kongo that souls hid in shells and "when you leave for the sea, take me along, that I may live forever with you" (Pollitzer 1999:184). While the significance of the artifact has not been determined, a spiral shell was found in the grave of a child in the African Burial Ground in lower Manhattan (LaRoche and Blakey 1997). The significance of shells as they relate to the Lott cache will be discussed further in chapter six.

Adding to the confusion of names and boundaries, beginning from the first moment of contact, the name "Kongo" was given by Europeans to describe the provenience of captive Africans from a wide swath of the African continent. This was

generally determined by what African port the slave ship left from, as the actual place the captive was originally taken from was unknown. Many of the slaves who were identified as Kongo by the Europeans may have come from almost any other region of the African continent, given that this human cargo was moved all over the eastern and western coasts of Africa, adding extra layers of confusion to their origin.

As discussed above, the Kongo territory was centrally located and stretched far inland to more than half way across the continent of Africa. This explains how some more far-reaching cultural groups were also taken into slavery, since the Kongo elite had a long history of helping the Europeans (the Dutch, the Portuguese, the English and the Belgians, among others) to sell people into slavery from all parts of Africa before the institution of slavery began to consume the Royal family itself.

It is also known that many enslaved were taken from the Eastern Coast of Africa, all the way north to the island of Zanzibar off the coast of Kenya and from Ilha de Moçambique. The journey from these areas of East Africa via ship to the Cape of Africa (in present-day South Africa) could be as long as the trip across the Atlantic, and often ended up in the same death rate as the trans-Atlantic voyage (Harries 2015). This would also explain the possibility of other African customs and ideologies diffusing across time and space into the Kongo Diaspora during the first centuries of the Atlantic Slave Trade.

It seems that before contact with the Portuguese, the Kongo Kingdom had already existed for quite some time. These cultural and ideological marks are present in the cultural and social entities that have evolved consecutively for a time period extending for at least 750 years into the past (MacGaffey 1986:9). The culture named Kongo, is actually thought to have had three successive kingdoms, with the Loango and subsequent

KaKongo Kingdoms that eventually became the Kingdom of Kongo, which was in position by the time that the Europeans arrived at the end of the 15th century (Fu-Kiau 2000:17). Art historians Robert Farris Thompson and Joseph Cornet have found evidence of a "substantial stability . . . between sixteenth and twentieth century Kongo cosmology, cultic practice, and social structure." (Thompson and Cornet 1981:5). These ideological symbols are evident in the Kongo art, the structure of their law and court systems, the traditional medicine practices as well as the structure of the language and rich use of proverbs, puns and double-entendres (Fu-Kiau 2001).

Kongo Cosmology:

The origin of the universe in the Kongo Cosmology and how all aspects of life revolve around the water can be explained through the following legend:

“Once upon a time there was a man who lived to a very great age. He died and was buried in his grave. After burial he lived a very long time in the land of the dead and grew old there. He died once again, but found himself no closer to his relatives there in the land of the dead, so he thought, “What am I to do in this second death? I should become an N’Kisi. So he betook himself to a stream.

-Nsemi Isaki (translated by MacGaffey 2000 123-124)

Cosmology is “a body of collective representations of the world as a whole, ordered in space and time, and of man’s place in it” (MacGaffey 2000:5). The rituals that come about from the practice of cosmological acts are also social practices that are connected to political and economic principles as well. In effect, these cosmological principles are inherent in nearly every aspect of individual action and societal beliefs.

Kongo Cosmology “recognizes human life as a progress in space and time, these being also the essential elements of any social structure”. (Fu-Kiau 1999; MacGaffey

2000:4). In Kongo culture, it is tantamount for a good citizen to placate their ancestors. “[T]o maintain harmony in the self it is necessary to be on good terms with one's entire social and spiritual world. This requires . . . reverence to one's parents, kin and ancestral spirits, observance of cultic obligations, maintenance of social relationships and respect for natural forces” (Zuesse 1979:178). Among the Kongo-descended cultures, the spirits of the ancestors mediate issues in the lives of the living and directly influence the lives of the living because these spirits are believed to react to situations in human ways and “they can be pressed, offended, informed, [or] interested” (Mbiti 1975:69). In Kongo Cosmology, the world is split into two realms; the land of the living and the land of the dead. In this belief, while the dead are people just like the living, they are also seen as more powerful and can exert control over individuals in the living realm (De Saussure 1966:123).

While ritual and spiritual practices hold unique meaning to each practitioner, these rituals are what constitute cultural traditions. Without ritual and veneration for ancestors, these traditions and rituals would certainly have died off in one generation. Therefore, “the relationship between remembrance and social identity is nowhere more vividly conveyed than in the concept of ‘ancestor’ as previous generations exist only in the remembrance of the living. A Yoruba proverb states “to die is to become deified; no one venerates a living person” (Pemberton and Afolayan 1996:25). For the baKongo, the importance of living a ‘good/moral’ life is reinforced through daily social interaction.

The permutations of these cultural practices across time and space are what constitute cultural evolution, and culture, by definition, must change:

"To insist that only those elements of slave culture were African which remained largely unchanged from the African past is to misinterpret the nature of culture itself. Culture is not a fixed condition but a process: the product of interaction between the past and present. It's toughness and resiliency are determined not by a culture's ability to withstand change, which indeed may be a sign of stagnation not life, but by its ability to adapt to the realities of a new situation." (Levine 1977:5)

The name of the incised 'X' in kiKongo is known as a diKenga, following Fennell (2007). It will be referred to as such throughout this manuscript. This cross within a circle has been a part of the Kongo culture since prehistory (Hauerstein 1967:30). In Homet's study (1932) he believed that this Kongo cross represented the four seasons. Wyatt MacGaffey further explains that, in the Kongo belief, the living realm we exist in is called the *nza yayi* while the realm of the dead is called *nsi a bafwa* and they are split from each other by water, called *Kalunga*, *nlangu* or *nzadi* (MacGaffey 1986:43). The Kongo spiritual ideology embodying the relationship between the world of the living and the world of the dead is embodied in the diKenga symbol. Therefore, the diKenga is the simplest representation of the Kongo worldview.

Following Fennell 2003, firstly, a symbol is something that can be used by members of a culture in a multitude of meanings. Second, when a symbol is used in public spaces or for large groups, the symbol will often be a very elaborate and complex representation, whereas when the symbol is used in a more private intimate setting "it is typically expressed as an instrumental symbol which uses only abbreviated components of the full array of the core symbol" (Fennel 2003:2). Through the use of a *diKenga* and *Minkisi*, these spirits are manipulated for personal reasons.

If the diKenga was not an ideology and was instead simply a symbol someone could wave around on a flag, the act of the diKenga evolving into in myriad forms across the New World would not have been possible. The Kongo Cosmogram (Figures 1 and 19), shows the cycle that an individual is destined to repeat- a journey through our world of the living, into the world of the dead and then back again. This is often tied to the movement of the sun across the sky, regardless of where in the world of the living one is located. When it is day here in the realm of the living, it is night in the world of the dead and vice-versa (MacGaffey 2000:43). It is also understood that the two worlds are complementary to each other and people in the world of the living “perceived the activities of the other [world] in the dreams of its members” (MacGaffey 2000:90).

While the spirits of the dead can exert control over a living person, the diKenga is also used in Kongo religion to exert control over these spirits in conjunction with a spirit container, or something known as an *N’Kisi* (*Minkisi*: plural). In the Kongo worldview, there is a dichotomy present in the use of occult powers. A ritual was either productive or destructive, and was carried out either in public or private (MacGaffey 2000:169).

“Those sojourning in the otherworld live for a very, very long time. When they grow weak from age, they shed their skins as snakes do, are rejuvenated and become sturdy and strong. Then they live again, weaken, shed their skins, and are renewed once more. After shedding their skins five or six times they become water *Simbi* and go to live in pools, wherever there are very hard rocks, and there they can settle with those who have previously become bisimbi”

(Bittremieux 1922:27)

The Kongo Cosmology allows for the concept of reincarnation. Everything in the world is seen as a circle that follows the path of the sun, and this circular path is divided into four quadrants, just like the 'x' and 'y' axes create quadrants in geometry. The top right quadrant represents an individual's rise to their peak, from birth to the pinnacle.

Interpreting the *Yowa* or *diKenga*, the quadrants have multiple names and meanings. The left line is *Kala*: morning, birth and childhood, the color black. The top line, *Tukula* is noon, the prime of life, the color red. The right side line, *Luvemba* is evening, late life and death, the color white. The bottom line is *Musoni*: midnight, rebirth, the color yellow. The other world is *Kalunga ka musono* or *Kalunga kalala masika*, a realm "split by coldness," this latter is the home (hell or jail) of bad spirits which are to "disappear from man's memory," and should never return (Theuws 1983:31). It is against these bad spirits that some of the *N'Kisi Wambi*, discussed below are constructed to protect against (Thompson 1983:47).

There are four positions indicated by each quadrant. The right side or corner signifies the moment that the sun awakes in our world of the living. It signifies dawn or daybreak, as well as birth. The uppermost point is our noon, when it is the darkest in the land of the dead. This position represents the most vital and powerful point of life in our realm. The next stage on the far left indicates death, the setting of the sun, and the end of a life (Thompson 1983:28). The bottom-most position of the sun indicates midnight in our world and noon in the land of the dead. Some permutations have circles at the ends of the vertices of the cross, indicating a person's voyage through their life. The top left quadrant represents the second phase of a person's life from their prime to eventual demise. Once the x-axis known as the *Kalunga line* is crossed, one travels into the realm

of the dead. At the point of sunset in the world of the living it is the point of sunrise in the land of the dead. Therefore, when it is midnight in our world of the living, it is high noon in the land of the dead. If a person has lived a good life, then they might very well return to the world of the living later on as a grandchild or other member of the next generation. Similarly, the spirits of those individuals who have not lived a correct life face the threat of wandering the world of the dead listlessly.

The upper part of the diKenga was where people with dark complexions lived, whereas the bottom realm was for white souls. The color white is associated with the realm of the dead. This was not originally equated with white or Caucasian people, although when the Europeans did first arrive, there is speculation that at least some of the indigenous Africans believed that the Europeans were incarnate spirits from beyond the Kalunga. The water was considered to be perilous, and therefore it would not be uncommon for people to use charms to protect them while in the water. In Kongo “before the coming of the modern period, a person might have blessed a new canoe (*nlungu*) by incising on the side of the vessel a sign, *Yowa mpambu*” a form of the diKenga (Thompson 1996:5).

The cosmogram represents the “ideal balancing of the vitality of the world of the living with the visionariness of the world of the dead (Thompson 1986:106) but rest assured that death is not the end, but something each person must pass through to realm of eternal life. The cosmogram can be viewed as a shorthand symbol "of surviving Kongo spirituality and resistant persistence" (Janzen 2012:12) in many parts of the African diaspora worldwide. While there are myriad forms of this cosmogram, they all have commonalities; they typically involve the use of diKenga as simple crossed-lines.

Some scholars, such as Fu-Kiau believe that the spirits lose their impurities as they travel through the watery realm and are reincarnated as grandchildren, etc. in the familial line (Fu-Kiau 2000:2). While there are many different manifestations of how the diKenga is represented, the most simplistic form of the diKenga is simply an 'X'. The symbol of an X was used in rituals that were oaths of truthfulness or private ceremonies where a person requested help from the spiritual realm (MacGaffey, *Religion and Society in Africa*, 1986:118). It has been shown that The diKenga was most likely used before the arrival of the Europeans (MacGaffey 2000:8-11). Additionally, there is pottery with diamond patterns (Fig. 7) found in the coastal areas of the Kongo date to at least 800 AD (MacGaffey 1986:15).

DiKenga and The Ankh:

Kongo practitioners will use and invoke the diKenga in myriad ways. According to Thompson, someone may invoke the powers by standing upon the diKenga to “take an oath or to signify that she or he understands the meaning of life as a process shared with the dead below the river or the sea” (Thompson 1983:28). One would stand on this cross to “swear that something is so” (Thompson 1983:44) on both God and the ancestors. Just as Fu-Kiau explains the parallels between the Egyptian Ankh symbol and the diKenga, Thompson explains further that in the Kongo cosmology, “the soul . . . is indelible. It cycles around this four-point structure, born with dawn in the east, reaching supremacy at the point of high noon, fading into the other world at the setting of the sun, and reborn, as in the body of a grandchild, as the sun also rises” (Thompson 1997:29).

The diKenga is more than just a symbol. What it often represents is the embodiment of a symbol. Wyatt MacGaffey (2014) explains that the Cosmogram is much more than a cross within a circle scratched into the ground. The movements of a

practitioner symbolize the crossing the Kalunga line into the land of the dead, performing a healing ritual and then returning back to the land of the living. In addition to marking a crossroads, in the Kongo worldview, the diKenga might also represent hands crossed in front of a person's body. This arm crossing has been shown on statuary that depicts human figures with their arms crossed in front of their chests. Often this arm-crossing is a sign of mourning, but just as the diKenga symbol has multiple interpretations, the arm crossing can also dictate a sense of respect or anguish: "You may do whatever you want, but we are not going to talk to you. Whatever the affair, whatever the argument . . . we will never speak again to you upon that issue" (Thompson 1983:121), so this cross-mark can also convey sentiments when an individual breaks a societal code or pact, etc.

Cave Archaeology:

The diKenga and related symbols can be found etched or drawn in caves and on rock formations across a vast area of Central Western. These Rupestrian designs (Fig. 5 and 6) "refer to an extended network of ritual acts and beliefs, to out-of-the-ordinary perception and knowledge, and to adaptively significant local information" (Davis 1984:18). In modern-day Bas-Zaïre, there are images in a necropolis that appear in contexts dated to before 1600. There is evidence of these caves being used as far back as 2000 years, as there are Neolithic remains that were found far back in the expanses of the caves that lead de Maret and others to believe they were the site of continual ritual practice (de Maret 1986:112). Two cave sites, Lovo and Mbafu, are among many caves that contain these signs. These designs are shown in the article on the radiocarbon dating of these signs by Heimlich et al. 2013.ⁱ

When the diKenga is invoked, the crossroad is opened. The spirits are invited to enter the land of the living while the living are allowed to interact with the spirit realm.

One needs to have mastery of this divine skill to communicate with the dead. In many cultures, both African-descended and other, there are often privileged societal roles for individuals who have special talents to communicate with the world of the dead. This lead to the creation of secret societies. It has been shown that people still travel to these caves today to carry out sacred rituals. Since these caves were the site of the kimpasi rituals, the authors concluded that these rituals could have indeed taken place here.

Kimpasi Ritual:

The Kimpasi (kiMpasi) ritual is part of a very exclusive secret society. The chosen young female “novices” ceremoniously die, and afterwards are reborn, as indicated by the quadrants of the diKenga. During the Kimpasi, the *nkita* (*niKita*) or witches (*baKita*) were said to ritually eat the novices, whose corpses were laid before the initiatory mother (Van Wing 1938:195-6). This can be taken to be a transformation of the Kongo cosmological belief that novices died, albeit symbolically, at the hands of the *nkita*. After the novices' symbolic death, the ceremonial fire was fed with a ritual wood that was normally used to smoke corpses and was handled only by certain female community members (Makenda 1971:6,30).

As stated previously, a key indicator of Kongo religious practice is the N’Kisi, and in fact, there was an N’Kisi discovered in the wall of one of the caves near to where the crosses had been etched. The results of this discovery have not been published yet and no date horizons for deposition have been given (Heimlich et al. 2013). The fact that these caves were sacred ritualistic spaces and contained the sign of the cross, and that this symbol was used in the rituals therefore indicates that the symbol of the cross was likely significant to the society and more certainly, among the religious elite. The proximity of the N’Kisi to the cave etchings also highlights the close relationship between the

invocation of the diKenga and the use of the N’Kisi to manipulate the spirits. One question that may never be answered is whether or not the symbol held meaning to the baKongo before the Portuguese arrived in the late 15th century.

Kongo Rupestrian Designs/ Rock Art and Engravings:
Archaeologist Jose Redinha (1948) was the first person on record to attempt to interpret what the cave inscriptions meant. He spoke with elders from the area where the rock carvings had been made and they gave an interpretation consistent with those of the Kongo Kingdom, that they were used for the Kimpasi ritual.

In 1964, in the rock cave at Lovo, Paul Raymaekers and Hendrik van Moorsel documented 682 different designs in 52 different locations throughout the cave (Raymaekers and Moorsel 1964:84). The cruciform figures found in the cave complex symbolize both humans and the cosmos through which each individual moves (MacGaffey 2000:119). Based on these analyses of the rupestrian designs in the caves (Fig. 5 and 6), Raymaekers and Van Moorsel hypothesized that these inscriptions possibly represented a code or “language”, based on the fact that there are only a few symbols used that are repeated over and over again (Raymaekers and Van Moorsel 1964:21).

There are additional cave sites with inscriptions that are being investigated. The etchings at Lovo (Fig. 5,6 and 8) have been mentioned numerous times, most famously by James Tuckey in the late nineteenth century, but the age of these other etchings has not been concretely determined and these etchings have not yet undergone rigorous archaeological testing. The art that is associated with the Lovo, Tovo and Nkamba caves can be seen in a very large geographic area stretching over 400 square kilometers, from Kinshasa on the Atlantic seaboard and from the northern edge of Angola all the way

through to Southern Congo-Brazzaville. In our modern era, this area around the caves is now inhabited by the Ndibu people, who are descended from the baKongo. The etchings are found not only in the caves, but also all over the limestone ledges and outcroppings. The Lovo Massif complex has over 102 sites, and contains 16 caves that contain some kind of decoration, although this number includes a few that have been rediscovered. Hopefully, these newly discovered caves will be radiometrically tested soon. The Lovo Massif contains the highest density of rupestrian designs in the area.

In a study released in 2013, Heimlich et al. discuss the results of the radiocarbon dates for the cave complex at the Lovo massif and in a newly discovered cave nearby in Tovo. This study marked the first radiocarbon dating of the site. The caves were used for rituals through the beginning of the twentieth century. The earliest of the radiocarbon dates for the specimens they chose to test was circa 1480. (Heimlich et al. 2013:1385-1388). This coincides with the initial stages of the Portuguese colonization and subsequent destruction of the local culture and society, which began after 1482 (The date Diego Cão first reached the Congo Estuary). There is a possibility that some of the ‘X’ or cross-like designs (Fig. 5) in the cave that were not yet tested could be older.

Hopefully, analysis of many more of the rupestrian designs (Fig. 5,6 and 8) will be carried out so that these questions can be answered definitively.

Other Kongo Cultural Markers:

In addition to the permutations of the diKenga throughout the African Diaspora, the Kongo cultural group has other visible cultural markers in their production of terracotta statuary (Fig. 20), stone, cloth, textile and wood production along with their use of proverbs. These diKenga also appear on Kongo Funeral *diboondos* or *nzungu-zi-n’kisi* a “cooking vessel for sacred medicines that has cosmogram-like designs on them

(Thompson 1986:84). The diamond pattern found in Kongo pottery, masks and other creative arts are thought to represent “the natural law of procreation, speech/language, creativity, motion, etc. . . . Bantu industry of art and weaving, is a focus on life, it’s a reproductive web” (Fu-Kiau 2000:143). Since the Kongo believe the soul resided in the forehead, it is for this reason these diamond pattern motifs can often be found on baKongo masks. The masks worn in ceremonies are considered to contain a spirit and when a person dons the mask, they are “no longer [themselves] but an incarnation of the spirit” (MacGaffey 1998:203). For another neighboring group, the Lwena, the symbol is represented as a starburst or asterisks. This is not unlike the starburst pattern that was found under the Lott farmstead floor and on the top bowl of the cache at Carroll House in Annapolis, Maryland. These New World findings will be discussed in the following chapter.

Further tying the Kongo culture to New World practices, in 1967, Hauerstein observed people of the tribes of the Chokwe, Ovimbundu, Humby “et ethnies apparentées” using symbols that are very similar to the diKenga. These disparate locations in different regions of Central and Western Africa show just how far the meaning and representation of these signs have traveled. The Mbundu are a modern-day culture with symbology related to the Kongo. In another example of a symbol with multiple meanings, the word in Mbundu for the cosmogram is *okupindkisa* and translates to *croiser* in French – equivalent to the English verb “to cross” – but another translation is “to accuse” (Hauerstein 1967:44). It is known that the Kongo people would stand on a diKenga in order to take an oath or make a pledge, and as described previously, the diKenga also signifies mourning as well as people’s dissatisfaction with another individual; the crossed

arms of a statue are thought to indicate, “You may do whatever you want, but we are not going to talk to you. Whatever the affair, whatever the argument . . . we will never speak again to you upon that issue” (Thompson 1983:121).

Hauerstein also found that while the cosmogram would be used in a variety of instances, to him, they all appear to do with “equity” and “justice”. This facet of the cosmogram’s symbolism has particular significance in contexts of enslaved and formerly-enslaved Africans. Perhaps this was a way for the enslaved to envision their freedom at the end of this life as they move into the next realm, or perhaps free of their bondage within their lifetime (Hauerstein 1967:89). The diKenga may also then represent hope, intimations of truth or as a way of helping to manipulate their future, and envisioning escape and freedom.

The Chokwe are another modern cultural group who are also thought to be culturally derived from the baKongo as well. There are countless crosses reminiscent of the diKenga that to be found in the Voodoo Chokwe traditions from present-day northern Angola (not to be confused with Haitian Voodoo). The Chokwe version of the diKenga is an interlaced version of the crosses, and these designs used are more similar to the petal and flower motif or other rounded-off shapes that are found in the background of the Benin bronzes. The flower-like shape is also found in the drawings made by Hauerstein (1967) upon his visits to Central Africa. The flower petal design as described above could be related in meaning to the asterisk symbols or the use of the multi-armed “baptismal cross”, which has been linked to fertility and reincarnation (Kreamer 2012).

The idea that this cross mark as a symbol can have multiple meanings makes the research on this symbol that much harder. Fig 96 in Thompson 1986:120 indicates an

incised 'X' on the top of a hat that indicates "sign of sorrow and hope for renewal of the person's life" (Thompson 1983:120). Perhaps these items were left as a way to cleanse and renew individuals' outlook on life. It has been shown contemporaneously in areas of Angola that claws can also be positioned in a manner that signifies the four main portals of existence as symbolized by the diKenga, where the claws have been placed in the four quadrants of the sun in the creation of a diKenga or other ritual placement. Hauerstein also found that females wear hats with this cross design on the top during certain initiation rites (1967:39). He noticed this in Humbi people in a ceremony called "ondonga" and with the baLuba. Many masks of the Chokwe people have the diamond pattern on the forehead of the mask related the aforementioned Kongo belief that the soul is located in the forehead.

On wood sculptures created by the Tabwa, another modern-day cultural group believed to have descended from the baKongo, both the male and female representations include crisscrossing line patterns all over the body. There is also an asterisk design over the female's abdomen, which could perhaps represent fertility (Kreamer 2012:143). This is similar to the smelters that were thought to be constructed by the Tabwa in the shape of a female abdomen. Based on the Kongo views on iron and metallurgy described above, these would have invoked sentiments of fertility as well.

Cemeteries:

In Kongo Cosmology, cemeteries are a crossroads between the worlds of the living and the dead, as represented through the diKenga. For the baKongo, "the cemetery is not a final resting place. It is a door (*mWelo*) between two worlds, "a threshold marking the line between the two worlds of the living and of the dead, circumscribed by the cosmic journey of the sun . . . At midnight in our world of the living, the sun is

believed to be shining on the dead.” (Thompson and Cornet 1981:88). It would make sense then, since the world of the living is partially controlled by the dead, that the living should call on their recently deceased ancestors to provide support in daily activities would center on the cemetery. Due to this reversal of day and night, many Kongo inter their dead just after sunset, so that they might wake at daybreak for their first day in the world of the dead. As in many parts of Central Africa, the morning mist is thought to be the cooking fires of the dead (MacGaffey 1986:48).

In the Kongo cosmology, spirits inhabit the earth below our feet and there are spirits in all bodies of water. Because there are spirits everywhere, the items placed into the N’Kisi activate and exert a degree of control over the spirits who can then be enticed to do the bidding of the living. *Simbi* are the spirits of the dead who can be activated through the use of an N’Kisi, which is a sacred composition of objects in a certain formation or arrangement. Each item and its association with other items allow an individual to control these spirits, and persuade them to carry out whatever work is required or to cancel out the work of another individual who is using the spirits to control others. Individuals might create their own N’Kisi, but most people would consult a professional. *Banganga* are the Kongo spiritual practitioners, those who the Europeans may have referred to as “witch doctors”. In addition to creating and activating N’Kisi, these Banganga also performed other private healing and divining rituals for individuals. As will be shown later in this dissertation, graveyard dirt is important in many Kongo-descended spiritual practices in the New World, possibly including the Lott Farmstead spiritual cache (Fig. 28).

The N’Kisi:

“N’Kisi is the name of things we use to help a man when he is sick and from which we obtain health; the name refers to leaves and medicines combined together. ... an N’Kisi is also something that hunts down illness and chases it away from the body. Many people therefore compose an N’Kisi ... It is a hiding place for people’s souls, to keep and compose in order to preserve life.”

(Nsemi Isaki, Cahier 391, as translated by Laman:1967)

N’Kisi (also spelled nKisi or nkisi) also means “healing medicine”, but the components of each N’Kisi are different, as each was assembled for a specific reason for a specific person or people. While the ingredients for the N’Kisi varied, “what remained constant was a relationship of metaphorical elements to elements metonymically representing the dead (usually earths) and possible also representing the person to be affected by the charm (MacGaffey 2000:143). In the Lott House cache, a hand-sewn pouch (Fig. 28 and 29) containing soil was found. This pouch may be related to this powerful representation of spirits. According to Fu-Kiau, an N’Kisi is constructed to cure, to care for, or to heal. The essential parts of any N’Kisi are *maTadi* (minerals), *biMbenina* (plants) and *bulu* (animals) because they surround and form the basis of life for the Kongo people (Fu-Kiau 2001:37).

The N’Kisi can be a spirit container, medicines, or a wooden sculpture that contains or is covered in such medicines. The N’Kisi are never referred to as though they are people, although spirits are frequently referred to as such (Van Wing 1959:383). “The word N’Kisi never means spirit, genie nor any analogous being. It means simply the artificial object in which there ‘is’ a spirit dominated by a man. I say ‘is’ because the Blacks use no other word; they do not say inhabited by, incorporated in contained in, etc. ... because a spirit may settle in a tree as ghosts do, without making a tree an N’Kisi”

(Van Wing 1959:383). In the Kongo worldview, a spirit can be contained in anything: a living person, an N’Kisi, a mask, a grave, or a statue (MacGaffey 1998:203).

One of the issues with a western understanding of an N’Kisi is that to the baKongo, this collection of objects is conceptualized as if it is in motion, just as each individual is in motion on their personal voyage through the diKenga. For those who view these seemingly still objects in a museum (or archaeology lab), Minkisi “are usually looked at only in some kinetic context; they are thus best compared with a kinetic art such as ballet” (MacGaffey 1988:202).

For practical reasons, the actual material in the N’Kisi is synecdoche, that is, a part stands for the whole: the beak for the bird, the leaf for the tree, and so on. Much of the work of the *nganga* in preparing medicines consists of scraping off (*teba*) small portions of plants and other substances to be included in a bundle or medicine pack (MacGaffey 1989). The components are symbolic; the actual items are not as important as their intended use. This concept is important as we compare objects present in various purported ritual caches.

The objects that are incorporated into an N’Kisi are often commonplace items, and these items may be repurposed from other activities. It is the combination of the different items that will influence: soil from a gravesite, which is believed to be as-one with the spirits of the dead or other location, along with seeds, claws, knives, stones, crystals and other spirit-banishing objects (Thompson 1983:37.) Many of the objects described by Fu-Kiau (2000) in Central Africa have been found in spiritual caches in the New World including the Lott Farmstead. Locally found objects may have been substituted in composing an N’Kisi since certain items would have been extremely

difficult to acquire in the New World, especially by the enslaved. In the enacting of a ritual, it is more the intent or what an object represents that is important, rather than the items themselves (Thompson 1983:39). The use of N’Kisi in the former Kongo kingdom were so commonplace that “formerly it was custom in many villages to keep *N’Kisi a babonsono* (a basic medicine bundle) from which any passing nganga could replenish his stock of essentials, a sort of magical minimart” (MacGaffey 1986:145).

Inside and around the N’Kisi, are placed items of importance. Objects resting on the earth tell the spirit what to do. In the case of the cache found in the Lott garret (Fig. 28), it may have made matters much easier if we knew the way in which the items had been laid out in the Minkisi. Also, there may have been multiple caches that were placed in the garret rooms at the Lott House that were not discernable to the initial investigators. Unfortunately, the records from this discovery exist but were unavailable for this investigation. The original layout of the objects could only be determined through a few photographs of the original deposition. If we had more information, we might be able to determine what objects were meant to direct the spirits contained in the cache, including sachet of dirt (Fig. 29). This will be discussed in detail in chapter six.

Mirrors and Other Reflective Things:

Mirrors are an important part of more modern nKisi, and it is believed that mirrors attract spirits, just like white objects do. The Kongo and several other groups believe that the spiritual world is a very bright place where light is reflected everywhere, so it is believed that light colored materials, such as porcelain or mirrors, as well as the lantern glass found among the Lott cache are used in part of the N’Kisi to attract the spirits to the assemblage of items so that it can be activated to carry out the practitioner’s

wants. It is a common superstition in Central Africa today where “if you look in a mirror at a coffin you may see the soul of the deceased sitting on it” (MacGaffey 2000:53).

Iron:

It is believed that the metallic items that were used in prehistoric times would have been equated to superhuman or other-worldly powers. As described in the previous chapter, the Tau symbol in Egypt indicated a connection between the blacksmith and the divine, so it was believed in the Kongo cosmology as well. According to Fromont, the metalworkers would have been part of an elite class of artisans. In researching the mines used for religious artifacts, he found that they were kept a secret, as the entire process of metallurgy was a small subset of the population (Fromont 2011:114). Since the Kongo culture was known for their smelting and iron working abilities, it is interesting to note that in many New World areas, marooned individuals were able to actively resist capture by slavers in part because of their abilities to make iron implements and other weapons. While beyond the scope of this research, it would be interesting to see if a connection between maroon societies and Kongo metallurgy and metalworking can be made.

Even into the early twentieth century, iron – specifically the anvil and the power of the anvil to shape the iron – was connected to the chief of a Kongo district. According to De Maret, “among the Bantu peoples generally . . . the ritual metaphor for a chief was often an anvil” (De Maret 1985:80). The spiritual caches found both in Central Africa and the New World have contained similar items. Metal is often one of the chief components, specifically iron in the form of axe heads, nails and pins. The Lott cache contains a few square-headed nails that appear to date to 1810 or later. It is possible that these nails were not actually part of the Lott cache, and ended up under the floorboards through other means. This will be discussed in detail in chapter six.

The use of iron as an apotropaic agent is widespread globally among different cultures over time. Many cultures on the African continent share this belief, such as the Swahili along the Kenyan coast. There is pottery with diamond patterns found in the coastal areas of the Kongo that date to at least 800 AD (MacGaffey 1986:15). There are instances of Chokwe Iron Smelter Furnaces being circled at the midsection with white chalk, the white color again possibly denoting reverence to the ancestors and to the idea of smelting as a process of rebirth (Herbert 1993:41), which aligns with the ideas about reincarnation represented by the diKenga; and how a spirit lives and dies multiple times on its journey through the Kalunga. The use of chalk to create designs is a cultural practice that was passed down into many African-descended ritual practices.

Animal Sacrifices:

In ritual caches that have been found both in Africa and the New World, bones are a consistent inclusion. Pigs and chickens are frequently the sacrificial animals of choice for Kongo practitioners, since the pig is thought to be the ultimate good food and the chicken symbolizes the soul or spirit of a person because they fly around just as spirits do (MacGaffey 1986:133). The bones of carnivores are thought to intend power and strength (Hilton 1985:67).

Dirt:

Many Kongo ceremonies use dirt, particularly dirt from a gravesite. Burials have special meaning to the baKongo. To the Kongolese, the cemetery simply represents a portal to the land of the dead, crossing the Kalunga line. In Haitian Voodoo and other New World expressions of this cultural belief, dirt from a graveyard can be very powerful. As we will see in a following chapter, the Lott House Cache contained a hand stitched sachet of dirt, found to be different in composition to the dirt which was

collected from around the cache in the floorboards. This will be discussed in detail in chapter six.

General Requirements of an N’kisi:

It is generally a combination of three items:

Something to identify the person

Hair, small possession (modified button)

Something allied to a wish

An example of what *may* be combined in an N’Kisi that reference the diKenga:

White clay/ash for purity of Godhead

Quartz/mica/mirror reflective as in watery boundary

Seashells/nutshells containers of life and spirit

Bird skulls/feathers/connotation of flight

Animal claws/teeth for forcefulness

Clinging vines/roots: to bind to malevolent spirits

Public N’Kisi: protect villages

Private N’Kisi: houses

For an example: Following Thompson (1983):

Bent pin to cure rheumatism;

Crab claw for strength

Something to contain the spirit:

Crystal, red cloth, mirror fragment, white ceramic, graveyard dirt, white powder

Other African ‘Crosses’:

Research shows “striking similarities in the philosophy, cosmology and cosmogony of the Kongo and their neighbors” (Martinez-Ruiz 2012:18). It has been stated that the word Kongo can be interpreted to mean “very large” (MacGaffey 1986) and the main cultural group from which all others came from may actually be the baSundi (MacGaffey 1986:23). Adding yet another layer of confusion, these groups have multiple spellings for their names (as recorded by speakers of different European languages) and when reading literature about these groups in other languages, they are often very different to the spelling or pronunciation of the name in English (Dapper

1685). Other related or descended groups (and different spellings) include the baBwende, baVili, baLwangu, baKunyi, baKamba, muNkenge, baBembe, baYaka, baLadi, baTeke, baKunyi, nDembu, baPende, baLuba, baLunda, baKuba, (FuKiau 1969) Tabwa, dumbu, Zombo, Yaka, Sundi, Ladi, Bwende, Kamba, Kunyi, Vili, Tsangi, Nzabi, Ndasu, Mbamba, Kuta, Wundu, and Punu (MacGaffey 1986).

As discussed previously, while many anthropologists are claiming that the incised 'X' called the diKenga came from the baKongo people, the form of the incised 'X' can be found in other areas of Africa as well. Furthermore, the timeline of these relics is blurred, because it is unknown if any of the 'X's found in other areas, such as the 'X's found on the Edo or Benin brass and even Sumerian sun circles, have ritual or spiritual connections to the Kongo symbols. While this dissertation focuses on the continuation of Kongo culture and spiritual practices, in general "the worldview of Westerners recognizes the diversity of remote ancestors (gods) and ancestors of direct family lineages as spirits who look after the concerns of their descendants moving on the plane of the living" (Herskovits 1958:71).

Dahomeans, another Western group from modern-day Benin, also make their own kind of rudimental cosmogram or Vévé, also called *Amijé*. These are made by drawing concentric circles in specific orders of color on the ground (Thompson 1996:44). In Africa and African-descended groups, almost every cultural group has its own version of the crossroads god. Legba, Ellegua, Elegbara, Eshu, Exu, Nbumba Nzila, and Pomba Gira are African and African-diaspora names (in several languages) for the spirit who opens the way, guards the crossroads, and teaches wisdom. In a number of places of the

New World, many of these names for the spirits were retained in the permutations of this core belief. This information will be covered more in depth in a following chapter.

This evidence of the use of a common symbol across space and time possibly demonstrates that either there was crossover between individuals from different African ethnic groups during or after the Atlantic Passage, or the sign of the diKenga was significant to the practice of rituals in other cultures, in addition to the Kongo, before and during the time of European contact. Most likely, it is some mixture of the two.

There are many theories as to which ethnic groups were brought to the New World colonies. In addition to the baKongo people, the Fon of Dahomey and the Yoruba of Nigeria made up high percentage of the people who moved through the cogs of the slave trading system. A similar symbol to the diKenga or Yowa is used by individuals who descend from the area currently occupied by Nigeria known as the Yoruba. These cultural groups, or the individuals from these cultural groups who happened to survive the Atlantic passage and subsequent transport to other places; also had similar cultural symbols (Dossar 1992:8).

For example, in Haiti, scholars believe that the tradition of voodoo comes from the Fon ethnicity. This is based on a British report from 1789 that approximated 10,000-12,000 people were exported from Dahomey each year (Jahn 1989:29). The accuracy of this 1789 report may never be verified. The rituals of Santeria, practiced in Cuba, as well as Puerto Rico, are often performed in *Locumi*, also called *Habla Congo* (“Congo Speech”). It has been reported that this is also linked to Yoruba, however a possible connection between the name Locumi and uLukwami, a tiny language in the lower Niger valley of Nigeria, should be an area of future research.

Additionally, the rituals carried out in the Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico resemble voodoo in many of the ceremonial practices. Therefore, it is believed that many Afro-Cubans and Puerto Ricans originate from Yorubaland (Jahn 1989:62).

Additionally, there are practices and symbols used in both Haiti and Cuba that use symbols that could be permutations of the diKenga or the ideology of a crossroads in the form of an 'X'. The use of these symbols is often part of a more complex design with multiple significances, such as the Voodoo Vévé symbols (Fig. 67). Additionally, if one were to travel to Nigeria today, one would be able to see many symbols of the cross that appear in contexts not necessarily linked to Christianity. The incised cross design shows up on quite a bit of Yoruba artwork and ceremonial objects, as well (Kreamer 2012:224).

The Ifa:

Ifa (or *Afa*) is a cosmological system and a form of symbolic divination that is practiced in parts of Western, including the ethnolinguistic and cultural groups of *Ewe*, *Fon*, *Yoruba*, *Edo*, *Ijo* and *Igbo* peoples of Togo Benin and Nigeria (Blakely 1994:101) among others. There is a parallel between the Ifa “*Deus de Bem e Deus de Mal*”, or Gods of Good and Gods of Bad (Blakely 1994:104-106), and Kongo concepts of *baKulu*, who are benevolent spirits thought to be ancestors to the living. Just as these spirits can be called upon and manipulated for gains through the use of an N’Kisi, *min ’kuyu* are the malevolent spirits who need to be banished and prevented from influencing the lives of the living through the use of an *N’Kisi Wambi* (MacGaffey 1988: 64).

Yoruba divination boards are used in ceremonies that ask spirits for guidance about many issues. These boards have four cardinal points, just like a diKenga does. Much like the Kongo cosmology, in the Yoruba ideology, the world is split between the

male and female worlds, similar to how the Kalunga line separates the land of the living from the land of the dead in Kongo Cosmology. In either worldview, one must pass through the crossroads in the journey through life to death and beyond (Wescott 1962).

The *Orita Meta* is a Yoruba cosmological junction (or crossroads) where three roads meet. Yorubas believe the spirit of the deity *Eshu* is watching these crossroads, and so practitioners often leave sacrifices and other offerings at crossroads to appease Eshu, just as one would do for the Bisimbi in the Kongo.

Pottery:

While the debate over the timeframe in which the diKenga was first used in Africa and whether or not it predates the spread of Christianity to the area may never have a resolution, there is possible evidence that these symbols predate the arrival of Christianity. One piece of evidence that the symbol of the 'X' may have been used by the Kongo cultures before the arrival of the Europeans is through the dating of pottery designs that date back to between the tenth and eighth century B.C.E. (Huffman 1989:160). *Naviundu* is the name given to a type of iron age pottery often found in funerary contexts with pottery designs that consist of "bands of diagonal hatching with pendant chevrons or triangles and bands of intertwined lines, triangles, diamonds, loops and panels" (Huffman 1989:162). This pottery technology spread through the central African geographic area, and has been shown to date from between 500 and 1400 B.C.E (Huffman 1989:165).

In the Bambara (or Bamana or Manding) cultural group in modern-day Mali, it is believed that in life, humans are composed of three parts. The soul *ni*, and the double *dya* and *tere*. Together, they comprise the life force, and the personality or character that a person possesses. When a person dies, the three parts become dissociated. The *tere*

becomes a spirit aspect that wanders the earth as it wishes, while the *ni* goes to visit with the other ancestor spirits, and the *dya* enters the realm of the water (Gomez 1998:49).

This aspect of the Bamana spirituality is similar to the baKongo belief in the Kalunga, in that they both have a water barrier that separates the sphere of living from the sphere of the dead, and the human spirit has the capability to both roam the earthly plane and enter the water, or the realm of the ancestors.

Many Bambara art forms and symbols seem to resemble the diKenga. Much as the baKongo are in constant negotiation with the spirit world by invoking Minkisi, the Bambara used a *wanga*, which was a destructive amulet. The word for protective/destructive amulets in kiKongo is *wambi* (Thompson 1983:67). These words are similar ideologically and phonetically. (Fu-Kiau 2000:27).

Among the Asabi Igbo, the ground drawings captured in an illustration (Thompson 1997:30 figure 7) clearly show an encircled 'X' as a part of a larger design. Seeing as the Igbo are from Nigeria, 3,500km from the Congo river, this is a modern-day example of similarities between seemingly disparate cultural groups. There are several other cultural and ideological commonalities between groups in Central and Central Western, but additional investigation is necessary to determine links between these ideologies.

Adinkra Symbols:

There has been speculation among researchers that the Adinkra symbols from the Akan culture shown on textiles and other items in present-day Ivory Coast and Ghana may have pertinence to the Kongo diKenga. This type of cloth is important because it contains many Adinkra symbols. These include various forms of 'X's and other crossed lines, such as the Sankofa symbol, that could be construed as a starburst or asterisks and

are reminiscent of both the diKenga and the Benin symbols. However, it has been shown through surveys of Adinkra cloths in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that the cross-like symbols did not appear until the year 1817. As of today, the oldest known example of Adinkra art was found by Thomas Edward Bowdich in 1817 (Bowdich 1819:310; Rattray et al. 1927). While the production date of the example found by Bowditch is unknown, it is very possible that there just are not any surviving examples of this Sankofa symbol that date before 1817, and it is impossible to know for sure. It is gaps like this in ethnographic and historical research that can have consequences for scholars and the accuracy of their research. Furthermore, one needs to recognize the distorted, simplified and frequently devaluing accounts of African cultures that were written by many European-descended individuals prior to the mid-twentieth century.

Multiple Possibilities:

Even with the use of multiple lines of evidence, problems with research and context still exist. Researchers tend to be biased toward evidence that proves their theories, especially in the case of ethnicity or national origin. Most of the records have been destroyed of the civilizations that existed in Africa before European contact and the beginnings of the Atlantic slave trade, making it difficult at this time to further delineate what cultural group captive Africans belonged to or their origins.

While the baKongo and other neighboring cultural groups have different storied beginnings to their cosmologies, the central dogma of Central and Western religion is the belief that humans are inseparably tied to nature and that one almighty, supreme god being is supported by ancestral and spiritual beings. The human world intersects with the spiritual world at certain times and it is at these times that humans are given divine inspiration (Dossar 1992:5).

It is through the use of the diKenga symbol that the baKongo people and related cultural groups invoked their spiritual ideologies. However, continued investigations into this region will show that neighboring societies found the ideas of the crossroads presented by the diKenga significant to their own cosmologies, as well, and may use a symbol similar to a diKenga in their rituals. This fact adds to the cloudiness about the perhaps ancient and shared origin of these symbols and of the ideologies behind them.

This multivariate use of the cross symbol reminds us that one should be cautious assuming that these incised 'X's are in fact from Kongo-descended people, as they could have been invocations from other and earlier cultural groups. Archaeologists working in New World African-descended contexts should be extra cautious in suggesting 'Kongo Diaspora' because other groups could have been agents in the spread of this and other ideological symbols. Further research should be conducted to see if there is a connection between the spread of the Bantu languages and the ideologies represented by the diKenga. These disparate locations in Central and Western Africa show just how far the meaning and representation of these signs have traveled.

DiKengas have been found on pottery vessels in many locations throughout the world where African-descended individuals have been present, and in the low south of the United States in many areas of North Carolina and Georgia, there is a preponderance of locally crafted earthenware called Colonoware. This same 'X' design is found in artwork in Cuba and Puerto Rico, in the Voodoo ritual altars in Haiti, and in patterns on clay pipes found in African-descended contexts. The main reason that there has been such a connection between the X's found at sites where African-descended individuals have lived and West Central Africa is that this X design is found in many places in

Western Africa, in grave sites and in artwork. (Fu-Kiau 1999; Thompson 1986; Thompson and Cornet 1981).

