THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF RESISTANCE AMONG ENSLAVED POPULATIONS THROUGH CULTURE CONTINUITY & THE FORMATION OF GROUP IDENTITY IN THE AMERICAS: AN INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACH

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Abstract

This dissertation will look at the cultural morphology of individuals relocated to the Americas as a result of the Trans Atlantic slave trade. The goal is to see how differences in the social context influence the manifestation of resistance to the dominant culture by considering the psychological elements which would have played an important role in the formation of identity. In order to establish this, archaeological evidence is reviewed within groups which remained enslaved and those who fled and took refuge in a new land.

There has been much attention to this topic in recent years. However, previous research dealing with these specific regions has incorporated limited information on the psychological significance cultural continuity has within diasporic populations or how the development of these cultural differences could represent different forms of resistance to enslavement. This paper hypothesizes that there may be different manifestations of how identity is formed in the 'traditional' enslaved population versus groups that retained some degree of agency in their departure.

To do this, I will look at case studies in the Americas of archaeological evidence depicting the frequency with which cultural traditions are observed within the different contexts and the environmental factors at play in each geographic location. Current psychological identity theory will be consulted to attempt to see if any correlation exists between the self-efficacy within the different populations (those who remained in captivity, those who fled and settled in more culturally and ethnically diverse communities, and those who were legally free living as a minority to an oppressive dominant culture). The main goal is to identify whether psychological resistance and identity formation can be determined through the evidence in the archaeological record.

DECLARATION

No portion of the work referred to in this dissertation has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

From some of the earliest records of civilization until more modern centuries, the subjugation and exploitation of humans as a source of labour was a widespread social practice on every inhabited continent (Curtin 1990). In the majority of instances the determining factors which result in enslavement revolved around three key issues: wealth, power and legal standing. If one was too poor to pay taxes or other monies owed, a member of a conquered city, region or empire, or if there was some criminal offense of which one has been accused, enslavement was frequently the recourse taken. Regardless of the cause of enslavement, slavery was traditionally a local or domestic enterprise. However, in the mid sixteenth century the practice of exporting labour from other regions emerged, and with it, the mass-targeting of entire ethnic groups. The reasons for the European fixation on African enslavement has been discussed and hypothesized by many academic groups and will be briefly discussed in Chapter 2.

This research attempts to contribute further understanding of the preservation and development of cultural and ethnic identities within the context of forced removal, enslavement, and the suppression of human rights for those who were victims of the Trans-Atlantic Slave trade. In this study, cultural continuity will be examined as a form of psychological resistance and will be observed in different social contexts. The differences in the way culture is displayed allows for greater clarity on issues regarding the motivation for, and the significance of, these behaviours.

Historians, sociologists, anthropologists and economists have looked at the political, social and economic climate which contributed to the enslavement, abuse and exploitation of millions of individuals. Within the field of archaeology there has been much attention to the study of African enslavement and culture in the Americas in recent years (eg. Mullins 1994, 1999; Gomez 1998; Leone 1988; Funari 1999; Leone and Fry 1999; Harmond et al 2000; Bender 2001; Epperson 2001; Orser and Funari 2001; Fry 2002; Ruppel, Neuwirth, Leone, and Fry 2003; Gomez 2005; Sayers 2008; Orser 2008; Shackel 2009, 2010). This body research has been crucial to the further understanding of the unrecorded voices lost to the wealthy and powerful authors who have guided for so long the depiction and record of their time. However, there is still a need for increased dimension and complexity in the analysis of those who were overlooked.

Significant work has contributed to the validation of the field of historical archaeology and the importance it has to a fuller understanding of unrepresented populations (eg. Leone 1984, 1988; Orser 1994; Deetz 1991, 1996, Hicks and Beaudry 2006; Orser 2010). Based on this research, methods have been applied to the analysis of enslaved populations which have proved that by working with both the material and written record, a balance for one another is reached. While possibly more efficient in the communication of more abstract elements within social or personal experiences in the past, it is understood that history is a biased account – typically from the perspective of the wealthy and powerful. Archaeology has the ability to examine the unwritten record of individuals or groups who were erroneously represented or completely excluded from the historic record. In this way each field can acknowledge a mutual regard for each other without having to assert that one is more valid than the other. Each has its strengths and weaknesses, and when working in tandem should ideally act to draw out the flaws within each argument and ultimately strengthen the overall understanding of the past. As seen with African and African-American slave culture in North America, the combined application of historic and archaeological methods has helped to reveal long ignored, forgotten, and sometimes hidden discourses detailing the lives of voiceless millions (eg. Epperson 2001; Fry 2002; Ruppel et al. 2003; Gomez 1998, 2005).