The connection between the diamond patterns on the vessels and Central African artwork containing the diKenga both in Central Africa and the New World has been demonstrated in multiple works by anthropologist Fu-Kiau and by historian Wyatt MacGaffey. There are many permutations of the diKenga symbol found in cemeteries both in Central Western and in many places around the globe where Africans and African-descended individuals, both free and enslaved, have lived. These gravesite adornments can be found in places in the New World dating from the colonial period through present day. Some examples of these gravesite goods are found in the southern United States, the Caribbean and both Central and South America. These artifacts will be explored more in-depth in the following chapter.

3: Contact with the Europeans and Christian Hybridity:

Chapter Summary:

This chapter is about the evolution of the Kongo cosmology and changes to the Kongo social and political structures as the Europeans became more of an influence over the culture, economics and politics of the Kingdom and its surrounding areas, especially after the King of Kongo was baptized Catholic in 1491. The assumed efficacy with which Christianity took hold in the region will be discussed including, most importantly, the pre-existing Kongo diKenga symbol's similarities to the Christian Cross, and how certain tenants of Christianity aligned themselves well with the extant Kongo religious practices. This created ever-evolving hybrid ideologies and ritual practices as more people were taken from the African continent, and brought to new places and interacted with unfamiliar faces, languages and cultures.

Conversion and Orthodoxy:

Compared to Catholicism, African religions generally lacked systematic orthodoxy, defined in this case as a fixed set of rules and practices that are tied to a professional priestly class, which are tantamount in organized religion. Generally, there exists greater fluidity in who may function as a priest, especially the ability for followers to leave if a priest fails, or if an N'Kisi does not bring the end-result desired (Grille 2012:112).

A parallel between the adoption of Christianity by the Celts to the way it happened in the Kongo region will be explored. Because the Celtic Cross existed prior to Christianity, it was easy for Celts to continue practicing their Pagan faith. Their symbol

of the cross looked like the Christian one, so it went undetected (Jolly 1996:92). A similar hybridity occurred in the Kongo Kingdom, where many of the missionaries believed that the baKongo had converted, while many had just adopted the Catholic cross as their new diKenga (Fromont 2011). Currently, this concept is beyond the scope of this research, but is being investigated for future research.

European Contact:

While the Kongo Cosmogram resembles the Christian cross, it has been shown that The diKenga was used before the arrival of the Europeans (MacGaffey 2000: 8-11). While radiocarbon date investigations have shown that the cave etchings tested dated to approximately 1480 (Heimlich et al. 2013), these authors also admit that some of the etchings in the cave that were not tested could be significantly older (Heimlich et al. 2013). Since the historical records show that the Portuguese first arrived in the area of the Kongo Kingdom no earlier than the year 1481, this would mean that the Christian cross would have been integrated as a critical symbol in the Kongo worldview and spread through the region via rock carvings, pottery, funerary contexts and the like within a considerably short period of time. It would seem odd that such an important symbol would come to be used so frequently by the general population in just one generation, but there is an altar in Pompeii, Italy with a perfectly formed Christian cross that dates to 79 A.D which indicates that the cross symbols was in use in Italy within eighty years of the death of Christ, so it is possible for this Christian symbol to have spread rapidly, and therefore having rupestrian designs on cave walls within a few years of Euro-Christian contact could be possible.

The highest of all spirits to the Kongolese is named *Nzambi*. MacGaffey states that, "Christianity was understood as a new means of approaching the highest of all

spirits, Nzambi, whose existing representative, the king, felt that his powers were threatened when the missionaries arrived by the multiplication of the lesser spirits like shrines, and charms" (MacGaffey 1986:26). Because the Christian cross was very similar to the diKenga, "the Christian cross was easily integrated into Kongo religious practices as it had been a powerful indigenous emblem of spirituality prior to contact with the West" (Apley 1914:1).

Cross Before Christ:

One of the challenges of Kongo 'prehistory' is how we know if these are not just European Christian crosses or a Cosmographic representation that existed before the ideologies of Christianity were brought to the area by Europeans. If one were to investigate a modern-day cemetery in the Congo (former Zaire) or neighboring Democratic Republic of Congo, there are many crosses that seem Christian, but among them, there are some with subtle differences that indicate they may some of these symbols represent something different. Some of the crosses have a hole directly in the middle of the cross vertices. This hole represents "the parting of ways" to Thompson (1986). Some look exactly like a Greek cross (where all vertices are equal) except for the symbol of an "S", which may symbolize Simon Kimbangu, the last of the Kongo imperial leaders. Another interpretation is of a snake that sheds its skin or a *Simbi* (Fromont 2011). One of the forms of the diKenga often found includes an "S" in the center. This has been thought to allude to several different things in both Indigenous African and Christian thought: perhaps for St. Paul or the biblical snake of Moses held up. It is also thought to represent the word *Simbi* for a water spirit, or *se* the word for father. The multiple interpretations of this symbol also harken back to the idea of double entendres

and wordplay, but whichever interpretation one follows, “the *S* then stands for the mediated God-man relationship” (MacGaffey Kongo:120).

While it might be most tempting to say definitively that the inscribed ‘X’s are of African origin, there are multiple examples of pre-Celtic crosses having supernatural connotations that indicate the symbol of the cross held meaning to the Celts before Christianity arrived in the area. The same is possible in Central Africa. These Celtic magic symbols were crosses within circles, very similar to the design of the Kongo *diKenga*. The crossed silver coin, i.e. a coin with a heraldic cross in its design, is an element of critical importance in coin charms and one with apparent connections to a pre-Christian Celtic tradition. These cross charms were a Celtic practice that continues through the Christianization of England (Cunliff and Koch 2010:87). One parallel ritual practice between Africans and Europeans is the use of perforated coins as apotropaic devices. The European use of perforated coin charms can be traced back to nineteenth century England where their use was thought to cure epilepsy (Gutch 1901:172) among other things. More curiously however, is that this ritual practice can be linked to the Elvas district in Portugal where the practice of giving children perforated coins as protection from witches or spells dates back to at least the eighteenth century and continues through modern day (Gallop 1961:61). One crossed coin prized for its supernatural abilities is the elaborately designed “Lee Penny”, which has an image of the cross on the back. These examples of older Pagan beliefs echoing into Christian times are similar to the way in which the Christian cross became easily incorporated into the Kongo ideology. As for the debate about whether the Kongo *Dia diKenga* symbol existed before the arrival of Christianity, it should again be noted that the cross already

existed in Europe before Christianity. Seeing as the cross is a very widely used symbol across many continents, there is no reason to believe the symbol was not already part of the Kongo symbology. What is interesting about this connection is that the Portuguese were most often the first Europeans to have arrived in West and Central Africa, so perhaps it was the Portuguese who first brought the use of perforated coins as apotropaic devices to Africa as they were used in Elvas. More research into this phenomenon is needed.

It is the consensus of many scholars that the Kongo idea of the four positions of the sun predates the arrival of the Portuguese. According to Hauerstein (1967), perhaps the indigenous symbol of the cross made it easier for the Portuguese to transform or transfer the meaning of one indigenous ideology about the creation and composition of the world into a Catholic one. In an account by a Dutch trader dating to 1602, there is reference to children being adorned with different golden charms made of beads and small crosses (DeMarees 1987).

This African-derived religious system consisted of a malleable set of practices that varied from locality to locality, and would continue to absorb and incorporate cultural influences. Yet it was recognizable by practitioners as reflecting a common underlying understanding of the worlds of the living and the spirits. This symbology is present in neighboring cultures in Western as well. There are symbols that are crosses within circles that are part of the decoration on Benin Bronze and other art forms. While it is unknown what this symbol represented to the artisans who created it, it held some sort of importance to the people who created it, and most likely also held importance to those who viewed it.

Syncretism:

The theory of syncretism was first formulated by Herskovits (1966) and was used to explain how the process of intergroup contact leads to the transformation of some cultural practices and the retention of others. According to Herskovits, it would have been the essential cultural elements that would have survived. He also argues that the symbology that represents these cultural elements will also be retained if the symbols or practices were similar to the practices of their controllers. The bearers of a given tradition rarely acknowledge that it might be “syncretic”.

I am hesitant to use terms like creolization and syncretism, because these terms are generally used to indicate something impure and "the glib hallmarks of cultural analysts are almost never in the consciousness of the actors who supposedly perform" these actions (Janzen 2012:16). Syncretism can be construed a pejorative term that derides mixture, and presupposes "purity" in the traditions that combine.

Starting from the early moments of European contact, there exists much historical documentation of the Kongo and surrounding cultures. Antonio Cavazzi, an Italian missionary who wrote prolifically about the Kongo Kingdom in the fifteenth century, described the use of the diKenga as a way to increase the power an idol possessed.

Cavazzi described the use of the diKenga by the baKongo (Fig. 3) as a way to increase the power an idol possessed (Cavazzi, 1687). Following this example, it would make sense in the baKongo mindset that placing diKengas onto a crucifix would augment the power that the crucifix held in communicating with the heavens. In colonial-era Angola, according another missionary's diary, there is an example given of a time when two tribes made a treaty with each other and before doing so, constructed an x and stood upon it to take the oath as explained by Lewis (1902:548). “The Christian symbol . . .

besmeared with the blood of animals at the hands of the witchdoctors in the same manner as all their other charms” (Lewis 1902:547). From this quote we are unsure if Lewis had been commenting on an actual crucifix used for this purpose, or a traditional diKenga, but this difference most likely would not have held meaning to the practicing baKongo.

There are many similarities between Kongo religious ideology and Catholic ideology, which facilitated a quick “conversion” process for many in the Kingdom. The word conversion is in quotation marks because, while the missionaries believed that the baKongo had all converted, many may have simply adopted some of the Christian rituals into their cosmological ideologies. Both religions believe that the dead have another world to go to, whether it be heaven, hell or *mpemba*, on the other side of the Kalunga line. Both believe that the spirits of the other world have influence on ours and both hold water as important to their rituals. Both believe messages are communicated between worlds, often facilitated through someone like a priest, a saint or a *muNganga*. This is far from an exhaustive list, but it illustrates how certain ideological principles aligned with each other and combined with the idea that muKongo held that the “white” Europeans were returning to Africa from the land of the dead.

From the point of contact onwards, the European ships were called *baMindele*, which is the name supposedly given to “great ships like whales” (MacGaffey 2000:194). According to MacGaffey (1994) the Kongo worldview “included the belief that blacks, when they die, go to Europe or America, where they become white, and whence they may return to Africa as ancestors or ghosts, for good or evil purposes (MacGaffey 1994:245).

Because water was significant as the boundary between the living and the dead, as well as a place where one could interact with spirits in baKongo spirituality,

missionaries found that baptism was a particularly powerful ceremony to entice people to convert to Christianity (Thornton 1977:514). Since water rituals were used by the baKongo before the Europeans arrived, this could have just been a different way for a Kongo practitioner to achieve the same end.

Hybridization:

One can think of hybridization as one manifestation of a more open worldview. It is thought that the longer slaves were in contact with the European hegemonic forces, the less “African” they became. This theory can be disproven quite easily if one looks in the right places. While there were children born into slavery all the time, the demand for new labor from Africa increased from the beginning of the 1600s until the end of slavery in the early 1800sⁱⁱ. If there were more enslaved people being brought from Africa, then the “Africanisms” found in the archaeological and historical records from this time should have increased during this period, but this was found to not be the case in many site assemblages in the New World.

The mechanisms that are supposed to be at work in hybridization are highly complex and the dominant arguments are likewise intricate. While debated at length by many researchers, the discussion is beyond the scope of this thesis. What this information tells us is that the spiritual assemblages from different sites across the New World are highly variable, and perhaps other artifacts from the same contexts that were initially ignored need to be correlated in order to paint a clearer picture.

Taken by itself, the artifacts from enslaved contexts provides little information about the varied belief systems carried by the captive Africans. It is possible that the economic conditions of a particular location favored production and consumption of certain items well past the time when other parts of the originating culture or cultures

have disappeared or fused with others. Therefore, it is not the actual artifacts that are the most interesting, but the *nonmaterial* beliefs of people of African descent that might be inferred from such artifacts. Another example of this is in the study of African beads by Stine et al. (Stine, Cabak and Groover 1996). The fact that a given number of blue beads are found at a particular site conveys little about their cultural meaning. If, however, the beads were found in a burial context, such as was the case at the African Burial Ground in New York City, where it is suggested that they had been arranged in strands around the waist of a female with various other grave goods or offerings in association, and the way in which the individual was buried can be contrasted to contemporary European burial practices (LaRoche 1994), then the argument is much stronger. In this example, the beads are a part of a combination of attributes that point to a particular symbolic structure and a particular concept of the afterlife. This is not possible if there are only one or two artifacts found in the same context, or if there is only one attribute found at multiple sites, such as the incised 'X's on the bases of ceramic vessels.

African Christian Practice:

Many Central Africans practiced a form of Christianity that "allowed the Africans to retain their old cosmology, their old understanding of the structure of the universe and the place of the gods and other divine beings in it" (Thornton 1988:278). Just like others, the baKongo people picked and chose what parts of Christianity they wanted to use. While missionaries remarked at how many wooden crosses the baKongo people had made, and how people would often salute the cross by kneeling in front of it, it may not have been because they understood it as the cross that represented Jesus' Crucifixion, but instead perhaps was a new container for the N'Kisi (Hilton 1985:102). The missionaries were

intent on converting the baKongo by minimizing the traditional spiritual practices, but the use of the Christian cross actually reinforced the baKongo cosmology instead of destroying it. On the surface, it must have appeared to the missionaries that the proselytization was going well, but for many of the baKongo, it may have just been a different ritual practice with the same result: activation of a spirit in order to manipulate the world around them. For the baKongo, it was a combination of words, body movement and ritual deposit, whereas Christianity involved prayer and repentance.

There was a certain degree to which the Catholic Church was willing to accept hybridized concepts of Catholicism, including the Kikongo term Nzambi a Mpungu (Highest Nzambi) was used to translate God, where *Nzambi* ("Zombie" in the New World) refers to an ancestor or other deity (Thornton 1988:267). There are other examples of this occurring in Western as well. This is important to note so that it is understood by the reader that Christianity began to be hybridized the moment it began to take root in Africa, and it was not only through the Middle Passage that these transformations occurred.

Hybridization that occurred over the course of European Contact, the Middle Passage and in the New World can likewise be broken down in three stages: the hybridization that occurred at first European contact; then hybridization that occurred later at the various points each enslaved individual would have passed through on their journey to the New World; finally, as the ideologies as they transferred to future generations in the New World outposts that the enslaved found themselves.

The Crucifix:

It is believed that the Christian cross was seen by the baKongo as a type of N'Kisi, therefore making it easier for Christianity to spread. There are several examples

of crucifixes that have various Kongo elements from the early colonial period. Contained in the decoration of these crucifixes are several symbols from Kongo cosmology including the diamond shaped outline of the diKenga at the exact point on the cross where all four vertices meet, as well as an “Africanized” representation of the Virgin Mary that appears similar to figures found among the cave drawings of the region. There is also a diamond zigzag pattern above Jesus (Fromont 2011:120). The incised diamond pattern is similar to the patterns on pottery, textiles and cave etchings (Fromont 2011:118). These hybrid religious implements illustrate the difficulty one could have deciphering the meaning and time frame of the use of the Kongolese Cosmogram.

In baptism, the water symbolizes a renewal of the spirit in both Kongo and Christian religious practices. The ritual of baptism held extra meaning to the baKongo as Stuckey states “The staff-cross enables the deacon, as it did the baKongo king, to traverse the watery barrier-the horizontal part of the cross . . . to mediate between the world of the living and the dead” (Stuckey 1980:12). Since water was significant as the boundary between the living and the dead, as well as a place where one could interact with spirits in baKongo spirituality, missionaries found that baptism was a particularly powerful ceremony to use to entice people to convert to Christianity (Thornton 1977:514).

Bakongo Adapting the Rituals:

Ceremonies and rituals are not standard, unchanging universal practices. Rather, believers or servants of spirits choose what actions they perform. Individuals adopt and incorporate new elements in ways that do not fundamentally disturb or disrupt a core set of practices and beliefs. Indeed, all religions could be said to be constantly in the process of slow changes along with the cultures from which they spring. Resonance and recognition are reinforcing processes, not agents that necessarily overturn or discard.

Even fusion, which I would argue is rare, represents a joining of elements conceived by believers as identical. The process is always an additive one, however, where an eclectic sensibility is carefully controlled by a dominant belief system and involves elements of power. Religious systems do not appear to meet and merge, like tributaries joining to form a great river. Instead, one overtakes the other.

Central Africa, Western and Central Western:

There is much confusion in regard to naming geography on the African continent and several contemporary scholars use different labels for the same regions of the African continent. The use of the term “Central Africa” could be anywhere between Lake Chad and the Zambezi river, yet it is use often in reference to the Kongo area. Central Western Africa specifically refers to the area of the former Kongo Kingdom (See Fig. 2). West Africa relates specifically to the areas of Cameroon westwards. In Western, the use of prayer and sacrificial offerings to the ancestors helped them carry out the wishes of the living, and in return, the ancestors helping the living would in turn strengthen and stabilize the land of the dead (Maupoil 1943:57). In Central Africa, there was more concern with limiting the interaction of parallel worlds. It was better to appease the spirits of the ancestors and then use the power against their enemies (MacGaffey 1986:170).

Descendants in many African descended cultures might blame bad things happening in the world of the living on the ancestors. As various cultures interacted, there were commonalities that would have resonated with them. For example, the idea of ancestors permeating every aspect of baKongo life would have echoed the belief of the Gede (or Guede) people from Dahomey that they had come from the depths of the earth.

The Slave Trade:

While not covered much in this chapter, the decimation of the African continent by the Europeans is unsurmountable. From the time of contact, many of the leaders of the Kongo secret societies were killed or imprisoned by the colonial powers. As a result, these secret rituals were pushed farther underground both for the people living in Africa or the Americas for generations (Fu-Kiau 2000:129).

Within 100 years of Diego Cão first coming ashore at the mouth of the Zaire (Congo) River in 1482, Kongo had lost a half-million people to slavers, and neighboring parts of Angola fully a million people or more (Davidson 1980:161). As Africans were captured and taken away from the communities, and societies came closer to collapse, the Simbi who were once seen as benevolent, began to be seen as evil, dangerous inhabitants of nature (Brown 2012:136). The details of the decline of the Kongo state have been discussed in many historical documents, some of which are included in the Bibliography for this thesis. While this history of destruction is beyond the scope of this research, the aftermath has created the subject of this dissertation. While the forced migration of millions of individuals to the New World destroyed the civilizations of Africa, it has created countless new hybridized communities in the New World. Through this, the legacy of the Kongo still continues. It is estimated that up to one-third of the present-day United States black population consists of descendants of individuals taken from the Kongo regions (Thompson and Cornet 1988:61).

4: New World Cosmograms:

Central Africans would have discovered new social identities beyond those local, and already multiple, ones along their tortured ways to the coast. Yoked together in slave coffles with others of unfamiliar linguistic and cultural backgrounds, they must have gained a sense of familiarity with one another and would have created alliances out of it, which Europeans labeled 'Congo' . . .

The slaves' further experiences of confinement during the Middle Passage and the specific circumstances they encountered in the Americas created changing incentives for Central Africans to draw on differing aspects of their home backgrounds as they searched for a morally restorative sense of humane community among themselves. The meaning of being 'Congo' in the Diaspora changed accordingly.

Joseph C. Miller (2002:42-43)

Chapter Summary:

This chapter will discuss how the enslaved baKongo were able to retain their core cosmological and spiritual beliefs through the Middle Passage and on to the captive labor situations in which they found themselves. This chapter will also speak about a few Western cultural continuities in the New World which are distinguishable in the archaeological and historical record.

While the diKenga symbol is definitely of Kongo origin, other neighboring cultures in both Central and Western have similar ideologies. When individuals from these different cultures were forced into slavery and had to interact with each other and had common enemies, partnerships were inevitable formed. These partnerships would encompass their spiritual ideologies, which would be shared with others over time.

New World Africans have different spiritual needs to those living on the African continent. In the New World, the captive Africans were cut off from traditional structures and mixed together, surrounded by Christianity and the whip. The gods

underwent changes on the slave ships, plantations and other forced-labor situations, and the celebrations went underground into song and dance and oral histories. If only one member of a family or community was captured, and was the only one who held certain religious beliefs or who spoke that particular language, then the practice of their rituals and the ideologies could easily become hybridized with the practices and ideologies of others around them.

Over the years, in trying to keep pace with ideologies of political correctness and consideration, researchers have used varied terms to describe folk ritual practices. In describing the ritual practices of African-descended traditions, some of these are Santeria, Candomblé and Haitian Voodoo. Each of these religions borrows their own beliefs and practices from Christianity (including Catholicism), Islamic, and other African beliefs to mix with their own African-descended beliefs (Neuwirth and Cochran 2000). This is not to be confused with other practices that do not follow any sort of hierarchical structure; such as Hoodoo rootwork and conjure (Hyatt 1978), which still use certain practices that have their roots in Christianity, Islamic and other African beliefs. Conjurations invoke non specific spiritual forces rather than individual named deities (Fennell 2000:297).

This argument can be extended to include further investigations into which ethnic group or geographic area in Africa the ritual or tradition came from. This research will be slow in coming, but is tantamount to our understanding the evolution of these rituals on the African continent. The analysis of these objects and their contexts should be examined to see if they would be relevant for other non-African ethnic groups and belief systems as well. Questions like these will help address the compartmentalization that is

often suffered in our field and others. It is necessary to challenge the unintentional yet persistent stereotypes that these practices were carried out only by African-descended individuals (Fennell 2000:284-285)

The Dikenga:

As described at length previously, the diKenga is a polyvalent symbol that is found all among the Kongo Diaspora in the New World. Anyone involved in the ritual knew the symbolic importance of the object being used, as is the case of those involved in the ritual at the Lott House where the cache under the floorboards was placed. While it will be treated as it was deposited all at once, it is possible that these Minkisi were renovated and replenished over time since it was common in the Kongo area for each village to have a little Minkisi-storage area where there were parts of N’Kisi ready to be used (MacGaffey 1986:145). Also, the possibility of multiple caches in the garret rooms at the Lott House are also a possibility.

In areas of western “Central Africa” [i.e. Central Africa or Central Western], depending on the author) once controlled by the Kongo and related groups, artifacts have been discovered that contain “small circular apertures around which even smaller circles have been incised emphatically. This pattern is said to suggest the movements of the followers of a buried person moving in a circle around his spirit” (Thompson 1983:121). This pattern could explain the meaning a starburst pattern held to a community member, and could be extended to explain parts of the caches found under the Lott floorboards and other New World sites.

Over the course of more than 300 years, these emblems of African spirituality have spread to three continents. These different representations of the diKenga in many locations in North and South America and the Caribbean give dimension to the creation,

transformation and destruction of identities. On both sides of the Atlantic, there were transformations of identity. The symbols present in artwork, caches and colonoware lead to a convergence because the core meaning that is most represented by the cosmogram was never taken away. The symbol of the diKenga prospered because the ideology was passed down from generation to generation. Just like a game of telephone, the message received begins to become less and less like the original at each subsequent generation, but unlike the game, what the symbol represents to each subsequent generation is still just as important.

In the New World, the African cultures were mixed together, but core beliefs about the cosmology of the world, and the use of a cross symbol as a portal to the spirit world were retained in many places where slavery brought captive individuals from Central Africa.

Origins of Captive Africans:

While it is believed that the majority of enslaved Africans imported to North America came from Central Western Africa, and from areas of Senegambia, Sierra Leone, Benin and Nigeria in West Africa (Gomez 1998:29), between 1675 and 1690, there was also an influx of enslaved people from the areas of Mozambique and Madagascar in South Eastern Africa, although by the turn of the eighteenth century, the numbers of individuals hailing from this side of the continent was limited (Gomez 1998:29). Because enslaved individuals did in fact come from many parts of Africa, it cannot be ascertained in which way their cosmologies diffused. The corncob (Fig. 30) DiKenga left at the Lott House functions just as other *ground blazons*; ritualistic designs created on the ground or floor, such as a Haitian Voodoo *Vévé* (Fig. 67), a Cuban *firma* in Palo Mayombe or *pontos riscados* (Fig. 68) in Brazilian Candomblé, along with other

symbols used in the varied spiritual practices of the Diaspora. If it were not for the items in the cache found next to the cosmogram, and it was not known that N’Kisi was a cultural symbol of the Kongo people, it would not have been possible to even hypothesize which part of Africa the cultural continuity originated from.

Permutations of The Signs of the Cross:

The symbol of the ‘X’ in African contexts is a cultural symbol that is thought to have originated in Western or west Central Africa, but now is found in many places across the globe. Cosmograms have been found in many of the places the African Diaspora has reached. Perhaps one of the reasons that it is difficult to separate African culture from African Traditional Religion is because religion is embedded in African culture (Onuzulike 2007).

While there are myriad forms of this cosmogram in the Kongo and its diaspora, they all have commonalities. In each of the permutations of this symbol found, there is an ‘X’ where four cardinal positions are indicated in the corner of each quadrant. The right side or easterly corner signifies the moment that the sun awakes in our world of the living; dawn or daybreak, the birth. The uppermost point of North is our noon, when it is the darkest in the land of the dead. This position represents the point that life in our realm contains the most vitality or power. Through changes, the next stage on the westerly far left indicates death, the setting of the sun, the end of a life (Thompson 1982:28). The bottom-most southern position of the sun is thought to indicate midnight in our world and noon in the land of the dead. Some permutations have circles at the ends of the vertices of the cross, indicating a person’s voyage through their life. It can be abbreviated into a personal and private meaning, so the way in which the X appears is variable. Sometimes it appears on a spoon, or a marble, or on the bottom of a plate, or in

the case of the Lott farmstead assemblage, in the arrangement of corncobs under the floorboards. This new, abbreviated use of a known core symbol can then be used to “express membership in social networks formed in new settings” (Fennel 2007: 27).

According to Linda Heywood (2014), the African-descended people who placed these objects under the floorboards were carrying out a ceremony that both created and remade identity. Each time a ritual is performed, the significance is unique and personal to each individual.

N’Kisi Composition:

Mark Leone and his colleagues have carried out perhaps the most extensive comparative analysis project on these hidden caches. In total, this research team has corroborated evidence contained in these caches, all of which came from sites with enslaved African contexts. According to Leone, “at about half of those sites, caches of artifacts have been found in the northeast corners of workrooms, under hearths, or in root cellars, suggesting a pattern of burying ritual objects.” (Saraceni 1996). It goes without saying that there were certainly many more of these caches that probably went unnoticed in archaeological excavations and the demolition of houses and structures from the early to mid colonial time period, and it is possible that there were additional caches at the Lott House as well.

The curator of African Art at the Baltimore Museum of Art, Frederick Lamp, states that the cache “positions in northeast corners and under hearths suggest a consistent, ritual use of the objects . . . that white stones were used in shrines in Western to venerate ancestors, who were thought to protect the community” (Saraceni 1996). The artifacts from the other caches that Professor Leone and his team researched may have been similar offerings.

It is painful to think of all the caches such as these that were discarded throughout the years because researchers did not know what they had found. Jessica Neuwirth, archaeologist with the Historic Annapolis Foundation's explanation is concise: "People would certainly find this stuff if they were looking . . . If you look at site reports, finds have been recorded, but archaeologists don't know what to do with it" (Saraceni 1996).

As the African civilizations were destroyed by slavery, people were forced to leave their ancestral lands and also their ancestor's graves, so once they were outside of their ancestor's influence, the people used Simbi as their only way to communicate with the land of the dead (Brown 2012:127). These spiritual portals became even more important in the practice of spirituality. African religions and spiritual practices were hidden underground when Christianity was forced upon the African people. This underground ritual performance therefore can be seen as active resistance against European oppression.

Stemming from the Kongo creation of Minkisi, this concept of creating a spiritual container or cache can be seen in many places all over the New World. There have been many caches of items found to have connections to the baKongo people (e.g., Brown 1994; Ferguson 1992, 1999; Franklin 1997; Galke 2000; Leone and Fry 1999; McKee 1995; Patten 1992; Samford 1996; Wilkie 1995, 1997; Young 1996, 1997).

In African-descended populations there is evidence that people used "everyday objects charged with and imbued with attributes for supernatural control" (Davidson 2004:23). A cache is made up of three basic kinds of items: something that is a personal belonging, something that represents a malady, and something to hold a spirit. (Saraceni 1996) These seemingly non-related items are purposefully placed somewhere together.

These collections of items are strikingly similar to caches that are found in regions of Central and Western Africa, except that they are made of local items. In several caches from the Annapolis area, these Minkisi contained things such as “little animal bones, little skulls. I think those are peach pits.” (Saraceni 1996). Interestingly, there were also peach pits found as components of the cache at the Lott farmstead.

New World Caches:

Similar caches of personal artifacts or “small finds” such as those in the Lott House have been identified at several contemporaneous sites known to have had enslaved African occupants in the Mid-Atlantic region. Just as in the Lott House, similar small caches have been encountered in the northeast corners of rooms, as well as under hearths and door sills in many sites of African-descended individuals; captive, freed and otherwise.

Based on comparative research, the conclusion is that these caches are archaeological remains associated with spiritual practices of the sites’ enslaved African-descended occupants. Comparative research (Thompson 1981,1983; MacGaffey 1997,1998) has revealed notable similarities between these caches to Western African *N’Kisi* (plural: *Minkisi*), which are placed in ritual as offerings to or protection from the spirit world (Galke 2000). Consequently, based on this research, it is believed that the artifact caches in the Lott House were purposefully deposited for similar reasons.

There are objects that appear over and over again in contexts of African-descended individuals. Crystals, reworked ceramic and glass objects, pierced shells or coins and items marked with an incised ‘X’ on their own are significant indicators of occupation by African-descended individuals. Other objects such as iron nails, shells, ceramic and glass sherds, blue beads, arrowheads, coins, bones, buttons and bottles are

meaningful when found in certain contexts and combinations (Ferguson 1999; Jones 2000; Klingelhofer 1987; Neuwirth and Cochran 2000; Russell 1997; Wall 2000; Young 1996). Some researchers question these assumptions about the occupant's ethnicity based solely on these indicator objects without other proof (Baumann 2004, Fennell 2000:284-285). The idea of possible Native American caches, which are not addressed in depth in this thesis, adds another layer of difficulty to determining ethnic composition of individuals.

One particularly large cache that was found at a site in Annapolis, known as Randall's Tavern. It was found at the base of a back stairway, often used by the servants. This cache holds additional significance to the research on the Lott House cache because, as far as research can show, this is the only other cache that has been found and documented in the New World that also contained peach pits (Leone 2008). It is interesting that enslaved Africans in sites separated by more than 300 miles and an unknown period of time would place the same objects into a cache. While one might see cowrie or other spiral shells in Africa, other items such as the oyster shells were used in the Lott House cache. A cache was meant to trap spirits and use them for healing or protection (Leone 2008). The spirit has to do what is commanded via the incantations and objects placed within the N'Kisi. That is significantly different to either Protestant or Catholic Christianity. However, it does mean that the *bisimbi* spirits, like the Holy Spirit, are far more active in people's lives than they would be in the European (Catholic) interpretation.

N'Kisi Placement:

Many African-descended ritual concealments are associated with areas that are transitory between the interior and the exterior of houses and other buildings. These

places include areas around and under hearths, within doorways and window frames, in concealed pits, and within chimneys. In the context of the Lott house, the ritual context is concealed under the attic floorboards. The dish with the inscribed X was also found along the edge of the stone kitchen house, perhaps placed purposefully as a protective charm at the building's entrance (See figure 3). Concealments and other rituals along thresholds were also significant in European folk practices (Eastop 2006, May 2000, St George 1998, Merrifield 1987). Thus, these locations should not be exclusively construed as pertaining to individuals of African descent.

White Items Calling to The Spirits:

In caches like the one in the Lott House Garrets, there are often several white colored items. "White is the color of ash of death and it leads the spirit and the spirit can be found following it or caught by it on its way home to the sea, the original place of birth of all of humanity" (Saraceni 1996). In the Lott House cache, there are several small fragments of a broken creamware vessel, that most likely served for this purpose as well.

Other Archeological Examples of African Material Culture In The New World:

The Kongo cultural continuities being addressed in this dissertation act as a rear view mirror that shows how these cultural aspects have been transplanted and transformed in the different areas that these enslaved individuals have been forced to reside. Because of the oppression and other detriments enslavement brought, these rituals allow the members of this social group to actively resist oppression, as well as rationalize and explain and respond to misfortune, diseases, death, and of course to control others who would cause harm (Orser and Funari 2001:63; Raboteau 1980:286, Wilkie 1997:84).

Marlpit Hall in Middletown, New Jersey contained a corn cob and a shell under the floorboards of a section of the attic where slaves purportedly slept. This assemblage is very similar to the objects found in the Lott House garret cache. This cache of items along with the knowledge that the enslaved were quartered there are evidence of ritual and religious ceremonies by the enslaved in the house.

The Cooper Mann House in New Castle, Delaware had items found in peculiar locations (Springate 2001). The first item was a locket found towards the middle of the first floor of the house under the floor and against a wall. The locket was shiny and had a crystal, which made it a great candidate for a ritual concealment, but it could have ended up there accidentally and was not with any other objects. A second item that was found in the Cooper Mann home was a single working shoe dating to the 1860s. It was found in the fill under the kitchen, but there is no evidence that the shoe was placed there intentionally. These caches date to the 1770s. While there are several examples of shoes being concealed in buildings by Europeans and European Americans that will be explored in the next chapter, there was also a single hand-stitched child's shoe found with the cache under the Lott farmstead floorboards.

The Cherry Hill Plantation complex located just outside Savannah, Georgia, dates to the first half of the eighteenth century. On the site, among the captive African quarters, the skeleton of a lamb was discovered buried in front of one of the cabins.

Other items found in situ along with the faunal remains include a pewter sheep figurine, blue beads, mirror glass fragments, and several pieces of colonoware pottery (Whitley 2003). These last three items are strong indicators of African spiritual practices. These items have become index artifacts for African-descended presence in many places in the

New World. Based on the presence of these items and their placement, the archaeologists excavating the Cherry Hill site suggest that the cabin was the residence of an African traditional healer (Whitley 2003). This has a cultural connection with the Fang people of Cameroon in present-day Equatorial Guinea where individuals still practice burying sacred charms beneath a house as a protection from evil spirits (Whitley 2003).

This healer's cabin was positioned out of the sight of the main house complex.

Choosing this particular location on the premises for this type of ritualistic practice would make sense for people who wanted to carry out clandestine rituals under the cover of night. Considering that this type of practice was most likely forbidden by the slave-owners and their company, the practitioners would want to be the furthest away from the overseers prying eyes as possible.

Barrel from Broad Financial Center:

Originally found in 1983 by Joel Grossman was what is believed to be the bottom end of a barrel about eight inches deep and fifteen inches in diameter with a very interesting assemblage inside that has been reinforced with rope, as iron and other metals were very scarce in New Netherlands (Matthews and McGovern 2015:38). There were ceramic sherds, seventeen stoneware marbles, a rarity in the New World; iron nails, a copper thimble, pipe fragments, a yellow bead, yellow brick, three shell beads, over twenty pieces of glass, and a plethora of bones of birds, fish and mammals as well as various plant remains and seeds (Cantwell and Wall 2015:38-40). This was all covered with half of a European tin-glazed import plate, just as one of the caches at the Brice House was covered in an asterisk-inscribed bowl (Galke 2000; Leone 2005). Based on the dating of the pattern on the tin-glazed ware, it is believed that this barrel was interred somewhere between 1650 and 1700 (Cantwell and Wall 2015:40). The authors cannot

conclusively say that this assemblage was placed by a person of African heritage, but through the process of elimination, the idea that the cache is African in origin is more likely than other possible scenarios (Cantwell and Wall 2015:46). If it is in fact an African spiritual practice “it is among the oldest known archaeological examples so far recovered in North America” (Cantwell and Wall 2015:52).

Medicine Bottles and Other Buried Artifacts:

Charms had many uses: protection of bodies, homes and communities, to influence the world around them, and to protect themselves from the use of charms by others. This is evident in numerous sites in the United States where items such as medicine bottles have been discovered purposefully buried; often with other things placed inside the bottle. While this is a practice attributed to African-descended individuals, it should be noted that witch bottles existed in many places in Europe where bottles were often filled with urine or some other liquid, along with other items like nails and some kind of vegetation (St. George 1999).

There was a delftware medicinal ointment pot found carefully buried one foot below the floor of an eighteenth century kitchen at the Brush-Everard House in Williamsburg, Virginia (Frank 1967; Pritchard and Graham 1996). A coarse earthenware pot found buried at Oxon Hill Manor in Maryland (McCarthy and McDavid 2011) was found with reworked glass objects that could have been game pieces or part of a spiritual cache (Klingelhofer 1987:114). Four medicine bottles were found intact under the floor of a few slave cabins at the Hermitage Plantation. These are believed to have been placed there as a way to invoke the ancestors into healing a person or curing a disease (Singleton 1995:174).

Hidden objects found within the walls of Eno Quarter in Durham North Carolina (destroyed in 1990) and the Prestwoud Plantation in Mecklenburg Virginia (1991) include a bottle containing a button and several caches of objects including a couple cloth tobacco and sugar bags with vegetative materials inside. These date to the end of the nineteenth century. A possible twentieth century iron pocketknife with an inscribed x in a circle was also found (Samford 1996:107). A couple sticks with the bark removed and the points sharpened were found in the walls of a slave quarter in Stagville North Carolina (Singleton 1995:157). This is a curious find and, if it were not in an African-descended context, most likely its presence would have been ignored.

A pocketknife handle found at Somerset Plantation North Carolina had incised 'X's, as well as incised x designs on pewter spoons and earthenwares (Steen 2010). The two pewter spoons from the Garrison plantation, while in poor condition when unearthed, had geometric patterns that contain a series of 'X's (sometimes called a herringbone pattern) that is consistent with the designs on Ancient Kongo pottery. More recent twentieth century incised spoons were made by members of the Ndyuka or Djuka tribe, an African-maroon-descended population in Suriname and French Guiana (Klingelhofer 1987:115). A similarly incised spoon was found by Dr. Diana Wall (1998) among artifacts from a nineteenth century landfill deposit in lower Manhattan at the Assay site. In Kentucky at the Locust Grove Plantation site, there were two objects found that relate to the diKenga: a silver spoon and a white marble both with incised 'X's (Young 1997).

The presence of similar designs on spoons indicates the practice must have been based on some African cosmological principles, as the locations where these incised spoons were found have been disparate and the only connection between the sites is the

presence of captive Africans. Perhaps the incision on the spoons is because they are made of metal and therefore believed to be imbued with spiritual power, as was thought of iron in the Kongo Kingdom (Fig. 4). It could also be because the spoons were reflective and thus used to lure spirits, much as white objects and pieces of mirror have been used to capture spirits to carry out requests of the spiritual practitioners or their clients.

These markings are near identical to the incised 'X's found on many pieces of colonoware pottery, especially in and around bodies of water. It is also very important to mention that many of the vessels found in the water were unbroken, as if they had been carefully placed in the location where they were eventually found.

Gamepieces:

Patricia Samford's research at Jordan Plantation included discoveries such as a conjurer's kit at Poplar Forest, which was Jefferson's summer retreat. Sanded and smoothed earthenware fragments were also found that were possibly used as pieces of a mankala, an African derived game (Samford 1996:104). Possible game pieces were also found at Monticello, Portici and Pohoke sites in Virginia (Galke 2000, Singleton 1995), as well Kingsmill and Garrison plantation in Maryland (Klingelhofer 1987:114-116). Louisville Kentucky plantation slave house had several objects thought to relate to African spiritual practices, as did Drax Hall on the island of Jamaica. The commonality in the form of these game pieces and their context in African-descended contexts show a continuity in Kongo and related cultural practices through the use of gameplay (Armstrong and Reitz 1990). There was one artifact in particular from the Lott Farmstead, a white ceramic sherd with blue decoration that was sanded down all around into a circular shape. The item was found in the sifter, and therefore the exact

provenience at the Lott site could not be determined, except that it was from the area up against the southern wall of the twentieth century garage on site.

Crystals:

Crystals have been found in caches such as the Nash site, found in-situ with an archaic Native American projectile point, a chunk of white galena and six quartz crystals Laura Galke (1992). Another stash of crystals was found nearby at the Brownsville site in a former captive cabin. At Monticello, there were pierced coins, a cowrie shell, a ring and several crystals found in the slave quarters on Mulberry Row where the slaves owned by Thomas Jefferson slept (Patten 1992).

Shells:

In Kongo cosmology, seashells can represent a long life and the soul's eternal journey (MacGaffey 1995:58). Seashells have been components of many spiritual caches found in the New World, including the Lott House.

Graveyard Dirt:

In the Haitian Voodoo ritual practices, sewing packets of soil or putting soil in a bottle is believed to be a way of retaining spirits. There are many instances of modern day Haitian Voodoo practices where there are packets of soil involved. There are other instances of soil from one place being used in another in Western Africa. The Minkisi are called Paket Kongo in Haiti and prenda in Cuba. The N'Kisi contain sacred medicines to coerce a benevolent spirit to do the bidding on behalf of the practitioner. It can contain earth, leaves, roots, shells, beads, feathers, wooden images and other objects (Thompson 1983:117). Perhaps the soil inside the bag was from a gravesite or from a different place altogether.

Annapolis and Baltimore:

In Annapolis, spiritual objects were discovered in African American occupations in several sites. The Brice, Slayton and, Adams-Kilty houses all contained hidden caches of objects. Many objects such as pottery pieces with 'X's and asterisk marks, crystals and a glass bead were found in caches under the floorboards of workshops in the basement of the Carroll house, thought to be the oldest of the Annapolis caches, probably dating to 1790-1810 (Leone 2005:213), along with coins and other metal discs with holes in them (Galke 2000:23-25). These caches are thought to date to the late eighteenth century at the Brice and Adams-Kilty, when the houses were constructed (Leone 2005:4-5) but interestingly, at the Slayton House, the last items deposited in the cache seem to date to 1920. According to Leone (2005), the cache of items seems to have "been made or used, not by slaves, but by free workers in the twentieth century" (Leone 2005:213). This shows that these spiritual practices survived well past the dates that many had previously considered, and possible changes the horizon for other caches that were found, but whose date post quem was unable to be determined. What this means for African American Archaeology is that the "Annapolis discoveries were important far beyond archaeology and African American folklore" (Leone 2005:213). The idea that these practices were being carried out well into the twentieth century has renewed importance at the Lott farmstead as will be shown in chapter seven of this dissertation where the possibility that the items in the purported cache may have been deposited by individuals who were possibly hiding out at the Lott home during the operation of the Underground Railroad in the mid-nineteenth century.

At the Carroll house, there is a possibility of a cosmogram shape being defined by artifact deposits in many places around the room. There were several caches of crystals,

found, including one that weighed nearly five pounds, along with twelve smaller crystals. There were also a black polished stone and a white glass bead, but this was all contained under a pearlware bowl that was painted with a sunburst or asterisk design. Additional items from the cache at the Carroll house include metal and ivory rings, crab claws, a clear bead (similar to the one found within the artifact assemblage at the Lott House) bones, teeth, shells, stones and crystals (Galke 2000).

It is important to note that the cache of materials including what is believed to be a conjurer's kit at the Carroll House was found in a former slave quarters that also had chains and manacles. These would have bound a person's arms and legs and were attached to the wall (Jones 2000). The idea that these African-American beliefs endured through the torturous period of slavery cannot be minimized.

At the Brice House, another Annapolis historic home, there was a large ritual cache found in a kitchen and laundry room that was directly below the slave and servant quarters of the house. According to Jessica Neuwirth, archaeologist with the Historic Annapolis Foundation, "Objects mark entrances, exits, chimneys--places spirits come and go, places people come and go . . . [these places are thought to be] . . . crossroads between this world and the other world; a temporary altar. If you're a fan of the Blues, then you know about going down to the crossroads." (Saraceni 1996).

A bundle that Mark Leone examined in Annapolis is believed to have had some kind of animal skin or fabric around it at the time of placement (Leone 2008), which would make it similar in construction to the N'Kisi that was found under the floorboards at the Lott Farmstead. The same kind of bundles have been found in places in central Africa, from at least the point of European contact through present day. Furthermore,

there are several cave sites in the former Kongo Kingdom (Fig. 2) where Minkisi were found in among the caves. These caches have not yet been dated, but some of them might predate the arrival of the Europeans (Heimlich et al. 2013).

Water plays a central role within African spirituality and rituals. Mark Leone speaks about the intention of placing a spiritual bundle near a water source “It sat in the gutter of -a much earlier unpaved street on a hill overlooking an inlet. Water would have run down the gutter, making it a vital conduit for spirits and a strategic spot to place a powerful charm” (Leone 2008:4). Again, the connection between Kongo-descended rituals and water are reinforced through this most unique find.