Enslavement and race issues in South America have also been subject to scrutiny in recent times (see Orser and Funari 1992; Rowlands 1999; Funari 1991, 1999, 2000, 2003; Noelli 2005; Ferreira 2005; Zarankin and Funari 2008). The examinations have inspired dialogs which have been crucial in opening up awareness for the importance of investigations into the more recent historic past. It has challenged a deeply ingrained racial complacency, one which claims to have eradicated racism when it was painfully evident all around. The country of Brazil derived its policy of equality from legends of culturally and ethnically diverse communities thriving against all odds during one of the most racially exploitive periods in history.

More recently the focus has shifted to include the more detailed analysis of rebellion, resistance, and identity formation within enslaved or diasporic communities (Scott 1990; Orser 2001, 2005, 2008; Bender 2001; Sayers 2008; Shackel 2009). These works consider many forms of evidence, from the way enslaved individuals used their environment to subvert their enslavement passively to the maroon-dominated communities formed by those

who engaged in active rebellion. The research to date has made huge contributions in the development of many aspects of this subject of study. Among other things it has created a strong foundational context to build upon and presented us with many theoretical approaches to choose from which enrich the interpretation of the data. However, as in many fields of research, there is still much to be done which could contribute to our understanding of the basic elements of cultural development. While the research referenced above has generated an active dialog on resistance within these populations and its material manifestation, the relationship between systematic social abuse and resistance formation, why it manifests differently in different situations, and how those differences are significant within the wider individual social contexts remains to be firmly established. In short, there is a gap in our understanding of the psychological motivation for the development of resistance and why it affects the formation of identity within and between different examples of social repression, subordination and disenfranchisement.

In an attempt to fill in these gaps, this dissertation will cross examine the role and manifestation of resistance in four different environments: the traditional enslaved environment, the isolated marooned environment, the diverse maroon environment, and the post-emancipation environment. This paper utilizes the theoretical approach of work that has been laid out within the context of the archaeology of ethnic and cultural identity. These have been thoroughly outlined within a broad body of work (eg. Barth 1969; Hodder 1982; McGuire 1982; Jones 1997, 2007; Funari 1999; Orser 1996, 1998, 2001; Voss 2008; Weik 2009). This body of work will be the foundation for the archaeological theory applied within this paper's analysis and interpretation of cultural material.

In addition to the use of the ethnicity and identity theory stated above, the slightly unorthodox application of modern psychological theory on social identity formation and maintenance will be consulted in an attempt to better understand the psychological significance for the development of resistance and its affect on identity formation and negotiation. A brief background of the developmental progression of Social Identity Theory (SIT) and Realistic Group Conflict Theory (RGCT) will introduce the pioneers of the field and address some of the issues which led to the realization of a need for a more comprehensive and interdisciplinary approach (eg. Lind 1913; Evarts 1913; E. Horowitz 1936; R. Horowitz 1939; Clark and Clark 1939a, 1939b, 1940, 1947, 1950; Lewin 1941; Kardiner and Ovesey 1951).

Due to the limitations of psychological methods – experiment and survey – it was suggested that an interdisciplinary approach could be beneficial. Liu and Allen (1999:65) state,

> "The principal methods of anthropology – ethnography, oral history, and material evidence from archaeology – are strong when the psychological methods of experiment and survey are weak – spanning time and culture, involving variables as real as fortifications and life and death. They are weak where the experiment and survey are strong, in providing predictive and unambiguous tests of theory. This provides an ideal opportunity for synthesis."