The Kongo Diaspora even reached as far as Texas. The Jordan Plantation in Brazoria, Texas had many caches of artifacts found hidden around and under dwellings, such as iron nails, other iron fragments from knives and cooking kettles, shells, silver coins, white chalk, white ash, and white clay. In what Brown termed the “political leader’s cabin” a brick was found hidden in the wall. It had an incised x surrounded by an ellipse, which is most likely a representation of the diKenga (Brown 1994:108-115). Furthermore, this brick was found in close proximity to the chimney, which is thought to be the entryway of spirits in many different cultures. When Ken Brown and others were excavating, they first removed the chimney and hearth. After it was cleared to the ground, it was left alone. Once the hearth was excavated, a cache of ash, shell, and metal slugs and found inside a dug out hole beneath the hearth. Based on how the hole was dug, the items had to be purposefully deposited below the hearth. A coin in the pit dated it to 1858. This is evidence that in the second half of the nineteenth century, the Kongo Cosmogram was still alive and well.

Other Ritual Finds:

There have been other findings inside walls and under floors in numerous enslaved African contexts in the United States. In southern plantation contexts, the use of storage pits under the floors of slave living quarters is widely known. The idea of storage pits and the possibility that they were also used as sacred spaces have been investigated at length at the Kingsmill plantation (Fairbanks 1974). This plantation dates to 1736. While many of the objects recovered from these pits seem utilitarian, a few objects stand out for their possible use in ritualistic scenarios. It is likely that many other artifacts relating to African-descended ritual if researchers knew where to look.

Colonoware:

Colonoware is one of the most well known examples of the use of the cosmogram, thanks to the late Leland Ferguson's extensive research. Leland Ferguson has studied the incised 'X' marks on the bottom of dozens of colonoware vessels with either a square or circle around it, which is the symbol of the Kongo Cosmogram, the diKenga. This doesn't necessarily mean that this is what the symbol was placed there to represent.

The simple low-fired ceramics that have been represented in ceramic assemblages from colonial African-American sites have analogous pottery forms that occur in many portions of Central Africa (Ferguson 1987, Ferguson et al. 1990). The continuities that Ferguson discusses are quite different from the connections that other Archaeologists have made. There are quite a few different marks that indicate a possible Central African connection. Some appear to be letters that might simply be potter's marks, such as incised 'X's. There are others such as circles, crosses and some more elaborate markings that bear close similarities to different Kongo Cosmograms. While many of these marks

are thought to be potters marks as mentioned above, it seems that some other marks were gouged into the pottery after manufacture, indicating the marks may have been placed on the vessels by the end-user.

A high percentage of the marked sherds that Ferguson analyzed were found in contexts associated with rivers and other water features. All of these attributes together – the position of the marks on the vessels, the association with water, and the fact that all of these vessels and fragments have been found in slave contexts – suggest that these vessels may have had a specialized function. The parallel between the marks on the bottom of many Colonoware vessels from South Carolina with Central African Cosmograms provide amazing insight into continuities of African religious beliefs from the eastern coast of the United States with the Western coast of Africa. These marks resemble socio-religious symbols used even until today in some of the areas between Gabon and Angola.

It is important to realize the marks on the ceramics might seem very simple, but the ideas of African cosmology, the division between the living and the dead, and transition are extremely complex. To add another layer of context, there are marks found on other wares that look very similar to the marks Ferguson studied. One such item was an Iberian olive jar sherd marked with a simplistic engraved cross found in an excavation of Santa Elena, which was the capital of Spanish Florida, by South et al., (South et al. 1988). There is another Iberian connection from Elmina, Ghana where ceramics with similar markings have been found (DeCorse 1987, Hamann 2003).

Ownership Markings:

Finamore (1995) discovered incised 'X's on two different pieces of European-made pottery in Belize and in 1998, there were several sherds of pottery with X's carved into them found on the island of St. Eustatius. On St. Kitts in the area of Brimstone Hill,

now a UNESCO Heritage Site, which dates to 1690, there were a total of 141 sherds found that had some sort of markings scratched on them. What was different about these marks is that they were more varied than have been found in other sites. These sherds not only had 'X's inscribed on them, but some also had Roman letters and others had unique undecipherable geometric designs inscribed on them as well. It is thought that the western alphabetic markings were made by English soldiers who were stationed there, whereas the 'X's were made by the enslaved occupants.

In Santa Catalina in Spanish Florida, there were several sherds inscribed with 'X's found. David Hurst Thomas believes that these "functioned as concrete reminders of religious truths or teachings" (Thomas 1988:118) but it is important to remark here that these sherds were discovered before Archaeologists really knew to look for these markings in African spiritual contexts. In 1968, Colin Martin discussed these 'X's and other marks on the bottom of Spanish plates dating to the 16th and early 17th century. Because these scratched vessels and fragments were so plentiful, he concluded that they were marks left by the people who produced them. Also in 1968, John Goggin hypothesized that these marks were made by the end-users since they were "all crudely and casually done" (Goggin 1968:119). The hypothesis that they were owners' marks was further supported by South et al. (1998). Through their investigation of ceramic contexts from the Santa Elena Mission, also in Spanish Florida, they found designs etched into them ranging from geometric patterns and parallel lines to one item with a backwards "S" and of course, 'X's or crosses.

While many have been supportive of the theory that African-descended people created colonoware, Carl Steen has a different explanation, at least for the pottery with

the incised 'X's in the Southern United States. According to Steen (2011), the same cross and circle has symbolism for several Native American tribes, and so could have been used by them. The African-descended people would have attached their own meaning to the symbol and possibly used these for their water rituals.

A second line of dissention has been advanced as well. As described above, Ferguson determined that 75% of the colonoware marked with the incised 'X's was found in an underwater context (Fountain 1995:71). The theory that Ferguson first presented has been indicated as false, as Ferguson seemed to leave out the examples of incised 'X's from land contexts. Fountain (1995) actually found based on the same surveys of sites that Ferguson originally used, that the incised 'X's were found more on terrestrial sites than aquatic ones. Because this new information takes away from the connection of the baKongo to the water rituals, it does not necessarily mean that the incised 'X' is less of a baKongo-descended ritual, but it does give alternative explanations a little more validity.

There is one piece of ceramic recovered at the Lott Farmstead that has an incised X on the bottom (Fig. 18). It is important to correlate this cultural artifact with artifacts from all over the region in regards to where the mark is placed on the vessel and where the vessel itself was found in a position near to the door of the kitchen house. While the context where the sherd was found dates to the late nineteenth century, the pottery is thought to be older (Ricciardi 1999:187). What these marks may have symbolized is uncertain. It is possible that the symbols were transported from Western to North America via the Atlantic passage, but they did not necessarily retain the same meaning.

Other African-Descended Ritual Practices Outside The United States:

In order to carry out sufficient analysis of the bricolage left behind by African-descended populations throughout the ages here in the New World, it would be impossible to only focus on the middle range theory, which limits one to the actual items. If only the artifacts themselves were used, it would not illustrate a complete picture of what these ritualistic practices looked like. It is the performance of these rituals that held importance to the individuals, not only what was placed in the cache, but how and why. Therefore, the analysis of additional rites of performance are needed, such as the ring shout among Southern African American groups and the performance of Capoeira in Brazil, along with the movements of the practitioners in Voodoo of and Candomblé of Cuba. There is often circular movement in an anticlockwise direction involved in these ceremonies that help to link these Cosmogramic symbols to the stages of life that each part of the cosmogram represents, and the movements of the planets and sun that the symbols infer.

Major Hybrid Religions of The New World:

“If the earth is a sphere, then the abyss below the earth is also the heavens; and the difference between them is no more than time, the time of earth’s turning. If the earth is a vast horizontal surface reflecting, invisibly, even for each man his own proper soul, then again, the abyss below the earth is also its heavens, and the difference between them is time, the time of an eye lifting and dropping. The sun-door and the tree-root are the same thing in the same place, seen now from below and now from above and named, by the seeing, for the moment of seeing”

(Deren
1970:260).

Major connections can be made between the principles of Kongo Cosmology with the spiritual practices of Haitian (colonial Saint Domingue) Voodoo, Palo Mayombe in Cuba, Santeria in Puerto Rico and Candomblé and Umbara in Brazil. There are clear

symbolic traces of both Central and Western spiritual practices in all of the aforementioned spiritual practices, such as the use of the word Voodoo, which is the word for God in Dahomey. The religious practice of Voodoo in Haiti has evolved from multiple African ritual practices from different cultures, unavoidably mixed with the dominant European religion, Catholicism; so then, there must be more proof of baKongo influence. This comes from the invocations accompanying the making of the Vévé.

Voodoo retains many of the same gods that are present in Dahomean cosmology. Old world gods are known as *loa* in Haiti. Legba is the guardian of the crossroads, known in Kreyol as the ‘grand chemin’. Legba is sometimes also incarnated as St. Peter, logically since he is the gate-keeper. In a painted cave in Mbafu alongside the Congo river, there is an image of a person standing on a pedestal and lifting his staff to the sky that is very similar to some of the images used in Voodoo practices.

Vévé (fig. 67) are the ground-blazons that summon “the Vodun deities of Haiti from the island beneath the sea where they all reside in glory” (Thompson 1997:21). In Haitian Voodoo, just like Kongo Cosmology, the land of the dead is located beneath a water boundary. Examining the symbols, movements and words used, it is clear that these Voodoo practices symbolize a cosmogramic altar (Fu-Kiau 2001:138). A Haitian practitioner will often demarcate the four points of a cosmogram with candles (Janze 1982:285). This reinforces the idea that the symbol used is only part of the larger meaning of the ritual. While a direct correlation may never be established, the movements in these rituals most likely stem from Kongo Cosmology. The use of Kongo words in these ceremonies however, leads to a more direct connection.

The invocations are spiritual subtitles . . . strings of phrases in kiKongo that sometimes shed light on the 'points' . . . distinguishing a particular Vévé" (Thompson 1997:27). This is further evidence that the use of a diKenga symbol in a ceremony is only part of the importance of the ritual. Every word, movement and action is equally as important as the physical objects used in the ceremony. Vévé (Fig. 67) are known as *ceremonie* in Kreyol. The impact of the new scholarship on the Kongo has also detached our understanding of Voodoo and its nature from the emphasis on its links to revolt and revolution. Rather, it emerges more clearly as "an amalgam of 'national' cults that tried to answer everyday problems such as sickness, theft, or adultery" (Vanhee 2002:254).

Central Africans also brought their use of charms for healing, including their use of religious medals as charms (Thornton 1984:157). Their cultural knowledge incorporated sorcery as well, and the use of poisons for which some individuals in Saint-Domingue (colonial Haiti and Dominican Republic) became notorious in the late eighteenth century.

In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Kongo, "along with Christianity, [there existed] puberty rites for girls, polygyny, the twin cult, various ordeals, nyombo funerals, grave cults, personal and public charms, divination, and rainmaking" (MacGaffey 1986:205). Funerals and rituals associated with the dead that took place in cemeteries were central in Kongo culture and were accepted by priests as Christian rites. They were reflected in contemporary Saint-Domingue accounts of slaves' fascination with graveyards and their habit of performing elaborate ceremonies for the dead. For example, priests in late-eighteenth century Kongo celebrated All Saints Eve with parishioners, accompanying families to cemeteries to say the rosary (Thornton 1998:88). Just as iron

was seen as a very powerful substance in the Kongo worldview (Fig. 4), Voodoo dolls with pins stuck into them likely are derived from Minkisi Nkondi (Fig. 20), the Kongo statuettes that are often pierced with nails and other iron objects.

Haitian Voodoo:

Scholars of Central Africa provided a wealth of documentation on the impact of religious practices from that area in the Western Hemisphere (Janzen 1982; Thompson 1983; Thornton 1988; MacGaffey 2002). A new picture of Haitian Voodoo has taken form from this emerging scholarship, one in which the African elements of Voodoo can be seen as deriving mainly from two major culture areas of Africa: Western (Gebe/Yoruba) and Central Africa (Kongo/Angola). Moreover, the new scholarship on Central Africa offers compelling evidence that the addition of Roman Catholic elements to African religious practice occurred prior to the departure of Central African slaves for the Western Hemisphere. Linda Heywood (2002) similarly argued that a creolized Portuguese-African culture in Central Africa emerged in the eighteenth century. Like people from the Kongo area, these Central Africans practiced an "Africanized" Roman Catholicism that many possibly carried with them as slaves into the Western Hemisphere. It is possible that "Crucifixes, rosaries, plaster images of the saints . . . these and other sacramentals were assimilated by Africans in Dahomey and Kongo before the Middle Passage" (Cosentino 1995:35-36). As per the chapter on Euro-pagan beliefs, this argument can be helped or hindered by the previously discussed theory that tying a perforated coin to one's person as good luck or protection from witchcraft was a European-descended (Portuguese) ritualistic practice transferred to the African-descended individuals before and during the Middle Passage, and was carried over to the New World with the captive Africans in the slave ships.

Palo Mayombe of Cuba And Puerto Rico:

Palo Mayombe is a Cuban hybrid religious practice. The name *Mayombe* originates in a geographic region of the former Kingdom of Kongo located today in western Democratic Republic of Congo. The practice of Palo Mayombe is recognized by the use of *firmas* (signs) to celebrate different deities, just as the diKenga and Haitian Vèvè s function. Just as in Voodoo, Legba is the name of the guardian of the Crossroads in Palo Mayombe. In the Palo Mayombe tradition, the cosmogram is visualized as a circle divided into four parts, the sky (*nsulu*), the deep reaches of the earth (*ensiafua*), the surface of the earth (*ntoto*) and the ocean (*kalunga*). The same word for water or ocean is used in both in modern Western Africa and in Cuba, showing a most probable ideological connection between the two locations.

In both Cuba and Puerto Rico, the practice of Santeria uses a form of the cosmogram shown to have a direct connection with the creation of Yoruba protective circles, as witnessed by Robert F. Thompson in Dahomey. There is a practice of creating almost the exact same symbol on the top of a person's head during the initiation ceremony into Regla de Ocha or Santeria. While the use of modern analogy is tricky, this is yet another example of a possible cultural continuity in the ritual practices between Africa and the Caribbean.

Candomblé of Brazil:

In Brazil, there are many types of hybrid religions and religious sects. One such example is *Candomblé*, which derives from a Portuguese word, used to describe any religious or spiritual practices that were brought from Africa to and invoked in Brazil. It can also signify separate sects that practice specialized private rites and encompasses many of the worldviews and spiritual concepts of the people who practice these rituals, as

well as the public and private locations where they are practiced. The term Candomblé is also used to describe celebrations or dances that occurred in colonial and postcolonial times when the enslaved Africans had free days (Blakely 1994:135).

Additionally, Candomblé is the word used to describe the ceremonies honoring the Yoruban orixás and is also the name for the temple or cult center where the ceremonies are held. More pertinent to this research, Candomblé are also Afro-Brazilian religious cults that originated in the Brazilian state of Bahia with roots in Yoruban religious ritual and belief, created by enslaved Africans and their descendants (Landes 1942:249). In Brazil, the former Yoruba/Fon Deity Eshu Elegbara is known as “Exu” and people give offerings so that he does not spread confusion, since he is the messenger between the worlds of the living and the dead.

The Eshu Legba of Brazil is much the same as a diKenga. It is shown as a spinning pinwheel motif that suggests the ever changing and unpredictable manner of the guardian of the crossroads (Thompson 1983:114, 1990:156). Umbanda is another religious cult that is fairly recent in its organization, being established in Rio De Janeiro in the 1930s. In the Umbanda context, the ponto-riscado is metaphorically a small orifice in the Kalunga line: a polarized field of energy which dilates the pores of the fabric that divides the world of the living from the world of the dead.

It has been shown that the dances performed in the Candomblé rituals are taken from Fon and/or Ewe ritual dances that were practiced in Dahomey (present-day Benin). These dances are very similar to, and are probably the basis to the Brazilian national dance, the ever-famous Samba (Blakely 1994:136). Farther north up the coast from Rio in Recife, the ‘Kings of Congo’ dance ceremonies and parades are celebrations that have

been prevalent in Brazil since colonial times, and aside from the obvious name, hark back to celebrations that were carried out in the Kongo Kingdom before the Europeans arrived (Sweet 2004).

Body Movements as Dikenga: Capoeira:

The practice of *capoeira Angola* in Brazil holds correlation to the Kongo ideology. It was developed in Brazil mainly by African descendants with native Brazilian influences, probably beginning in the sixteenth century. Capoeira Angola can be summarized as martial art that combines elements of dance and acrobatics. Capoeira is sometimes referred to as a game, as a spirit of playful camaraderie is essential to the basis of the practice. There is no doubt that many enslaved individuals brought to Brazil throughout the ages were of Kongo descent (Dossar 1992:5).

In the beginning of a round of capoeira, the two opponents make the sign of the cross both on the ground in front of them and on their bodies. This has often been thought to relate to the Catholic faith, but since the Kongo cosmogram predates the arrival of the Portuguese in Central Africa, and swearing upon these marks was practiced in the Kongo, it is probable that this signing is a relic of the Kongo ideology.

The actions performed in Capoeira Angola are said to represent the path of the sun and the journey through life. Furthermore, in Capoeira, the players move in a counterclockwise direction around the circle. This counterclockwise movement mimics the four moments of the sun, as described by Wyatt MacGaffey and Robert Farris Thompson (1998). This is very similar to the movements of people enacting the ring shout in rural southern USA (Buis and Rosenbaum 1998). If body movements signify the same thing as the symbol that is placed on the floor, then correlations in similarities

between these movements can also symbolize a cosmogramic altar as described by Fu-Kiau (2001:138).

Pontos-Riscados as Dikenga:

Pontos-riscados (Figure 69) are mediums of expression whose function is essentially, and often solely, understood as ritualistic magical activators. These function in the same way as the N’Kisi do. Even if there is no attempt to investigate its deeper meaning, a practitioner will usually recognize the significance of the ponto-riscado. It is the identifying sign, as well as a working instrument used in the magic operations performed by a spiritual entity. The pontos-riscados – in the same manner as the vèvès of Haitian Voodoo and the firmas of Cuban Palo Mayombe – are not objects for static mystic or aesthetic contemplation. Rather, they are commands that are one part of a ritual that requires movement and words to be complete (Martinez-Ruiz 2013).

It is believed that these markings on the ground, known as ground blazons, of which each of these hybridized religions possesses, have become both more complex and more personal over time. “If Dahomean ground-lines and the cruciform trenches of Kongo are ‘early’, in the sense of an originating simplicity, Haitian Vévè for [Legba] (Fig. 67) and other spirits palpably are ‘late’.” Robert Farris Thompson, while conducting ethnographic research in Central and Western, noticed that in Dahomey, ground blazons that were a seemingly simple set of concentric circles made with alternating colors (Thompson 1996:46). The use of symbols drawn on the ground is a practice shared by many of the African cultures, and these drawings all seemed to be more basic – a simple sign of the x, or concentric circles in the case of the Dahomean designs. However, once the different religious beliefs began to evolve and change, and were mixed with European religions like Catholicism, they became more complicated. “[In Dahomey] one traces a

Vévé for protection, [in Haiti] for invocation of the spirits. It is precisely for that reason that we have such a large variety of Haitian Vévé, (Fig. 67) with their diverse motifs” (Paul 1962:301).

Using historical documents, Thompson has made the argument for the progression of the Vévé, stemming from the diKenga as a symbol of protection, to something personal, not just in meaning for the practitioner, but as an invocation for a particular deity or spirit. In the late 1700’s, the Vévé was still very “Dahomean: simple, geometric, protective” (Thompson 1997:27). Vévés were first found to be used in Haiti in the late eighteenth century (St. Mery 1797:6). In the early 1900’s, there was a personal account of a voodoo ceremony in which a series of small Vévé (see Fig. 67) were made, “each one sacred to a particular Vodun spirit” (Aubin 1910:102). Indeed, complexity and plurality of meaning of these symbols increased over time.

In Mexico, there is an example of Kongo cultural continuation as well. Beltran discovered that there were enslaved individuals imported into Mexico, and these individuals were nicknamed *Longos*. This term comes from the names of several kiKongo-speaking ethnic groups that come from an area of western Africa, where they were part of the Kongo Empire. Heywood and Thornton (2007) have shown that a “sample of 274 slaves found in Mexican inventories from 1632 to 1657 show that 86.7 percent derived from West Central Africa” (Heywood and Thornton 2007:40). Enslaved individuals from this same geographic area were also imported into Puerto Rico, where they similarly also referred to as Longos (Beltran 1989:139).

Descendent Communities In The United States:

The diKenga symbol was most probably used by African-descended individuals in the antebellum south (Sterling Stuckey 1987 35). Additionally, people in the low

country of South Carolina still use some Kongo names, such as *finda* for the forest and *Kalunga* for the sea along with the word *Simbi* for nature spirits ((Brown 2012:91-92).

Some instances of people of African descent placing an ‘X’ in a bible and keeping it in the house as protection against malevolent spirits and curses have been recorded (Fennell 2007:24), which means that the ideology of the cosmogram has diffused into African American spiritual practices, although the Kongo connection may have been lost to the individuals who carry out these rituals even in modern times.

Hoodoo:

One of the various African-descended beliefs and rituals to have survived is Hoodoo, which was investigated during the WPA interviews in the 1920s and 1930s. Hoodoo was the desire to control or influence another person or to stop another person from controlling or influencing your life and family. This often happened through tokens, spells, charms, and amulets (Botkin 1945, Hurston 1990). The person who carried out these ritual ceremonies in the community was called a “Hoodoo” (Tallant 1946, Clayton 1990). Hoodoo most likely spread along with the African Americans who moved after slavery ended, which would explain the similar practices across the country. The consistencies of practice across the US include the human figures, pins, dolls and bottles that were buried under places to either protect or harm the people who would walk above them (Ruppel et al. 2003). In the late 1920’s and early 1930’s, narratives by formerly enslaved individuals described to the Federal WPA the use of items in the African spirit tradition of divination known as Hoodoo to prevent and cure disease, and bring luck by controlling the future of events but only talk about wearing charms not burying them. Buried bundles used for ‘fixing’, or conjure, such as hands, tobys, bags, bundles could be used to harm, kill, cripple, or otherwise harm their intended targets.

There are other researchers who refer to all these practices as folk magic, folk religion or ritual practices. Terms such as apotropaic (warding off evil) practices, magic and ritual practices are often used. When these items or practices are discussed among European contexts, it never refers to religious practices, unless as a remnant of pagan practices or pre-Christian contexts (Merrifield 1987). The term folk ritual is preferred as it is inclusive of both religious and non-religious practices without reference to specific cultures or ethnicities.

There are many vocabulary words used such as “conjures” or “tricks” for spells, whereas magic or protective charms or such words as “Tobies” or “Gris-Gris” (Tallant 1946, Clayton 1990). Here there are possible linguistic and phonetic connections to African terms for objects and cultural practices. The two words gris-gris and “gree gree” are words that are used currently in Western to describe these charms or amulets (Nassau 1969). The word “gris-gris” looks French (and in French it would mean “grey-grey”), but it is simply a Frenchified spelling of the Central African word gree-gree (also sometimes spelled gri-gri). Gree-gree means “fetish” or “charm,” thus a gris-gris or gree-gree bag is a charm bag. In the Caribbean, an almost-identical African-derived bag is called a wanga or oanga bag, from the west Central African word *wanga*, which also means “charm” or “spell” as in the *N’Kisi Wambi* that are discussed in the previous chapter.

Another word of African descent is *Mojo*. It is related to the Westernn word “*jojoba*,” meaning a prayer of praise and homage, as it is a “prayer in a bag” or a spell you can carry. A third possible derivation is from the Bantu / Kongo word “*mooyoo*,” the magically-charged ashes and ground up bones of an ancestor that are encased in the front of a *N’Kisi ndoki*, which is a type of fetish-statue made in the form of a human being or

animal (Thompson 1988:74). This connection with the bones of the dead is interesting because historically many mojo hands have indeed contained small bones, either of animals or of humans. Alternative American names for the mojo bag include hand, mojo hand, conjure hand, lucky hand, conjure bag, trick bag, root bag, toby, jomo, and gris-gris bag. The Kikongo word "*tobé*" (Laman 1962) – meaning a "tied hunting charm" – sounds like the word "toby". Functionally, the two are the same, in that both are tied shut and both are used to gain advantage. This is yet another line of evidence that can be used to connect these New World spiritual practices with practices from the region of the Kongo Kingdom. In the Memphis region, a special kind of mojo, worn only by women, is called a nation sack (Tallant 1946, Clayton 1990). A mojo used for divination, somewhat like a pendulum, is called a Jack, Jack bag, or Jack ball. Perhaps this "hand" is indicative of the fist amulet referred to by Mark Leone (2008). In a few locations, there have been charms about the size of a ladybug that are in the form of a hand holding a ring. Archaeologists of the African American past have given these the name "fist charm". One of the theories about this type of charm is that they are evidence that the early slaves were perhaps practicing Islam in the New World (McKee 1995; Russell 1997).

Whatever terms scholars choose to use to describe ritualistic practices – folk religion, superstition, urban legends, witchcraft, conjuration, divination, cunning, voodoo, hoodoo and so on, is necessary to understand that the dominant culture and this culture's dominant religions suppressed the outward expression of these beliefs and customs (Morgan 1998:612). One must remember that these practices are not just pieces or "debris" of religion from days gone by, but a fully functional and continuous religious belief system (Turner 1973:1105; Butler 1990:159). African American identity is

composed of many different identities (Gomez 1998:13). Culture is not static it is always changing and religious practices of every sort also evolve over time, but they are no less meaningful now then they were in the past.

Use Of Iron:

An example of ritual evidence from a free African-American site comes from New Castle County, Delaware, which has a similar date range as the Cooper-Mann house. At the Thomas Williams site, occupied by the black Stump family from 1887 through the 1920s, an iron axe head was recovered from a pit within a dairy cooler. The axe head was interpreted as serving a protective function, protecting the dairy products from taint (Catts and Custer 1990; de Cunzo 2004). Here is another example of iron being used as an apotropaic device among an African-descended population.

More New World Iron use as protection is shown in the Brazilian ritual of axe. The items that form a ritual cache to honor Orixá (Orisha) include lead, brass, silver, iron and other metals (Blakely 1994:138), thought to invoke the power of the spirit world.

Another ritual use of iron that could be most closely attributed to the practice of Hoodoo, as it does not directly follow what is believed to be Kongo-descended ritualistic practice, is described below:

"I have seen such a pot lashed with iron chains to the front porch of a black grandmother in Austin, Texas, as a reliquary of her mother's mother, on the one hand, and as a mystic filter for evil on the other. For it is believed, in Kongo and in black America, that a basket or pot by the door is a catch for evil at a critical space."

(Wardlaw 1995)

There are many folklore practices that might trace their roots back to Central Africa. It has been argued by many European-descended researchers that all instances of the ritual practices of any kind in the African American culture are simply cultural borrowings from European sources, due to the belief that African-descended cultural practices were destroyed because of the Atlantic Passage. One of the ideas that gives traction to the idea that Black people borrowed the concept from White people is that we have evidence of such beliefs going back in Germanic cultures far earlier than we see them among enslaved Africans in the Americas. That evidence is weak, though, as we have little evidence of African beliefs in situ from those early periods due to the same Germanic culture's disregard for the cultural preservation of 'others'.

In Jay Davidson's investigation into the New World use of perforated coins, the author presents some interesting research on the use of perforated coins at many points throughout history in multiple locations. Coins with crosses on them were found in several occupational layers at the Jamestown colony dating to the 17th century (Mallios 2000:42-43) but this cultural practice stems from at least 14th century Britain.

The use of coins as apotropaic devices in the United States was practiced until at least the 1930's (Hyatt 1935:426-427). While the practice of using charms is hardly limited to the British, but the idea that an English Person would "take off such charms or lose all knowledge of them, as they neared the American coastline" is unfounded. Therefore, the idea that Africans lost all knowledge of their cultural past is equally unsubstantiated.

According to Gomez, African-descended people were able to select the parts of the different cultures, African, European and indigenous American and synthesize new

and innovative ideologies (Gomez 1998:10). Meanwhile, the European-Americans were able to forge new identities at the expense of the African-descended and indigenous American populations (Gomez 1998:11), that they exploited due in part to the slave trade and its aftermath.

Lessons for Archaeology of the African Diaspora:

Perhaps because the people on-site knew what to look for, there have been more than five caches of artifacts found in the Slayton House, which was built in Annapolis' historic district in the 1770s. Items contained in these caches included white buttons, black beads, common pins, broken glass, pierced coins, a brass ring, and pieces of bone.

Gladys-Marie Fry, a professor of English and folklore at the University of Maryland at College Park, agrees that the objects reflect concerns for safety. The objects most likely functioned as a way of protection, divining or other traditional African healing practices. These include making concoctions from local objects, plants and animals to treat ailments and ward off malevolent spirits (Saraceni 1996). There has been no evidence discovered of these spiritual caches deposited since the end of the nineteenth century, but perhaps additional research will shed new light on the evolution of these cultural practices.

Not Just Kongo:

Almost all of the scholarship about artifact assemblages and incised 'X's found in colonial contexts in the Western Hemisphere argues that this a practice specifically linked to the Kongo Diaspora. While many anthropologists are claiming that the 'X' called the diKenga came from the baKongo people, including myself, the symbol of the incised 'X' can be found in other areas of Africa, as well and therefore might have a wider breadth of meaning than just the Kongo-descended cultures. While the point of this dissertation is

not to disprove these correlations, it is an important note to make. To the baKongo who still practiced traditional Africa religion, the incised 'X' would have a different meaning than it would to people who were already Christianized. While it is true that the Portuguese coerced the King of Kongo to convert the Kongolese into Catholics, the ways in which Catholicism was adopted by individuals was not static or uniform, and there are many theories that perhaps the baKongo were actually resisting the colonial authority's pressure to convert.

Chapter Conclusion:

Because the Africans were in unfamiliar territory halfway around the world from what they knew and understood, the captive individuals called upon their distant, but powerful, ancestors who lived in the water. These spirits were everywhere and provided necessary things like the right amount of rainfall and fertile ground (Brown 2012:91). Once captive Africans were brought to the New World, these rituals evolved differently in each place.

Eshu-Elegbara is the Yoruba (Orisha or Orixá) and Fon god of communication, and the gatekeeper of the crossroads between the world of the living and the dead. He is often known in Fon as Legba, a name used in many places in the New World, as well. He knows the earthly language as well as the cosmic language. Legba "finds in all biological, social and metaphysical walls doorways into a larger universe" (Pelton 1980:119). Hermes, the divine messenger or road maker is the most similar European pagan deity to Eshu-Elegbara.

The symbol of the 'X' at the least seems to signify one thing in each instance that it is invoked, in that it defines the space for which a contract or oath between two living people, or a living person and the spirit world, can coalesce. It is also where the world of

the spirits can interact with that of the living. Where someone may ask their ancestors for protection, regardless of how distant; it means the same thing across the continents. For a modern-day example of a possible African-descended ritual practice see Fig. 70.

The modern-day African ideologies of ancestral and spiritual connections have been most famously displayed in New York City. Langston Hughes's ashes were interred in 1991 underneath a large elaborate cosmogram that was constructed in the center of the auditorium lobby at the Schomburg Center for Black Culture in Harlem. Within the center of the cosmogram and precisely above the ashes of Hughes are the words "My soul has grown deep like the rivers". It is fitting that this Cosmogram be used, to honor not only African and African American spirituality and resistance, but to pay homage to the cultures of the first African-descended individuals to come and lay their roots right here in New York City.

Ch 5: Concealed Items, Euro-Pagan Beliefs

The cross within the circle enters into very early magic, both Gaelic and English; it may have entered Anglo Saxon folklore from the Gaelic. It is very closely connected with solar beliefs [and] ... the Circle of Columcille, used in divination, a round circle with crossed bars, has found its way into manuscripts of the eleventh century.

Eleanor Hull (1928:181)

Chapter Introduction:

In this chapter, an overview of several theories about ritual and magic will be presented and European-descended ritual practices as they apply to the artifacts and history of the Lott farmstead will be discussed. These European ritualistic practices are being discussed because there is a possibility, however slight, that the items under the attic floorboards were placed there by a member of the Lott family and not one of their African-descended workers. This will relate to justifications for individuals carrying out apotropaic acts, such as placing caches of non sequitur items such as clothing inside or under building structures and the theories behind the motivation of the individuals who deposited the items in the seemingly random locations.

There has been an ever increasing number of archaeological investigations that aim to describe the physical remains and the meanings attached with the ritual practice of African-descended individuals in the United States. Most of these studies have centered on investigations in Southern plantation contexts, although there is a hefty amount of recent research into the African presence at Northern sites. These African-descended ritual practices have been found to have roots in both Central and Western Africa regions.

In the archaeological record, there is a perceived difference between earlier, more “purely” African ritual practices, and later practices that blend together European and African (and also Native American Indian) spiritual practices. This being said, old rituals die hard and many old African practices still continued even though the Christian Church provided a completely new ideology and diverted ritual customs into new channels for the people of Central and Western; not in defiance of Christian authority, but as a matter of habit. If something has always been done, it is believed to be safer to continue to do it, though it may on occasion be necessary to find a new explanation to reconcile it with the beliefs that are currently acceptable (Merrifield 1988:107).

This same theory can be applied to the way in which people in Central Africa experienced and transformed their rituals. After European contact, many of the traditional African religious and ritualistic practices became blended with the thoughts and ideas of Christianity. It has been thought that the vestigial African practices were sustained in the southern United States because the southern plantations had huge numbers of enslaved Africans present that were not in contact with many European-descended people (Herskovits 1966). Using this argument, it was assumed that sites farther north where African-descended individuals were born, toiled and died in close quarters with European-descended and Native American individuals would have not held onto the ideologies of their forbearers (Neuwirth and Cochran 1999).

It has been shown by Singleton (1995) and Fennell (2000, 2007) that certain objects or combination of objects such as protective charms or caches of seemingly non-sequitur items are evidence of occupation by African-descended individuals. One should be cautioned though, not to assume all such items are of African origin. The perennial

book, The Archaeology of Ritual and Magic by Ralph Merrifield (1987) contains myriad examples of ritual practices in Europe and Euro-descended people in the United States and elsewhere. These practices include things such as protective charms, inscriptions on buildings, secretly laid caches of objects, witch bottles, foundation sacrifices and valuables being left as tithes in rivers, wells and other bodies of water. In New England, there is evidence of people in the colonial and post-colonial periods using horse shoes, dolls and witch bottles as protective charms (St. George 1998). There are also many examples of boots, shoes and other clothing and even animal sacrifices within the walls of buildings (Eastop 2006; Swann 1996).

These examples of ritual practice and concealment have been found in contexts from the times of the initial European settlement in the New World through at least the 1900s. There are many examples of this practice, including one at the Fort Rosencrans Army base, near San Diego California, where a boot and hat were discovered within the chimney stack of one building that had been laid during the construction of the barracks in 1904 (May 2000).

What all caches have in common is that by definition, a cache is hidden. Symbols, emblems or objects that are displayed in contexts of low visibility, such as the assemblage under the floor at the Lott Farmstead (Fig. 28), or in the case of any deliberately concealed garments, may not be visible at all to outsiders, but will have a great deal of meaning to the insiders who are a part of the ritual (Sterner 1989). Regardless of the origin, many aspects of this type of ritual concealment is carried out in secret.

Evidence for many different apotropaic rituals and symbols have been found across Europe. The goal in this facet of the research is to see if it is possible that the assemblage of items and the specific configuration with which they were placed on the floor corresponded to any European-descended cultural symbols for protection, destruction or some other purpose. The opening quote to this chapter speaks to the universality of the sign of the cross. The Celtic Cross, which existed prior to Christianity, made it easy for Celts to continue practicing their Pagan faith under undetected since their symbol of the cross looked like the Christian one (Jolly 1996:92). A similar hybridity occurred in the Kongo Kingdom, where many of the missionaries believed that the baKongo had converted to a pure form of Christianity, while many had just adopted the Catholic cross as their new diKenga and incorporated Catholic rituals and catechisms into their pre-existing spiritual ideology. This concept is beyond the scope of this research and is being investigated currently for future research.

Other Pagan symbols exist all over Europe, far too many to discuss at length, but please refer to Figure 9, taken from Timothy Easton's (1988) research into Pagan symbology. Some examples of these marks found carved into wood beams in barns and other buildings in rural Britain are shown below. There are a few "petal" designs in Figure 9 that resemble the cyclic nature of the Kongo cosmogram. Also note the similarity between the last drawing in Figure 2 and how it resembles the Fon Cosmogram.

Other symbols, such as Cherubs were commonly used in colonial America. In 17th and eighteenth century New England, the use of cherubim as protective devices was widespread. It shows up extensively on grave markers, but also on chests and even on the beams of houses (Deetz 2010:49).

Concealing Items Within Buildings:

The idea of placing items within the structure of a building is not new, and has broader implications than that of African-descended individuals alone. Many people in Britain have placed boots in walls and beside, under and inside chimneys and fireplaces (Evans 2012). The Jewish faith even has a modern practice of placing a mezuzah, parchment with protective words written in Hebrew, within the outer doorframe, which offers protection for the occupants. In Morocco, the hands of Fatima is another type of talisman used to ward off evil (Westermarck 2013). There are many similar beliefs about protecting dwellings, living and workspaces from across the globe. The idea of placing something in a wall of a new home and smashing a bottle of champagne on the hull of a newly 'Christened' boat are not far from each other.

According to Sarah Randles, people in many different parts of Europe have been deliberately concealing things in the walls and other parts of living spaces that do not appear to be placed to aid in repairs to leaks or other structural integrity issues (Randles 2013:88). Ralph Merrifield believes that the objects that are found hidden within structures is a relic of pre-Christian ideas about placing items within the structure to protect the home and its contents (Merrifield 1987:107-136).

These objects have been found placed in areas all over Europe, dating from the middle ages, as far back as 1308 as well as the United States and Australia and these discoveries still continuing through today (Randles 2013:110-112). Eastop believes that

there are multiple reasons that someone would conceal items in a space and therefore since “practices of deliberate concealment . . . have extended over many years, it is likely that several different and concurrent traditions are involved” (Eastop 2006:245). These different purposes for the concealment would most likely not be evident at their discovery.

The study of concealed garments and other personal items is a relatively new field of investigation, with studies carried out mainly in the last three decades. It was June Swann who first posed the first questions about the significance of these hidden objects in her 1969 article (Swann 1969: 8-21). It is believed that the reluctance to discuss or pose questions about these hidden items is because the term “ritual object” is relegated to objects whose functions could not be determined, and ended up as a catch all for such items (Merrifield 1987:1-2). There have been over 1,550 Archaeological sites in the United Kingdom and Australia that contain ritual objects, and the list of sites in North America is growing (May 2001: Slide 5)

According to the research of Evans, Eastop and Swann, items are mostly found in areas that are entry points into a building. While the most common place to find things is in and around chimneys and hearths, these items are also frequently found under and around doors and windows, and under roofs and floorboards (Swann 1996 60-62; Eastop 2006:246). These last two locations are particularly important, as the items that are being discussed in this investigation at the Lott House were found under the floorboards of the attic space.

Based on folklore and citations from 1597’s *Daemonologie of James I and VI*, it was common superstition that witches could enter a house to carry out evil anywhere that

air could enter the home, and it was a common belief even in colonial Connecticut that evil spirits could enter the home through the chimney (George 1998:141). In *Daemonologie*, there are stories of people placing physical objects in the way of a spirit, such as placing a boiling pot next to the fire to prevent a spirit entering through the chimney or an oak stool in front of the fire to imprison a demon and prevent them from causing harm to the occupants (George 1998:109). Placing objects in the path of evil spirits is practiced in Central Africa, as well. In Kongo Cosmology it is believed that patterns can break up or block the flow of evil, as it was thought that evil spirits and malevolent energies can only travel in a straight line. In fact, it is a documented practice for people in the Kongo region to create a line of 'X's on the ground to block evil from approaching (MacGaffey 1986:44).

Evans proposes that the footwear and other clothing hidden in various uninhabited parts of the home would act to fool malevolent spirits into possessing those items instead of the people who owned them. One must remember that before the Industrial Revolution, garments were custom made for an individual and, therefore, were literal embodiments of the person. Additionally, if the garment had been worn by the individual before concealment, it would have the scent of the person and would have absorbed some of their 'ether' (Evans 2012:43).

Merrifield has a different take on the significance of items being hidden. He believes that this practice descended from the pre-Christian acts of foundation deposits of both animal and human sacrifice. These personal items are thought to stand in for an actual human sacrifice, considering that many of the found objects have been unwearable, possibly due to the deliberate destruction of these items before being hidden in

the liminal area of the home. This is believed to have replaced human sacrifice as these pagan pre-Christian rituals evolved and changed over the course of many centuries of Christianity (Merrifield 1987:96-98,117-122).

Concealed Item Database:

Dinah Eastop is credited with creating an online database for reporting discoveries of such concealed items. By 1996, there were over 1,100 instances of shoes alone listed in the database (Randles 2013:111) and as of 2015, the item count is over 11,000ⁱⁱⁱ. This methodology of setting up an all-call database to record findings is similar to the methodology Stine used in her Bead survey, in which she requested archaeologists in historical sites record any finds of beads, to aid in the expansion of the record of significance for African-descended individuals (Stine 1996).

There are many overlapping understandings between European-descended folk ritual and African-descended folk ritual. This can make for ambiguous or unclear meaning, especially in a multi-racial occupational context such as a farmstead or plantation. Just as African-descended individuals buried and hid things with the intention of seeking protection in and around their homes and workshops, so did European-descended individuals. Both groups secretly placed things hidden from view in a liminal space between the world of the living and dead. Alfred Gell (1988) believes that these objects act as a kind of channel or antenna to drive intention. These are the objects that, in Bruno Latour's words, are "actants" or things that activate an intention (Latour 1999:75). This directly relates to certain objects that activate the Kongo N'Kisi as the participant asks for or intends a particular action from the object.

Pierre Bourdieu's (1977) idea of habitus is important in the discussion of both Afro- and Euro-descended ritual practices, as even when the original purpose of an action

has been forgotten, the vestiges of this practice can persist in the fabric of society. This theory can be applied to many of the issues of knowing why those of African descent were carrying out the rituals that they did. It also applies equally well with European rituals. Through the research conducted on the concealed item database, it is obvious that this type of concealment has been going on for over 800 years in Europe. There are no listings specifically for people of African descent in the database as of June 2015. In addition to garments, items were found, such as witch bottles that contain human body fluids such as urine or menstrual blood, as well as sharp objects such as thorns, pins and nails (Easton 1988:7-8).

There are also examples of Native American individuals placing moccasins in the cornerstone of the Ponca-Nez Percé Industrial School in White Eagle, Oklahoma. This moccasin was placed there in 1880 by a Ponca Chief named Child and discovered during the building's demolition in 1934 (Wade 1986). Just as various African culture groups implored ritual objects to aid with things such as fertility, as explained in the previous chapter, so did Europeans (Randles 2013:122). In addition, Iroquois Indians often made offerings to Atahensic, an Iroquois goddess associated with marriage, childbirth, and other feminine endeavors (Shenandoah 1998).

These types of ritual caches are often dismissed as either a rat pack hoarding nest or as a trash dump (May 2001). Ritual deposits are not necessarily apparent unless you are looking for a specific arrangement or combination of objects, otherwise it would be near impossible to distinguish a cache from trash. Despite the context a researcher may be working in or whatever culture might be implored, it is important to document all finds and any peculiar arrangement of seemingly everyday items in case the combination

of items ends up being significant later on. The act of concealing an item focuses intention on a part of the house that is normally overlooked or ignored. When these concealments are discovered, this too brings to scrutiny these spaces that were presumed to be empty.

Amy Gavin Schwartz has found that the ritual nature of objects is not altogether inherent in the actual objects, but comes from how they are used (Gavin-Schwartz 2001). When objects of ritual significance are discovered, they are often overlooked or misunderstood because archaeologists are generally not informed as to what to look for and why. Luckily the field of African Diaspora archaeology is expanding and more attention is being paid to African-descended spiritual practices, including the creation of ritual caches. Through extensive publication from a handful of archaeologists, and because of public interpretation and social media, there is change with respect to research about African derived customs and practices, particularly in the South and increasingly in the North, but also continues with respect to European traditions.

European-Descended Ritual Concealment:

Ritual caches were common in the Roman period, as evidenced both by literature of the times and archaeological findings. Two caches from Sardis date to about 80 or 70 C.E. These caches are reminiscent of the cache found at the Brice House in Annapolis, which was all contained under an inverted bowl, in that these two Roman era deposits in Sardis contained “a small pot with a lid, a coin, a group of sharp metal implements [such as needles] and an egg, one of which is intact except for a hole carefully punched in it in antiquity” (Cahill 2014). It is thought that these caches were placed near the foundation to protect a building. The items in these caches are similar to the Kongo N’Kisi, both are essentially packages containing pottery, metal and (a presumably) white object, the egg.

These Roman caches are also reminiscent of witch bottles, found elsewhere in Europe, although more frequently discovered in later contexts. This is based on the fact that in all of these ritual deposits, there exists a combination of items placed in or near each other. The significance of each of the items in these caches was not explained, but each item obviously held importance in the eyes of the people involved in the ritual placement.

In addition to interring clothing within the walls of a home, there have also been findings of concealed items in wells, churches and even in mines. Perhaps items were placed in mines to protect the workers. If the clothes and other items concealed in the church walls were apotropaic in function, then it would have been to protect the general congregation of people and perhaps the actual church building as well.

Many centuries ago, the Celts and Romans were much more in touch with the earth, and they believed that the entire earth – the rocks, plants and animals – were the domain of gods and goddesses (Evans 2012). Anything that disturbed the earth from farming to digging foundations to moving rocks could upset the gods, so humans were always performing rituals they believed would appease the gods and prevent misfortune.

During this time, Romans and Celts conducted rituals where they buried horse skulls, bottles of wine, coins and other personal items as protection against angry deities (Merrifield 1987:184-196). These ritual pits where the offerings were left later contained items that were perfectly useable such as coins, sewing needles and swords that were ritualistically bent. These rituals of votive burials increased as Celts, and later on Christians, began to perform these rituals.

Between 400 and 1100 AD, these rituals changed in direct relation to the spread of Christianity (Merrifield 1987:191). There was a dramatic shift from people

performing ceremonies to appease otherwise benevolent gods and goddesses to individuals carrying out ceremonies to ward off evil spirits. This fundamental spiritual shift is tantamount to our understanding of why other items have been found stashed in odd areas of homes and other buildings. Before Christianity, English and Welsh people believed in benevolent gods who were helpful and looked out for their well being, whereas after the spread of Christianity, these same gods were reimagined into evil winged demons who could creep into a home to cause sickness or death while the unsuspecting family slept. By the thirteenth century, all of these gods and goddesses were seen as malevolent demons. By the sixteenth century, there were witches and the intentions of the witches were witchcraft (Evans 2012). Over the course of a few hundred years, these Pagan spirits were all reappropriated as evil, and the Christian God was seen as the only “good” god.

The gods and goddesses that had lived in the imagination and oral histories of the people were now evil demons who should be feared. For the most part, there were no ceremonies to offer thanks to the gods and goddesses of the forest. Instead, there was a rise in rituals to ward off evil demons. Witchcraft, and thus the persecution of witches, rose steadily through the past 500 years. Archaeologists have been very slow to credit anything dealing with pagan ritual in the last 100 years. It is a general belief that Christianity steamrolled all the pagan rituals out of the populace:

“There is a considerable amount of prejudice to be overcome among both excavators and interpretive archaeologists before we can make much progress towards “the archaeology of the mind” in matters of belief . . . Yet, the uneasily ambivalent attitude of many archaeologists towards manifestations of belief or

customary ritual is itself of considerable interest and demands further explanation” (Merrifield 1987:3)

Changing Views On Pagan Practices:

In the early decades of colonial existence prior to 1750, it seems that the American public was more accepting of non-Christian spiritual beliefs and customs than they were post-1750. This might explain why there were more evidence of paganistic practices, both Euro- and Afro-descended, before this date. A good example of this is Mark Leone’s (2008) discovery of a football-shaped clay ball that is believed to be an African ritual cache, based on x-rays of the contents. It also contained iron implements including a prehistoric axe head, nails, and lead shot. The use of iron in both Central and Western spiritual caches has already been discussed in the previous chapter. It is also assumed that this bundle was shrouded in some kind of animal skin or fabric, adding another line of evidence pointing to the fact that it is very similar to a Kongo N’Kisi: “The bundle is African in design, not African-American. The people who made this used local materials. But their knowledge of charms and the spirit world probably came with them directly from Africa” (Leone 2008:2). What made this find so unique is that the bundle would have been exposed for all eyes to see, as it was literally placed out in the open in front of a house.

The evidence for ritual practice among both Europeans and Africans seem to disappear from the public eye by 1750, both in the United States and in Europe.

Evidence after 1750 has only been found in places they would not be seen in public, where people would not talk about the items or what they were used for (Fennell 2000:289, Leone 2008:5).

Witch bottles, all dating to the 1750s and onwards, have been found in many locations that would have been hidden from the public eye, supporting Leone's hypothesis about the change in public attitude around this time towards concealing Paganistic practices. These witch bottles have also been found in close association with water as many have been found in London in ditches, streams or other water. Others have been found under hearths and doorways, as well as enclosed in the walls of a home or over the lintel of a door. These bottles were seen as an antidote to a spell (Merrifield 1987:166-168).

Water holds a particular importance in Kongo cosmology because it represents the boundary between the world of the living and the dead. Even the bundle found by Mark Leone as described previously in Annapolis, Maryland was found in a context where it would have been in contact with water from a spring (Leone 2008:4). Water has always been important in European ritualistic practices as well. Terminus was the Roman god of boundaries, and the boundary formed by water might have been important in Roman Mythology just as it was in Kongo ideology. While there have been many weapons found in river sediment, partly destroyed deity figures made of both metal and stone have also been found in the river. The mutilation of the figures is too common in the finds to not have been intentional. As the garments were made unusable before placement in the fabric of a building, so are these figurines ritually broken before being cast into the the water (Merrifield 1987:99). The deliberate folding of coins (Merrifield 1987:110), swords and knives (Merrifield 1987:112), much like the metal goods found at Waltham and Llyn Cerrig, are puzzling. It can be that these items were damaged

purposely to transfer it from the physical plane into the spiritual one (Merrifield 1987:112).

Iron and Metal:

In the medieval period, there were many metal badges found in bodies of water, both in rivers and in the moats around castles; that people would have purchased upon visiting a sacred shrine. It is thought that visitors would cast one into the water as thanks for arriving home safely (Merrifield 1987:109). Even these were occasionally found deliberately folded or broken. Regardless of where these deposits have been found – below the foundation of a building, in a well, or in the river – all of these deposits indicate communication at some level with spirits from the other side of the boundary, whether it be in the *Kalunga* or in Hell.

Going back to the Bronze Age in Britain, there have been many deposits of stone, metal, weapons, and other goods such as cauldrons and tankards that had to have been placed in the water purposefully. While there seem to be a higher proportion of weapons than tools found in water deposits from these time periods, the exact opposite is also true. More tools than weapons are found in land deposits, which indicate that the deposition of weapons in the bodies of water was most likely a ritualistic practice (Merrifield 1987:24).

As discussed in the previous chapter, it has been demonstrated that shells are another key indicator of African spiritual presence at a site. However, shells and shell fossils held a meaning to old European farmers as well. Shells come from the sea, and therefore perhaps impart some meaning based on their watery origins. For example, the fossil of a sea urchin looks like a domed loaf of bread so these fossils were placed near the bread ovens to encourage the loaves to rise correctly, but these sea urchin fossils have also been found in Iron Age burials in Britain and Ireland. (Evans 2012:97).

Iron

According to Evans, iron has always had an apotropaic function. The first iron that was worked by humans would have come from meteorites that had come from the sky. The very way in which a person must superheat iron in order to get it to obey the smith could easily be seen as a type of sorcery (Evans 2012:57). Even though there have been several examples of African-descended ritual practices that involve hearths and chimneys, there are also several European-descended traditions involving deposition of items in and around chimneys. Iron nails were present in the assemblage under the Lott floorboards, and objects made from iron or other metal are often part of African ritual caches, as discussed in Chapter 4. Iron has significance in the Kongo tradition for lending the spirit in the container power to carry out an individual's request (MacGaffey 1986:117).

Another significant iron object was a hoe blade that was found in the wall near the chimney between the first and second floor of the Cooper Mann House (Springate 2010:15). This hoe blade had to have been placed in the wall intentionally sometime in the early twentieth century. However, as already mentioned, this type of iron implement has significance in rituals in both African- and European-descended communities (Swann 1996). The ethnic background or origin of the individual(s) who placed the object there may remain a mystery indefinitely.

There was another occasion of a hoe blade being found outside the main doorway of the Indian Rest cabin in Calvert County Maryland. The Indian Rest site was occupied by at least two black families prior to 1934 (Derr 2007:51), but this shows that ritual concealments were being carried out into the twentieth century. Another site in Delaware, the Thomas Williams House site, had a large iron axe head placed in a pit

under the dairy area of the farm sometime before 1920 (De Cunzo 2004). Perhaps it was the tool itself or the fact that it was made of iron that made the objects significant. One should not be quick to come to conclusions though, as iron is significant in rituals in both European and African traditions. Iron implements such as a horseshoe were found concealed inside the walls and a trident or “eel spear” was found enclosed near the chimneystack of the Endicott house in Danvers, MA (St. George 1998:193). Warding off evil with clothing and iron was common in UK, Germany, and colonial America.

Pierced or perforated coins, while considered a signal of African-descended ritual practice, can actually be traced back to at least the 14th century in Europe (Davidson 2004:27). Even more interesting is the use of coins that have crosses on them can be connected to Celtic ritualistic practices that existed before the spread of Christianity in the region. See more on this below.

Ideological Connections:

In the last chapter, several examples were given of statues called *bochio* created by the Fon in Dahomey. They function much in the same way that concealed garments in buildings had for Europeans. *Bochio* are protective objects that are secretly created to ward off evil or deflect spells by acting as decoys. They did so by having the harmful spells be taken on by the *bochio* instead of the individual to whom the malevolence is directed. Therefore, the *bochio* also function in the same way as the concealed garments would have in the Euro-descended Pagan ritual. They both act to “fool” a spirit or bad energy into possessing or affecting the personal object instead of the person. These items can be made out of any objects. The particular composition of the *bochio* would vary just as the components in a Kongo N’Kisi would. Similarly, the N’Kisi are a portal between the living and spirit worlds, the Fon *Bochio* are also placed “long paths, roads,

agricultural fields, and near domestic compounds as well as inside homes and shrines, bochio operate at the crossroads between the spiritual and the human realms^{iv}.”

Much of the discussion in this dissertation has been about the significance of the crossroads to the Central and Westernn cultures. However, the crossroads are significant in old English custom, as well. For example, a person who is suffering from ague, malaria or other kind of shaking disease would walk out to a crossroads, turn around in place three times and then place an iron nail in the ground so that the next person to walk by would then be afflicted by the illness (Evans 2012:86).

While iron is often seen as a protective agent, it is not always welcome in ritual practice. The Freemason society has many ceremonies where metal of any kind should not be used for several reasons, one being that the temple of Solomon was purportedly built without the use of any metals. (de Saint-Victor 1787).

Chimneys:

The importance of the hearth to both the European and African-descended individuals can bring new insight to the caches that have been found. The chimney and hearth were as easy an entrance for a witch or evil spirit to enter as the door (Evans 2012:56). In the case of the chimney at Fort Rosencrans, it's the spiritual connection to the boot, which took on the personality of the wearer, as described by Easton (1988).

Other things, such as putting salt in a recess of the chimney, using salt glazing on the bricks of a chimney, or placing some kind of inscriptions directly onto the chimney posts would be used to prevent a witch or evil spirit from entering the home. The purpose of the ritual is to place an object or a set of objects that will activate and create a mirror of the original spirit to guard over the household (St George 1999:217). In the Terry Mulford house in Orient Point, Long Island a smoked cat and an old shoe were found

behind a chimney dated to 1810 (Manning 2014). While there have been smoked cats found hidden in British buildings as well, the significance of this practice is unknown, unless by chance there was a cat trapped in the chimney before a fire was lit!

Objects that are concealed in buildings can be construed as important agents because of the mix of metaphors invoked. The absence of written documentation about the significance of these findings allows for greater berth in plausible reasons for the depositions. Objects gain agency through the use of metaphor. These objects that are placed in secret places may be seen as a form of material remembrance freeze in time the act of concealing the items along with the unknown reasons why the items were placed there or why they are in the position that they are. These material memories are not forgotten, like a time capsule of sorts. The extraordinary nature of these archaeological finds means they provide real examples with which one can explore the interdependence of agency, metaphor and material goods. Deliberately concealed items therefore influence and effect space both materially and conceptually.

Chapter Conclusion:

Since so much evidence of the lives of enslaved and formerly enslaved people has been erased, and from the very nature that concealing certain ritualistic objects and keeping the rituals and beliefs that surround them a secret, including the source of their agency the very existence of objects concealed in and around buildings suggests that these items elicited an emotional reaction in the people who concealed them. Therefore, the deposition of these items is attributed to supernatural or spiritual forces and an attempt to appease or control said forces by the individuals who deposited them. These cached objects denote a spectrum between fear and hope, and undoubtedly at times hatred, much as Minkisi Wamba are known to represent. They are objects that cross the

line between the living and the dead, which the baKongo call the Kalunga line. When someone places something of meaning into a liminal space, whether it is a colonoware vessel that has just been incised with an X or a previously worn shoe to bring good luck to the owner, both these actions represent the objects' agency in the communication between the physical and spiritual realms. This person, who may be African, Native American, or European-descended, is acknowledging and displaying that they believe in these natural or supernatural forces, and the damage or help that they can bring. At the same time, it is a simple action to bring about good luck. Regardless of the intention of ritual concealment, it shows the human agency in the willingness of people to confront their fears and take action, ritualistic or not, to influence the natural and supernatural world around them.

Ch 6: African-Descended Existence on the Lott Farmstead:

Chapter Introduction:

This chapter will present arguments for why it is believed that items placed under the Lott Homestead floorboards are part of Kongo-descended spiritual traditions. This chapter will also discuss additional evidence of African-descended material culture at the site. Finally, it will look at the relationship between the material culture in Central Africa and other parts of the New World with African-descended occupational histories.

According to Christopher Fennell, the symbol of the 'X' in African contexts is a cultural symbol that is thought to have originated in Central Africa, but now is found in many places across the globe and can be abbreviated into a personal and private meaning, so the way in which these symbols may appear is variable. This 'X' sometimes appears on a spoon, or a marble, or on the bottom of a plate, or in the case of the Lott Farmstead, in the arrangement of corncocks under the floorboards. This new, abbreviated use of a known core symbol can then be used to "express membership in social networks formed in new settings" (Fennel 2007: 27).

Because the Lott Farmstead was a multiracial colonial home, teasing out which objects were used by representatives of different ethnic and racial backgrounds is complicated. While determining the exact ritualistic meaning of the objects is not a part of the research for this dissertation, it is necessary to attempt to determine which objects African-descended individuals used for ritual purposes and which ones were not.

Considering that objects hold different meaning based on context, and the meaning would be different for members of different groups (Brown and Cooper 1991), it may be impossible to figure out who used the items at the site. Additionally, based on the theory

that those of African origin would reuse objects on the farmstead, one object can hold multiple meanings over the course of the occupation at one site, as it may be reused in a completely different way from its primary intended function (Delle 2004).

The Lott House Site has great significance because of its ability to provide valuable information on the cultural, social, economic, and political conditions of Colonial New Amsterdam, later known as New York. Using this archaeological data will provide considerable information on components of eighteenth and nineteenth century “northern plantation” lifestyles in New York, as well as the hinterlands that provided the city and surrounding areas with produce and other agricultural products. There is very limited information on this type of captive-labor production in the archival record. Studies of archaeological materials associated with the enslaved laborers at the Lott House will provide significant information on the daily lives of eighteenth and nineteenth century enslaved Africans, a sociocultural group that tends to be less represented in archival records.

Misconceptions about northern slavery run rampant, especially in New York City, where in 1703, 40 percent of homes in Manhattan are thought to have slaves residing at the residence (Foote 1991:91). Some claim that ‘slavery didn't exist up north’, or ‘slavery was more mild in the North’, or ‘slave masters were more kind to their slaves in the North’. While there is a bit of historical information available about how the enslaved were treated better, (See Strong 1842; Vanderbilt 1881; McLaughlin 1981; Linder and Zacharias 1999) the fact is that slavery is slavery and people were enslaved and working against their will. Regardless of the presence of any “spectrum of kindness” from slave masters, it was still slavery.

Scholars have argued that African culture could not persist in a region like New York City, where contact between the black and white communities was constant and black population density was not as high as further south (Foote 1991; Groover 2000; Martin et al. 1997), but this has been shown to most likely be false, based on this research at the Lott Farmstead. As more research into the archaeology of slavery is carried out in New York City and the surrounding areas, it will hopefully be shown that the findings at the Lott House are far from being the exception.

The presence of African-descended individuals living and working on the farm is not up for dispute. The presence of these individuals is confirmed by census records, news articles, wills, probates, local historical accounts and journal entries. The relationship between the Lott family members and their African workers, enslaved and otherwise, is a relationship that spans generations. While the Lotts had freed all their slaves by 1805, this is hardly where the interactions ended, as is evidenced from the Baxter Journals^v, kept first by John Baxter and then later his son, Garret. These almost daily journal entries show glimpses of the complicated relationships that existed between Euro- and African-descended individuals as well as Native Americans.

It is well known that the Lott Family of Flatlands were among the area's largest slaveholders. Legal documents from circa 1790 list 12 slaves. Following Ricciardi (1999), the "Negrowoman" Mary and the "Negroman" Harry are valued at just \$25. This most likely indicates that they were elderly and no longer suitable for field work, and less likely that they were ill-behaved and therefore discounted for quick sale. The documents also list five children, two girls and three boys. Based on this document, the children ranged in value from \$50 to \$100. Based on the value of "Powel" listed on the same

document at \$200, it can be assumed that much work could be expected from him. Two “Negrowomen”, Moll and Cate, who are listed at \$125 each, follow immediately afterwards (Ricciardi 1999:181).

Several popular accounts of the family list the date as 1805. This is further backed up based on comparisons of the census records of 1790 and 1810, following Ricciardi (1999:184), it can be inferred that Lott freed his slaves between these two dates, because the ages of the individuals in the ‘enslaved’ column in 1790 coincide with the number of ‘free black’ individuals in 1810, albeit listed as twenty years older in 1810 than 1790. This is also how it can be inferred that after the Lotts freed their slaves, they most likely hired the same individuals back and paid them as laborers (Ricciardi 1999:185). This is only an assumption since the actual names of people other than the head of household were generally not included on census documents until much later in the nineteenth century.

According to the Federal census of 1810, there is one individual enslaved female still listed as being owned by the Lotts. Her actual age is unknown, as the last column in the Census merely lists those 45 years of age and older. It is not known when exactly this older female was either freed or passed away. There are of course some discrepancies between the census documents and personal accounts. In some documents, the last enslaved person left is listed as a male, and in others, a female. In the Baxter Journals, it is listed that Johannes I. Lotts “Negro Tice died” on December 30, 1806; so perhaps this was the last of the Lotts enslaved workers. Again, according to the Baxter Journals, the “old negro Harry of H[endrick] I. Lott died on Feb 13, 1818. Whether Tice and Harry were freed or enslaved at the time of their death is unknown, but these are two examples

of male African-descended individuals, who were once owned by the Lott family, listed as passing away while in the same community they were while enslaved. There was no mention of an older female related to the Lotts passing found in the Baxter Journals or other historical documents.

While there should be no qualification of how good or bad a slave was treated, it is known from the Baxter Journals that even during the period of slavery in the Flatlands area that the African-descended individuals, both free and enslaved, had a high degree of autonomy. It seems that it was customary for one slave owner to lend their slaves to another person. It also seems that slaves could try to find new owners on their own volition. Throughout his journals, John Baxter describes his enslaved individuals hiring themselves out, going fishing for themselves, traveling long distances unaccompanied and even getting married. While there were a few documented issues between Baxter and his slaves, Baxter did not seem to punish at least one of the slaves, (named *Will* in the Baxter Journals), even when he repeatedly ran away. One cannot use an anecdote like this one to diminish the cruelty of slavery, as we know that one male member of the Lott family in Flatbush refused to allow the black congregants to sit with the white congregants (Schenck 1881). *J Lott* (Not necessarily Johannes I., it could be Johannes H Lott as well) also had a neck shackle made for at least one of his slaves that had the owner's initials on them (Baxter 1950). The desire on the part of the Lott family members to control the movement of their enslaved workers can also be inferred based on the discovery of an iron ball (See Figure 63) that was most likely attached to a leg chain and shackle. This iron ball was found about 100m to the northeast of the current Lott House property boundary, in the backyard of a current Lott House neighbor. The

location where the iron ball was found would have been part of the Lott property (Fig. 15 and 16) during the period of slavery in Brooklyn.

Examining the architecture of the garret room where the ritual cache was found, there were several items of note. There are no windows to the outside of the house, meaning there was no natural light or ventilation would. The height of the ceiling in the room is very low. Furthermore, examining the doors to both of the garret rooms, there are wooden latches still present on the outside of each of the doors, (See Figure 21) that would allow someone on the outside to control access to the rooms. The hole in the door (Fig. 21) could have served at least two purposes: first, for ventilation; since the chimney hole (Fig. 25) might have produced soot and extreme heat and second, to offer surveillance of the room's occupants from outside. The view from inside the door looking outward would not have given much of a vantage point to movement outside of the room.

There were also several families of free blacks living in the Flatlands area, known both from the Census records and local historical documents. For example, "the Okies" are a black family that features prominently in the Baxter journal entries over the course of their pages. While the day-to-day specifics may not be known, the data from the census records show that there are several different African-descended individuals who come to work on the Lott farm after slavery was abolished in New York State. The census records for 1850 show that there were African-descended individuals who had migrated from the Southern United States present at the farm in the years after slavery was abolished in New York State who are listed as coming from Virginia. The census data shows that formal slavery was still in effect in the areas of Virginia at the time that

these people were working on the Lott farm. Therefore, it is possible to surmise that perhaps these southern blacks were helped along in their journey to freedom by the Lott family members. The ideas about the Lott Farmstead's role in the Underground Railroad will be addressed in the last chapter.

As archaeologists, we must be careful in our assumptions. It is a fact that those Africans who were enslaved and carried across the Atlantic had come from many different parts of Africa. Keeping this in mind, Lorena Walsh has surmised that almost 93 percent of the slaves imported to the Chesapeake area were directly from Africa, or had only a short rest in the Caribbean islands before heading to the Chesapeake area (2001:144-145). This is different to what is believed to have occurred with the importation of slaves to New York City. It is believed that slave buyers in New York preferred to purchase a slave that had spent a prolonged period of time in the Caribbean so that they were more seasoned before they were brought northwards (Foote 1999:45).

Origin Of Captive Africans:

According to the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, below is the breakdown of when people were transported directly from the Central African region to the Northern United States. This data includes the United States northwards of the Chesapeake area.

Table 2: Number of Enslaved brought to Northeastern US from Kongo Region:

Years	# of enslaved	years	# of enslaved
1655-1660	434	1701-1710	0
1661-1670	682	1711-1720	0
1671-1680	0	1721-1730	0
1681-1690	0	1731-1740	3,401
1691-1700	0	1741-1750	878

While these numbers are always in dispute, it is important to state that, while there were many people brought from the Kongo to other regions of the United States and the Caribbean, not a large proportion of enslaved Africans brought to New York come from the area inhabited by the baKongo people. Additionally, it seems that the Kongo individuals were only sent to the northern part of North America between 1655 and 1670. After New Amsterdam fell to the British in 1664, it seems there was a break until almost 70 years later when there is an influx of captive Central Africans again from 1731 to 1750.

Theoretically, this gives two possible time periods for when the Lott family's enslaved laborers came over from Africa: either late seventeenth century or the time leading up to the American revolution in the middle of the eighteenth century. It would make the most sense that, if the first home was actually built on the Farmstead in 1719, they might have then needed to supplement their labor force shortly thereafter with additional laborers as their farmstead became more productive. Heywood and Thornton (2007) have indicated that "the overwhelming majority of the Africans . . . who became the founding generation of Afro-American populations in the English- and Dutch-speaking world of the seventeenth [and early eighteenth] century, came from West Central Africa" (Heywood and Thornton 2007:8). The answer to the question of when the enslaved were first brought to the Lott farmstead and where they originated, in Africa, the Caribbean, or elsewhere may never be answered.

There are, however, several issues with this argument. Firstly, reports of slave ship voyages are not accurate because many were not recorded or the records have been

lost. Secondly, the proportion of slaves directly from Africa was significantly less in New York and the surrounding areas, as many slave owners wanted their slaves to be pre-acclimated or “seasoned” to the Northeast American coast, and conditioned to the authority structure of the Dutch and English colonies. Finally, the timeline for the Lott occupation of the site at the earliest stages is still questionable.

Theory:

The null hypothesis is that the historical event assumed by tradition alone didn't happen. If there's enough supporting evidence, we reject the null hypothesis and prove that it did happen. If we do not find enough supporting evidence, we fail to reject-but can't prove-the null hypothesis. We conclude that there is not enough evidence to believe the traditional account, but it is not that the event ‘simply did not happen.’ Between what did happen and what did not happen is a large uncertain area of history. History is mostly unknown and much of it will never be known. Yet there is no reason to believe in the uncertain or unknown.

We can make assumptions about the meaning of the deposition of materials under the floorboards in the attic, combined with the ceramic vessel with the incised ‘X’ found at the kitchen house, because we know that the Lott family kept enslaved Africans at the homestead for a great number of years. The significance of the inscribed ‘X’ like the one found on the pottery at the coordinates of N40 E33 within the stone kitchen house to the Kongo Diaspora has already been thoroughly explained in previous chapters.

However, harking back to the Null Hypothesis Theory, one can certainly argue that the corncobs and other items discovered under the floor are not of any real significance. It is possible that the corncobs ended up under the floor either by inertia or the action of vermin, even though they were in a mostly starburst pattern. The rest of the

items could have just fallen through the floorboards in a haphazard fashion that is being misinterpreted. However, several of the corncobs were found with the desiccated remains of actual corn kernels. These kernels are clearly visible in Figure 22.

Furthermore, the presence of a hand-stitched pouch containing soil found under the floorboards makes a connection to Kongo-descended cultural practices highly likely.

African Spiritual Practice:

It is possible that the Lott family was familiar with ‘alternative’ spiritual practices, as Mark Leone (2008) has proposed; the earlier colonial society was more open to these types of spiritual practices, so it’s possible that during the early period of occupation at the site that these types of rituals would have been more tolerated:

“All the previous caches of African spirit practices we’ve found in Annapolis were at least fifty years younger. These had been hidden away and used in secret. But in this earlier generation, the Annapolis newspaper was filled with references to English magic and witchcraft, so both European and African spirit practices may have been more acceptable then. That changed with the growing influence of the Enlightenment.”

(Leone 2008:3)

Since the cache we found was hidden from view, we will assume that by the time this particular cache of items had been invoked, the practice was completed in secret.

This demonstrates that the enslaved Africans at the Lott House possibly did not have the freedom to express their ideology in the open, as the Lott family were Dutch Reformed Christians and, as the slave owners, were in control of the visible landscape. Therefore, the practitioners perhaps had to complete these rituals in secret. The threat of persecution may have been enough to discourage open practice of their spiritual rituals. Instead, they must practice through individualized symbolic expressions of the core symbols of the

belief system in private for fear of retribution. The ritual of placing these objects under the floorboards, and the action of inscribing a diKenga on the bottom of an earthenware vessel that ended up broken in the kitchen house are only pieces of what used to be a full and comprehensive belief system, that has since been fragmented into isolated practices. Butler (1990) states that these isolated practices were used as vital continuations of what used to be an intact worldview. These private spiritual ceremonies communicate to archaeologists ideas about group identity, along with the individual mindsets of the practitioners (Fennel 2003).

These cultural markers, including the symbol of the cosmogram, survived centuries of oppression, abuse and deliberate subordination, despite the attempts of slaveholders to suppress magico-religious beliefs that were likely viewed as resistance to their control. This desire to control these spiritual acts may have also had something to do with the fact that these “strange magical practices [i.e. strange from a white’s point of view] just might have a certain efficacy” (Davidson 2004:35). The slaveholders always had to be on the lookout for retribution and this use of magic was just one possible way. Attempts to suppress these beliefs, particularly the private secret practices, were not a success (Holloway 1990:37).

Viewpoints on religion and spirituality have evolved drastically over our country’s 500 years of European-occupied existence. As explained previously, by about 1750, the public attitude in colonial America towards magic and spirituality had changed, and had become more tied to Christian ideas and beliefs, making the former magical spirits into “devils” that needed to be challenged (Leone 2008). It is possible that this ritual cache had been deposited by 1750. Perhaps the Lotts were more tolerant of their

enslaved individual's rituals and other cultural practices than imagined. Perhaps the European-descended Lott family members had their own set of paganistic practices at that time for which there is no record of. As discussed in previous chapters, the Kongo culture has a long history of ceremonies conducted in private before the arrival of the Portuguese, so the concept of carrying out rituals like this covertly, out of the way of the public eye, had already been going on in this society long before the European oppressors arrived.

The Cache Under the Floorboards:

The findings under the floorboards are extremely significant to the history of New York City. There is hardly a trace of enslaved African existence left anywhere within the city limits, let alone extant slave quarters. Aside from the Lott Farmstead, The African Burial Ground in lower Manhattan (LaRoche 1994) and the settlement of Seneca Village, currently located under the western edge of Central Park in Manhattan (Wall et al. 2008) are two of the most significant African-descended archaeological sites in New York City. The cache of items was found in the north garret room above the kitchen lean-to, close to the only doorway of the room. Even without the findings under the floorboards, the other elements of the space indicate people had been occupying the area. The candlewax on the floor, the reused boards, the peculiar arrangement of the bricks in the chimney where there had once been some kind of hole, either for an oven or something similar (See Figure 25 and Jablonski 2000).

The documentation of the 1998 investigation of the garret areas by The Brooklyn College Archaeological Research Center exist, but this information is currently unavailable for use in this research initiative. Based on the lack of documentation of where things were found in relation to one another under the floorboards during the

primary investigation in 1998, it is hard to know which items were intentionally placed in the cache, and which items were unintentionally deposited under the floorboards from sweeping, accidental breakage and other mishaps. The range of items that could be considered part of an African spiritual cache is very large (Wilken 2000; Ruppel et al. 2003) so it would be extremely difficult to ascertain where the cache begins and ends. Furthermore, there is a possibility that multiple caches were actually deposited under the floorboards of the garret areas and the others were not discerned at the time of the investigation in 1998. Still, trying to decipher which items were part of the cache and which ones were not part of the cache is important. An argument can be made that the closer an object is to the center of the cache, (See figure 24) the more important it was to the practitioners, whereas objects on the periphery would have a diminished role in the ritual. This argument will be used in regards to the Lott farmstead cache.

Since the records of the investigation in the Garret rooms of the farmstead, including any notes or additional photos, are not currently available, the placement of the faunal remains and other objects as found in the cache by the investigation team must be taken from the few photos that were available for this research (see appendix). One has to assume that the corncobs in the 'X' formation (Fig. 22,23 and 24), the fabric pouch made from an old bandage along with the pelvis bone and oyster were the center of the cache. Based on the limited photographic documentation available, it appears that the oyster shell and a piece of innominate pelvis are the two faunal artifacts closest to the center of the deposit (Fig. 24), and therefore would have had more prominence in the cache, although this theory is difficult to support based on the limited information currently available. According to Leone (2005) perhaps it was believed by the

individuals who deposited the items in the cache that a pathway for the spirits to travel on “probably marked by the whiteness of the oyster shells” (Leone 2005:215). Many of the other items in the artifact bags from the context beneath the floorboards were not in the few photographs available, therefore the location where these items were discovered, and their importance to the ritualistic practice inferred by these artifacts are currently unknown.

It is also possible that this purported cache or N’Kisi was added to over time. The pieces could have been rearranged and reused in different ritual placements over time.

While there is no evidence of people in the Kongo changing up the Minkisi over time, it remains a possibility. There is evidence that individuals in Central Africa revisit Minkisi, “feed” them with blood or animal sacrifice and add to the ritual cache over time (Lewis 1902:547).

The configuration of the corncobs is in an ‘X’ formation with one corncob assumedly broken to form one half of the axes. It is highly probable that the configuration of the corncobs was created as a diKenga. The design of the cosmogram is significant in that it symbolizes the crossroads or crossover of the worlds of the living and the dead. As discussed in Chapter Four, cosmograms have been found in almost every place the African Diaspora itself has reached.

‘X’s On Pottery and Other Designs:

These incised ‘X’s have been found on pottery vessels in many locations throughout the world, and there is a preponderance of locally crafted earthenware called Colonoware in the low south of the United States in North Carolina and Georgia, as discussed in chapter four. This ‘X’ design is found in many places in Western Africa, in grave sites and in artwork. This similar ‘X’ patterns are found in artwork in Cuba and

Puerto Rico, in the Voodoo ritual altars in Haiti, and is found in many patterns on clay pipes in New World colonial contexts with African-descended occupation. This is the most likely explanation of what the arrangement of the corn cobs under the floor was meant to represent given all the information currently available.

Considering all the other evidence of African spiritual practices and the list of possible African material culture present on the site, most importantly for this corroboration is the 'X' incised ceramic from the kitchen house, remembering that a simple representation of the cosmogram can be "a cross drawn on the ground, one arm representing the boundary and the other the path of power between the two worlds" (Thompson and Cornet 1981:116). The cache of items and the symbol of the cosmogram laid out in corncobs under the floorboards held meaning to every person present for that ceremony, and most likely influenced others indirectly through social contact.

The meaning and intent of what the cache of items meant to the people who placed it there could have evolved over time due to contact with Europeans. There was also the possibility of contact with Native American individuals, considering there were those of mixed Indian blood living in the Flatlands community who attended the Flatlands Reformed Church and were buried there (FLDRC archives). Since the first part of the home was built circa 1719 (Jablonski 2000), it is important to think about the ideology of all the constituents who lived on the homestead. One should remember that "English witchcraft in this period existed openly in public and was tolerated . . . It's intriguing to speculate how English and African spirit beliefs may have interacted and borrowed from each other" (Leone 2008:5). While Leone was speaking of English

witchcraft and not the pagan ritual practices of Europeans in general, or the Dutch specifically, it is most probable that this type of ritual practice was at least tolerated in New York during the colonial period before circa 1750.

Perhaps the enslaved workers at the Lott Farmstead were creating a mechanism within the African-descended community here in order to achieve a sense of justice in their day to day lives. The justice that the African-descended individuals most likely got outside of their own ritual space was not equal to the justice that evolved through the use of the N'Kisi. The ritual of placing these objects under the floorboards, and the action of inscribing a diKenga on the bottom of an earthenware vessel are only pieces of what used to be a full and comprehensive belief system, that has since been fragmented into isolated practices. Butler (1990) states that these isolated practices were used as vital continuations of what used to be an intact worldview.

Other Items from The Lott Farmstead as Supplemental Evidence of African Material Culture:

While there was only one piece of ceramic found at the Lott house that has an incised 'X', the importance of this find in the context of the African Diaspora is very significant. The fact that at least one plate with an incised 'X' was found in the areas around the kitchen house, (See Figure 18) tells us that the artifacts under the floorboards were not the only space where this spiritual symbology of the cosmogram was evoked. These additional items are supplemental evidence of the possibility of cultural continuity from Central Africa. Based on multiple historical photos of the farmstead (See Figure 12) the Lotts had many outbuildings, and any evidence of more than their mere existence in photographs and any artifacts contained within them are possibly lost forever, since private homes now occupy the space of these former outbuildings and archaeological

investigation may never be possible. However, the incised 'X' fragment found in the stone kitchen foundation is thought to have been produced in the eighteenth century, although it was found among a nineteenth century context. It looks as though the ceramic with the inscribed 'X' found in unit N40E33 was passed down, based on its age compared to the other objects found within the same unit (Ricciardi 1999:187). It is also known that Europeans also passed down coins with inscribed 'X's on them (Merrifield 1987:184-196). These coins were "in the possession of some families, and [were] preserved with great care. Those who had not the good fortune to possess such a treasure made use of a coin current at the time" (Gregor 1881:190). This can mean that this practice of passing down ritualistically significant items was still being carried out into the nineteenth century, or perhaps this artifact held special meaning to those who preserved it over time, and the plate was passed down by the descendants or other members of the enslaved community on the farmstead.

Re-Examining the Artifact Assemblage from The Farmstead for "African" Cultural Continuities.

It is a common theory now to align certain artifacts from colonial contexts believed to have had the involvement of African-descended individuals, but many of the "signals" of African presence also have to do with the enslaved individuals social and economic status. These signals usually involve the discovery of items that have been repurposed or reworked (Brown 1994; Ferguson 1992, 1999; Franklin 1997; Galke 2000; Hanby and Long 2004; Leone and Fry 1999; McKee 1995; Patten 1992; Samford 1996; Wilkie 1995, 1997; Young 1996; Zierden 2002).

This is thought to have occurred because the enslaved did not have the agency to acquire new items (Leone 2005; Wilkie 1997); but instead had to reuse other things that

may have been discarded or broken, such as the reworking of glass or ceramic sherds (Galke 2000). This is not necessarily a continuation of a culture from Africa, but more the circumstances of poverty and restriction of access to material goods. Keeping this in mind, there are other cultural artifacts to be on the lookout for, such as perforating items to wear them on an individual's person either for adornment or apotropaic reasons.

The entire artifact collection from the Lott house was rechecked for any signs of use or reuse by African descendants following Diana Z. Wall (2000), in where she "rediscovered" several caches of items thought to relate to African spiritual practices.

Among the items, a pewter spoon with three incised 'X's in the bowl at the Assay Site in downtown Manhattan was discovered that had probable African-descended ritual significance. While Professor Wall has reexamined the site reports from excavations in Manhattan and compiled the list of seven contexts where possible African-descended ritual caches may have been found, the actual artifacts themselves had not yet been examined by Dr. Wall and her associates at the time of publication (Wall 2000:2).

The research that was conducted on the Lott House artifacts entailed the reexamination of all artifacts from every excavation season at the Lott House that were available at the Brooklyn College Archaeological Research Center. The artifacts were re-examined in the summer of 2014 with the help of students from a Brooklyn College Archaeology Field Course for evidence of secondary use or reworking linked to African-descended practices elsewhere (Patten 1992; Samford 1996; Andersen 2008; Goode 2009). Pottery and ceramic sherds were re-examined to see if any of them had been sanded or smoothed out for the possible use as game pieces for mankala or other games like those found in the sites at Poplar Forest, Jefferson's summer retreat (Heath 1999).

Other game pieces found at Monticello (Fennell 2000), Portici (Parker et al. 1990), Pohoke (Goode 2009) and Drax Hall on the island of Jamaica (Armstrong 2010). See Figure 56 for the game piece found at the Lott House.

Other Items of Possible African-Descended Connection Found at the Farmstead:

A few other items were found around the Farmstead in the inventory as they were rechecked in July of 2014. Some of the findings possible linked to African material culture are listed below:

Arrowhead and Pestle:

An arrowhead (Fig. 60) was found along with a medicine grinder or pestle (Fig. 58 and 59) (N44.5 E9 bag 301). Arrowheads have been found in African ritual caches in the south (Klingelhofer 1987; Neuwirth and Cochran 2000; Russell 1997; Young 1996).

Many people from many places and backgrounds are fascinated with arrowheads, even today. They are somewhat mysterious objects that are easy to recognize. There is no way of knowing who interacted with the object over time, as it seems like almost anyone would hold onto an arrowhead if they found it. It could have been found by any of the residents of the Lott House over the course of time, or most probably had been discarded or deposited by previous Native American occupants of the area before the Dutch arrived.

The pestle (Fig. 58 and 59) would have held similar fascination for someone as well, but the fact that the pestle and arrowhead were found in the same unit, it makes the idea of it being or becoming part of a ritual cache more likely.

Locket:

A locket (Figure 62) where the middle seems to have been cut away in some square-like pattern was found. It could have been anyone living at the farm who cut the

locket, as it was commonplace for objects to be repaired and reused many times over.

The piece could have been cut out of the locket for any reason. As it was the middle of the locket that was cut out, and it was cut out in a rectangular shape and not a circular perforation, it can be inferred that the locket most likely was not used as adornment or charm like a perforated coin would be.

Gamepiece:

A small smooth circle of blue painted white ceramic was also found (Figure 56).

Both the round shape and the white and blue color have been found in other sites and are thought to be a game piece for something like mankala or checkers. (Jones 2000).

However, this artifact was found in the sifter, so the actual provenience of the artifact cannot be determined. The field season at the Lott House during which this artifact was found investigated the southern wall of the twentieth-century garage that was removed from the site in 2015.

Bone Handle of Knife with Crisscross Pattern:

Bone-handled implements are common in the colonial period, and while the pattern inscribed on the handle matches some Adinkra cloth patterns from Western Africa, the “checkered” pattern was a common one. A Google Image search for “colonial checkered knife pattern” confirmed this. While the context of the item was not associated directly with other items of purported African ritual significance, based on the field notes from the excavation kept by BCARC, the handle of the knife is perforated (See Figure 57), and therefore could have been worn as a charm or adornment, so possible African ritual context is further supported.

Toothbrush:

There was a toothbrush discovered (Figure 61) that had been buried at N37E29.5U13.

According to Leone (2005), “Among users of African American spirit traditions, the web of holes [in the toothbrush] could serve as a device for catching and trapping the spirit when the toothbrush handle was buried in a place where spirits traveled” (Leone 2005:56)

Beads:

The significance of beads in African-descended contexts were explained at length in chapter four. There were a few beads found on the premises, with:

- Clear glass bead (Fig. 48 and 51) from Trench N39 E5 U2
- Black bead (Fig 53 and 54) and teardrop faceted bead (Fig. 52) N35W8U24
- Rainbow-colored N38E33 Unit 10
- Blue bead (Fig. 55) 2012 trench 2 Unit 4 - from around the garage area.

Otherwise, beads were scarce in the archaeological record of the site. The items were scattered at the site, and based on the artifact counts for the units where these items were found, the other items did not make for sealed layers with other purported ritual items present.

Spiritual Cache Under the Garret Room Floor:

The connection with the items under the floor with other spirit caches found in the New World is confirmed through multiple lines of evidence:

- the location of the cache by the doorway to the north garret room,
- the arrangement of the corncobs (Fig. 30)
- the use of peach pits [the correlation with other caches from American sites with corncobs (Greenhouse consultants 2011) and peach pits in Annapolis (Leone 2008)]
- the hand tied inner sachet of dirt

- the outer cloth lining
- the presence of bird bones
- the use of an oyster shell
- small pieces of broken white porcelain fragments
- the broken pieces of glass
- the iron nails
- seven pieces of lead shot

There were three pieces of broken glass from three separate objects. Two appear flat like window glass and the third is unmistakably a piece of broken lamp chimney.

The placement of a single piece of lantern glass in the cache may be linked to the use of lantern glass in the Kongo-descended community of the Gullah in the Sea Islands off Georgia. The fragment of lamp chimney symbolizes the fires that the Kongo used to use to light on top of a grave so as to help guide their newly-deceased brethren find their new homes among the dead (Pollitzer 1999:184).

Metal items from colonial contexts are considered rare finds because metal itself was quite expensive, and would most likely have been reused (Wall 2000:3). The other items that are found alongside (and assuming from within) a pouch made from what appears to be an old bandage including the animal pelvic bones and the oyster shell would minimize the probability that the things landed there by chance.

The remnants of the materials under the floorboards are just one part of the ritual. While it is amazing that these materials lasted as long as they have, it is also important to realize that a major part of the meaning in the ritual would have been in the movements that the people made, as well as the words that the people involved in the ritual used in the form of invocations or songs. It would have been what was spoken that had explained “what was going on and the results to be achieved” (MacGaffey 1986:107). These movements and utterances will never be recovered.

Shells:

There was one lateral half of an oyster shell placed in a prominent place among the purported cache or N’Kisi. There have been shells found in several cache sites throughout the world and here in the United States as well. As described in chapter four, shells symbolize the cyclical nature of the world and of life because of the spirals, but oyster shells do not have any spirals. Shells have a special importance in the Kongo Cosmology. kiKongo words for shell mean “to live” *zinga* and “to circle or enclose” (Bittremieux 1936:39). MacGaffey goes on to show that this word *zinga* is related to other words that also pertain to the concept of the spiral universe symbolized by the *diKenga* (MacGaffey 1986:95). The term *zinga* also means “long life” in Kongo. Therefore, the presence of shells in a Kongo-descended context can indicate that the shell means for someone to live a long time, or perhaps a person who crossed the threshold to the world of the dead had lived a long life before dying. While shells themselves are not actually alive, they are an integral and necessary part of life, as well as a product of life processes. The shell contains and gives shape to the contents within and not the other way around. The shell maybe thus represents the permanence of life.