There can be some debate over the objectivity of the particulars within this statement. One issue to address is that the authors apparently favour the Four-Fields approach to anthropology and have thusly defined the limitations of the field. This perspective does not allow for the generally accepted autonomy of the field of archaeology as practiced in the UK and much of Europe. This perspective emphasizes the importance of a more self-critical, theoretical reflexivity within the field as opposed to the scientific positivism seen frequently within the Four-Fields approach. Another problem lies in the implication that experiment and survey techniques are absent within the field of anthropology and archaeology. It must be noted that the same can be said of the perspective of psychological approaches as there are a plethora of methodological perspectives within the study of SIT and RGCT (Sherif et al.1961; Parsons 1961; Tajfel 1974; Tajfel and Turner 1979; Denton 1985; Abrams and Hogg 1988; Helms 1990; Cross 1991, 1995; Allen 1996; Liu and Allen 1999; Bar-Tal 2000a, 2000b). Despite these critiques, there is something to be said for the initiation of a multidisciplinary synthesis between psychology and archaeology. Other supporting arguments revolve around the theoretical expansion of social scientists who "ordinarily focus on the here and now of intergroup relations and group dynamics, to use the broad view of time and the wide spectrum of cultures...to challenge the explanatory power of their theories" (Clark 1998, sited in Liu and Allen 1999). It can be seen as a beneficial exchange of methods of examining different elements of the development and maintenance of social definitions and boundaries (both material and cognitive) in the attempt to better understand the motivation, significance and purpose for certain behavioural developments in issues of personal and group identity.

This paper will examine the archaeological material from locations where members of an enslaved population dwelt either as a captive, as part of a runaway or marooned

community, or as an emancipated individual. By examining the evidence of cultural continuity in the archaeological record across these different contexts, the objective is to determine to what extent overt resistance affected cultural preservation. One problem with attempting to determine the motivation of a group which is no longer represented is that there is no subject to gain first hand feedback. Consequently, there can be no way of determining the impact psychological stressors would have had on potentially differing outcomes between these groups. Therefore, this research utilizes Social Identity Theory as a psychological tool to fill in the gaps for our understanding of the significance of control and its relationship to the process of identity formation. In so doing it is possible to not only better understand an underrepresented historical population but also significantly further our understanding of how cultures evolve and change.

To do this it was important to use appropriate case studies to effectively illustrate the different conditions and how cultural evidence has been discovered and interpreted. The following are the case studies that were chosen for this paper:

1. <u>Annapolis, Maryland, USA</u> – The physical remains of African American cultural practices which emerged in the nineteenth century, commonly known as Hoodoo. These sites are examples of how culture developed and was maintained by the enslaved populations who occupied multiple home-sites in this small historic city.

2. <u>The Great Dismal Swamp, Southern Virginia and North Carolina, USA</u> – The archaeological remains of marooned populations living throughout seventeenth - nineteenth centuries. These sites are examples of how culture developed in runaway slave communities who isolated themselves in order to resist captivity and exploitation.

3. <u>Palmares (Quilombo dos Palmares) site, Pernambuco, Brazil</u> – The settlement mainly of runaway Black African slaves and free-born Blacks in Brazil during Portuguese rule in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Brazil. Palmares is an interesting case study due to the intergraded social dynamic, because this site was historically known to be home to mulattos, Indians and poor whites of European descent attempting to flee forced military service.

4. <u>The Jackson Homestead, Burtonsville, Maryland</u> – Melinda Jackson, a freed-slave, purchased a small plot of land containing a single-pen slave quarter in 1869. She and her children occupied the site until the structure burnt to the ground, c. 1915.

The foundation including a nineteenth century addition was discovered intact and undisturbed, containing significant evidence of the ritualistic practice of Hoodoo imbedded throughout the remaining features of the structure. This site gives a chance to explore the manner in which cultural practices survived after emancipation, in a free household within mainstream culture.

All of these sites have been thoroughly researched by archaeologists, historians and sociologists alike. As a result the material has the benefit of complex analytical scrutiny from many perspectives. As of yet, these different environments have not been closely compared with each other to determine similarities and differences which can broaden the discourse of how resistance develops and influences personal and/or group identities. By comparing and contrasting the available forms of evidence, a more accurate representation of how and why cultural identity developed within these different environments will be achieved.

Organization of Paper

In an attempt to give an idea of the level of displacement we are dealing with, this paper will begin in Chapter 2 with a brief introduction to the global socio-political climate leading up to the Trans-Atlantic slave trade, followed by a slightly more comprehensive outlines of West African culture prior to European involvement, the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade itself, and the dwelling environments of those who were enslaved. In Chapter 3 the paper moves to an overview of the theoretical approaches which are used within the analysis of the material, along with a brief background of the development of the psychological perspective. In Chapter 4 the individual case studies and their interpretations will be reviewed. This section highlights the cultural remains from both captive and runaway communities and demonstrates how the theoretical framework can be applied. Finally, in Chapter 5, the discussion portion of this paper will compare and contrast the sites in order to demonstrate how they exemplify cultural preservation as resistance to their enslavement and how issues of identity become enmeshed. Ultimately, this dissertation examines the importance of personal agency in the retention of continuity for the individual in times of duress and how this potentially affects the cultural significance placed on things like tradition and heritage as a form of psychological resistance.