It has also been shown that some Kongo believe that their elders hide their souls within the shells (MacGaffey 1986:97). There have been shells found in several sites throughout the world and here in the United States as well. At the African Burial Ground in lower Manhattan, a child’s grave contained a spiral shell (LaRoche 1994) increasing the local important of shells in African spiritual practices. As stated above, the shells symbolize the cyclical nature of the world and of life because of the spirals, but curiously, oyster shells do not have any spirals. Based on the artifact counts, there have not been any spiral shells, such as locally available whelks, found in the assemblages here

at the Lott Farmstead. Perhaps these oyster shells could have been a substitute for something else: another type of shell or natural element present in Africa that was not available to the individuals in Brooklyn at the time. There was an oyster shell found among the cache at Marlpit Hall in New Jersey as well (Greenhouse Consultants 2011).

Faunal Analysis:

Please see Table 3 for full details about the faunal remains found under the garret floorboards. The animal bones found in situ under the floorboards are thought to have significance in African spiritual traditions as well. Some of the animal bones could have been from food waste, possibly acquired illicitly, eaten and then the bones discarded under the floorboards, out of everyone's view. However, the faunal assemblage under the floorboards contains more than a dozen pieces without any pattern of repeated refuse disposal.

Table 3: Faunal Assemblage from under floorboards in the Lott House Garret Room

Fig. 34: Ulna, fowl indeterminate [turkey]
Fig. 35: Humerus, turkey
Fig. 36: Humerus, indeterminate fowl
Fig. 37 and 38: Indeterminate epiphysis
Fig. 39: Charred indeterminate bone 2 pieces
Fig. 40: Innominate Pelvis MTM INN (possibly pig)
Fig. 41: Ulna, fowl indeterminate 2 pieces
Fig. 42 and 43: Mandible, LTM Sawn Fragment
Fig. 44: Vertebrae, Cervical LTM CEV Vertebrae

Fig. 45: Vertebrae, Atlas LTM
Fig. 46: Fowl fragments, unidentified knife marks, small cut
Fig. 47: Epiphysis scorched bird
Fig. 48: Femur, fowl burn mark, slight chop mark

The Soil Sachet or 'Paket Kongo':

The Kongo N'Kisi contain sacred medicines to coerce a benevolent spirit to do the bidding on behalf of the practitioner and can contain earth, leaves, roots, shells, beads, feathers, wooden images and other objects (Thompson 1983:117). The spirit-embedding medicines that constitute a N'Kisi also often include soil from a gravesite. This earth is seen as imbued with the spirits of the dead or other location (Thompson 1983:37). There are many instances of modern day Voodoo practices that include packets of soil and other instances of soil from once place being used elsewhere in Central Africa. Objects resting on the earth tell the spirit what to do.

Found under the floorboards in the room was a small piece of cloth that was stitched together (Fig. 29) and may have contained soil from a different location. The exact place in the room where this smaller pouch was found is currently unknown, and might indicate a second cache of items. If the way in which the items had been laid out in the Minkisi were known, it might be possible to determine what objects were meant to direct the spirits contained in the sachet of dirt. Perhaps the soil inside the smaller pouch was from a gravesite or from a different place altogether. Putting soil in a bottle or packet can be a way of retaining spirits. It is also believed that the sachet of graveyard dirt might have been placed with the intention of escaping patrol (Leone 2005:227),

perhaps by the Lott overseers if the cache is in fact from the period of slavery, or perhaps from individuals escaping bondage in the nineteenth century; to avoid being captured.

There are many instances of modern day Voodoo practices where there are packets of soil involved. There is evidence from the WPA interviews about the importance of dirt: “dey get dirt out de graveyard and dat dir, after dey speakon it, it would make you go crazy” (as cited in Covey 2008:64).

Metal Spheres:

There are seven lead buckshot pieces in the cache, while metal spheres have been shown to represent a way to “protect from conjure” (Leone 2005:226), perhaps the number seven is not a coincidence. The motif of the seven stars has been seen in a survey of graveyards in contemporary Democratic Republic of the Congo and Angola.

According to a proverb from the Kongo-descended group, *Ma-Loango* goes as follows:

Likanda likoko lissimba mbota sambwali [The palm of the hand holds seven stars].

Denbow has made a connection between the number seven, and the King of the Seven Clans of Nkongo. It is thought to represent seven symbolic (but also natural) “facial orifices” of the king: two eyes, two nostrils, a mouth and two ears so that he may keep his senses in tune with his people (Denbow 1999:417-418). Perhaps one or more of the individuals involved in this ritual ceremony were from one of these seven tribes of the Kongo.

Chapter Conclusion:

What has been shown in this chapter are the multiple ways that African-descended material culture appear at the Lott Farmstead. Most important is the link to Kongo ritual practices through the discovery of a probable N’Kisi which was placed under the floorboards of the north garret room near to the door and the chimney, both of

which are locations thought to need protection in both Afro-descended and Euro-descended traditions. The corncobs (Fig. 30) in the 'X' formation found under the Lott floorboards are reminiscent of formations found first and most obviously in the Christian Cross, a symbol known all across the world, as well as other instances where an inscribed 'X' has cosmological symbolism, most specifically in the contexts of cultures in Central African and Western spiritual practices.

The items that are contained in the cache are synonymous with other ritual caches that have been discovered in colonial American contexts where there was specifically African-descended individuals known to have occupied the site. Furthermore, there are several other examples of African-descended material culture found on the site such as reworked sherds that support the hypothesis. The most crucial link to African spiritual practices at the Lott House other than the garret room assemblage is the piece of ceramic with the cosmogram incised onto the bottom found in the stone kitchen feature, along with a sanded ceramic white and blue game piece, a blue bead, and hand made clear whitish bead. White and blue beads are shown statistically to show up more often in sites with African-descended occupation (Yench 1995; Stine 1996). Using these multiple lines of evidence, perhaps to be confirmed by other pieces of evidence that may come to light in the future, indicates that there were specific Kongo cultural continuities present at the Lott farmstead.

Ch 7: Underground Railroad^{vi}

Chapter Introduction:

The evolution of meaning of the Kongo-descended symbols that are thought to possibly be an important part of the communication system that included the designs on quilts. The corncob (Fig. 30) pattern under the floor in the Lott garret could have represented one or more of these symbols- additionally, packets of dirt, bones and the like, while mostly represented in this manuscript as parts of Kongo-descended ritual, can also be linked to the use of these items in Hoodoo rituals during the period of emancipation. Furthermore, while there is no hard evidence that the Lott Farmstead was a part of the Underground Railroad, and the material presented in this chapter is mostly speculation, arguments for the house's possible involvement in the abolitionist movement will be presented through multiple lines of evidence.

Throughout this dissertation, multiple arguments have been presented for why it is believed that items placed under the Lott Homestead floorboards likely came from a Kongo-descended tradition. As discussed in previous chapters, the actual items found in a cache are not the only important correlations between The Lott House and other sites where similar caches have been found. It is also the placement of the items in the cache, along with the location near the threshold and the chimney stack of the small cramped garret room.

This combination of facts and artifacts parallels several caches found in other enslaved African contexts in multiple locations around the U.S (see chapter four), as well as aligning itself with ethnographic information from the former Kongo region of Central Africa. Certain Hoodoo practices in the United States that echo Kongo traditions were

also explored in chapter four. While this cache does not seem to contain any signs of Christian influence, as Hoodoo and other later spiritual practices have been shown to often include (Leone 2008), the idea that this cache was deposited in the mid to late nineteenth century during the time the Underground Railroad operated cannot be completely discounted. The possible reasoning is discussed below.

It is most probable that those items were placed by individuals with knowledge of the Kongo spiritual practices who were still enslaved by the Lott family, likely in the eighteenth century. This is mostly based on the inferred age of the lean-to kitchen structure, and the lack of syncretic items present in the garret room cache. The lack of syncretic spiritual practices makes the deposition of these items in some sort of Hoodoo or other informal spiritual act less likely, but it is still a possibility. It is possible that this cache was laid during the time of the underground railroad, and it could have been part of a language an escaping person used, a language that would have included the 'X'.

The hand sewn pouch (Fig. 29) that contains soil has direct connections to Kongo spiritual practices. The fact that these same pouches of soil when used in Haitian Voodoo ceremonies are often called 'Paket Kongo' furthers this connection. A possible alternative explanation is that the deposition occurred in the period when the house may have been part of the Underground Railroad during the mid-nineteenth century, after slavery was abolished in the North but still largely prevalent in the South. This is shown by the Works Progress Administration's interviews of ex-slaves where the use of graveyard dirt was discussed back in chapter six: "dey get dirt out de graveyard and dat dir, after dey speak on it, it would make you go crazy" (as cited in Covey 2008:64). In the end, it may never be known when these items were placed *in situ*.

There are possible motives during both time periods for why individuals would have created the cache. Based on what the N’Kisi or other spiritual caches are thought to represent, it makes sense that enslaved individuals would want protection from the masters and their administrators at any point, but at the same time it is equally plausible that these items were placed under the floorboards as a protective act while an individual or individuals were hiding during their journeys northward towards freedom. There are several cases, as described in previous chapters, where assemblages have been discovered in African American contexts that date to the second half of the nineteenth century or later, like the possible twentieth century pocket knife with an inscribed x in a circle, that was found at Prestwold plantation in Virginia (Samford 1996:107); showing that the end of slavery was not the end of the cosmogram.

Lott Architecture And The Underground Railroad:

An argument for the possible use of the Lott Homestead in the Underground Railroad will be explained through the use of architectural layout, primary source documents, and family oral history. Based on multiple lines of evidence, it is possible that the Lotts of Flatlands did in fact assist in the operation of the Underground Railroad.

The discussion of the Lott House’s possible role in the Underground Railroad is important in this dissertation research because the timeframe that the items had been placed under the attic floorboards is currently undetermined. Based on historical documents, including wills, probate records and Flatlands town archives, it is known that the Lott family kept, sold, and eventually freed their slaves. As described above, it is known that a couple of free black laborers from The South had begun to work at the Lott house in the later part of the nineteenth century. Since the oral history and the peculiar architectural features of the home are available, it is known that the modifications would

have transpired right at the time it would have been necessary if the home was an active hiding place for fleeing enslaved people.

The architecture of the Lott Homestead is a combination of several styles because the house was built and renovated at different stages throughout the family's tenure on the property. Diagrams based on the Historic Structures Report (Jablonski 2000) showing the sequence of architectural changes have been recreated and are shown in the appendix. They can help the reader understand the changes to the structure over time. It is the renovations that took place around 1820-1850 (pages 214-215) that are of the most interest in this investigation of the Underground Railroad as this time period was the peak of its operation.

There are other sites of the Underground Railroad all around the Northeastern United States that had false walls, and other peculiar architectural anomalies that seems to have had one primary purpose: to hide valuable items and/or to hide people.

According to the Historic Structures report (Jablonski 2000), the larger central portion of the Lott house was first built sometime around 1800. As already mentioned, based on deeds and public records from Flatlands Reformed Church Archives, it is known that the Lott Family bought the property in 1719, but the exact date other extant parts of house including the lean-to were built is as of yet undetermined. There is speculation based on the particular type of beams used that the lean-to part of the kitchen wing had been moved from another location and attached to the main part of the house, but there are no historical documents or concrete architectural evidence that can support the construction time frame.

Quilts and the Crossroads to Freedom:

There are many different forms that language can take, and all are representative

of things and ideas. These symbols, while ever changing, hold meaning that is both public and private simultaneously. As stated in an earlier chapter, it is generally understood that pictograms evolved into ideograms and these led to phonetic and then alphabetic and later syllabic systems (Norman 1975:7-12). As they evolved over thousands of years, they have manifested in many ways. One of the main points of this dissertation is to provide possible evidence showing some possible enduring Central African cultural symbols. The use of these symbols might have been incorporated into a newer different language; a language of freedom.

This language of freedom also incorporates another form of symbols that is linked to the Kongo culture; that of knot tying. As was discussed in chapter two, N’Kisi *makolo* is a ritual practice that involves tying knots in objects in order to represent ties to the ancestors (Fu-Kiau 2000:15) and to instill spiritual power into the object (Fu-Kiau 2000:53). It is believed that some of the spiritual meaning of these tied knots has been passed down through generations and across the Atlantic before manifesting as part of a symbolic system that included the designs on different quilting patterns (Figure 68) used across a wide portion of the Eastern United States (Tobin and Dobard 1998:6). These designs were used and understood by escaping captive Africans fleeing bondage and others who might have helped them along the way.

So what are the connections between the symbols on the freedom quilts and the cultures of Central and Western Africa? As will be shown below, it is likely that at least two of the patterns often found on Underground Railroad quilts possibly came from the design and meaning of the diKenga; as being a crossroads. Additionally, within the Kongo, Igbo and related cultural groups, the number of knots an object (such as a quilt) is

constructed with is significant:

"There are five square knots on the quilt every two inches apart. They escaped on the fifth knot on the tenth pattern and went to Ontario, Canada. The monkey wrench turns the wagon wheel towards Canada on a bear's paw trail to the crossroads. Once they got to the crossroads, they dug a log cabin on the ground. Shoofly told them to dress up in cotton and satin bowties and go to the cathedral church, get married and exchange double wedding rings. Flying geese stay on the drunkard's path and follow the stars".
(Tobin and Dobard 1998:23)

The quilts also possibly incorporated Westernn ideologies as well. The bear's paw pattern is thought to resemble maps of Hausa villages. The bear paw symbol "could have been used to identify landmarks on the border of the plantation because it's composition of squared rectangles and triangles reflect Hausa map designs" (Tobin and Dobard 1998:91). The Hausa and Igbo people come from regions of present-day Nigeria in Western Africa. These Westernn symbols that derive from various 'prehistoric' African cultures are connected both to the ways in which new syncretic religious practices, such as Candomblé and Haitian Voodoo have developed, as discussed in chapter four, but also may be partly responsible for these symbols being part of cultural traditions that persisted through the time of slavery into the abolitionist period. The use of these symbols on the quilts is yet another example of how ideologies from different areas of the African continent converged due to the forced migration of the Atlantic Passage.

At least a handful of these African-descended symbols were most likely understood as symbols to guide individuals through various steps as they prepared to

escape from bondage. While there is no evidence of quilts being used or found in the Flatlands area, it is the concept of a language that could communicate information about escaping from bondage that is important for this thesis, as these quilt symbols were recognized by a large swathe of people over an extended geographic area, much like the Kongo Cosmogram held importance to the baKongo and related societies across Central (and possible West) Africa (MacGaffey 1986).

If the Lott house members did participate in the Underground Railroad, then it is likely that at least a few of the “guests” of the home (i.e. blacks fleeing the South) may have recognized these symbols on the patchwork quilts along their journey. Enslaved individuals who were migrating from the South might have carried knowledge of these symbols with them, and then could have possibly placed the items under the floorboards of the garret room while they were waiting for a safe time to proceed north, perhaps instilling a similar intention onto the objects under the floor that is communicated by the symbols on the quilt. It was not as if escapees only stayed in a place for one or two nights. The wait could sometimes seem like an eternity. A woman destined for Philadelphia, Harriet Jacobs, spent seven years hidden in an Underground Railroad hideaway in Edenton, North Carolina (Jacobs 2009:92-154).

The crossroads pattern on the quilts that appears to be related to the diKenga is more stylized; it is more rectangular and similar in form to a Greek cross. Just like a diKenga, representing crossroads, this quilt design is thought to represent Cleveland, Ohio, also known as ‘The Crossroads’, since Cleveland is considered to be the end of the underground railroad (Bohde 2004:74).

Bohde (2004) presents an additional connection between the symbols on the quilt

and the Masonic order. Many of the free blacks who assisted enslaved persons to escape "were thought to be part of Masonic societies who are believed to be the actual designers of the underground railroad code" (Bohde 2004:75). The Masons have a long history of encoded secret symbols. The 'bowtie' pattern not only resembles the diKenga, but it is also very similar in form to a secret symbol used by the Masonic order. While the actual 'bowtie' symbol is not necessarily a secret, the meaning purportedly is.

In addition to the Kongo-descended individuals who recognized it, the bowtie symbol would have communicated protection to members of the Poro secret society formed from cultural groups of Guinea, Sierra Leone and Liberia (Tobin and Dobard 1998:198). It is believed that many of the captive Africans who were part of the *Amistad* rebellion were part of the same Poro secret society (Frykman 2013:26) and made it easier for them to unite together against the slaving crew (Lawrance 2013:262). In the New World, the meaning of these protective symbols could have been passed down through generations, still retaining it's meaning by the time slavery was collapsing. These symbols seem to represent the concept of freedom across multiple cultures. The understanding of these symbols by a broad audience of African-descended individuals again reinforces the idea of ideologies from different African backgrounds being used together post enslavement. It is most likely that these symbols became intertwined due to the mixture of captive Africans from various cultural backgrounds being forced to work together for capital production.

Role of Seafaring Individuals in The Underground Railroad:

The Lott House stands within the wide stream of individuals who were traveling along the east coast; either up the Hudson River or across Connecticut (Foner 2015) to Canada. There is well-documented Underground Railroad activity in Brooklyn Heights

and the nearby area now known as Downtown Brooklyn, as well as parts of Staten Island to the south and areas of present-day Nassau and Suffolk counties to the east, such as the areas of Hicksville, Jericho and Oyster Bay (Velsor 2013).

In the *Narrative of the life of Frederick Douglass, an American slave; My bondage and my freedom; Life and times of Frederick Douglass* (1845), after years of growing up in captivity, he decided to escape north to freedom. A free black woman named Anna Murray encouraged him. He dressed as a free black seaman, like the ones he worked with in the Shipyard. One of them gave him identification papers that said he was a free man. Douglass left Baltimore on September 3, 1838 (Douglass 1845:188), traveling by train and steamboat to New York City on his journey to freedom.

Douglass would certainly not have been the only person to have used water travel to obtain freedom. There were countless free black seamen living and working in the waters all around the metropolitan area, and it is likely that at least some of these seamen assisted in the operation of the Underground Railroad.

The use of water as an avenue for transporting escaping slaves is well established in popular and academic literature (Bolster 2009:15). The farmstead also was a distance from more densely populated areas of Brooklyn, providing a measure of secrecy for escaping slaves coming in by boat.

An individual named Simon Lott appears on the federal censuses of 1840 and 1850 and is listed as an oysterman residing in Flatlands. During this investigation, it was not possible to determine how or even if at all Simon Lott was related to the Flatlands Lott Family, but notwithstanding, it is an interesting possibility for an additional Lott Family connection to the Underground Railroad. According to the Federal censuses from

the period, there are many free blacks listed in the area that are registered as fisherman along with one longshoreman (Federal Censuses 1850 and 1860) and perhaps in addition to the countless commercial boats that came and went from Flatlands Neck (Baxter 1950) perhaps “passengers” were being ferried here as well. The European-descended Lott family members would have made a conscious effort in their involvement with the Railroad; if they so participated. Simon Lott may have been a connection between the Flatland Lott Family and the Underground Railroad, as he would have been involved within the same oystering network that the oystermen from Sandy ground were a part of.

Southern Blacks Appear in Brooklyn:

The 1865 local Flatlands census is the first mention of a black person from Virginia living in Brooklyn and based on the Flatlands local census of 1875, it is known that the Lotts had at least two servants living in the home at this time that are from the South as well. There is a possibility that these southern folks had arrived as a result of transport along the Underground Railroad and perhaps were able to stay. Without additional information, it is equally plausible that these individuals were free blacks who journeyed northward in search of employment.

Lotts and The Underground Railroad:

Based on family oral history collected by Ricciardi (1999), the Lott House being a stop on the underground railroad is a real possibility. There are two corroborated stories from two Lott descendants Catherine Lott Divis and her cousin Anna Lott McNamara. They did not grow up together, but recounted the same stories about how people who were escaping enslavement had been hiding in the house’s many peculiar architectural features (Ricciardi 1999:206). The idea of the Lotts as benevolent slaveholders turned conductors on the Underground Railroad is still based only on tales passed down through

generations of the family. It may be that the conflicted identities held by family members created a need to redefine themselves and redeem the family legacy by creating these stories of helping those whom they formerly kept as chattel. This should not deter further investigation into the possibility, however. While there may not be much to discover through archaeology on the site, archival and oral history research, such as an analysis of the Lott family's networks of interaction during the Underground Railroad period, may shed more light on the family's role. The idea that the Lott House could have been a stop on the Underground Railroad is exciting, and can help to bring this history to life in a modern heritage context once the house is opened to the public.

Radiocarbon Dating of Corncob Samples:

While radiocarbon dating could have been used to date the objects found under the floorboards to either the eighteenth or nineteenth century, which would place these possible date ranges either into a horizon of enslavement or during the Underground Railroad, the biggest hurdle to analyzing the results would have been the calibration curves. For example, if it turned out that the artifacts had been placed there in 1750, there is another valid calibration curve with nearly the same percentage possibility in the mid 1800's. Therefore, using radiocarbon dating would not have been helpful to this investigation. Please see the appendix for Figure 66 that was provided by Beta Analytic services showing all the possible calibrated dates, and how the three most probable dates all overlap with each other, indicating that radiometric testing is not a reliable technique to ascertain the age of the corncobs or other items from the cache at the Lott farmstead (Fig. 28).

Based on the Lotts founding their farmstead somewhere around 1719, some historians have stated that, based on the early time period, the slaves the Lotts owned

most likely came directly from Central Africa (Heyward and Thornton 2007). Later on, the Lotts added slaves that could have been brought from anywhere (Foote 1999:46). As iterated repeatedly throughout this manuscript, there is no documentation that reliably states anything about the origin of the enslaved on the Lott farmstead specifically and in the New World in general.

Resistance:

Flatlands and Flatbush Brooklyn were hotbeds of dissent against English Imperialism. Later they resisted becoming part of the borough of Brooklyn and then again as Brooklyn became part of New York City (Schenck 1881; Vanderbilt 1899). The Flatlands Lott Family, along with other prominent members of both Flatlands and Flatbush, such as the Vanderbilts, Lefferts and Voorhees to name just a few, were active in local government and the militia from the establishment of these Dutch communities in the seventeenth century, and many were involved in resistance efforts against the British occupation of the area. The family had a history of fighting for what they believe in and resisting change to their community. During the American Revolution, the Lott family was active in colonial resistance against the British. Johannes E. Lott, Hendricks's father, was a colonel in the Kings County militia who fought in the French and Indian War, and is described in a Lott family history as one of the "financiers of the Revolutionary War" (Phillips 1942:38-39). His wife, Jannetje Probasco, was also known as a "patriot [who] advanced funds to finance the cause of Independence" (Phillips 1942:38). Hendrick Lott's wife, Mary, also came from a family of patriots: her grandfather, Dr. William Brownjohn, went so far as to melt down the lead from his windows in order to make bullets (Phillips 1942:54). Considering that members of this family were brave enough to sneak into a British camp and steal General Cornwallis's fireback (Prime 1845) shows

how courageous the Lott family members were.

While this seems like an unfounded romanticized story, as many of the anecdotes from the eighteenth and nineteenth century seemed to be, the fireback is still in the family's possession and currently, a picture of the fireback is shown on the official New York City Parks Department informational plaque at the entrance to the Lott House site. Given this history of political resistance, it does not seem too farfetched that the Lott family members would have participated in the Underground Railroad if abolition was something that they believed strongly in. This being said, beliefs do not often survive in the archaeological record. The beliefs and ideologies of the individual family members would be nearly impossible to determine.

The investigation into the Lotts possible participation in the Underground Railroad can help to shed light on the mindsets and ideologies of the earlier generations of the Lotts, who were slaveholders until 1805 when all the enslaved people owned by the Lotts save one elderly individual were manumitted. The Lotts were French Huguenots who settled in Holland in the sixteenth century to escape religious persecution. A.V. Phillips (1942:5), in his extensive genealogy of the Lott family, identifies Peter Lott, who emigrated to New Amsterdam from Holland in 1652, as the common ancestor of the Lotts in America. It was Engelbert Lott, John I. Lott's oldest son, who settled in New Castle as a second generation "American", in the present-day state of Delaware. He swore his allegiance to William Penn in 1682. While Penn was a slaveholder, many of his colonists were abolitionists, and this close proximity to a social group against the institution of slavery might have been an overarching sentiment that later influenced some members of the Lott family to contest the ideas about captive labor. It was Peter's

grandson, Johannes Lott (1692-1775), who first purchased the Lott House property.

The null hypothesis in this investigation would be that the Lott house was not used as a stop or station on the Underground Railroad. It then becomes a question of how to support the contrary hypothesis that the home was used as a stop based on documentary evidence, including probates and census records among other documents. It is known that there were African-descended people living at the homestead from the eighteenth century through the end of the nineteenth century. The presence of African-descended individuals at the Lott farmstead is not in question.

Much of the activity of the Underground Railroad, by design, had to be covert and secretive. Even among groups of Quakers in the area, where there was much active resistance to slavery, not all the congregants were informed of the actions some of the community members were taking to assist in the movement of enslaved people northward towards Canada (Velsor 2013:42). While primary sources from farmers that lived in the same community as the Lotts in Flatlands were used, there was no mention of abolitionist activities. Anything involving the Underground Railroad had to have been purposefully hidden from view.

Based on the federal census of 1790, the group of African-descended individuals on the farmstead appears to have been twelve at most. There could have very well been other free blacks or enslaved laborers employed or borrowed from neighboring sites who worked on the Lott farm. Free black laborers and the use of neighbor's enslaved and free laborers are mentioned on a regular basis in the journals of the Lotts' neighbors John and Garrett S. Baxter starting in 1790 through 1836 (Baxter 1950). If the Lott farmstead did participate in the Underground Railroad, and these artifacts were deposited by someone

seeking refuge in the garret area above the lean-to kitchen, then the group of African-descended individuals involved in the ritual of depositing these items under the floorboards could have possibly been even smaller. Homen states that history rarely remembers small groups (1950:1).

Local Influences on The Lotts:

As already described, the communities of Flatbush and Flatlands were full of dissenters throughout the colonial period and beyond. The members of the community already had a pattern of standing up for what they believed in. Naturally then, it makes sense that if people in the Flatlands and Flatbush community felt strongly opposed to the institution of slavery, they would take steps to actively work against it.

The relationship between white and black residents of Flatbush seems different to the ways in which their races would have interacted in areas not centered around a Dutch Reformed Church (Watson 2016, in press). This goes along with the difference in attitude the Dutch had towards the enslaved, which is based on an account of a captive English sea captain who commented on the "appalling" way the Dutch were so familiar with the enslaved. After having been captured by the dutch, he observed, "Their blacks . . . were very free and familiar; sometimes sauntering about among the whites at mealtime, with hat on head, and freely joining occasionally in conversation, as if they were one and all of the same household" (Kobrin 1971:16).

This is not to say that slavery was less brutal here or that there were not slaveholders in the Flatlands area who were malevolent (see Schenck 1881:69). In his will dated 1782, Johannes E. Lott, Hendrick's father and a Dutch Reformed Church member, stated "I do order if any of my negro slaves should prove stubborn and disobedient that my executor make sale of such slave and buy others in their room"

(BHS, LFP, Brooklyn, New York, 1782. J. E. Lott Final Accounting Liber). In 1810, however, Joseph Lake, an “African Preacher” from the Presbyterian Church in Princeton, New Jersey, gave a sermon at the Flatbush Dutch Reformed Church. Allowing a person of African descent to provide guidance for worship and play a leading role in the church service seems remarkable for the time, indicating that the congregation practiced active tolerance toward people of color.

Harlem African Burial Ground:

From 1665 to 1869, the African cemetery of the Low Dutch Reformed Church was located very close to the actual church building. Although African and European burials were separate, the proximity of the cemetery to the church building may have signified that people of African descent were considered a part of the church community, albeit a peripheral one. In contrast, the main African burial ground in Manhattan was located on the outskirts of the settlement, beyond the walls of the City (see, e.g., LaRoche 1994). Currently there is an archeological investigation of this African Burial Ground in Harlem, which is currently situated under a Metropolitan Transportation Authority Bus Terminal^{vii}.

One notable agent in the fight against the crown was Nathaniel Hale^{viii}, who was hung for treason on September 22, 1776. According to several accounts, on many occasions, Hale posed as a Dutch schoolteacher and pastor traveling around the island of Manhattan and visited The Harlem Dutch Reformed Church. Hale’s activity at the Harlem church illustrates the church’s involvement in the War for the Revolution. According to the church’s records, the Harlem Dutch Reformed Church resisted the British occupation of the area and later on appeared to actively engage in helping former enslaved individuals reach freedom.

As slavery began to dissolve, this spirit of liberty at the Harlem Dutch Reformed Church was possibly exhibited later into the nineteenth century. There were many members of the Harlem church congregation active in the abolitionist movement throughout the period the Underground Railroad was in operation. The Harlem congregation also had many visitors who were abolitionists, such as William C. Brownlee, who was a pastor with abolitionist sentiment at the Harlem Church off and on from 1826-1860, according to the Harlem Dutch (currently The Elmendorf) Reformed Church records-.

Combining the examples of the Harlem congregation actively working against things of which they did not approve and research at the Dutch reformed churches both in Flatlands and in Flatbush, it seems that many people in at least these three communities may have stood up for what they believed. Just as in Harlem, there is evidence of people of African descent being part of the services at both Flatbush and Flatlands Churches throughout the period (Flatbush Dutch Reformed Church archives) when much of the literature states the Dutch Reformed Church as a whole was inhospitable to African Americans (De Jong 1971). De Jong's theory is at least partially shown to be false by the church records. People of African descent were married and baptized frequently at the church. The Flatbush church archives list fifty-nine marriages of "colored" people between 1825 and 1866. Church records from the Flatbush congregation show baptisms of Africans in the later seventeenth century, after the colony was taken over by the English. For example, in 1681, "Swaan de Neger, Christine," a person of color, was baptized and in 1684, an 11-year-old "colored" girl named Margarita, owned by Grietje Jans Teunis Pelt, was baptized. Early on, the African marriage register is mixed in with

the white sacrament listings, but it becomes separate around 1810 (FBDRC archives).

In 1881, Peter Schenck wrote *A Social History of Flatbush*. While there are some wonderful accounts of people, places and things in this book, one must remember that just like other historic accounts of the time, this book presents a romanticized version of history that is at times more allegorical than factual. In the book, a socially progressive couple is described in detail. In Flatbush, which was just to the west of Flatlands, Bateman Lloyd, a British prisoner of war from New Jersey on parole in Flatbush, and his wife, Abigail Lefferts-Lloyd - were known to be active in the fight against enslavement.

In addition to the social conditions that possibly led to individuals' participation in the abolitionist movement in Flatlands and Flatbush, one must not forget how important the areas of present-day downtown Brooklyn were to the successful escape of countless enslaved individuals. There is fairly conclusive evidence that individuals in this area did in fact participate in the Underground Railroad (Foner 2015). For example, the work of Harriet Beecher Stowe and others just a few short miles from the Lott farmstead could have influenced (or have been influenced by) the ideologies and sentiments present in the Flatlands area, as all three of these communities were relatively close geographically to one another and actually part of the same larger abolitionist movement. Therefore, a possible path an escapee might have taken could have been from either the waters between Staten Island and Flatlands Neck or from the areas of Brooklyn Heights and Downtown Brooklyn. From here, it is possible individuals would then travel to the North Shore of Long Island, passing through Hicksville, Jericho or Oyster Bay (Velsor 2013), to name a few locations, on their way through Connecticut and ultimately into Canada.

As previously mentioned, there are many stories of how the Quakers and other groups on Long Island were an integral and essential part of The Railroad operations. According to Gravesend historical records, there were Quakers living among the settlement that Deborah Moody established there from the late 1600's. Considering the community of Gravesend had been established in response to intolerance that Lady Moody and her followers experienced with the Puritans in New England, there was little to no fear of religious discrimination in the Gravesend community, unlike other towns in the area. Into the nineteenth century, there were Quakers living in and around the community of Flatbush and Flatlands (Vanderbilt 1899).

Architectural Changes to The Farmstead and The Underground Railroad:
As far as the Lott Family's role in the Underground Railroad, the architecture of the home and how it changed over the late eighteenth and early to mid nineteenth century must be considered. Using the historic structures architecture report (Jablonski 2000), it has been shown that the upper story of the home was drastically changed during the first few decades of the nineteenth century. This coincided with both the time that Hendrick I. Lott passing away and his son Johannes H. Lott taking over the house in 1838. Perhaps the death of Hendrick I. Lott in 1840 was one of the factors influencing his son Johannes H. Lott to remodel the upstairs of the home around the same time, but there could have been another, unknown motivation. It may not have been coincidence that these architectural changes occurred around the same time (Jablonski 2000) when the Underground Railroad operations were at their peak. Diagrams based on this 2000 Historic Structures report have been recreated and are available in the appendix.

The Lott homestead, just like many other homes across the north east that were built or modified in the same timeframe, has some very peculiar architectural features.

Some of the homes purportedly involved in the Underground Railroad are now bed and breakfasts^{ix}, many of which have the same architectural anomalies- false walls, closets, hidden stairwells, etc. Using these modifications as one form of possible evidence, these hidden spaces in the Lott House can be compared with other homes that have been documented to have participated in the Underground Railroad.

The changes to the architecture of the Lott family farmstead is very interesting. While based on census records, it is known that the Lott family freed their slaves by 1805, just as Lott and his wife Mary Brownjohn had just finished the initial construction of the new main section of their house. The primary reason for the couple building their house in the style that they chose is a simple one: they wanted a house that was in the mode of the day. Mary Brownjohn Lott came from a wealthy English-descended family. Mary's father and grandfather were both medical doctors. Her father also owned quite a few properties in Manhattan, including a wharf near to the fly market in Manhattan creatively named "Brownjohn's Wharf", so her family already had esteem previous to her marriage into the Lott Family.

Since Mary's father was active in the shipping and trading industry, and although the chance is small and remote, perhaps Mary's father or other members of her family participated in the Underground Railroad themselves or perhaps had some influence on the Lott Family's decision to participate in the Underground Railroad. As discussed in a previous paragraph in this chapter, Mary's father was active in the fight against the British during the Revolutionary War, just as many of the inhabitants of Flatlands were. Also a possibility is that some of Mary's father's associates, or other relatives in Mary's generation who were active in the sea trade might also have been in contact with the Lotts

through Mary's family. Most of the argument in this chapter is my own personal extrapolation; there are few historical documents yet found to allude to these possibilities. More network analysis of individuals and families in the area is necessary to draw more connections.

Additional Physical Evidence of African Spiritual Practices at The Homestead:

To date, there have been four cisterns discovered on the site. Each of them was investigated to see if there were any signs of people occupying them. The research into the cisterns follows Delle's (2008) investigations at The Parvin Homestead in Pennsylvania, which was owned by a Quaker who is documented to have hidden escapees in and around his home. At the Parvin, there was a tunnel in the cold storage cellar that led out to the springhouse, where a natural spring was located. During archeological excavations in the Parvin home and surrounding areas, discarded and broken ceramics and some faunal remains were found in this springhouse area that indicate that this area could have possibly been used as a hiding place. Unfortunately, based on precursory examinations of the floor of each of the Lott House cisterns over the different seasons (2005, 2007, 2012) that they were investigated, there is no physical evidence that people had been hiding in these areas. While there was no indication of occupation of the cisterns discovered, this does not exclude the possibility that people may have hid in them. While each cistern seemed large enough to have held at least a couple people each, no evidence has yet been found to indicate anyone had been. The exploration of the cisterns had to be quick and precursory, as the integrity of the cisterns and therefore, the safety of investigating them, was not able to be determined.

A question remains about the Lott home in regards to what year the lean-to kitchen area was built or moved to be attached to the other part of the newer home

structure. It is uncertain if any of the extant kitchen lean-to structure had originally been part of the previous home that had been on the site. The discovery of rose headed nails in the lean-to structure would allude to the idea that it was built before 1800, but the time frame of the use of these nails is not certain (Visser 1997). It was common in this time frame for frugal Dutch families to reuse structural components over again (Jablonski 2000). This is even evident in the reuse of the wallpapered boards in the lean-to area attic. Because of this nearly constant reuse, it makes terminus post quem of the entire lean-to structure difficult.

The architecture report (Jablonski 2000) that was created at the time the house was acquired by the city in 1999 analyzed the architectural history of each room in the home, including the two garret rooms where the corncobs (Fig. 30) were found (room 208 and 207 in the report). These garret rooms must have had a purpose at the time the floorboards were added. According to a paper presented at the SHA conference in 2000 on the Lott House, Chris Riccardo and Alyssa Loorya believe, based on “architectural analysis that the floorboards were laid down no later than 1740, which would roughly correspond with the time frame of the production of these rose headed nails” (SHA 2000 Conference Notes). Just how this was determined by the authors is questionable. Further analysis of the architecture and materials used is needed before this information can be considered valid.

While the idea that the Lott family remodeled their home with the intention of helping to conceal escaping slaves may sound far-fetched, there are myriad examples of homes in the United States and Canada where architecture was changed specifically to create hiding spaces, including several examples on Long Island, in nearby Nassau

County, New York, that have peculiar architectural anomalies similar to those at the Lott House. There are other Underground Railroad sites around the Northeastern United States that have false walls and other peculiar architectural anomalies most likely originally designed to hide valuables and possibly later on, runaways (Velsor 2013:70). The use of false walls and hidden rooms is documented in nearby areas of Hicksville and Jericho in the buildings currently occupied by the Milleridge and Maine Maid Inns. The George Townsend homestead (now Raynham Hall) in Oyster Bay, for example, was a stop on the Underground Railroad according to family documents (Velsor 2013:83). On the first floor is a large china closet that when opened reveals a hidden hallway leading to the outside of the building (Velsor 2013:84).

Another example is the Hicksville, New York, home of Valentine and Abigail Hicks, members of the prominent Quaker family for whom Hicksville is named. Valentine and Abigail are known to have been involved significantly in the anti-slavery movement. This grand building underwent renovations to the second story in the 1840s, including stairs that start several feet from the floor (Velsor 2013:70). The Elias Hicks Home, also in Hicksville, has a root cellar that was converted into a hiding place and concealed beneath a trapdoor in the floor (Velsor 2013:74).

Another property owned by the Hicks family, the Old Place, has a closet at the top of a stairway with a hidden door that leads to a space between the wings of the home (Velsor 2013:91). Based on late nineteenth-century accounts from Rachel Hicks, another member of Hicksville's eponymous family, enslaved individuals were also hidden in the attic at the Old Place, which was reached via a hidden stairway (Velsor 2013:91). Whether the hiding of valuables in this manner was done in non-Quaker homes has not

yet been investigated. While it may be that some of these areas were used to hide valuables, in the case of the Lott House, the archaeology shows that at least one of the spaces was occupied. While it is only speculative that this space might have been used to hide escaping slaves, it can at least be said with a fair amount of certainty that the room was occupied by people of African descent.

The Lott House has additional storage areas along the southern edge of the second story that were clearly demarcated with small doors (Fig 26.) while access to the garret rooms over the kitchen lean-to was completely blocked from the second story, making these rooms completely hidden from view. In addition, the stairway in the kitchen heading up to the garret rooms was removed, leaving only a handful of stairs near the top of the wall (Fig. 27). A hatch in the top of the kitchen storage closet, leading into the garret rooms, is completely hidden from view when clothing is hung in the closet (Ricciardi 1998:188).

It is possible that during the renovations that occurred to the Lott home around 1830, when the Underground Railroad was at its peak, the storage areas along southern eaves were made to be conspicuous so as to make the other garret rooms that were hiding in plain sight less conspicuous. If someone, such as a bounty hunter or slave catcher did come to the home to look for escapees, allowing the individuals access to the other more conspicuous crawlspaces during times of scrutiny might have acted as a distraction or decoy from them finding the additional spaces where escaping individuals may have possibly been hiding. There has been no mention of slave catchers being in Flatlands in any of the research carried out for this project.

Examination of possible ritual deposits under the floorboards of the rest of the

second floor has not yet to my knowledge yet been conducted. If there had been evidence of things deposited in other areas of the home, then this might very well change the event horizon for the deposition of the artifacts in room 208, making deposition of the garret room cache during the time of the Underground Railroad or another period more likely. Perhaps other areas of the house or outbuildings such as the Stone Kitchen or the barns were used as hiding places during the Underground Railroad as well, but these areas have long been plowed asunder to make room for the houses of the modern-day Marine Park neighborhood.

Lott Farmstead and Its Proximity to Water, a Link to The Underground Railroad:

At first glance, one might have myriad questions about how the Lott homestead could have possibly been a stop on the Underground Railroad. Looking at the way that the farmstead is currently sandwiched between these identical cookie cutter homes in modern times, it is hard to imagine that at some point in the recent past, the Lott house and its associated outbuildings would have been the only things on the landscape. The farmstead's isolation would have made it easier for individuals to travel inconspicuously. Also the building would have stood out on the landscape for miles, set on a rise with dormers and the outbuildings extending skyward which would have been a stark contrast to the otherwise natural horizon. Since the house was close to the water, perhaps any lights on in the Lott House would have acted like a beacon of safety to those coming ashore.

The Lott family relied heavily on boats in Jamaica Bay, considering there were no good roads and no overland services. Therefore, it makes sense that the majority of travel was done by water especially in the earlier days of the homestead, before the roads

were leveled. Since there were few roads, one can imagine that it would take less time to sail than to go overland. The Lotts were in close proximity to the mill at Mill Basin as well. According to the Baxter journals, there is much talk about all the boats and “augers” that came and went on a daily basis from the landing near the mill.

Based on our modern view of distance and travel, it might seem that people would use land transportation to get to places like the town of Flatbush, New Lots, and Brooklyn. However, based on the journals of John Baxter and from a few maps of the Flatlands from the time, there was a place known as Lotts Landing on the shore near to where the Lott farmstead is located. Many times it was mentioned in the Baxter journals that a penny auger or schooner was being loaded or unloaded. There is even an entry in the Baxter journal that mentions a “ship full of Negroes” landing near to Lotts Landing on June 13, 1818 (Baxter 1950). It was unclear from the entry if the African-descended individuals were for sale themselves, had been sent over to look for work, or for some other purpose. Theoretically, there could be no sale of enslaved in New York state at this time so it is more likely that perhaps they were functioning as day laborers, and perhaps some were fleeing from the South. There is not another mention of the ship or those it contained or any other like it in the Baxter Journals.

Fleeing Along the Water:

According to estimates using Google Maps, as of now the farmhouse stands 2,440ft from the edge of the bay. This distance to the water would have been less in the mid-nineteenth century; some few hundred feet at most, because since this time period there has been extensive land expansion into the water, making the shoreline farther from the house now than it was at the time of the Underground Railroad. A large percentage of the people moving through the Railroad did so via the water and it was known by local

people, including slaves and abolitionists, that the East Coast was an escape route (Celestin 1994:176). On October 19, 1849, found in The Wilmington (Virginia) Journal: “it is almost an everyday occurrence for our negro slaves to take passage [aboard a ship] and go north.” From the Deep South all the way through to Canada, there are stories of people moving along the water to get where they need to go.

Flatlands Family Connection to The North Shore:
Kathleen Velsor (2013) conducted research on several families who acted as conductors on the Underground Railroad in the areas of Hicksville, Jericho and Oyster Bay, to name a few; all neighboring communities in present-day Nassau County. Nassau County was once part of Queens County and in the historical accounts of when the British invaded the Flatlands area, it often states that the families escaped to “Queens county”. This part of Queens County is now the North Shore of Long Island. It has been shown that the Hegeman family in Oyster Bay, NY, for example, whose connection to Flatlands Families has already been established, used lights as signals to guide escaping enslaved and their helpers to the safety of the shores of the Long Island Sound (Velsor 2013:48). The Hegeman family, as well as the Motts who resided in Flatbush and Flatlands, had family members living in the areas of Oyster Bay in present-day Nassau County. Even today, there are roads in the Oyster Bay area named after both families, showing the families’ prominence in the area.

Boatmen as Agents Of Freedom:
Men piloting fishing boats and ferries often helped escaping slaves (Celesti 1994:177). Many of the enslaved boatmen and others who operated on the water had more freedom to travel farther from their master’s home. They could have easily acted as messengers and deliver goods in places that would be hard to find from the shore

(Celeski 1994:180). Enslaved boatmen would have most likely had more privacy than was afforded other enslaved individuals who traveled by land.

Countless stories exist of people wanting to escape to freedom finding boat captains who would carry them northward (Douglas 1845; Celeski 1994; Bolster 1997). There was potentially a very large network of maritime abolitionists. It is known that there were ties between people in port cities in South, such as Wilmington, with people in New York City and by extension, all the way to Canada. It is also known that the inhabitants of Sandy point in Staten Island were active in the Underground Railroad (Celeski 1994:177). The following history of Sandy Ground is from the Sandy Ground Historical Society website^x.

The entire Sandy Ground area was a settlement composed mostly of free black fishermen, longshoremen and oystermen. The people of the Sandy Ground community, along with the Rossville Zion African Methodist Episcopal Church in the community, were actively engaged in the Underground Railroad. During the time that the Underground Railroad was in operation, many free blacks moved up north from the areas of Maryland and Virginia because of laws that had been passed to prohibit the movement of the freed blacks on the water farther south. For example, notes from a Wilmington town meeting on March 6, 1847, state that a law was passed prohibiting enslaved individuals on craft piloted by Freeman (Celeski 1998:48).

As a result, many African-descended people migrated to the small Sandy Ground community to take up work as oystermen and seafarers. However, even after moving north from Maryland, the Sandy Ground oystermen would frequently take up to six days to travel southward to the waters of the Chesapeake and return with boats full of oysters.

Therefore, these individuals would have been used to traveling decent distances in their boats at all hours of the day and night. The journey across the water from Staten Island to Lott's Landing would have been nothing to a seasoned boatman. Slaves who could write very well could have forged any kind of documents, including ones that declare the person a free black, and even give them extra-legal ways to get 'seaman's papers' to gain employment on a watercraft (Celeski 1994:183).

In addition to the Sandy Ground boatmen and other people using boats in the area, free Blacks living in Flatlands would have most likely been aware of at least some of the action of the Underground Railroad in the area. Slaves and other African-descended individuals living in an area often knew where the runaway slaves were being hidden (Celeski 1994:180). It does not seem outlandish that at least some of these free individuals would have helped out in one way or another in the operation of The Underground Railroad. Throughout the nineteenth century, the Lotts had servants and laborers on the farm that were African-descended (Federal Census records), and they could have possibly had a hand in aiding escape. It could have even been possible that some of the former Lott slaves, now free, helped other escaping individuals move northward to freedom. Hopefully, additional research and network analysis of known abolitionists in the area will help shine more light on just who was involved in this massive, secretive undertaking that has still, to this day, left very few traces.

When examining the censuses of Flatlands through the nineteenth century, the number of free black individuals and families increased as the decades wore on.

According to these census records, the majority of free blacks are either laborers or fishermen, with the mention of at least one longshoremen and an oysterman's family by

1820. There were several families of fishermen; though whether they owned their own vessels or worked on others' vessels is not clear. Not surprisingly, according to the property lot numbers on the census documents, the free black families appear to have lived close to one another.

The 1850 Flatlands federal census indicates many free blacks in the area so while it may seem to be conspicuous to see black people in boats off Jamaica bay, there were enough black people in the boats as to make tracking individuals difficult. We don't even know how often bounty hunters and the like were in the area, but if there were people in Jamaica Bay who were looking for escaped slaves in the boats, there were enough "decoys" - legally free blacks - to hinder their success.

The reasons why enslaved people would have been smuggled through Brooklyn and through the more eastern parts of Long Island instead of through Manhattan are myriad. Manhattan was a place to avoid primarily because of the immense economic ties many individuals in New York City had with Southern plantation and business owners. There were also people in Manhattan who had invested in and were making quite a profit from the slave trade. For example, in the summertime, many southern plantation owners and other slaveholders would vacation in New York (Foote 1999:72). Since there was money to be made by Manhattanites through the capital circulation produced by slavery, it would have been in the best self-interest of those New Yorkers benefitting from slavery to assist in the recovery of escaped enslaved persons. Furthermore, slave catchers were also frequent visitors to Manhattan. At the slave markets in Manhattan, it would have been common for slaves to have relatives, also enslaved, at several locations around the area (Celeski 1994:180).

Chapter Conclusion:

The Lotts' ownership and early manumission of enslaved Africans shows a conflicted identity with multiple layers, including their occupation as farmers, their need to maintain a certain status and prestige, their roles as community leaders, and their religious teachings and convictions. In colonial New York, owning slaves was part of being a successful farmer and presented an image of wealth and prosperity. While enslaving Africans may have conflicted with their religious beliefs, the family profited from the ownership of others. We probably will never discover the reasons that the family manumitted their slaves earlier than required by law. Perhaps they wanted to appear more tolerant, or more righteous, to other church members, or perhaps it was just less expensive to rehire their freed slaves as laborers, but there likely is more to the story. In fact, the Lott family identity through the first half of the nineteenth century was tied up with the abolitionist movement. Hendrick's early manumission of his slaves shows that different aspects of his identity, possibly those stemming from his faith (whether deeply held or superficial), became more important--or more necessary to maintaining his role in the community and the church.

Subsequently, Hendrick, and/or his son Johannes H., may have gone further with his relationship to the abolitionist movement by becoming involved with the Underground Railroad, investing heavily in this aspect of the family's identity by actively participating in sheltering escaping slaves. Lott Family oral history tells of the family's involvement in this movement. Two family members, Catherine Lott Divis and Anna Suydam, have both recounted stories of escaped slaves being hidden in the area above the kitchen (Ricciardi 2004:206). Stories collected unofficially from neighbors in Marine Park speculate that people may have been hidden in the network of cisterns and catch

basins that are located on the property. While a transient and covert population would likely not have many possessions and would probably take what they had with them when they left, artifacts could include such things as chamber pots, food storage containers, medicine bottles, or other objects designed to meet the basic needs of people on the run who were confined to one hiding place for a short time (Delle and Shellenhamer 2008:56).

While there is as yet no written or archaeological proof that the house was part of the Underground Railroad network, some aspects of the site's archaeology and history help to fan the flames of curiosity about the house and its occupants' possible role in this epic journey. The farmstead's proximity to the water makes it a likely candidate, as the stately home would have been visible from the water. By the early mid-nineteenth century, the Lott family may have moved away from the conflicts between slave "owner" and slave "helper" and to solidify their identity as abolitionists through their participation in the Underground Railroad. Changes to the architecture of the house may show this shift but, unlike the earlier architectural changes, they were by nature secretive and could not be announced to the surrounding community. These identity shifts may have been more personal, perhaps indicative of a wish to silence the past or redeem themselves from the evils of slavery.

The progressive nature of several of the Flatlands and Flatbush residents through the years, and the tendency for the people of these communities to stand up for what they believe in, along with the strange hidden areas of the house all point to a high likelihood that the family did in fact participate in the movement of people towards freedom. Oral histories of two Lott Family descendants about the family hiding escaping enslaved

individuals on the farmstead corroborate; increasing the likelihood that the farmstead was in fact a node along the path to freedom. Dutch traditions of *gedogen* (tolerance), the conflicted Dutch attitude toward slavery, and the (qualified) acceptance of African and African-American religious participation by the Dutch Reformed Church, where the Lotts were members, may have played a role in the way the family chose to fashion their house and manipulate the space around them, as well as in the actions they took in regards to enslaved Africans.

Dissertation Conclusion:

Methodologically, insight into African-American belief systems has been constrained by approaches that focus on what Pedro Funari calls “static models of material culture” (Funari 1996), whether individual African traits or generalized patterns. Studies such as these on northern plantation sites are important because they expand on African-American contributions to American technologies and artistic traditions, as well as the role of enslaved Africans in the plantation setting. In general, however, such approaches are unlikely to provide insight into African American cultural dynamics unless these observations are integrated with attempts to examine the cultural systems and the dynamic processes that shaped the tangled web of societies that were involved. What ended up being the Atlantic Slave Trade was a very complicated capitalist system.

Sally and Richard Price, who investigated the arts of Maroon communities from Suriname (Price and Price 1980), are very critical of studies of African “survivals” as first put forth by Melville Herskovits (Herskovits 1966). They note that “this procedure contains fundamental methodological and conceptual weaknesses: it is based on a biased selection of examples; it infers specific historical continuities on the basis of visual similarity; it underestimates Maroon [and by extension, all enslaved and free African-descended] creativity; and, in focusing on form rather than process, it misconstrues the nature of cultural change” (Price and Price 1980). Similar criticism can be extended to more general attempts at defining artifact patterns across cultures and continents.

Historical Archaeology is often contradictory. The archaeological record in regards to slavery and its aftermath is spotty at best. The way that artifacts functioned in past cultural systems and representation of those systems by artifacts is often vague and

ambiguous, regardless of the culture one is examining. It is for this same reason that modern analogies to past behavior are also problematic. Most African contexts are not well understood due to enduring racism and lack of documents surrounding those cultures so this problem is intensified when one is investigating people of African descent.

Furthermore, many areas of Africa, including some former regions of the Kongo Kingdom, are unfortunately politically unstable and research in these areas could possibly be perilous. This is perhaps due in part to continued reverberations of the slave trade, and continued exploitation of people and natural resources on the continent of Africa by Europeans throughout the ages.

There needs to be more archaeological investigation at more African related sites, and the data from varied sites that have already been excavated needs to be reexamined and concatenated so that general patterns can be examined. However, site-specific cultural practices (or the combination of cultures interacting at a specific site) are more likely to be of greater use when discussing other contexts. Reexamining former archaeological investigations into African-descended contexts for clues to cultural and spiritual practices based on newly learned information is also recommended (Wall 2000). As an archaeologist, it is hard to separate one's own cultural paradigm from that which one is investigating. It is important that as archaeologists, we are reflective practitioners. It is thought by many that archaeologists "carry their biases with them into their research" (Leone et al 1995). It is important when one is making cultural connections and drawing conclusions that they make sure that they cite all possible lines of evidence linking their hypothesis with the data that is collected.

The way that artifacts reflect cultural beliefs is not universal across cultures or even

within the same culture, as the way each individual experiences culture is personal and unique. Therefore, an archaeologist needs to keep in mind that this variation applies to all facets of culture: cultural change, ethnic identity, and worldviews. They are different in individual cultural settings. Archaeologists need to identify more succinctly those aspects of the archaeological record that have a higher probability of incorporating worldviews and beliefs of those who have not traditionally been represented by the hegemony.

Importance of The Lott Homestead to African-Descended Individuals:

“Distortions of the African and African-American past by anthropologists and historians have been a prominent concern of African Americans for nearly 150 years. As early as 1854 Frederick Douglass pointed to the works of the first American physical anthropologists and Egyptologists as an effort to show blacks to be uncivilized and subhuman for the purpose of legitimating the institution of slavery (Douglass 1950[1854])”
(as quoted in LaRoche and Blakey 1997:88)

The concept of identity is tantamount as we discuss the future of the Lott house site as a heritage site. As the excavations are now over and the grounds are being turned into a proper farm museum, what kind of identities will be expressed in the way the site is landscaped, the newly created orchards and other things being placed there? While it is impossible to recreate what the Lott Farm looked like at the peak of its size and productivity, it may be important to put an orchard in a place we know there was no orchard, and to have a fake well with water running in it, but it is important to know that these are items that are not in their authentic location.

Many archaeologists argue that the enduring African identities and belief systems have persisted because they serve as an avenue of resistance, but perhaps now researchers

will pay more attention to the fact that these enactments of spiritual or magical practices were elemental expressions of an African-descended cultural reality, and that the practices persisted because they were built into the very fabric of the way they defined themselves, their families, the world around them; life and death. (Herskovits 1962; Thompson:1981).

Aside from the African Burial Ground site in lower Manhattan, the Hendrick I. Lott House is the only such site of African presence that can still be seen in its assumed original context. More than anything, the presentation of the presence of people of African descent at the site needs to be curated sensibly with wide community input and from multiple stakeholders. One must not forget the importance of agency in archaeological analyses. This site should implore African-descended archaeologists themselves to take a deciding role in these particular aspects of the site's heritage (see Singleton 1995,1997; Leone 2010) and it should not be left solely to members of the surrounding Marine Park community and the few individuals at the city agencies involved to make the decisions at the site.

Members of the Brooklyn community need to come together to figure out how to best preserve the identity of all the individuals who have lived on the site in the past. How can the objects related to African spiritual practices be presented sensibly? How can New York City as a whole use the Lott Farmstead to celebrate a "more perfect" truth about the enslaved, the free blacks, the European migrant workers, and of course the possibility of the farm as a node of the Underground Railroad? The Hendrick I. Lott House is a one of a kind place that needs to be preserved in the proper way so that all the people of all heritages, faiths and gender can have a better understanding of the way New

York has become the diverse tolerant place that it is.

Post Script:

In the course of carrying out the research for this dissertation, the question of how to treat these sacred objects was often raised. Some people have worried that these items might carry some kind of negative energy or curse, or have stated that these items should have been left in the spot where they were found. The sacredness of these objects is not under question. They were extremely important in the worldview held by the people who placed the objects where they were discovered. The way researchers should feel about handling the objects and placing them in a museum exhibit does matter.

By placing these objects somewhere that others can learn from them is one way to bring to light spiritual practices that have been seemingly long forgotten. "Had we not dug this material up, it would have been destroyed and lost forever. These materials have a life--a useful living life as a bridge between this world and the spirit world. Now that the practitioner is gone, whatever energy these things had is done with." Jessica Neuwirth, archaeologist with the Historic Annapolis Foundation.

Archaeology of Everyone, for Everyone:

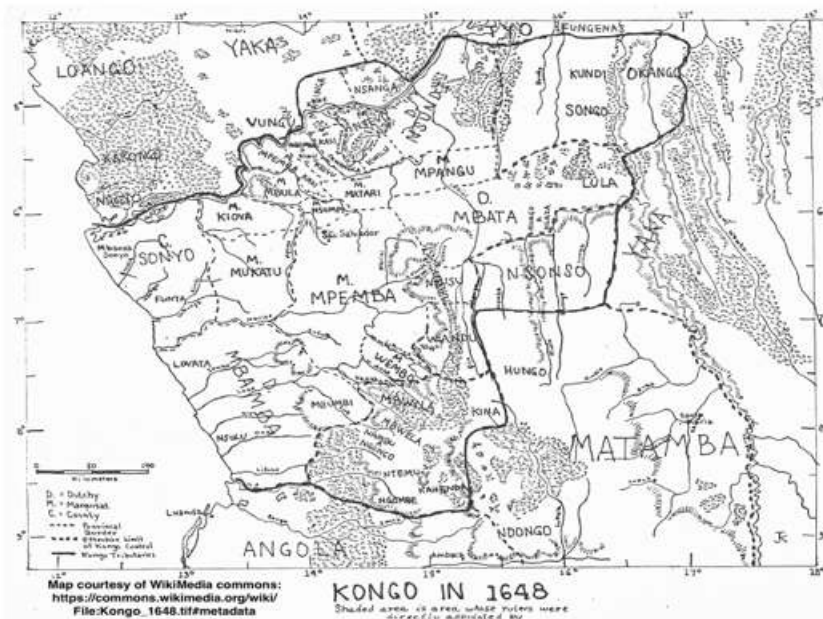
At the Lott Farmstead site, the young people of New York City can actually identify with our city's history instead of learning about it only in a history textbook. My exposure to Historical Archaeology was quite accidental. As a biology teacher in high school, I was assigned to supervise our high school students in a six week Friday seminar with Dr. Bankoff, the chair of the Anthropology Department at Brooklyn College, who is now my advisor. In 2003, we designed a hybrid high school and college course where high school students and college students worked together in the trenches and in the

laboratory. Talking about conflicting identities, watching these two groups of students interact can be the best reality show ever. We have carried out excavations in Brooklyn during the summer for twelve years now. Of those twelve years, seven seasons have been at or about the Lott House.

As a high school biology teacher, archaeology allows me to do some pretty cool science skill building activities with my students; but it is more the personal connection with local history that I find most appealing about this project. Interacting with these objects can help inform our own identities as Brooklynites, New Yorkers and Americans. By taking ownership, students are identifying directly with the past in their own personal way. We seem to teach less and less local history in New York City and America at large and this is a great way for students to connect with our past. I am starting this project on the identities present at the Lott House and passing it onto others to learn and grow from. Allowing young students hands on access through this summer archaeology project is helping to spur interest in Archaeology and Anthropology in the new generation of students. We have already seen one of our former field school students graduate from Emory with a degree in Anthropology and is currently attending grad school for Anthropology.

Diagram recreated from
Fu-Kiau, Kimbavandende Kia Bunsaki
2009 *Tying the Spiritual Knot:
African Cosmology of the Bantu-
Kongo: Principles of Life & Living.*
Athlola, Harare: Pesa.

Diagram recreation courtesy of Stephen Tripodi



198

Figure 3: During Father Giovanni Antonio Cavazzi from Montecuccolo's time in the Kongo, he described several local practices, including this possible N' Kisi creation ceremony; c. 1687. Open source file found at <http://hitchcock.its.virginia.edu/SlaveTrade/collection/large/Bassani-33.JPG>



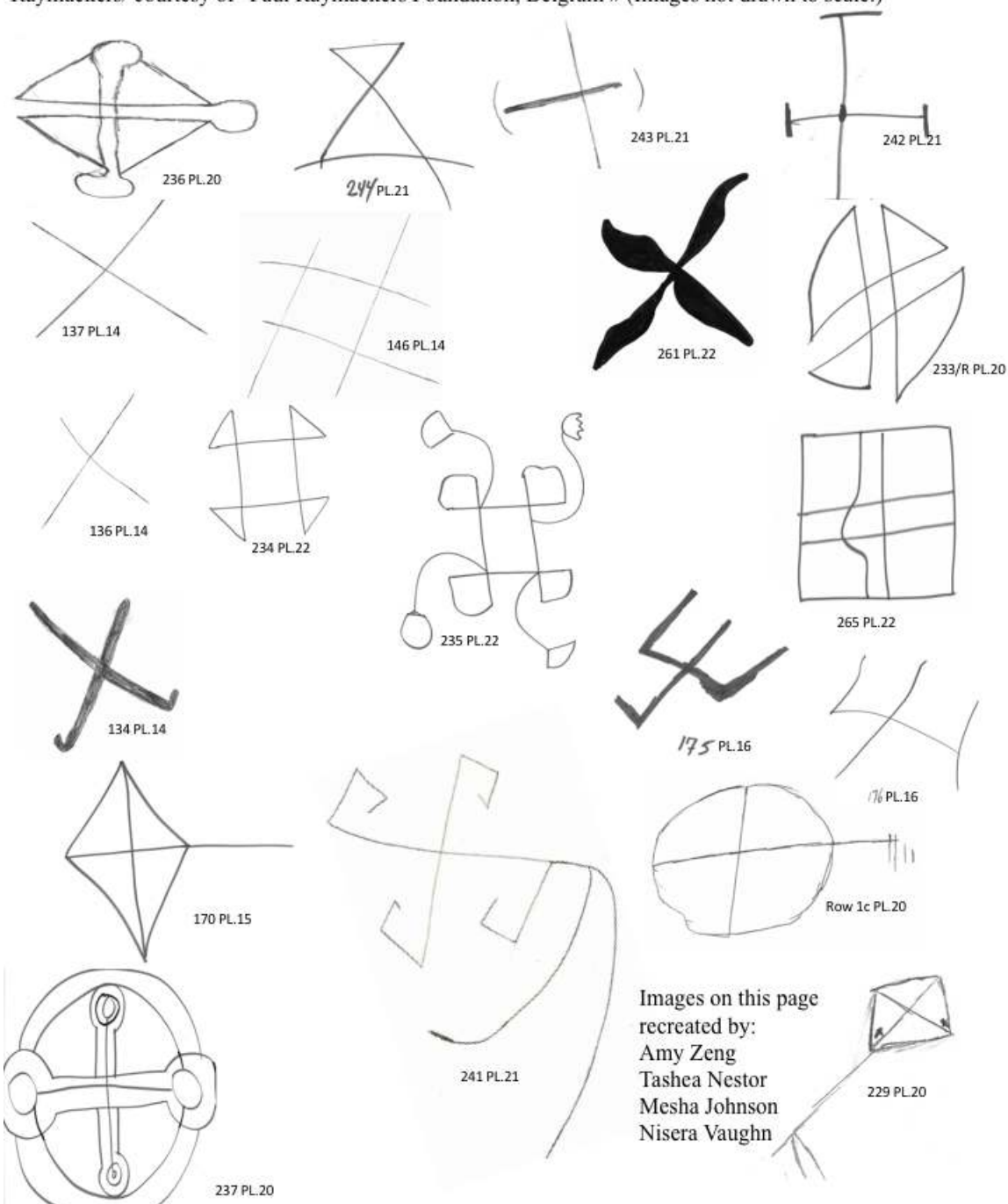


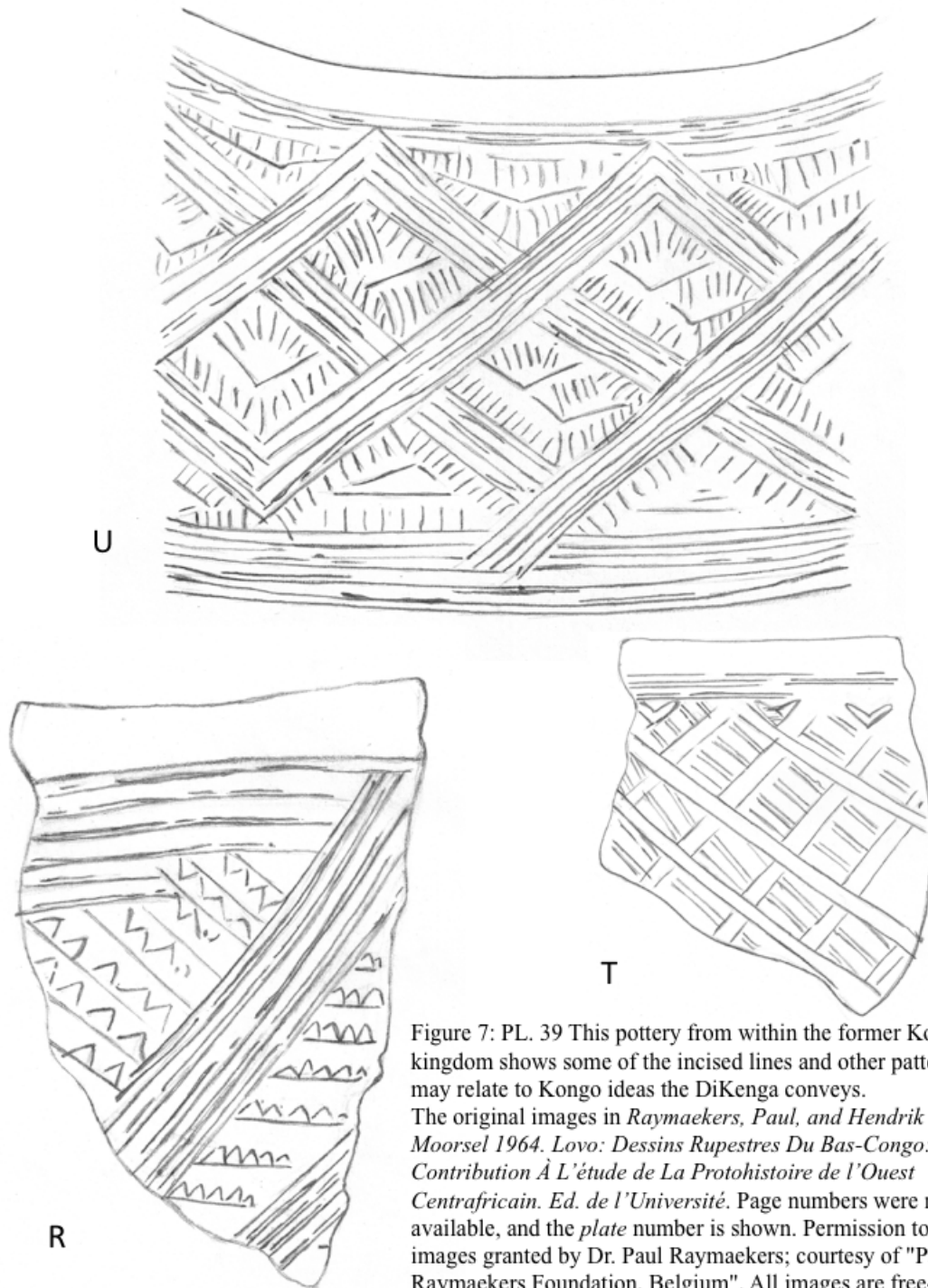
Figure 4: Another by Giovanni Antonio Cavazzi; circa 1680, *A Cappuccino in black Africa of the seventeenth century*, shows an audience watching the ironworkers, whom in Kongo spirituality hold an incredible amount of power and are thought to be able to communicate with those on the other side of the *kalunga* Line. Open source file found at <http://hitchcock.its.virginia.edu/SlaveTrade/collection/large/Bassani-29.JPG>



Figure 5: This photo “Figure 5 Example of ‘Kongo cross’ at the rock-art site of Mbanza Mbota” courtesy of Dr. Geoffrey Heimlich. From page 1388 of: Heimlich, Geoffroy, Pascale Richardin, Nathalie Gandolfo, Eric Laval, and Michel Menu 2013 First direct radiocarbon dating of the lower Congo rock art (Democratic Republic of the Congo). *Radiocarbon* 55(2-3): 1383–1390.

Figure 6: Lovo Cave Complex Rupestrian Designs. The images below are original hand-drawn sketches of figures that were produced by some of my students as part of an extra-credit project. The original images are found in Raymaekers, Paul, and Hendrik van Moorsel 1964, *Lovo: Dessins Rupestres Du Bas-Congo: Contribution À L'étude de La Protohistoire de l'Ouest Centrafricain*. Ed. de l'Université. The page numbers were not available, and the *plate* number is shown. Permission to use images granted by Dr. Paul Raymaekers/ courtesy of "Paul Raymaekers Foundation, Belgium » (Images not drawn to scale.)





Sketches by Najah J. Ridgel

Figure 7: PL. 39 This pottery from within the former Kongo kingdom shows some of the incised lines and other patterns that may relate to Kongo ideas the DiKenga conveys. The original images in Raymaekers, Paul, and Hendrik van Moorsel 1964. *Lovo: Dessins Rupestres Du Bas-Congo: Contribution À L'étude de La Protohistoire de l'Ouest Centrafricain*. Ed. de l'Université. Page numbers were not available, and the plate number is shown. Permission to use images granted by Dr. Paul Raymaekers; courtesy of "Paul Raymaekers Foundation, Belgium". All images are free-drawn reproductions of the original images. Images not drawn to scale.

PL. 22

278/R

261

265

272

259

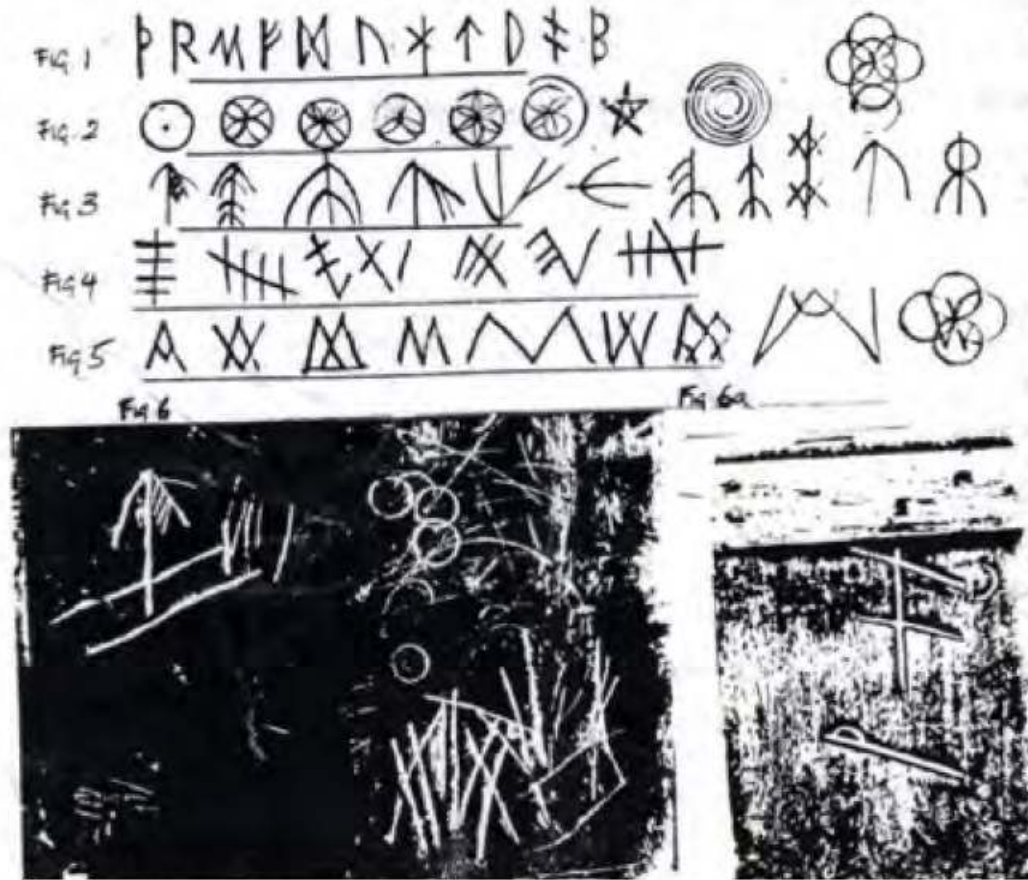
271

Figure 8: PL.22 and PL.40. The original images are found in *Raymaekers, Paul, and Hendrik van Moorsel 1964. Lovo: Dessins Rupestres Du Bas-Congo: Contribution À L'étude de La Protohistoire de l'Ouest Centrafricain. Ed. de l'Université*. The page numbers were not available, and the *plate* number is shown. Permission to use images granted by Dr. Paul Raymaekers/ courtesy of "Paul Raymaekers Foundation, Belgium » (Images not drawn to scale.) these are included to compare with the following image of "Apotropaic Marks From England" Images on this page recreated by Nataniel Felder

PL. 40



Figure 9: Apotropaic Marks from England (1998) [courtesy of Timothy Easton]
 These designs are included to compare with the images from Lovo on the preceding page



Apotropaic Marks from England (1998) [courtesy of Timothy Easton]



Figure 10: Lott House Southern View Photo by author (2012)

Figure 11: Lott House view from north showing kitchen lean-to on the left side and the various additions to the home over the years on the right. Photo by author (2005).





Figure 12: View of the Hendrick I. Lott House circa 1909 clearly showing the different parts of the home as constructed through various stages along with the stone kitchen house on the right.
Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hendrick_I._Lott_House#/media/File:Hendrick_I.Lott_House_Brooklyn,_New_York-circa_1909.jpg



Figure 13: Photo of Lott House from the west, sloping roof and dormers of c1800 wing visible. Photo by author 2005.

Figure 14: Lott House view from the east, clearly showing the kitchen lean-to area and the original c.1720 section of the home immediately behind and the c1800 wing in the back. Photo by author 2005.



Figure 15: Map of Flatlands (1873) 'X' showing location of Lott House Source: Pincus and Princess Firyal Map Division, The New York Public Library. "Flatlands. Kings Co. L.I." New York Public Library Digital Collections. Accessed March 13, 2016.
<http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47e2-6349-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99>

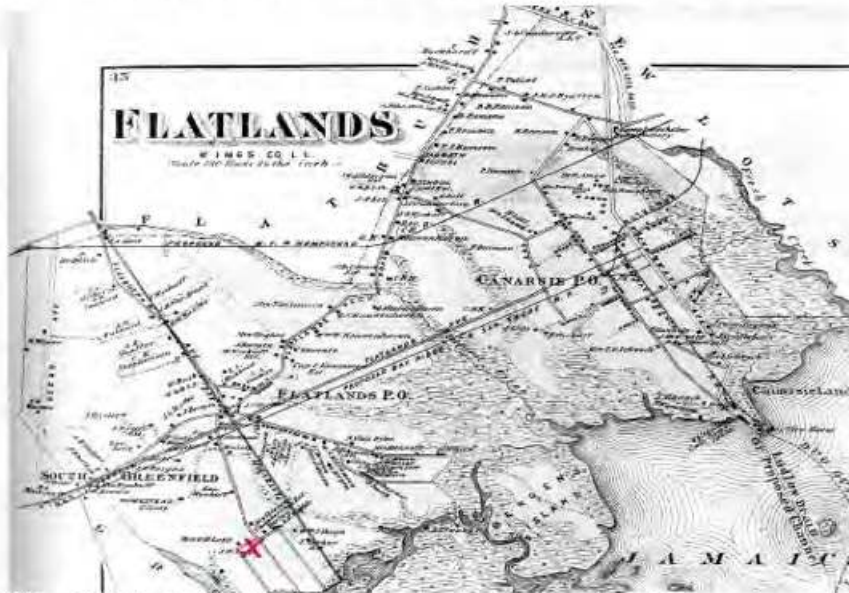


Figure 16: Map of Flatlands (1873) Enlargement showing outline of Lott Farmstead property boundaries. Source: Pincus and Princess Firyal Map Division, The New York Public Library. "Flatlands. Kings Co. L.I." New York Public Library Digital Collections. Accessed March 13, 2016.
<http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47e2-6349-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99>

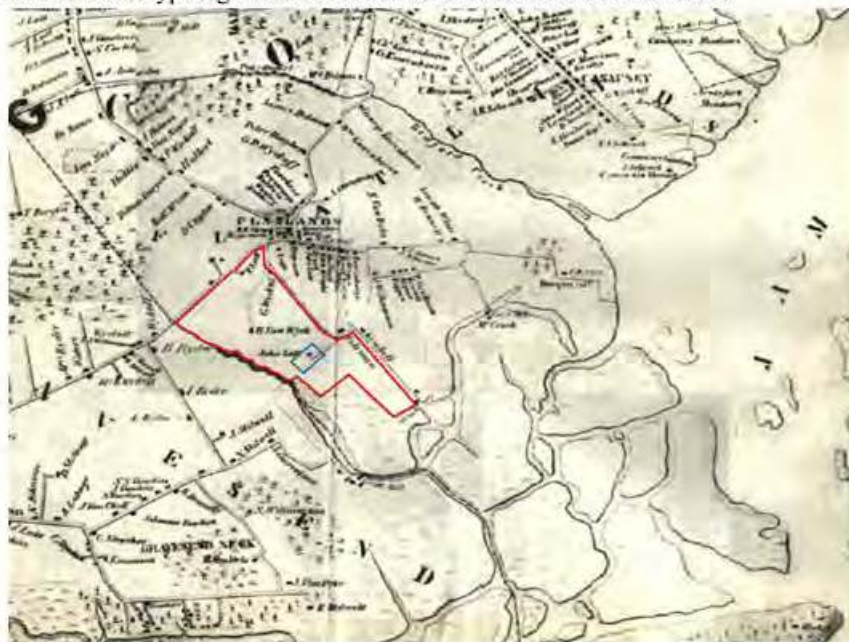


Figure 17: Excavations at the Lott Homestead until 2005. Diagram courtesy of Brooklyn College Archaeological Research Center

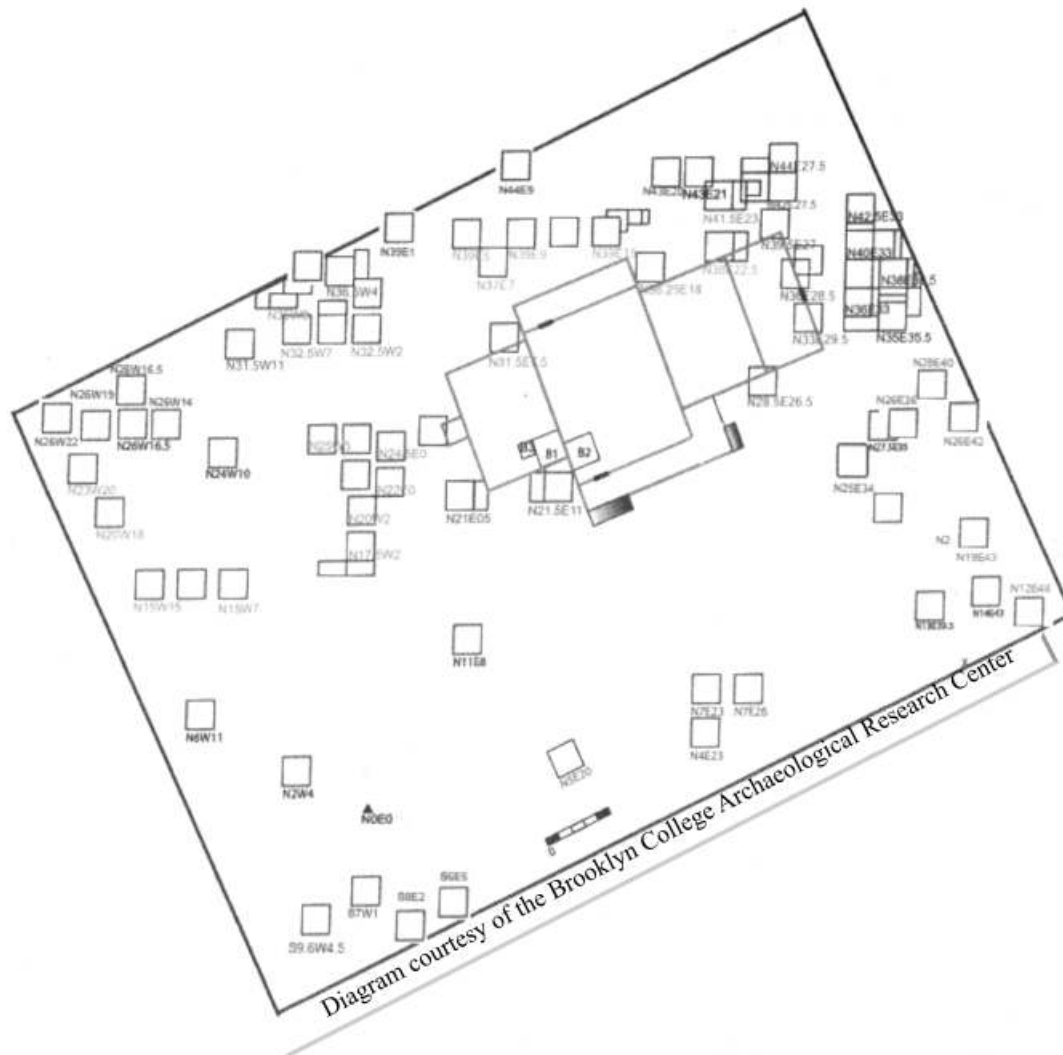




Figure 18:
The incised 'X' on the pottery sherd is believed to be a representation of the Kongo Cosmogram; The DiKenga. Photo courtesy of Brooklyn College Archaeological Research Center

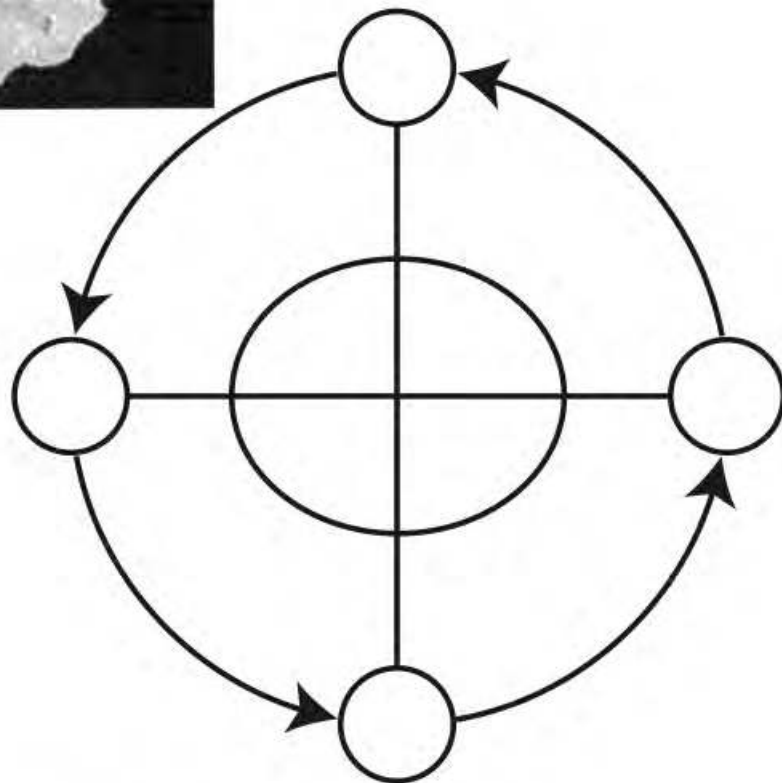


Figure 19: Kongo Cosmogram (The diKenga) simplified.
Additional assistance on diagram of the DiKenga from Malik Dupree

Figure 20:

N'Kisi N'Kondi, Congo c1880-1920. Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, USA. Photo by author 2013.



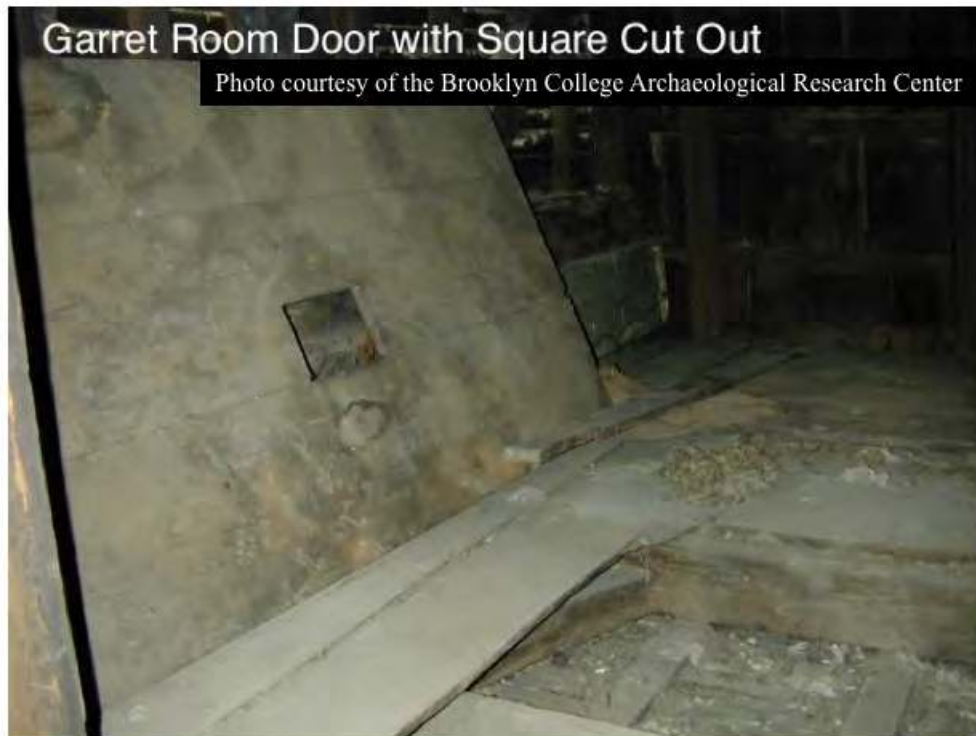


Figure 21: Garret Room Door with Square Cut Out. Photo courtesy of the Brooklyn College Archaeological Research Center. As one glances at the cut out in the door, the function of surveillance and control are implied; this thick wooden door locked from the outside.

Figure 22: Corncobs under the floorboards: Lateral View, 1998.
Photo courtesy of Brooklyn College Archaeological Research Center



Figure 23: Corncobs in possible Kongo Cosmogram pattern.
Photo courtesy of Brooklyn College Archaeological Research Center





Figure 24: Lott House Garret Room Cache with Bone and Shell. Photo courtesy of the Brooklyn College Archaeological Research Center.



Figure 25: Garret room chimney area.

← In this photo you can see the cache's proximity to the chimney stack, an attribute it shares in common with many other likely Kongo-descended spiritual caches.

Photo courtesy of Brooklyn College Archaeological Research Center



Figure 26: An example of a concealed area on the second story of the Lott House
Photo by author, 2005.