Chapter 2. Background

The history of slavery and the global political system which precipitated the development of mass exploitation of individuals of African origin or descent has been thoroughly investigated by nearly every branch of social science, from history to economics. This being the case, there is no need for this paper to give more than a brief overview of the European imperial systems which utilized slaves from Africa throughout their empires for many reasons.

According to Varnhagen (1975), there was effectively no opposition to slavery in the late medieval and early modern European 'world view' thus the spread to the new world should not be surprising. However, the singling out Africans as a source of labour requires more attention and many explanations are offered and will be discussed in more detail later in this section. One explanation is that the world economy, claimed that the use of African labour resulted in the least amount of an impact on the European economic-community (Walterstein 1974:89). It has been noted that 'it's by commencing with the slave trade that one is able to understand colonial slavery, not the other way around' (Novais 1991:45, cited in Funari 1999:309). That is to say, the slave trade itself created the system of oppression that was to become associated with colonial slavery. Regardless of the initial reasons for focusing on Africa as the labour source, the practice rapidly caught on throughout the European world (Curtin 1990).

The ramifications of the African focus can be seen in legislation in the colonies regarding the rights of slaves. Epperson (2001) describes an account from 1686-87 written by a French Huguenot exile on a tour of the American colonies who made detailed observations of his visit to the New World. In this manuscript, the Frenchman identifies a social pattern of division between the slaves and how they were kept or housed. His inference that this stemmed from a religious difference could have been cultural, perhaps a euphemism of some kind, or simply a result of being unfamiliar with Virginia law. As Epperson points out, "[His] sojourn occurred during a fundamentally crucial period in the formulation and implementation of "whiteness" in Virginia". In fact, a specific piece of legislation in Virginia law serves to encapsulate this racially charged issue. In 1680, law stated that, "if any Negro or other slave shall presume to lift up his hand in opposition against any Christian, shall for every such offence…have and receive thirty lashes on his bare back well laid on" (Chinard

1934, cited in Epperson 2001:56). Twenty-four years later, however, the law had under gone a subtle word alteration, "If any Negro, mulatto, or Indian, bond or free, shall at any time, lift up his or her hand, in opposition against any Christian not being Negro, mulatto, or Indian, he or she so offending shall…receive on his or her bare back, thirty lashes, well laid on" (Epperson 2001:56). This serves to demonstrate the rapid nature with which rights and protection under colonial law regarding slaves was changing. These slight word alterations carried with them many significant social overtones of the rapidly changing attitude of their humanity - no longer restricted to slaves, but to all people of African origin. In the course of 24 years, the law went from affecting only slaves to excluding all people of colour from protection, even free individuals. Escalante argues that the only available responses to the appalling conditions of slavery in the Americas were malingering, poor performance of duties, rebellion or escaping to runaway settlements (1979:74). In the end, "due to unbearable levels of barbarism associated with slavery in the American colonies an increase in runaway settlements began to develop. This resistance to slavery was the main feature of the history of Africans in the American colonies" (Davidson 1979:82).

There has been criticism by some that studies of the development of African-American culture within enslaved groups has failed to examine West African culture prior to European contact thoroughly enough (Thortnton 1998:6). This criticism is significant for this research. A working knowledge of the original cultural influences is imperative in order to determine if there is evidence to support an active attempt of their preservation within the enslaved populations. Therefore, this paper now turns to a brief background of pre-European West Africa.

2.1 West African Cultures at the Time of European Contact

Knowledge is limited of Sub-Saharan West Africa prior to 800 AD, at which time the Islamic influence made record keeping available (Curtin 1990:32). The archaeological record shows evidence of densely populated areas on the southern shore of the desert and commerce based cities as far south as present day Mali. In fact, the material culture attests to the existence of international trade route along the coast of Somalia prior to an Islamic presence. They had established trade connections with Persians, Arabs, Romans, and Indians (Insoll 2003:43-45). Primarily, these communities would have been based on kinship ties, but research has shown that they also had political forms properly called states (Curtin 1990). Prior to the maritime arrival of the Portuguese, trade was carried out by a network of people

who had settled along established trade routes to facilitate trade. These routes were interconnected and intertwined throughout tropical Africa. By the time of European arrival, this system was well established carrying a variety of goods including kola nuts, shea butter, several varieties of salt, and an array of textiles, tools and slaves for sale within West Africa.

Contrary to popular belief, the practice of slave trading did not arrive with the European ships. Most African societies enslaved war prisoners but they were seldom kept as servants, most were sold to traders passing by on the trade routes en route to distant lands. This would produce a greater difficulty in escape for the enslaved prisoners and decrease the chance of rebelling against their captors (Curtin 1990:37). This system contained among the bordering territories was a typical and commonly observed practice throughout most of the known world during this period. However, the Europeans did bring a new economic dimension not yet encountered by the regional economy of West Africa, which was the effect of one-way exportation of labour. As part of a relatively closed or limited circuit of trade, there was a certain *quid pro quo* which had evolved which sustained the trade of slave labour. There was an exchange of sorts whereby labour exported was conversely proportional to labour imported from the same or other regions. Slaves were not a main export with liberal estimates between 500-4,000 slaves per year (Curtin 1990:38).

The Portuguese arrived to discover these pre-established trade routes and no need to set up their own. To this end, African slave traders played a significant role in the volume and ethnic origin of captives offered to the Europeans (Thornton 1998:125). By 1612 Portugal had formed alliances with the Imbangala as far south as modern day Angola (Miller 1976). The perception of strong magic associated with their rulers and their military skills enabled these bands of Imbangala warriors to overrun the Mbundu who also inhabited the area. The Imbangala would then supply captives to the Europeans in exchange for trade goods (Funari 1999:311). Because of examples such as this, some scholars consider African involvement to have been an equal and uncoerced partnership with the merchants (Altman and Butler 1994:485).

2.2 The Rise of the Trans Atlantic Slave trade

In 1514, the first voyage of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade set sail and set in motion a cultural shockwave the affects of which can still be seen and felt today. In the 352 years that the Trans-Atlantic slave trade was in operation current reliable sources estimate 12.5 million

Africans were removed forcibly from their homes and native lands and brought across the ocean (Emory University 2009). These numbers greatly exceed previous estimates from within the last 20 years but the open source database created by Emory University has greatly expanded the reach of a wealth of information about documented voyages. Between 1561 and 1867, records have been found representing 3,188,990 enslaved Africans who disembarked in Brazil alone (Emory University 2009). Previous research only reflected a fraction of these numbers. They reflect that in Brazil by 1584 there were only some 15,000 African slaves (Palacin 1981:82), by 1600 some 20,000 and by 1650 some 33,000-50,000 (Simonsen 1978:133). The numbers here reflect huge disparities previously not accounted for. This becomes a good example of the issues which arise when dealing with inconsistent source information due to the period of time involved.

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, the European focus on African sourced labour is multifaceted and requires some explanation. Africans shared many of the Old World immunities found in the European traders. This was important to ensure the successful delivery of slaves who were already accustomed to the diseases that were devastating the native populations in the Americas. Furthermore, many of the regions involved had experience with rice and grain production and agricultural technologies (Gomez 2005). These were both highly desired qualities. Perhaps the most convincing reason was the remoteness of the West African economy in relation to the European economic involvement. By sourcing labour in a region where there was no conflict in interests, there was less risk of alienating or infringing upon a potential ally.

Despite the fact that Africans shared the same immunities as their European captors, the conditions of their living environment caused higher mortality rates within their populations. Many of the Africans who were brought to the Americas during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries died due to factors such as abuse, neglect and disease (Gomez 2005). Many have commented on the expressed preference that planters in South Carolina and Georgia had throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth century for slaves from regions where rice was its staple crop (Rawley 1981; Wax 1973; Wood 1974). The reason simply being that individuals coming from Sierra Leone or the Gold Coast (modern day Ghana) would already have a great deal of knowledge about rice cultivation and would be better suited for the agricultural business endeavours in the New World.