Figure 27: View of the hidden staircase in the Lott House kitchen lean-to closet
Photo courtesy of Brooklyn College Archaeological Research Center

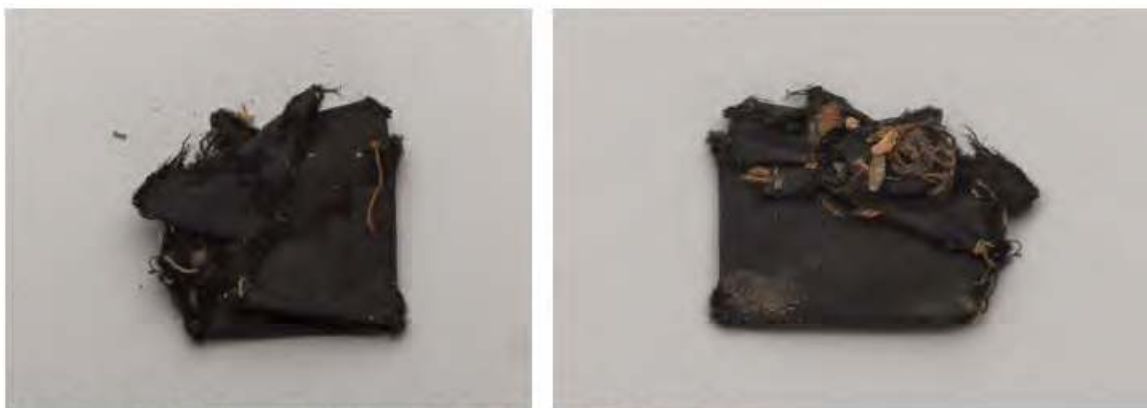


Figure 29: The hand-sewn *paket kongo*. Photos by Sarah DeSantis



Figure 30: The corn cobs from under the floorboards. The two broken pieces that made up the vertices of the 'x' are on the top right. Photo by Sarah DeSantis

Figure 31: Some concrete from under the floorboards. Whether this was part of a cache or not is unknown. Photo by Sarah DeSantis





Figure 32: Ulna, fowl indeterminate (turkey)
Photo by Sarah DeSantis



Figure 33: Humerus (turkey).
Photo by Sarah DeSantis



Figure 34: Humerus, indeterminate fowl. Photo by Sarah DeSantis



Figure 35 and 36: Two angles of a singular indeterminate epiphysis. Photo by Sarah DeSantis



Figure 37: Charred indeterminate bone (2 pieces).
Photo by Sarah DeSantis



Figure 38: Innominate Pelvis MTM INN (Pig?)
Photo by Sarah DeSantis



Figure 39: Ulna, fowl indeterminate.
Photo by Sarah DeSantis



Figure 40 and 41: Mandible, LTM sawn fragment from two aspects. Photos by Sarah DeSantis



Figure 42: Vertebrae, Cervical LTM CEV
Vertebrae. Photo by Sarah DeSantis



Figure 43: Vertebrae, Atlas LTM.
Photo by Sarah DeSantis



Figure 44: Fowl fragments, unidentified knife marks, small cut. Photo by Sarah DeSantis



Figure 45: Epiphysis (scorched) fowl. Photo by Sarah DeSantis



Figure 46: Femur, fowl, burn mark, slight chop mark. Photo by Sarah DeSantis



Figure 47: Glass buttons. Photo by Sarah DeSantis.



Figure 48: Clear hand made glass bead. Photo By Sarah DeSantis



Figure 49 and 50: Marbles. Photos by Sarah DeSantis

Figure 51: White bead from N39E5U2.

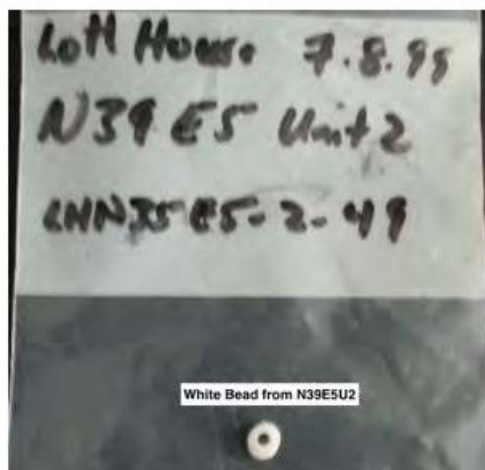


Figure 52: Teardrop bead with perforation.



Figure 53: black bead

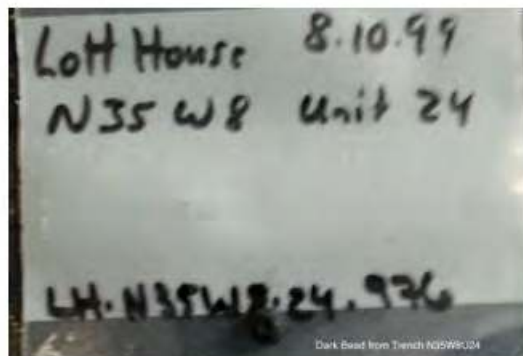


Figure 54: black bead close up.



Figure 55: blue bead.



Figure 56: possible game piece.

Only available photo of the possible game piece



Figure 57: Bone knife handle with herringbone pattern



Figures 58 and 59: Pestle from N44.5E9



Figure 60: Arrowhead from N44.5E9



Figure 61: Toothbrush



Figure 62: Locket with cutout



Figure 63: The iron ball



Figure 64: Dr. H. Arthur Bankoff, advisor (L), and author (R) at one of the cisterns discovered in 2012. Photo by author, 2012



Figure 65: Author and some field school students excavating a cistern adjacent to the 20th century garage. Photo by author, 2012



Figure 66: Calibration curves for corncobs from Lott garret room, provided by Beta Analytics Inc.

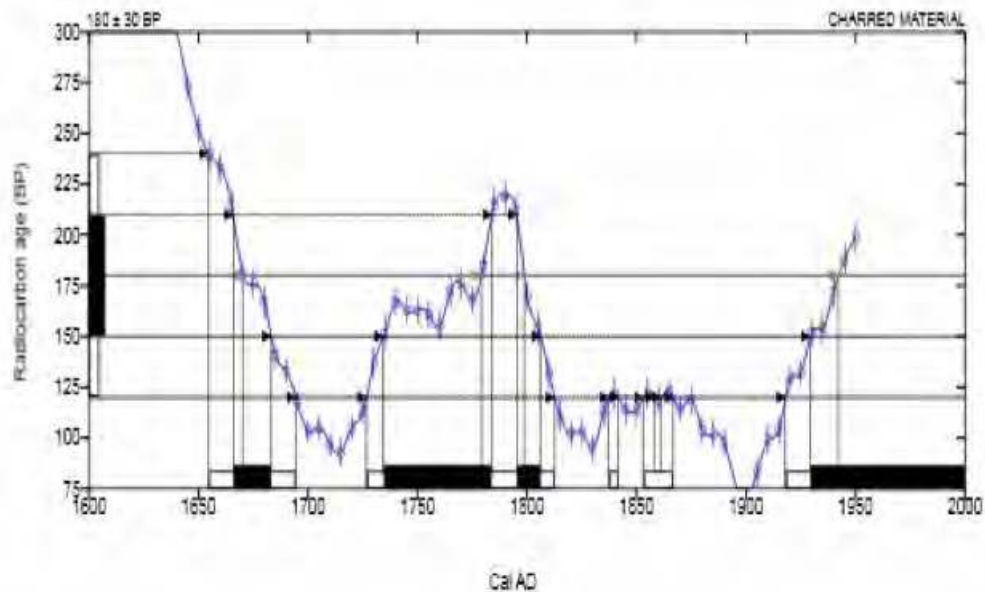
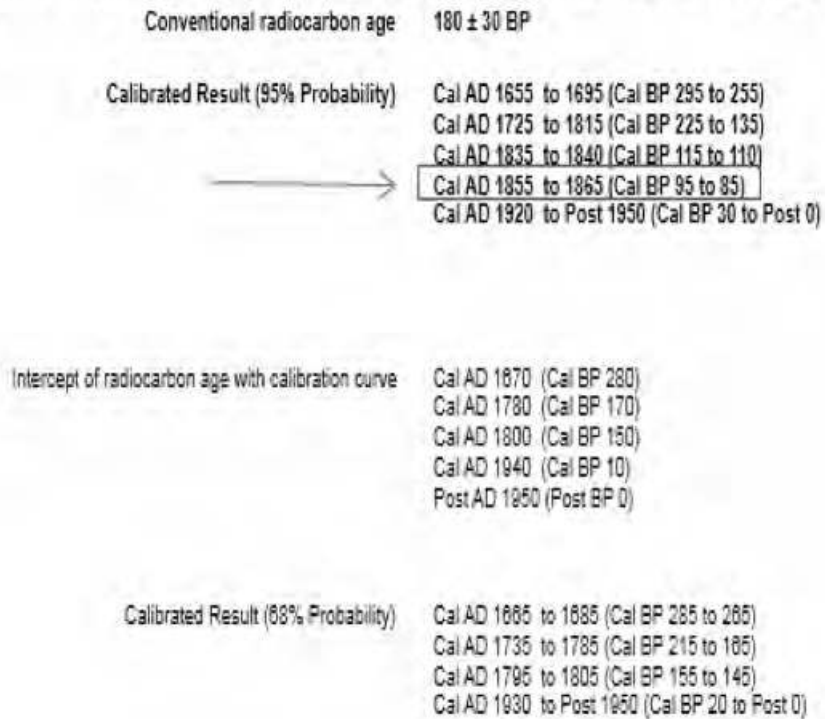
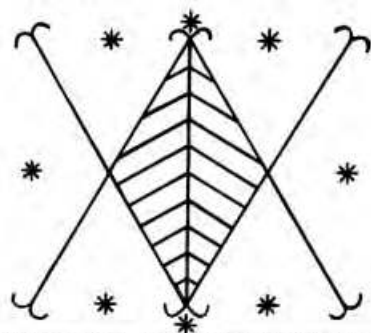


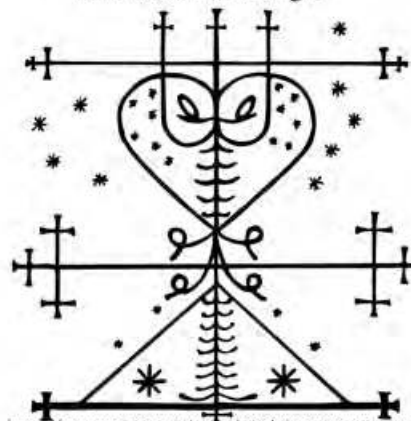
Figure 67: Four examples of Haitian Voodoo Vévés (Source Wikimedia)

1. Vévé Ayizan



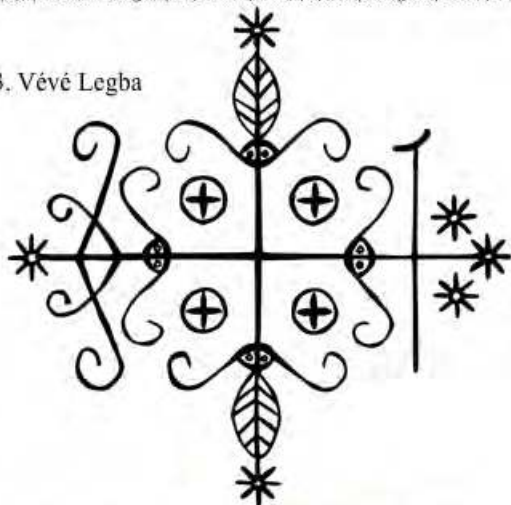
<https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/3/38/VevoAyizan.svg/1024px-VevoAyizan.svg.png>

2. Vévé Manman Brigit



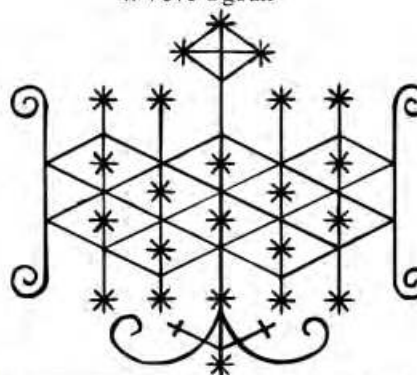
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:VeveBrigitte.svg>

3. Vévé Legba



<https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/7/77/VeveLegba.svg/1280px-VeveLegba.svg.png>

4. Vévé Ogoun



<https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/4/4b/VeveOgoun.svg/1024px-VeveOgoun.svg.png>



Candomblé

Figure 68: Candomblé spiritual practitioner forming a *ponto riscado*. Bahia Brasil, Photo by author, 2005.

Figure 69: The codes and symbols used on the “Underground Railroad Quilts”

*Following Tobard and Dobbin (2011) . While the proposed codes of the Underground Railroad have not been proven to be accurate by historians, and it could just be coincidence and “fakelore”. However, the connection between the quilt designs and Kongo cosmological symbols have many similarities. A few of the symbols, specifically the symbols similar in shape to the Kongo DiKenga, are recreated below.

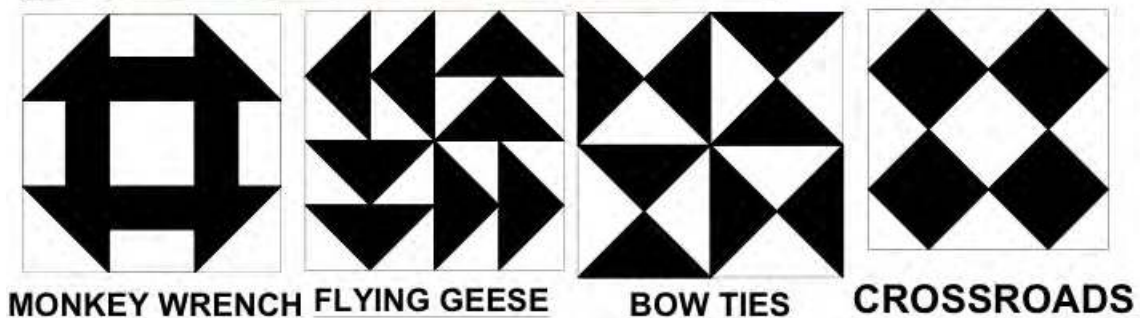
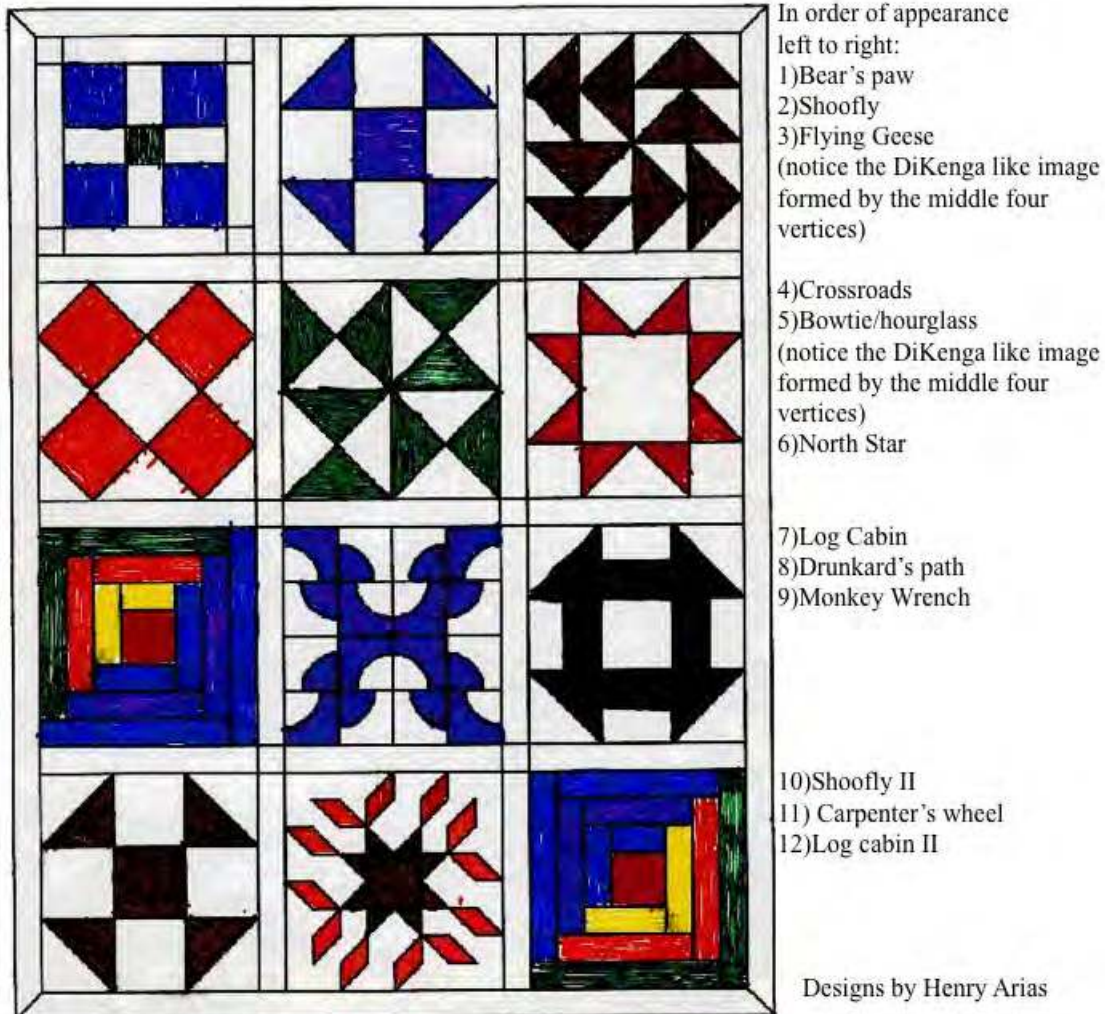




Figure 70: Image of a likely African-descended ritualistic practice. From Prospect Park in Brooklyn, NY
Photo by Author, 2013.

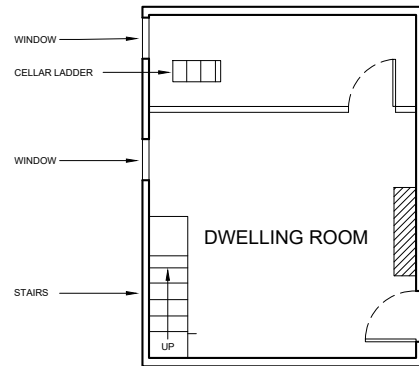
Appendix 1: Additions and Changes to Architectural Layout Over Time:

These schematics are based off the schematics as illustrated in Jablonksi 2000.

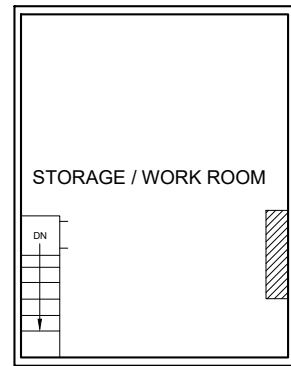
Additional assistance with these architectural diagrams came from Nakeisha McClellan

PHASE I:1720

PHASE I
C. 1720'S



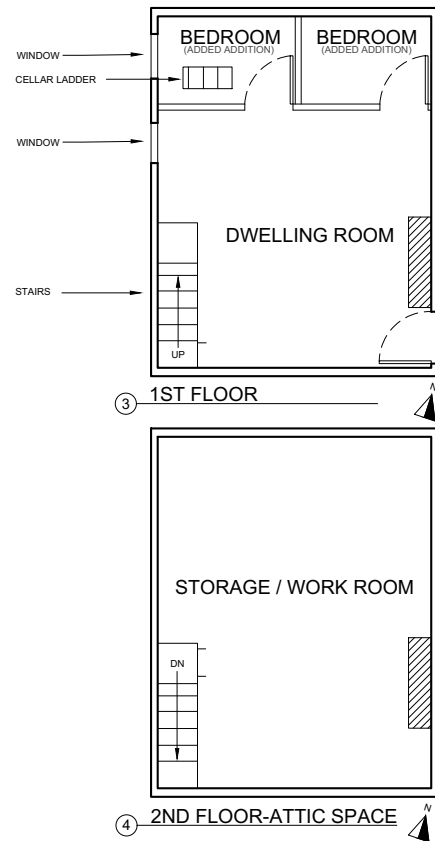
① 1ST FLOOR



② 2ND FLOOR

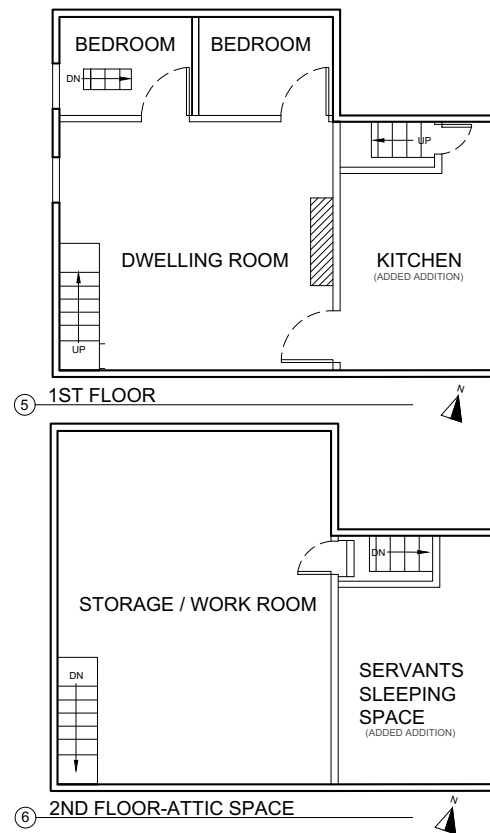
PHASE II: PRE-1803

PHASE II
PRE-1803



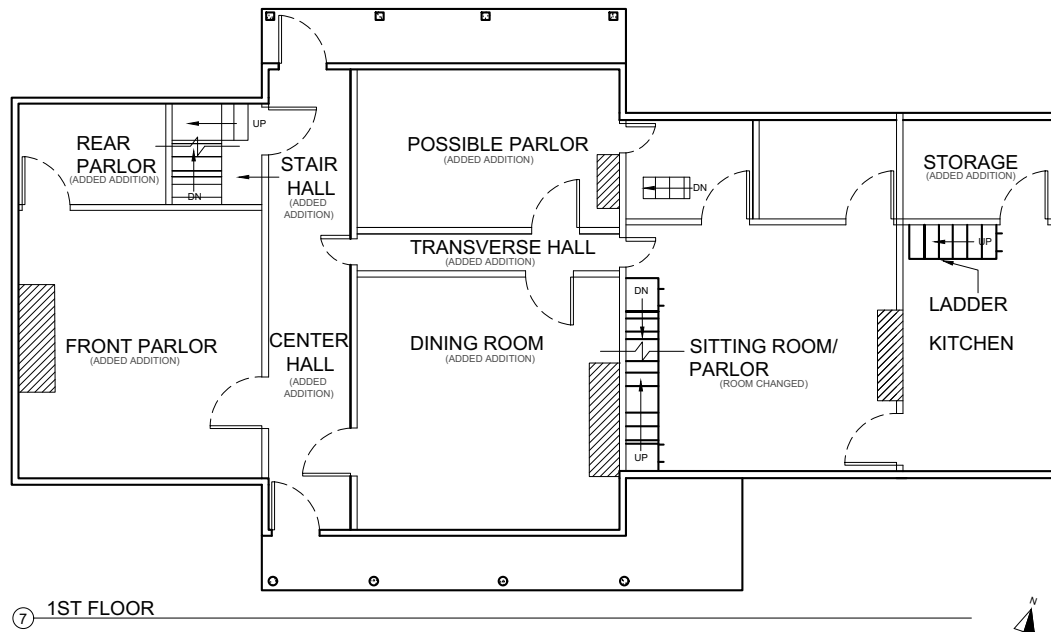
PHASE III: 1803-1820

PHASE III
AFTER 1803 BEFORE 1820



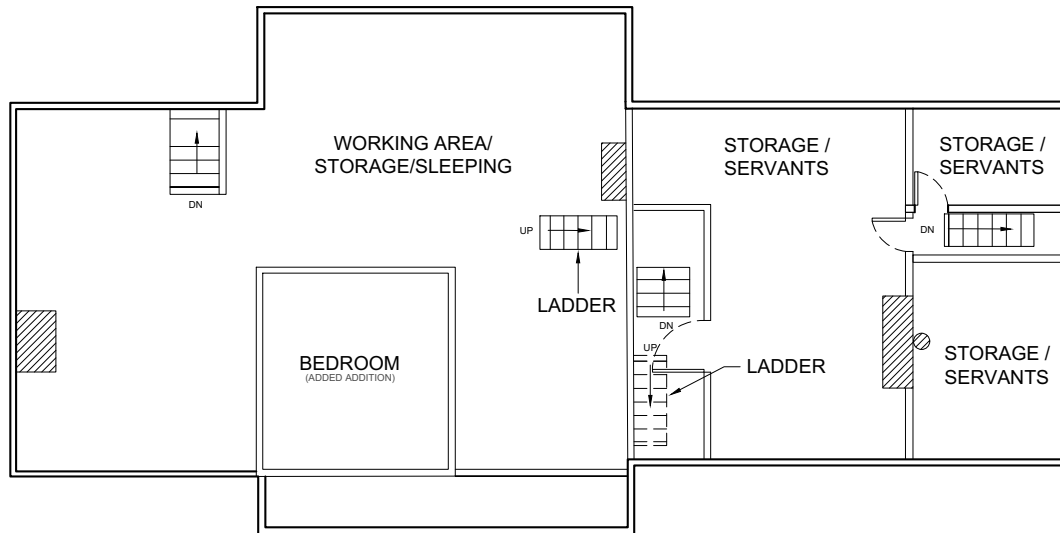
PHASE IV DOWNSTAIRS: 1825-1840

PHASE IV
1825 - 1820



PHASE IV UPSTAIRS: 1825-1840

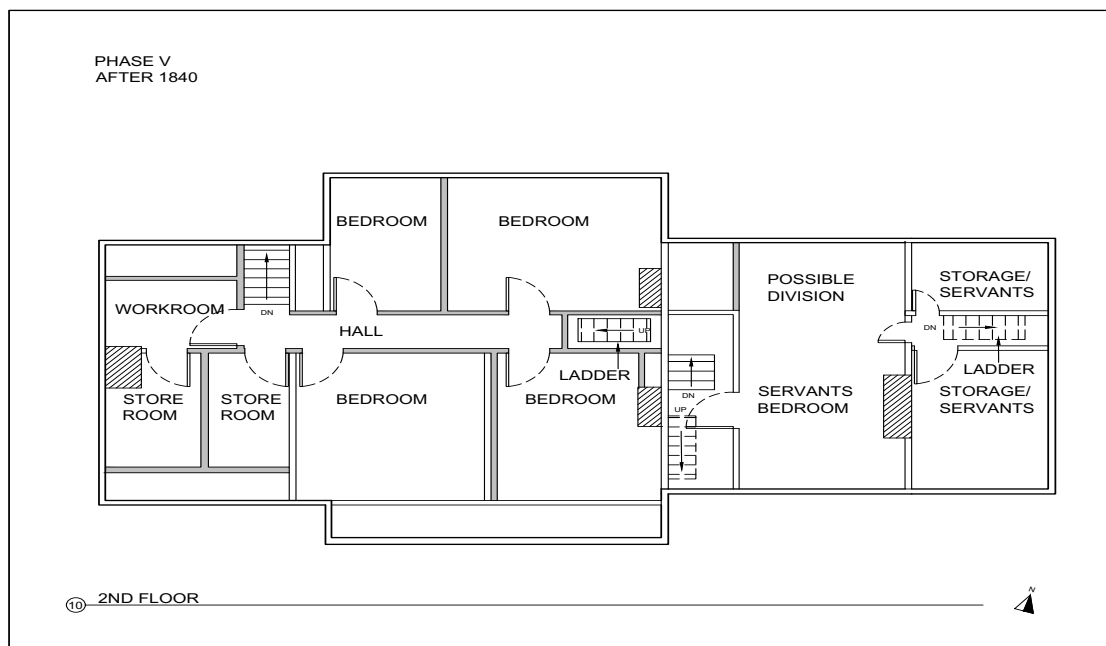
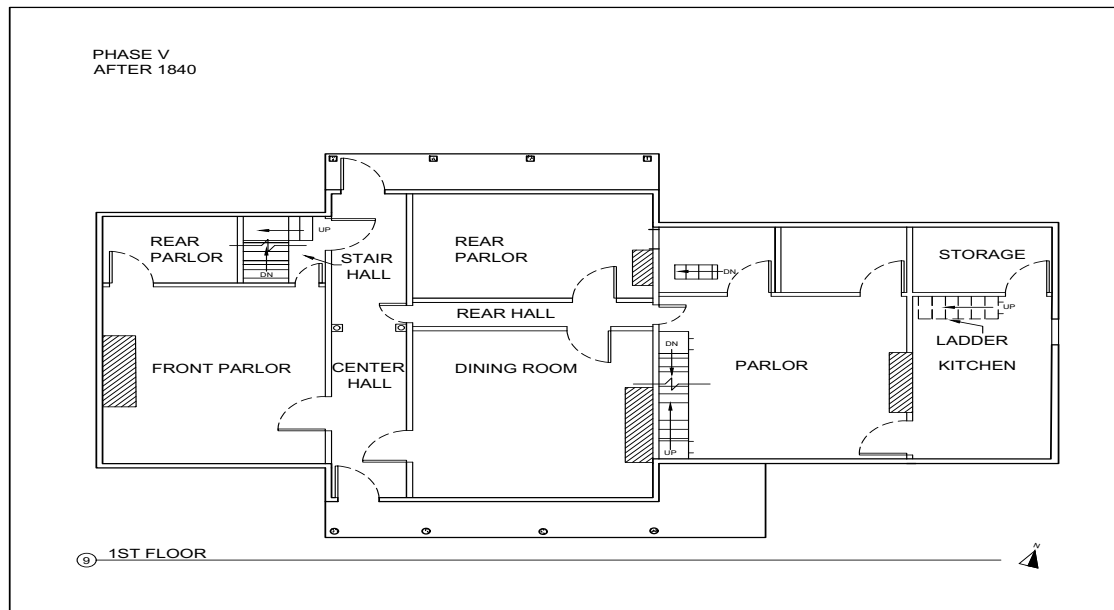
PHASE IV
1825 - 1840



⑧ 2ND FLOOR



PHASE V: AFTER 1840



Appendix 2: Faunal Remains

Faunal Assemblage from under floorboards in the Lott House Garret Room	
Fig. 32: Ulna, fowl indeterminate [turkey]	
Fig. 33: Humerus, turkey	
Fig. 34: Humerus, indeterminate fowl	
Fig. 35 and 36: Indeterminate epiphysis	
Fig. 37: Charred indeterminate bone 2 pieces	
Fig. 38: Innominate Pelvis MTM INN (possibly pig)	
Fig. 39: Ulna, fowl indeterminate 2 pieces	
Fig. 40 and 41: Mandible, LTM Sawn Fragment	
Fig. 42: Vertebrae, Cervical LTM CEV Vertebrae	
Fig. 43: Vertebrae, Atlas LTM	
Fig. 44: Fowl fragments, unidentified knife marks, small cut	
Fig. 45: Epiphysis scorched bird	
Fig. 46: Femur, fowl burn mark, slight chop mark	

References:

- Adoukonou, Barthélémy
1991
Dialogue avec les Religions non-Chrétiennes. *Une Expérience africaine d'inculturation* 1: 63–84.
- de Albéniz, Iñaki Martínez
2006
Bruno Latour: Politics of nature. How to bring the sciences into democracy. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 2004.
- Anderson, Clare, Niklas Frykman, Lex Heerma van Voss, and Marcus Rediker
2013
Mutiny and maritime radicalism in the age of revolution : a global survey.
- Anderson, Jeffrey E.
2008
Conjure in African American Society. LSU Press.
- Apter, Andrew
2004
Herskovits's heritage: rethinking syncretism in the African diaspora. *Syncretism in Religion: A Reader*. London, Routledge: 160–184.
- Armstead, Myra B. Young
2003
Mighty Change, Tall Within: Black Identity in the Hudson Valley. SUNY Press.
- Armstrong, Douglas V.
2010
Degrees of freedom in the Caribbean: archaeological explorations of transitions from slavery. *Antiquity* 84(323): 146–160.
- Armstrong, Douglas V., and Kenneth G. Kelly
2000
Settlement patterns and the origins of African Jamaican society: Seville plantation, St. Ann's Bay, Jamaica. *Ethnohistory* 47(2): 369–397.
- Armstrong, Douglas V., and Elizabeth Jean Reitz
1990
The old village and the great house: an archaeological and historical examination of Drax Hall plantation, St. Ann's Bay, Jamaica. University of Illinois Press.
- Bankoff, H. Arthur, Christopher Ricciardi, and Alyssa Loorya
2001
Remembering Africa under the eaves. *Archaeology* 54(3): 36–40.

Barnes, Jodi A.

2011

The materiality of freedom: archaeologies of postemancipation life. *African Diaspora Archaeology Newsletter* 14(4): 28.

Bartels, F. L.

1959

Jacobus Eliza Johannes Capitein, 1717-47. *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana* 4(1): 3-13.

Bateson, Gregory

1972

Steps to an ecology of mind: Collected essays in anthropology, psychiatry, evolution, and epistemology. University of Chicago Press.

Baumann, Hermann

1934

Die afrikanischen Kulturkreise. *Africa* 7(02): 129-139.

Baumann, T

2004

African American ethnicity. *SAA archaeological record*: 16.

Bäumli, Franz H.

1980

Varieties and consequences of medieval literacy and illiteracy. *Speculum* 55(02): 237-265.

Baxter, John., Harriet. Stryker-Rodda, Kenneth. Stryker-Rodda, Edna. Huntington, and Long Island Historical Society.

1954

Journal of John Baxter of Flatlands, Long Island, 1790-1826, and continued by his son Garret Stoothoff Baxter, 1826-1835. Brooklyn Historical Society, Brooklyn, N.Y.

Bay, Edna G.

2012

Wives of the Leopard: gender, politics, and culture in the kingdom of Dahomey. University of Virginia Press.

Beardslee, John W.

1976

The Dutch Reformed Church and the American Revolution. *Journal of Presbyterian History* (1962-1985): 165-181.

Bearse, Austin

1880

Reminiscences of Fugitive-slave Law Days in Boston. W. Richardson.

Berlin, Ira

2009

Many thousands gone: The first two centuries of slavery in North America. Harvard University Press.

Bertrand, Alexandre Louis Joseph

1897

La religion des Gaulois; les Druides et la druidisme. E. Leroux.

Bettelheim, Judith

2005

Caribbean Espiritismo (Spiritist) Altars: The Indian and the Congo. *The Art Bulletin* 87(2): 312–330.

Bittremieux, Léo

1936

La société secrète des Bakhimba au Mayombe. G. van Campenhout.

Blakely, Allison

1993

Blacks in the Dutch world: the evolution of racial imagery in a modern society. Blacks in the diaspora. Indiana University Press, Bloomington.

Blakely, Thomas D., Walter EA van Beek, and Dennis L. Thomson

1994

Religion in Africa: experience & expression. J. Currey.

Blot, Jean Yves

1998

Le Synchrétisme Catholique-Vaudou. *Bulletin du Bureau national d'ethnologie* 1(13): 13–42.

Bohde, Stephanie

2004

The underground railroad quilt code: a history of African-American quilting from ancient practices to the Civil War Times. *The Oakland Journal*: 70–79.

Bolster, W. Jeffrey

2009

Black Jacks: African American seamen in the age of sail. Harvard University Press.

Bongmba, Elias Kifon

2012

The Wiley-Blackwell Companion to African Religions. Vol. 58. John Wiley & Sons.

Botkin, Benjamin Albert

1945

Lay my burden down: A folk history of slavery. Vol. 24. University of Chicago Press.

Bouvier, John, and Francis Rawle

1897

Law Dictionary. Vol. 2. Boston Book Company.

Bowdich, Thomas Edward

1819

Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee, with a Statistical Account of that Kingdom, and Geographical Notices of Other Parts of the Interior of Africa. Murray.

Brown, Kenneth L.

2004

Ethnographic analogy, archaeology, and the African diaspora: Perspectives from a tenant community. *Historical Archaeology*: 79–89.

Brown, Ras Michael

2012

African-Atlantic Cultures and the South Carolina Lowcountry. Cambridge University Press.

Buis, Johann S., and Art Rosenbaum

1998

Shout because you're free: the African American ring shout tradition in coastal Georgia. University of Georgia Press.

Bunseki, Fu-Kiau Kimbwandende

2001

African cosmology of the Bântu-Kôngo: tying the spiritual knot: principles of life & living. Athelia Henrietta PR.

Butler, Jon

1990

Awash in a Sea of Faith. Christianizing the American People, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Cabrera, Lydia

1954

El Monte: Igbo Finda, Ewe Orisha Vivitifinda, (Notas sobre la religión, la magia, las supersticiones y el folklore de los negros criollos y del pueblo de Cuba). Ed. CR.

1975

Anaforuana: Ritual y símbolos de la iniciación en la sociedad secreta Abakuá. BPR Publishers.

Camps, Gabriel

1987

A. Muzzolini, L'art rupestre préhistorique des massifs centraux sahariens. *Revue de l'Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée* 44(1): 148–149.

Carmichael, James

1966

Dæmonologie (1597). Newes from Scotland, declaring the damnable life and death of Doctor Fian, a notable sorcerer who was burned at Edenbrough in Ianuary last (1591). Barnes and Noble.

Cavazzi, G. A.

1665

Missione evangelica al Regno del Congo: Un cappucino nell'Africa nera del Seicento: (Araldi Manuscript). (Photograph from E. Bassani & GA Cavazzi. 1987 Milano: Associazione "Poro").

Cecelski, David S.

1994

The shores of freedom: The maritime underground railroad in North Carolina, 1800-1861. *The North Carolina Historical Review*: 174–206.

2001

The Waterman's song: Slavery and freedom in maritime North Carolina. Univ of North Carolina Press.

Clark, John Desmond, and Steven A. Brandt

1984

From hunters to farmers: the causes and consequences of food production in Africa. Univ of California Press.

Clist, Bernard

2012

Pour une archéologie du royaume Kongo: la tradition de Mbafu. *Azania: Archaeological Research in Africa* 47(2): 175–209.

Cohen, David S.

1993

The Dutch-American Farm. NYU Press.

Cosentino, Donald

1995

Sacred arts of Haitian vodou. Univ of California Museum of.

Covey, Herbert C.

2008

African American slave medicine: Herbal and non-herbal treatments. Lexington Books.

Cowling, E. T.

1940

A Classification of West Yorkshire “Cup and Ring” Stones. *Archaeological Journal* 97(1): 115–124.

Cunliffe, Barry W., and John T. Koch

2010

Celtic from the West : alternative perspectives from archaeology, genetics, language, and literature. In . Oxbow Books.

Dalby, David

1986

L’Afrique et la lettre: Africa and the written word. Éditions Karthala.

Dapper, Olifert

Naukeurige beschrijvinge van Africa gewesten. *Amsterdam* 1668: 582.

Davies, Oliver

2014

West Africa before the Europeans: archaeology & prehistory. Routledge.

Day, Lynda Rose

1997

Making a Way to Freedom: A History of African Americans on Long Island. Empire State Books.

De Cunzo, Lu Ann

2004

A Historical Archaeology of Delaware: People, Contexts, and the Cultures of Agriculture. Univ. of Tennessee Press.

Deetz, James

2010

In small things forgotten: an archaeology of early American life. Anchor.

De Jong, Gerald Francis

1971

The Dutch Reformed Church and Negro Slavery in Colonial America. *Church History: Studies in Christianity and Culture* 40(04): 423–436.

Delle, James A.

2008

A tale of two tunnels Memory, archaeology, and the Underground Railroad. *Journal of Social Archaeology* 8(1): 63–93.

Delle, James A., and Mary Ann Levine

2004

Excavations at the Thaddeus Stevens and Lydia Hamilton Smith Site, Lancaster, Pennsylvania: archaeological evidence for the Underground Railroad. *Northeast Historical Archaeology* 33(1): 10.

Delle, James A., and Jason Shellenhamer

2008

Archaeology at the Parvin homestead: Searching for the material legacy of the underground railroad. *Historical Archaeology*: 38–62.

Denbow, James

1999

Heart and soul: glimpses of ideology and cosmology in the iconography of tombstones from the Loango Coast of Central Africa. *Journal of American folklore*: 404–423.

2012

Pride, prejudice, plunder and preservation: archaeology and the re-envisioning of ethnogenesis on the Loango coast of the Republic of Congo. *Antiquity* 86(332): 383–408.

Derr, Katie

2007

Archeology and Historic Preservation: A Case Study of the Indian Rest Site. Final Paper, College Park: University of Maryland.

De Saussure, Ferdinand

1966

Course in General Linguistics [1916]. *New York*.

Desmangles, Leslie Gerald

1977

African interpretations of the Christian cross in Vodun. *Sociology of Religion* 38(1): 13–24.

Deterville, Duane

2009

Defining the Afriscape through Ground Drawings and Street Altars. *Sightlines*: 42–69.

Donley, Linda W.

1987

Life in the Swahili town house reveals the symbolic meaning of spaces and artefact assemblages. *African Archaeological Review* 5(1): 181–192.

Dossar, Kenneth

1992

Capoeira Angola: Dancing between two worlds. *Afro-Hispanic Review*: 5–10.

Douglass, Frederick

1845

Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass. Mineola, NY. Dover Publications, Inc.

Doyle, Laurance R., and Thomas J. Wilcox

1986

Statistical analysis of Namoratunga: an archaeoastronomical site in sub-Saharan Africa. *AZANIA: Journal of the British Institute in Eastern Africa* 21(1): 125–129.

Drummond, Lee

1980

The cultural continuum: A theory of intersystems. *Man*: 352–374.

Dupuy, Christian

2005

Les gravures rupestres de bœufs à bosse de l'Aïr (Niger) et de l'Adrar des Iforas (Mali). *Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes et de Recherches Préhistoriques des Eyzies*(54): 63–90.

Easton, Timothy

1988

Apotropaic Marks, Scribed and Scratched in Barns and Houses. *Suffolk Institute of Archaeology Newsletter* 1: 7–8.

Eastop, Dinah

2006

Outside in: making sense of the deliberate concealment of garments within buildings. *Textile: The Journal of Cloth and Culture* 4(3): 238–254.

Elizabeth J Himelfarb

2000

Hoodoo Cache Volume 53 Number 3, May/June 2000 by Elizabeth J. Himelfarb 53(3).

Ellis, Alfred Burdon

1890

The E'we-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa: Their Religion, Manners, Customs, Laws, Languages, &c. Chapman and Hall, limited.

Eltis, David, and David Richardson

2008

Extending the frontiers: essays on the new transatlantic slave trade database. Yale University Press.

Emerson, Matthew Charles

1988

Decorated clay tobacco pipes from the Chesapeake. University of California, Berkeley, (May. 1988)

Espenshade, Christopher

2007a

Building on Joseph's Model of Market-Bound Colonoware Pottery. *African Diaspora Archaeology Newsletter* 10(3): 3.

2007b

A river of doubt: Marked colonoware, underwater sampling, and questions of inference. *African Diaspora Archaeology Newsletter* 10(1): 2.

Espenshade, Christopher T., and Linda Kennedy

2002

Recognizing individual potters in nineteenth-century colonoware. *North American Archaeologist* 23(3): 209–240.

Evans, George Ewart

2012

The pattern under the plough. Faber & Faber.

Fage, John D.

1980

Slaves and society in Western Africa, c. 1445—c. 1700. *The Journal of African History* 21(03): 289–310.

Fairbanks, CH

1974

The Kingsley Slave Cabins in Duval County, Florida, 1968. In , 7:pp. 62–93.

Fennell, Christopher C.

2000

Conjuring Boundaries: Inferring Past Identities from Religious Artifacts. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 4(4): 281–313.

2003

Group Identity, Individual Creativity, And Symbolic Generation in A Bakongo Diaspora. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 7(1): 1–31.

2007

Crossroads and Cosmologies: Diasporas and Ethnogenesis in The New World. *African Diaspora Archaeology Newsletter* 10(3): 16.

2010

Early African America: Archaeological Studies of Significance and Diversity. *Journal of Archaeological Research*: 1–49.

2011a

Early African America: Archaeological Studies of Significance and Diversity. *Journal of Archaeological Research* 19(1): 1–49.

2011b

Literate Inversions and Cultural Metaphors in Edgefield Stoneware. *Historical Archaeology*: 156–162.

Ferguson, Leland G.

1977 Historical Archaeology and The Importance of Material Things. *Washington, Dc: Society for Historical Archaeology. Society for Historical Archaeology Special Publications Series 2.*

1980

Looking for The “Afro” In Colono-Indian Pottery. *Archaeological Perspectives On Ethnicity in America: Afro-American and Asian American Culture History*, Baywood, Farmingdale: 14–28.