It is this phenomenon of the preservation of culture in some geographic areas and the loss of it in others that has given rise to the question, "What makes culture last?" In other words, where do the impulses to pass down traditions stem from and what determines whether they will succeed or fail? If the removal of a person from their environment results in their desire to maintain some notion of sameness but there is a prohibition of open practice, how much do alternative methods of practice alter the original cultural elements attempting to be preserved? These are the questions that this paper attempts to explore by looking at case studies of archaeological sites where materials speaking to the preservation and morphology of religious traditions have been discovered.

2.3 Slave Dwelling Environments: Plantation, Maroon and Emancipation

The dwelling environments which played host to the millions of enslaved peoples over the course of three and a half centuries were as different as the labour required of those held in bondage. There were sprawling plantations set in the humid climates of North, South and Central America where slave labour was utilized to produce both hardy crops such as tobacco, cotton, and sugar cane, and also meticulously cultivated exotic flowers and delicate tropical fruits (Kerns and Gibb 1998; Cochran et al. 2009; Blair & Duensing 2009; Trigg 2010). Conversely, there were those who were responsible for the maintenance of the lavish town homes and grounds of the slave owners, or those whose sole responsibility was to be a companion for their master (Kulikoff 1986; Kryder-Reid 1991).

This latter group would have the best chance at learning to read and write. As such, they would also be the group most responsible for the few firsthand accounts of the experience of slavery. One such account was that of a man named Fredrick Douglass, a man born into slavery in Talbot County, Maryland around 1817. He would become one of the most prominent figures in the fight for abolition in the United States, and also one of the most widely read primary sources due to his detailed descriptions of plantation life. In his autobiography he describes the conditions and organization of the plantation. The owner of the plantation Douglass grew up on owned between 300-400 slaves, and a great many more on his approximately 20 other surrounding farms.

> "The home plantation of Colonel Lloyd wore the appearance of a country village. All the mechanical operations for all the farms were performed here. The shoemaking and mending, the blacksmithing, cartwrighting, coopering,

weaving, and grain-grinding, were all performed by the slaves on the home plantation." (Douglass 1845:9-13).

This organizational description of the plantation is starkly contrasted by his evocative recount of one of his earliest memories, of his first realization of the horror of slavery:

"He would at times seem to take great pleasure in whipping a slave. I have often been awakened at the dawn of day by the most heart-rending shrieks of an own aunt of mine, whom he used to tie up to a joist, and whip upon her naked back till she was literally covered with blood. No words, no tears, no prayers, from his gory victim, seemed to move his iron heart from its bloody purpose. The louder she screamed, the harder he whipped; and where the blood ran fastest, there he whipped longest. He would whip her to make her scream, and whip her to make her hush; and not until overcome by fatigue, would he cease to swing the blood-clotted cowskin. I remember the first time I ever witnessed this horrible exhibition. I was quite a child, but I well remember it. I never shall forget it whilst I remember any thing. It was the first of a long series of such outrages, of which I was doomed to be a witness and a participant. It struck me with awful force. It was the blood-stained gate, the entrance to the hell of slavery, through which I was about to pass. It was a most terrible spectacle. I wish I could commit to paper the feelings with which I beheld it." (Douglass 1845:5)

For many who experienced this kind of abhorrent treatment there was little in the way of options other than to endure the unendurable or flee. A life in the deep swampland or high in the mountains afforded the refugees few luxuries. In exchange for their freedom they accepted life amidst the harshest of conditions. They would navigate their way into the depths of the swamp and settle upon raised 'islands' of solid ground. These mounds served as a place to build small wood-framed structures and plant small gardens. In this way, each house would produce its own means for survival (Sayers 2006, 2007a, 2007b). The familiarity with the unaccommodating landscape granted a level of significant advantage against bounty hunters and lynch mobs. Similarly, those how took refuge in the mountains would have tactical advantage over the unwanted presence of those with malicious or harmful intentions. As one could well imagine, this life lived in a state of constant alert was another price paid by those who chose the life of a fugitive over the cruelty of bondage.

In 1865, the official abolition of slavery was finally to encompass the whole of the United States. However, there was nearly a century of exploitation and subjugation of freed blacks and African-Americans which was to follow. These legally free individuals continued to experience the social oppression that had been ingrained into the white-dominated society for 300 years. Immediately after emancipation many were forced to work for little almost no

compensation performing tasks nearly identical to those which they endured as slaves. This afforded them little in the way of savings and many became tenant farmers, renting and working land owned by previous owners at rates impossible to overcome. When homes were able to be purchased, they too were done so through continued labour for the previous owners and typically in exchange for land which was previously used as housing for slaves (Schablitsky 2009). In this way, the grasp of slavery continued to affect generations of legally free individuals and deepen a chasm of racial ideals which would in part come to define a the identity of millions.