1989

Lowcountry Plantations, The Catawba Nation, And River Burnished Pottery. *Studies in South Carolina Archaeology: Essays in Honor of Robert L. Stephenson, Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, Occasional Papers, Anthropological Studies* 9: 185–191

1990

Lowcountry Plantations, The Catawba Nation, And River Burnished Pottery. *Studies in South Carolina Archaeology, Essays in Honor of Robert L. Stephenson, Columbia: South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology*: 185:92.

1992

Uncommon Ground: Archaeology and Early African America, 1650-1800. Smithsonian Institution Press.

1999

The Cross is a Magic Sign”: Marks On Eighteenth-Century Bowls From South Carolina. *I, Too, Am America”*: *Archaeological Studies of African-American Life*: 116–131.

2007a

Early African-American Pottery in South Carolina: A Complicated Plainware. *Newsletter*.

2007b

Comments On Espenshade's A River of Doubt: Marked Colonoware, Underwater Sampling, And Questions of Inference. *African Diaspora Archaeology Newsletter* 10(1): 3.

2007c

Early African-American Pottery in South Carolina: A Complicated Plainware. *African Diaspora Archaeology Newsletter* 10(2): 1.

Ferreira, Roquinaldo

2011

The suppression of the slave trade and slave departures from Angola, 1830s-1860s. *História Unisinos* 15(1).

Filesi, Teobaldo

1978

Contributi dei Cappuccini italiani alla conoscenza dell'antico regno del Congo (Secoli XVII e XVIII). *Paideuma*: 203–223.

Finke, Roger, and Rodney Stark

1988

Religious economies and sacred canopies: Religious mobilization in American cities, 1906. *American sociological review*: 41–49.

Flick, Alexander Clarence

1937

History of the State of New York. Vol. 10. Columbia University Press.

Fogelin, Lars

2007

The archaeology of religious ritual. *Annu. Rev. Anthropol.* 36: 55–71.

Foley, Caroline

2014

Of Cabbages and Kings: The History of Allotments. Frances Lincoln.

Foner, Eric

2015

Gateway to Freedom: the hidden history of the underground railroad.

Foote, Thelma Wills

2004

Black and white Manhattan: the history of racial formation in colonial New York City. Oxford University Press, New York.

Fountain, Daniel L.

1995

Historians and historical archaeology: Slave sites. *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*: 67–77.

Franklin, Maria

1997a

“Power to the People”: Sociopolitics and the Archaeology of Black Americans. *Historical archaeology*: 36–50.

1997b

Out of site, out of mind: the archaeology of an enslaved Virginian household, ca. 1740-1778. University of California, Berkeley.

1997c

Why are there so few black American archaeologists? *Antiquity* 71(274): 799–801.

2001

A Black feminist-inspired archaeology? *Journal of Social Archaeology* 1(1): 108–125.

Frank, R. Neil, Jr., and Daniel M. Barber (photographer)

1967

1967 Report on 1967 Archaeological Excavations, Brush- Everard House Kitchen and Surrounding Area (Block 29, Area E, Colonial Lots 164 and 165), May 1967. Colonial Williamsburg Foundation Library, May.

Fromont, Cécile

2011

Under the sign of the cross in the kingdom of Kongo: Religious conversion and visual correlation in early modern Central Africa. *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics*: 109–123.

Fry, Gladys-Marie

2002

Stitched from the Soul: Slave Quilts from the Antebellum South. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Fu-Kiau, Kimbwandènde Kia Bunseki

1969

Mukongo et le monde qui l'entourait: cosmogonie-kôngo. Vol. 1. Office national de la recherche et de développement.

1994

Ntangu-Tandu-Kolo: The Bantu-Kongo Concept of Time. *Time in the Black Experience*(167): 17.

2000

Tying the Spiritual Knot: African Cosmology of the Bântu-Kôngo: Principles of Life & Living. Athelia Henrietta Press.

Funari, Paul PA

1996

A República de Palmares em o Arqueologia da Serra da Barriga. *Revista USP* 28: 6–13.

Galke, Laura J.

2000

Did the gods of Africa die? A re-examination of a Carroll House crystal assemblage. *North American Archaeologist* 21(1): 19–33.

2009

Colonowhen, colonowho, colonowhere, colonowhy: Exploring the meaning behind the use of colonoware ceramics in nineteenth-century Manassas, Virginia. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 13(3): 303–326.

Gallay, Alan

2009

Indian slavery in colonial America. U of Nebraska Press.

Gallop, Rodney

1936

Portugal: a book of folk-ways. CUP Archive.

Gara, Larry

2013

The Liberty Line: The Legend of the Underground Railroad. University Press of Kentucky.

Gayet, Albert, Paul Ravaisse, Aḥmad ibn ‘Alī Maqrīzī, and Maṭḥaf al-Miṣrī

1889

Les monuments coptes du Musée de Boulaq. E. Leroux.

Gazin-Schwartz, Amy

2001

Archaeology and folklore of material culture, ritual, and everyday life. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 5(4): 263–280.

Gazin-Schwartz, Amy, and Cornelius J. Holtorf

2005

Archaeology and folklore. Routledge.

Geertz, Clifford

1973

The interpretation of cultures: Selected essays. Vol. 5019. Basic books.

Geertz, Clifford, and Michael Banton

1966

Religion as a cultural system.

Geismar, Joan H.

1982

The Archaeology of Social Disintegration in Skunk Hollow: A Nineteenth-Century Rural Black Community. Academic Press New York.

Gell, Alfred

1988

Technology and magic. *Anthropology Today*: 6–9.

George, Robert Blair St

1998

Conversing by Signs: Poetics of Implication in Colonial New England Culture. Univ of North Carolina Press.

Giliomee, Hermann

2003

“The weakness of some”: the Dutch Reformed Church and white supremacy. *Scriptura: International Journal of Bible, Religion and Theology in Southern Africa* 83: p. 212–244.

Goggin, John Mann

1968

Spanish majolica in the New World: types of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. Department of Anthropology, Yale University.

Gomez, Michael Angelo

1998

Exchanging our country marks: The transformation of African identities in the colonial and antebellum South. Univ of North Carolina Press.

Goode, Charles

2009

Gizzard Stones or Game Pieces? *African Diaspora Archaeology Newsletter* 12(1): 1.

Grabar, André

1968

Christian iconography: a study of its origins. Vol. 10. Taylor & Francis.

Greenhouse Consultants Inc.

2011

Archaeological Investigations of the South Beverwyck Road Park & Ride Expansion Site and the North Beverwyck Road/Route 46 Intersection Improvements, Parsippany-Troy Hills, Morris County, New Jersey.,. On file, State Historic Preservation Office, Trenton, New Jersey.

Greg, Robert Philips
1884

On the Meaning and Origin of the Fylfot and Swastika. Nichols and Sons.
1885 XIV.—On the Meaning and Origin of the Fylfot and Swastika. *Archaeologia*
48(02): 293–326.

Grell, Ole Peter, Robert W. Scribner, and William and Mary History of Toleration
Committee
1996
Tolerance and intolerance in the European Reformation. Cambridge University Press
Cambridge.

Grifi, Luigi
1841
*Monumenti di Cere antica spiegati colle osservanze del culto di Mitra dal cav. Luigi
Grifi*. presso Alessandro Monaldi.

Groover, MD
1994
Evidence for Folkways and Cultural Exchange in the 18th-Century South Carolina
Backcountry. *Historical Archaeology*: 41–64.

2000
Creolization and the archaeology of multiethnic households in the American South.
Historical Archaeology: 99–106.

Grotius, Hugo, and A. C. Campbell
1901
The rights of war and peace : including the law of nature and of nations. M.W. Dunne,
New York.

Gundaker, Grey
1998
*Signs of diaspora/diaspora of signs: Literacies, creolization, and vernacular practice in
African America*. Oxford University Press New York.

2011
The Kongo Cosmogram in Historical Archaeology and the Moral Compass of Dave the
Potter. *Historical Archaeology*: 176–183.

Gutch, Eliza
1901
*Examples of printed folk-lore concerning the North Riding of Yorkshire, York & the
Ainsty*. Nutt.

Hamann, NL

2003

Forging an Atlantic World: An Historical Archaeological Investigation of African-European Trade in Metalwares. The University of West Florida.

Hančar, Franz

1966

Die bronzenen "Pferdekopfszepter" der Hallstattzeit in archäologischer Ostperspektive. Franz Deuticke.

Hauenstein, Alfred

1967

Considérations sur le motif décoratif croix ainsi que différentes coutumes accompagnées de gestes et rites crucifor mes chez quelques tribus d'Angola.

Hauser, MW, and CR DeCorse

2003

Low-fired earthenwares in the African diaspora: Problems and prospects. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 7(1): 67–98.

Heath, Barbara J.

1999

Hidden Lives: The Archaeology of Slave Life at Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest. University Press of Virginia.

2004

Engendering choice: Slavery and consumerism in central Virginia. *Engendering African American Archaeology: A Southern Perspective*, University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville: 19-38.

Heath, BJ, and A Bennett

2000

"The little Spots allow'd them": The Archaeological Study of African-American Yards. *Historical Archaeology*: 38–55.

Heimlich, Geoffroy, Jean-Loïc Le Quellec, and Pierre de Maret

2014

L'art rupestre du massif de Lovo (République démocratique du Congo)/The Rock Art of the Lovo Massif (Democratic Republic of the Congo).

Heimlich, Geoffroy, Pascale Richardin, Nathalie Gandolfo, Eric Laval, and Michel Menu

2013

First direct radiocarbon dating of the lower Congo rock art (Democratic Republic of the Congo). *Radiocarbon* 55(2-3): 1383–1390.

Heimlich, Geoffroy., Smithsonian Libraries., and African Art Index Project.

2013

Rock art as a source for the history of the Kongo Kingdom. *Kongo across the waters.*: 34–37.

Herskovits, Melville

1938

Dahomey: an ancient west African kingdom.(2 vols.).

1990

The myth of the Negro past. Beacon Press.

Herskovits, Melville Jean, and Frances Shapiro Herskovits

1966

The New World Negro: Selected Papers in Afroamerican Studies. Indiana University Press.

Heywood, Linda M.

2002

Central Africans and cultural transformations in the American diaspora. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge; New York.

Heywood, Linda M., and John K. Thornton

2007

Central Africans, Atlantic creoles, and the foundation of the Americas, 1585-1660. Cambridge University Press.

Hilton, Anne

1985

The kingdom of Kongo. Clarendon Press Oxford.

Hodges, Graham Russell

2010

David Ruggles: A Radical Black Abolitionist and the Underground Railroad in New York City. Univ of North Carolina Press.

Holloway, Joseph E.

1990

Africanisms in American culture. Indiana University Press, Bloomington.

2005

Africanisms in American culture. Indiana University Press. Bloomington.

Huffman, Thomas N.

1989

Ceramics, Settlements and Late Iron Age Migrations. *The African Archaeological Review* 7: 1989 155–182.

Hull, Eleanor

1928

Folklore of the British Isles. Meuthen & Co., London.

Hyatt, Harry Middleton

1935

Folk-lore from Adams county, Illinois.

1978

Hoodoo, conjuration, witchcraft, rootwork. Western Publishing Company.

Insoll, Timothy

2007a

Introduction: Configuring identities in archaeology. *The archaeology of identities: a reader*. London: Routledge.

2007b

The archaeology of identities: a reader. Routledge.

Jablonski and Berkowitz Co.

2000

Historic Structure Report of the Historic Hendrick I. Lott House. Jablonski Berkowitz Conservation, Inc.

Jacobitti, Edmund

2010

Archaeology at Farmington Plantation. *Archaeologists as Activists: Can Archaeologists Change the World?* 95.

Jacobs, Harriet Ann

2009

Incidents in the life of a slave girl: Written by herself. Vol. 119. Harvard University Press.

Jadin, Louis, and Joseph Cuvelier

1954

L'Ancien Congo: d'après les archives romaines: 1518-1640. Académie royale des sciences coloniales.

James, Wendy, and Cyril Daryll Forde

1954

African Worlds: Studies in the Cosmological Ideas and Social Values of African Peoples. James Currey Publishers.

Janzen, J. M.

1982

Lemba, 1650-1930: a drum of affliction in Africa and the New World. *Critical studies on black life and culture* (11.

Janzen, John M.

1972

Laman's Kongo ethnography: Observations on sources, methodology, and theory. *Africa*: 316–328.

Jell-Bahlsen, Sabine

2008

The water goddess in Igbo cosmology: Ogbuide of Oguta Lake. Africa World Press.

Johnson, James Weldon

1930

Black Manhattan. Da Capo Press.

Jolly, Karen Louise.

1996

Popular religion in late Saxon England : elf charms in context. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.

Jones, Lynn

2000

Crystals and conjuring at the Charles Carroll house, Annapolis, Maryland. *African Diaspora Archaeology Newsletter* 7(1): 2.

Joseph, J. W.

2011

“All of Cross”—African Potters, Marks, and Meanings in the Folk Pottery of the Edgefield District, South Carolina. *Historical Archaeology*: 134–155.

Joseph, J. W., Theresa M. Hamby, and Catherine S. Long

2004

Historical archaeology in Georgia. Department of Anthropology, University of Georgia.

Kamoie, LC

2001

“ I, Too, Am America”: Archaeological Studies of African-American Life. *Journal of Southern History* 67(3).

Kelly, KG, and H Port au Prince

2004

The African diaspora starts here: Historical archaeology of coastal West Africa. *African historical archaeologies*: 219–241.

Klingelhofer, Eric

1987

Aspects of early Afro-American material culture: Artifacts from the slave quarters at Garrison Plantation, Maryland. *Historical Archaeology*: 112–119.

Kobres, Bob

1992

Comets and the Bronze Age collapse. *Society for Interdisciplinary Studies* 1: 6–10.

Kobrin, David

1971

The Black Minority in Early New York.

Kreamer, Christine Mullen

2012

African cosmos: stellar arts. National Museum of African Art, Smithsonian Institution ; Monacelli Press, Washington, D.C. : New York.

Kubik, Gerhard

1986

African graphic systems: with particular reference to the Benue-Congo or 'Bantu' languages zone. *Muntu: revue scientifique et culturelle du CICIBA*(4-5): 71–135.

Kusimba, Chapurukha M.

2004

Archaeology of slavery in East Africa. *African Archaeological Review* 21(2): 59–88.

Laman, Karl Edward

1962

The Kongo: I-IV. Victor Pettersons Bokindustri Aktiebolag.

Landis, Ruth

1947

City of Women. New York.

Laoupi, Amanda

2008

The Divine Fires of Creation: Homeric Hephaestos as a Comet/Meteor God. In *Science and Technology in Homeric Epics*, pp. 325–340. Springer.

LaRoche, Cheryl J.

1994

Beads from the African burial ground, New York City: A preliminary assessment. *Beads: Journal of the Society of Bead Researchers* 6: 3–20.

LaRoche, Cheryl J., and Michael L. Blakey

1997

Seizing intellectual power: the dialogue at the New York African burial ground. *Historical Archaeology* 31: 84–106.

Latour, Bruno

1999

Politiques de la nature: comment faire entrer les sciences en démocratie. La Découverte Paris.

Lawrance, Benjamin N.

2014

Amistad's orphans: an Atlantic story of children, slavery, and smuggling.

Leach, Edmund

1968

Ritual. *International encyclopedia of the social sciences* 13: 520–526.

Lees, WB, and KM Kimery-Lees

1979

The Function of Colono-Indian Ceramics: Insights from Limerick Plantation, South Carolina. *Historical Archaeology*: 1–13.

Leone, Mark P.

2005

The archaeology of liberty in an American capital, excavations in Annapolis.

2008

A Unique, Early Artifact of African Worship Uncovered in Annapolis. *African Diaspora Archaeology Newsletter*.

2010

Critical historical archaeology. Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, Calif.

Leone, Mark P., and Gladys-Marie Fry

1999

Conjuring in the big house kitchen: An interpretation of African American belief systems based on the uses of archaeology and folklore sources. *Journal of American Folklore*: 372–403.

Leone, Mark P., Gladys-Marie Fry, and Timothy Ruppel

2001

Spirit management among Americans of African descent. *Race and the Archaeology of Identity*: 143–157.

Leone, Mark P., Jocelyn E. Knauf, and Amanda Tang

2014

Ritual Bundle in Colonial Annapolis. *Materialities of Ritual in the Black Atlantic*: 198.

Leone, Mark P, Cheryl J LaRoche, and JJ Babiarz

2005

The Archaeology of Black Americans In Recent Times*. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 34(1): 575.

Leone, Mark P, PR Mullins, MC Creveling, L Hurst, B Jackson-Nash, LD Jones, HJ

Kaiser, GC Logan, and MS Warner

1995

Can an African-American historical archaeology be an alternative voice. *Interpreting Archaeology: Finding meaning in the past*: 110ñ124.

Levine, Lawrence W.

1978

Black culture and black consciousness: Afro-American folk thought from slavery to freedom. Oxford University Press.

Lewis, Thomas

1902

The Ancient Kingdom of Kongo: Its Present Position and Possibilities. *The Geographical Journal* 19(5): 541–558.

Lhote, H.

1970

Le peuplement du Sahara néolithique, d'après l'interprétation des gravures et des peintures rupestres. *Journal de la Société des Africanistes* 40(2): 91–102.

Lhote, H., G. Camps, and G. Souville

1989

Art rupestre. *Encyclopédie berbère*(6): 918–939.

Lhote, Henri

1971

Gravures rupestres de Tin-Terirt, Iharir, Ahararar Mellen, Amsedenet et In-Tebourboug. *Libyca: Anthropologie, préhistoire, ethnographie* 18: 185.

Lima, Augusto Guilherme Mesquitela

1977

Le fer en Angola. *Cahiers d'études africaines*: 345–351.

Linder, Marc

1999

Of cabbages and Kings County: agriculture and the formation of modern Brooklyn. University of Iowa Press, Iowa City, Iowa.

Loftfield, TC, and M Stoner

1997

Brunswick Town Colonowares Re-examined. *North Carolina Archaeology* 46: 6–13.

Lossing, Benson John

1852

The pictorial field-book of the revolution: or, Illustrations, by pen and pencil, of the history, biography, scenery, relics, and traditions of the war for independence. Vol. 2. Harper & bros.

Lynch, B. M., and L. H. Robbins

1978

Namoratunga: the first archaeo-astronomical evidence in sub-Saharan Africa. *Science* 200(4343): 766–68.

MacGaffey, Wyatt

1968

Kongo and the King of the Americans. *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 6(02): 171–181.

1986

Religion and society in central Africa: the BaKongo of lower Zaire.

1987

Lulendo: The recovery of a Kongo nkisi. *Ethnos* 52(3-4): 339–349.

1988

Complexity, astonishment and power: the visual vocabulary of Kongo Minkisi. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 14(2): 188–203.

2000

Kongo Political Culture: the conceptual challenge of the particular. Indiana University Press.

Mackenzie, G. S., E. G. Ravenstein, Arthur Haydon, and Thomas Lewis

1902

The Ancient Kingdom of Kongo: Its Present Position and Possibilities: Discussion. *The Geographical Journal* 19(5): 558–560.

Madsen, Andrew D.

2005

Colonoware and the Context for the Development of a Creolized Slave Culture at Hope Plantation, Bertie County, North Carolina. *North Carolina Archaeology* 54: 100.

Manning, M. Chris

2014

The Material Culture of Ritual Concealments in the United States. *Historical Archaeology* 48(3): 52–83.

de Maret, Pierre

1985

The smith's myth and the origin of leadership in Central Africa. *African iron working*: 73–87.

Martin, Colin JM

1979

Spanish Armada Pottery. *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 8(4): 279–302.

Martin, Erika, Mia Parsons, and Paul Shackel

1997

Commemorating a rural African-American family at a national battlefield park. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 1(2): 157–177.

Martinez-Ruiz, Barbaro

2013

Kongo graphic writing and other narratives of the sign. Temple University Press, Philadelphia.

Massey, Gerald

1883

The Natural Genesis: Or, Second Part of A Book of the Beginnings, Containing an Attempt to Recover and Reconstitute the Lost Origines of the Myths and Mysteries, Types and Symbols, Religion and Language, with Egypt for the Mouthpiece and Africa as the Birthplace. Vol. 2. Williams and Norgate.

Matthews, Christopher N., and Allison Manfra McGovern

2015

The archaeology of race in the Northeast.

Mbiti, John S.

1970

Concepts of god in Africa.

McCarthy, John P., and Carol McDavid

2011

Oxon Hill Manor: The Archaeology and History of “A World They Made Together.” *African Diaspora Archaeology Newsletter* 14(2): 21.

McDavid, Carol

2002

Archaeologies that hurt; descendants that matter: A pragmatic approach to collaboration in the public interpretation of African-American archaeology. *World archaeology* 34(2): 303–314.

McGovern, Allison Manfra

2011

Race and Ethnicity in Early America Reflected through Evidence from the Betsey Prince Archaeological Site, Long Island, New York.

McGuire, Randall H.

1982

The study of ethnicity in historical archaeology. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 1(2): 159–178.

McKee Jr, Samuel

1935

Labor in Colonial New York, 1664-1776. *American Journal of Physical Medicine & Rehabilitation* 14(6): 435.

McKee, Larry

1995

The Earth is their witness. *The Sciences* 35(2): 36–41.

McTeer, James Edwin

1970

High Sheriff of the Low Country. Beaufort Book Company.

Menesson-Rigaud, Odette, and Lorimer Denis

1947

Cérémonie en l'honneur de Marinette. *Bulletin du Bureau d'Ethnologie*(3).

Merrifield, Ralph

1987

The archaeology of ritual and magic. Batsford London.

Meulenberg, Irene RMM

2012

Calabashes and bottle gourds from Suriname. A comparative research between Maroons and Amerindians, with a case-study in Konomerume, a Kari'na village.

Meyers, AD

1999

West African tradition in the decoration of colonial Jamaican folk pottery. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 3(4): 201–223.

Miller, Joseph C.

2002

Central Africa during the Era of the Slave Trade, c. 1490s-1850s. *Central Africans and cultural transformations in the American diaspora*: 21–69.

Mintz, Sidney Wilfred

2007

Caribbean transformations. Transaction Publishers.

de Montecúccolo, João António Cavazzi, Graciano Maria De Leguzzano, and Francisco Leite de Faria

1965

Descrição histórica dos três reinos do Congo, Matamba e Angola. Junta de investigações do Ultramar.

Moreau de Saint-Mery, M. L. E.

1797

Description topographique, physique, civile, politique et historique de la partie française de l'île Saint-Domingue : avec des observations générales sur sa population, sur le caractère & les mœurs de ses divers habitants ; sur son climat, sa culture, ses productions, son administration, &c. &c. ... Et s'y trouve chez l'auteur ... e Paris, chez Dupont, libraire ... et e Hambourg, chez les principaux libraires, A Philadelphie.

Morgan, Jacques, and Daniel Marie Fouquet

1896

Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte: l'âge de la pierre et les métaux. Vol. 2. E. Leroux.

Morgan, Philip D

2006

Archaeology and history in the study of African-Americans. *African Re-Genesis: Confronting Social Issues in the Diaspora*: 53.

Morgan, Philip D., and Institute of Early American History

1998

Slave counterpoint: Black culture in the eighteenth-century Chesapeake and Lowcountry. Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Morris, David

1988

Engraved in place and time: a review of variability in the rock art of the Northern Cape and Karoo. *The South African Archaeological Bulletin*: 109–120.

Mrozowski, Stephen A., Katherine Howlett Hayes, Heather Trigg, and Jack Gary

2011

Conclusion: Meditations on the archaeology of northern plantations. *Northeast Historical Archaeology* 36(1): 12.

Mukenge, Tshilemalema

2002

Culture and Customs of the Congo.

Mulira, Jessie Gaston

1990

The case of voodoo in New Orleans. *Africanisms in American culture*: 34–68.

Mullins, Paul R.

2012

The importance of innocuous things: Prosaic materiality, everyday life, and historical archaeology.

Murrell, N. Samuel

Caribbean Religious History: An Introduction. Ennis B. Edmonds & Michelle A. Gonzalez. New York: New York University Press, 2010. Xiii+ 256 Pp.(Cloth Us \$70.00)
N. Samuel Murrell. Jstor.

Nassau, Robert Hamill

1904

Fetichism in West Africa: Forty years' observation of native customs and superstitions.
Young People's Missionary Movement.

Neuwirth, Jessica L., and Matthew D. Cochran

1999

In My Father's Kingdom There Are Many Houses: Interior Space and Contested Meanings in Nineteenth-Century African-American Annapolis. Paper prepared for Archaeology in Annapolis. On file: University of Maryland. *Archaeology in Annapolis Laboratory, College Park*.

Newman, James L.

1997

The peopling of Africa: a geographic interpretation. Yale University Press.

Ogundiran, Akinwumi, and Toyin Falola

2007

Archaeology of Atlantic Africa and the African diaspora. *African Diaspora Archaeology Newsletter* 10(4): 12.

Olupona, Jacob K.

2014

African religions: a very short introduction. Oxford University Press, New York.

Onuzulike, Uchenna

2007

African crossroads: conflicts between African traditional religion and Christianity. *International Journal of the Humanities* 6(2): 163–170.

Orser Jr., Charles E.

1994

The archaeology of African-American slave religion in the antebellum South. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 4(01): 33–45.

1998

The archaeology of the African diaspora. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 27: 63–82.

2005

Network Theory and the Archaeology of Modern History. *Global Archaeological Theory*: 77–95.

Orser, Jr., Charles E, and Paul PA Funari

2001

Archaeology and slave resistance and rebellion. *World archaeology* 33(1): 61–72.

Papson, Don, and Tom Calarco

2015

Secret lives of the Underground Railroad in New York City : Sydney Howard Gay, Louis Napoleon and the Record of Fugitives.

Parker, Kathleen A., Jacqueline L. Hernigle, Stephen R. Potter, and Edwin C. Bearss

1990

Portici: Portrait of a middling plantation in Piedmont Virginia. Vol. 3. Regional Archaeology Program, National Capital Region, National Park Service.

Patten, Drake

1992

Mankala and minkisi: Possible evidence of African American folk beliefs and practices. *African-American Archaeology* 6: 5–7.

Patten, M. Drake

1997

Cheers of Protest? The Public, the Post, and the Parable of Learning. *Historical Archaeology*: 132–139.

Paul, Emmanuel Cassius.

1978

Panorama du folklore haïtien; (presence africaine en Haïti). Editions Fardin, Port-au-Prince.

Pemberton, John, and Funso S. Afọlayan

1996

Yoruba sacred kingship: "a power like that of the gods." Smithsonian Inst Pr.

Peratt, Anthony L.

2003

Characteristics for the occurrence of a high-current, Z-pinch aurora as recorded in antiquity. *Plasma Science, IEEE Transactions on* 31(6): 1192–1214.

Peratt, Anthony L., John McGovern, Alfred H. Qoyawayma, Marinus Anthony Van der Sluijs, and Mathias G. Peratt
2007

Characteristics for the occurrence of a high-current z-pinch aurora as recorded in antiquity Part II: Directionality and source. *Plasma Science, IEEE Transactions on* 35(4): 778–807.

Pereira, Linconly Jesus Alencar
2012

A umbanda em Fortaleza: análise dos significados presentes nos pontos cantados e riscados nos rituais religiosos.

Perrot, Georges
1872

Exploration archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie, d'une partie de la Mysie, de la Phrygie, de la Cappadoce et du Pont, exécutée en 1861. Firmin-Didot.

Phillips, A. V.
1942

The Lott family in America: including the allied families: Cassell, Davis, Graybeal, Haring, Hedgeman, Hogg, Kerley, Phillips, Thompson, Walter and others. [publisher not identified], [Place of publication not identified].

Pinçon, Bruno, and Dominique Ngoïe-Ngalla
1990

L'unité culturelle Kongo à la fin du XIXe siècle. L'apport des études céramologiques (Kongo Cultural Unity in the Late Nineteenth Century: Evidence from the Study of Pottery). *Cahiers d'études africaines*: 157–177.

Pinkney, Alphonso
1978

Red Black and Green: Black Nationalism in the United States. CUP Archive.

Pollitzer, William S.
1999

The Gullah people and their African heritage. University of Georgia Press, Athens.

Preston, E. Delorus
1933

The Genesis of the Underground Railroad. *Journal of Negro History*: 144–170.

Price, R
2007

Some anthropological musings on creolization. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 22(1): 17–36.

Prime, Nathaniel Scudder

1845

A History of Long Island: From Its First Settlement by Europeans to the Year 1845, with Special Reference to Its Ecclesiastical Concerns... Vol. 108. R. Carter.

Pritchard, M. B., and W. Graham

1996

Rethinking 2 Houses At Colonial-Williamsburg+ The Brush-Everard-House And The George-Wythe-House. *Magazine Antiques* 149(1): 166–175.

Proia, Isabella

2013

Water as Death and Life: Traces of the Atlantic Slave Trade in Funerary and Baptismal Rites.

Pye, Michael

1971

Syncretism and ambiguity. *Numen*: 83–93.

Raboteau, Albert J.

1980

Slave religion: The “invisible institution” in the antebellum South. Oxford University Press.

Randles, Sarah

2013

Material magic: The deliberate concealment of footwear and other clothing. *Parergon* 30(2): 109–128.

Raoul-Rochette, Desiré

1848

Memoires d’archéologie comparée asiatique grecque et étrusque. Vol. 1. Imprimerie nationale. *Mémoires inédits d’antiquité figurée grecque, étrusque et Romaine*.

Rattray, Robert Sutherland, G. T. Bennett, Vernon Blake, H. Dudley Buxton, R. R.

Marett, and C. G. Seligman

1927

Religion and art in Ashanti.

Rawley, James A., and Stephen D. Behrendt

2005

The transatlantic slave trade: a history. U of Nebraska Press.

Raymaekers, Paul, and Hendrik van Moorsel

1964

Lovo: dessins rupestres du Bas-Congo: contribution à l'étude de la protohistoire de l'Ouest centrafricain. Ed. de l'Université.

Reitz, Elizabeth J.

1987

Vertebrate fauna and socioeconomic status. In *Consumer choice in historical archaeology*, pp. 101–119. Springer.

Rey, Terry

1999

Our lady of class struggle: the cult of the Virgin Mary in Haiti. Africa World Pr.

Ricciardi, Christopher Gerard

2004

Changing through the century: Life at the Lott family farm in the nineteenth-century town of Flatlands, Kings County, New York.

Riggs, BH, RPS Davis Jr, And MR Plane

2006

Catawba Pottery In The Post-Revolutionary Era: A View From The Source. *North Carolina Archaeology*: 60.

Roediger, David R.

1981

And Die in Dixie: Funerals, Death, & Heaven in the Slave Community 1700-1865. *The Massachusetts Review*: 163–183.

Rosen, Norma

1989

Olokun Worship. *African arts* 22(3): 44–53.

Russell, AE

1997

Material culture and African-American spirituality at the Hermitage. *Historical Archaeology*: 63–80.

Sagan, Carl, and Ann Druyan

1985

Comet. New York: Random House, c1985. 1st ed. 1.

de Saint-Victor, Louis Guillemain

1787

Recueil précieux de la Maçonnerie adonhiramite, contenant les quatre premiers grades. Philarrèthe.

Samford, Patricia

1994

Searching for West African cultural meanings in the archaeological record. *African Diaspora Archaeology Newsletter* 1(3): 2.

1996

The archaeology of African-American slavery and material culture. *The William and Mary Quarterly* 53(1): 87–114.

Saraceni, Jessica E.

1996

The secret religion of slaves. *Archaeology* 49(6): 21.

Scarry, C Margaret, and John F. Scarry

1994

Bulletin-Southeastern Archaeological Conference. In *Southeastern Archaeological Conference*, 37.: University Press of Kentucky, Lexington Kentucky.

Schenck, Peter Lawrence

1881

Historical Sketch of the Zabriskie Homestead (removed 1877), Flatbush, LI: With Biographical Accounts of Some of Those who Have Resided in it.

Schliemann, Heinrich

1880

Ilios: The City and Country of the Trojans: the Results of Researches and Discoveries on the Site of Troy and Throughout the Troad in the Years 1871-72-73-78-79; Including an Autobiography of the Author. London: J. Murray.

Schliemann, Heinrich, and Archibald Henry Sayce

1884

Troja: Results of the Latest Researches and Discoveries on the Site of Homer's Troy and in the Heroic Tumuli and Other Sites, Made in the Year 1882. J. Murray.

Scranton, Laird

2010

The Cosmological Origins of Myth and Symbol: From the Dogon and Ancient Egypt to India, Tibet, and China. Inner Traditions/Bear & Co.

Seeman, Erik R.

2010

Reassessing the “Sankofa symbol” in New York’s African burial ground. *William & Mary Quarterly* 67(1): 101–122.

Shenandoah, Joanne, and Douglas M. George-Kanentiio

1998

Skywoman: Legends of the Iroquois. Book Marketing Group.

Singleton, Theresa A.

1995

The archaeology of slavery in North America. *Annual review of anthropology*: 119–140.

1997

Facing the challenges of a public African-American archaeology. *Historical Archaeology*: 146–152.

Singleton, T, and MAT Souza

2009

Archaeologies of the African Diaspora: Brazil, Cuba, and the United States. *International Handbook of Historical Archaeology*: 449–469.

Slack, Lina M.

1962

Rock engravings from Driekops Eiland, and other sites south-west of Johannesburg. Centaur Press, [London].

Smith, James McCune

2006

The Works of James McCune Smith: Black Intellectual and Abolitionist. Oxford University Press.

Smith, Robert Houston

1974

The Cross Marks on Jewish Ossuaries. *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 106(1): 53–66.

South, SA, RK Skowronek, RE Johnson, National Science Foundation, University of South Carolina. Institute of Archeology, and Anthropology

1988

Spanish Artifacts from Santa Elena. University of South Carolina, SC Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology.

South, Stanley

1991

New York City Neighborhoods: The 18th Century. Nan A. Rothschild. *American Anthropologist* 93(4): 993–994.

Spear, Rev Samuel T.

1850

Higher Law Conscience; A Sermon.

Springate, Megan E.

2010a

Squatters Budgerees: Pipes for the Australian Market Recovered at the Homestead of a Free Black Family in Sussex County, New Jersey. *The African Diaspora Archaeology Network Newsletter*.

2010b

The Sexton's House Has A Ritual Concealment: Late Nineteenth-Century Negotiations of Double Consciousness at a Black Family Home in Sussex County, New Jersey. *African Diaspora Archaeology Network Newsletter*.

2011

A Concealed Shoe Recovered at the Updike Farmstead, Princeton Township, Mercer County, New Jersey. *Newsletter of the Archaeological Society of New Jersey*(232).

Springate, Megan E., and Amy K. Raes

2010

The Power of Choice: Reflections on Economic Ability, Status, and Ethnicity of a Free Black Family in Northwestern New Jersey.

Steen, Carl

2011

Cosmograms, Crosses, and Xs: Context and Inference. *Historical Archaeology*: 166–175.

Steen, Carl, and Jodi A. Barnes

2010

Okra Soup and Earthenware Pots: The Archaeology of Gullah Communities. *African Diaspora Archaeology Newsletter* 13(4): 2.

Steiner, Roland

1899

Superstitions and Beliefs from Central Georgia. *The Journal of American Folklore* 12(47): 261–271.

Sterner, Judy

1989

Who is signalling whom? Ceramic style, ethnicity and taphonomy among the Sirak Bulahay. *Antiquity* 63(240): 451–459.

Stewart-Abernathy, Leslie C.

1986

Urban farmsteads: Household responsibilities in the city. *Historical Archaeology*: 5–15.

Stewart, Charles, Rosalind. Shaw, and European Association of Social Anthropologists.

1994

Syncretism/anti-syncretis : the politics of religious synthesis. Routledge, London; New York.

Stine, Linda France, Melanie A. Cabak, and Mark D. Groover
1996

Blue beads as African-American cultural symbols. *Historical Archaeology*: 49–75.

Strong, Thomas Morris
1842

The History of the Town of Flatbush in Kings County, Long Island. F. Loeser & Company.

Stuckey, Sterling
2013

Slave culture: Nationalist theory and the foundations of Black America. Oxford University Press.

Sturkie, Paul D.
1965

Avian Physiology Second Edition. Ithaca, New York, Cornell Univ. Press.

Sublette, Ned
2014

Kongo Graphic Writing and Other Narratives of the Sign. Bárbaro Martínez-Ruiz, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2013. 228 pp. *The Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology* 19(3): 517–520.

Sweet, James H.
2004

Central Africans and Cultural Transformations in the American Diaspora. *Transforming Anthropology* 12(1-2): 85–86.

Tallant, Robert
1962

Voodoo in New Orleans. Collier Books.

Tenenbaum, Michael
1976

Iron and society: A case study in constraints and incentives. *Metallurgical Transactions B* 7(1): 5–16.

Theuws, Jacques A.
1983

Word and world. Luba thought and literature. *Studia Instituti Anthropos St Augustin bei Bonn* 32: 1–198.

Thomas, Edward

1880

The Indian Swastika and Its Western Counterparts. *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Numismatic Society*: 18–48.

Thompson, Robert Farris

1974

African art in motion: Icon and act in the collection of Katherine Coryton White. Univ of California Press.

1981

The four moments of the sun: Kongo art in two worlds. National Gallery of Art Washington, DC.

1983

Flash of the Spirit. Vintage Books New York.

1993

Face of the gods: art and altars of Africa and the African Americas. Museum for African Art.

1995

Face of the Gods: The artists and their altars. *African arts*: 50–61.

1996

Tap-tap, fula-fula, kia-kia: The Haitian bus in Atlantic perspective. *african arts* 29(2): 36.
Thompson, Robert Farris, and Joseph Cornet

Thornton, John

1977

Demography and History in the Kingdom of Kongo, 1550–1750. *The Journal of African History* 18(04): 507–530.

1998

Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800. Cambridge University Press.

2003

Cannibals, witches, and slave traders in the Atlantic world. *William and Mary quarterly*: 273–294.

Thornton, John K.

1988

On the trail of Voodoo: African Christianity in Africa and the Americas. *The Americas*: 261–278.

Tobin, Jacqueline L., and Raymond G. Dobard
2011

Hidden in plain view: A secret story of quilts and the Underground Railroad. Random House LLC.

Tuckey, James Hingston, and Christen. Smith
1967

Narrative of an expedition to explore the River Zaire, usually called the Congo, in South Africa, in 1816. Cass, London.

Vahey, Mary Feeney
1998

A Hidden History: Slavery, Abolition, and the Underground Railroad in Cow Neck and on Long Island. Cow Neck Peninsula Historical Society.

Van Den Boogaart, Ernst
1982

Colour Prejudice and the Yardstick of Civility: The Initial Dutch Confrontation with Black Africans, 1590–1635. In *Racism and Colonialism*, pp. 33–54. Springer.

Van den Boogaart, Ernst, and Pieter C. Emmer
1979

The Dutch participation in the Atlantic slave trade, 1596-1650. Centre for the History of European Expansion.

Vanderbilt, Gertrude L. Lefferts
1899

The Social History of Flatbush: And Manners and Customs of the Dutch Settlers in Kings County. D. Appleton.

Vanhee, Hein
2002

Central African popular Christianity and the making of Haitian Vodou religion. *Central Africans and cultural transformations in the American Diaspora*: 243–264.

Vansina, Jan
1978

The children of Woot: a history of the Kuba peoples. University of Wisconsin Press
Madison.

Van Wing, Jozef
1938

Etudes bakongo. 2. Religion et magie. Inst. Royal Colonial Belge.

Velsor, Kathleen G.
2013

The Underground Railroad on Long Island: Friends in Freedom. The History Press.

The Long Island Freedom Trail. *Journal of Afro-American Historical and Genealogical Society* 22: 183.

Visser, Thomas Durant

1997

Field Guide to New England Barns and Farm Buildings. Upne.

Wade, Edwin L.

1986

The arts of the North American Indian: Native traditions in evolution. Hudson Hills.

Wagman, Morton

1980

Corporate Slavery in New Netherland. *Journal of Negro History*: 34–42.

diZerega Wall, Diana

2000

Twenty Years After: Re-examining Archaeological Collections for Evidence of New York City's Colonial African Past. *African-American Archaeology: Newsletter of the African-American Archaeology Network* 28.

Wall, Diana diZerega, Nan A. Rothschild, and Cynthia Copeland

2008

Seneca Village and Little Africa: Two African American Communities in Antebellum New York City. *Historical Archaeology* 42(1): 97–107.

Walsh, LS

2001

The Chesapeake slave trade: regional patterns, African origins, and some implications. *The William and Mary Quarterly* 58(1): 139–170.

Wardlaw, Alvia J., John Thomas Biggers, Edmund B. Gaither, Alison de Lima. Greene, Robert Farris. Thompson, and Houston. Museum of Fine Arts

1995

The art of John Biggers : view from the upper room. Museum of Fine Arts, in association with Harry N. Abrams, Houston.

Weik, Terrance M.

1997

The archaeology of maroon societies in the Americas: resistance, cultural continuity, and transformation in the African diaspora. *Historical Archaeology*: 81–92.

2012

The Archaeology of Antislavery Resistance. University Press of Florida.

Wellman, Judith

2002

The Underground Railroad and the National Register of Historic Places: Historical Importance vs. Architectural Integrity. *The Public Historian* 24(1): 11–29.

Wescott, Joan

1962

The Sculpture and Myths of Eshu-Elegba, the Yoruba Trickster: Definition and Interpretation in Yoruba Iconography. *Africa* 32(04): 336–354.

Westermarck, Edward

2013

Ritual and Belief in Morocco: Vol. II (Routledge Revivals). Vol. 2. Routledge.

Wheaton, TR

2002

Colonial African American Plantation Villages. *Another's country: archaeological and historical perspectives on cultural interactions in the southern colonies*/edited by JW Joseph and Martha Zierden; foreword by Julia A. King: 30.

Whitley, Thomas G., Connie M. Huddleston, Jennifer J. Webber, and Dea Mozingo

2003

The Ford Plantation Project: Archaeological Data Recovery at Cherry Hill Plantation (9BN49/56/57), Bryan County, Georgia.

Wilkie, Laurie A.

1995

Magic and empowerment on the plantation: an archaeological consideration of African-American world view. *Southeastern Archaeology*: 136–148.

1997

Secret and sacred: Contextualizing the artifacts of African-American magic and religion. *Historical Archaeology*: 81–106.

2000a

Culture bought: Evidence of creolization in the consumer goods of an enslaved Bahamian family. *Historical Archaeology*: 10–26.

2000b

Creating Freedom: Material Culture and African American Identity at Oakley Plantation, Louisiana, 1840-1950. LSU Press.

Wilson, Thomas

1896

The Swastika: The Earliest Known Symbol & Its Migrations; with Observations on the Migration of Certain Industries in Prehistoric Times. US Government Printing Office.

Wobst, H. Martin
1977

Stylistic behavior and information exchange. *For the Director: Research essays in honor of James B. Griffin*: 317–342.

Woodson, C. G.
1945

Notes on the Bakongo. *Journal of Negro History*: 421–431.

Wright, William
1882

Thesis: The Hittites and the Bible. Unwin brothers.

Yentsch, Anne
1995

Beads as Silent Witnesses of an African-American Past: Social Identity and the Artifacts of Slavery in Annapolis, Maryland.

Young, Amy L.
1997

Risk management strategies among African-American slaves at Locust Grove plantation. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 1(1): 5–37.

Zierden, Martha
2010

Landscape and social relations at Charleston townhouse sites (1770–1850). *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 14(4): 527–546.

ⁱ <https://journals.uair.arizona.edu/index.php/radiocarbon/article/view/16098/pdf>

ⁱⁱ Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database:
www.slavevoyages.org

ⁱⁱⁱ Deliberately Concealed Garments Database Project:
<http://www.concealedgarments.org/>

^{iv} Brooklyn Museum Website:
https://www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/114110/House_Guardian_Figure_Bochio

^v Transcriptions of the Baxter Journals are available at the Brooklyn Historical Society's Library collections

^{vi} for a concise history of the underground railroad activity in the New York area, including areas of Brooklyn, see *Gateway to Freedom: The Hidden History of the Underground Railroad* by Eric Foner 2015.

^{vii} Harlem African burial ground http://www.nytimes.com/2016/01/22/nyregion/remains-discovered-at-an-east-harlem-site-thought-to-be-an-african-burial-ground.html?_r=0 accessed Feb 10, 2016.)

^{viii} <http://www.earlyamerica.com/early-america-review/volume-5/a-time-for-heroes-the-story-of-nathan-hale/> accessed January 15, 2016.

^{ix} <http://www.bedandbreakfast.com/info/travelers/bnb-getaways/underground-railroad-inns>

^x <http://sandygroundmuseum.org/> accessed Jan 15, 2016.