Chapter 3. Theoretical Approaches to Culture, Ethnicity & Identity

In the search for a way to ask questions pertaining to cultures and ethnicities from the past, it becomes necessary to first define what constitutes 'culture' and 'ethnicity' and their relationship. Jones (1997) defines ethnic identity as "the aspect of a person's self conceptualization which results from identification with a broader group in opposition to others on the basis of perceived cultural differentiation and/or common descent." She defines an ethnic group as "any group of people who set themselves apart and/or are set apart by others with whom they interact or co-exist on the basis of their perception of cultural differentiation and/or common descent." Finally, she defines ethnicity as "all those social and psychological phenomena associated with a culturally constructed group identity as defined above. The concept of ethnicity focuses on the ways in which social and cultural processes intersect with one another in the identification of, and interaction between, ethnic groups" (Jones 1997:xiii). The broad scope of these terms has been contested, however, it is as a part of a conscious effort to avoid the reification of certain ethnic groups that these terms have been allowed such broad parameters. In so doing, it is hoped that a wider and more inclusive understanding of the many diverse and unique manifestations that ethnicity takes may be informed (Jones 1997:85-86).

Now that the boundaries of investigation have been established, it must also established how ethnicity and cultural identity can be identified and traced in the archaeological record, why the variations between and within groups exist and how this variation can be reasonably interpreted as evidence for resistance rather than the simple preservation of cultural traditions. To that end, this chapter will now turn to a brief summary of the theoretical frameworks which will be utilized, starting with the archaeology of ethnicity and identity.

3.1 Archaeological Theory

Historically, the archaeology of ethnicity has been widely applied in the construction and legitimating of a collective cultural identity. As stated by Jones,

> "Culture-history can be characterised as the empiricist extraction, description and classification of material remains within a spatial and temporal framework made up of units which are usually referred to as 'cultures' and often regarded as the products of discrete social entities in the past" (1997:5).

Consequently, it required some effort to redefine the practical aspect of ethnicity theory in order to render it suitable for the more recent objective of understanding ethnicity as a universal element of social interaction, or a consciousness of differences (Eriksen 1993; Barth 1969). One of the major criticisms of ethnicity theory has been its failure to adequately address the relationship between ethnicity and culture (Jones 1997:87). The two dominant schools of thought explaining ethnicity were the primordialists and instrumentalists. Primordialists stressed the importance of cultural symbols but explain ethnicity as a mere psychological need for an ethnic identity. Instrumentalists claimed culture as an arbitrary set of symbols which only act as reinforcers in defining the characteristics of ethnicity. Neither gave sufficient acknowledgement for the individual function of ethnicity and culture in the conceptualization of identity. It was not until recently that any provision was made to explain the ways in which our similarities and/or differences become recognized to begin with (see Jones 1997: 84-87; Bentley 1987:27).

To bridge this gap in the understanding of the relationship between ethnicity and culture, Jones draws upon the social theory of *habitus* as proposed by Pierre Bourdieu (1977:72). This theory advocates for the developmental aspects of our personal identities subconsciously forming and transforming our personal and world views, and our relationship to them. His notion of *habitus* hinges on deeply imbedded 'structures' which inform our understanding of self and environment. These 'structuring structures' are learned, though not taught, at an early age through observable social minutiae and become the defining principles which cannot be altered or forged. It is upon this foundation that our self-concept is able to be constructed. Based on our initial perceptions and definitions we begin to identify and understand mechanisms in a wider social context. In so doing, we subconsciously define ourselves, for by determining 'Otherness' we also establish 'Sameness'. We then begin to form personal identifications with groups. As Bourdieu points out, these structures are reproduced, maintained and transformed through this process without conscious effort or manipulation (1977:72-74). In this way ethnic taxonomies are produced within the social dynamic (Jones 1997:83). These act as cues or indicators which allow us to navigate the relationship between 'Sameness' and 'Otherness'. These observed differences and similarities then inform the structuring *habitus* and provoke an adjustment in identity. And so the process continues.

It is from this point these concepts begins to become of archaeological significance, as these culturally observable indicators are frequently the tangible elements of culture which get preserved and ultimately serve to inform us of the group posthumously. Bourdieu goes on to add that it is only when something loses the character of being a 'natural' phenomenon that the naturalness of social assumptions can be raised (1977:169). If something is deemed an unnatural behaviour or an unnatural social practice, this implies an established or accepted norm which has been trespassed against. These social deviations simultaneously act to inform participants both of what is 'Sameness' and what is 'Otherness', in a tangible vernacular. When observing the archaeological imprint, a similar approach is taken. It is through these tangible communications of differences that the formation of ethnic taxonomies and identities which were established by those leaving the imprint are able to be traced and interpreted archaeologically.

3.2 Structural Theory of Social Action

It is at this point clear how ethnicity and cultural identity can be identified and traced in the archaeological record, but the questions remain as to why the variations between and within groups exist and how to interpret them. We will now focus on the former by looking at social theory proposed by Harrison C. White. In this theory, White defines identity as follows:

> "…identity is any source of action not explicable from biological regularities, and to which observers can attribute meaning. An employer, a community, a crowd, oneself, all may be identities. An identity is perceived by others as having an unproblematic continuity" (1992:6).

He goes on to explain that throughout our lifetime we are constantly having to:

> "…restructure our understanding of what others are, and of what control is, even as we devise accountings for ourselves and for others who are in some relation to us. Furthermore, identities and their contentions come all wrapped together in larger structures and processes that predate them" (White 1992:6).

This falls snugly in line with the perspectives discussed in the previous section. However, White additionally argues that control is a crucial element in the formation of identity (White 1992:6-9). Similar to the issues raised by Jones in the archaeological approach to culture and ethnicity, White identifies certain shortcomings and inadequacies within social identity

theories. He identifies the rationalists and the structuralists as the main theoretical schools of thought. He claims that:

> "The rationalist perspective takes identity for granted by ignoring the nesting of contexts and thereby tries to explain away control. Rational choice builds upon a myth of the person as some pre-existing entity...[Conversely,] structuralism…takes control for granted and tries to explain away identity. Structuralism builds from the myth of society as some pre-existing entity." (White 1992:8-9).

The argument which he then puts forth states that persons develop only under special circumstances, which come late historically, and that identity is produced by contingency to which it responds as intervention in possible processes to come. He uses the example of observed spatial patterns of young children at play. He notes the criteria influencing how they sort themselves based on perceptions of similarities and/or differences. He even notes that "the physical environment can play an important role in emerging identities: how slides and swings are arrayed influences how children sort themselves into groups" (White 1992:7). Similar examples of these processes of identity formation can be observed in adolescents when the child becomes the weird dresser in the family's eyes, or conversely, the nerd in classmates' eyes. This is because identity comes out of diametrically competing internal forces, synthesizing many contrasting parts of our environments and continually reproducing a consistent joint construction out of actions from the distinct settings. As a result, control can be understood as not only a response to environmental processes, but also an anticipatory or preventative measure. One does not consciously seek control, rather it is a by product of the processes of identity formation and continuity (White 1992:7-9). As White explains:

> "Control efforts are responses by identities to endless stochastic contingencies, to which others' control efforts should be added. Each control effort presupposes and works in terms of realities for other identities...There is no single, unique, and isotropic space for context. The dynamics of control while playing out are also inducing and constructing their own spaces that accommodate possibilities of social action...Topologies of these social spaces are complex, and they vary over time and from one locale to another." (White 1992:9-10)

Therefore, in much the same way as *habitus* continues to influence our identity formation by informing the 'structuring structures' which affect how we internalise our environment, we see control efforts as a powerful influencing factor as well. Moreover, the combination of these two functions within identity formation helps to explain why variations in the manner of the preservation of identity in the material record manifest within and between groups.

3.3 Psychological Social Identity Theory (SIT)

The final question regarding the source or the motivation of these conflicting control efforts proposed in the previous section will now be addressed. For this, a better understanding of the psychological theories related to motivating factors in identity construction is needed. If you refer back to the definition of ethnic identity presented at the beginning of this chapter –the aspect of a person's self conceptualization which results from identification with a broader group in opposition to others on the basis of perceived cultural differentiation and/or common descent– and turn it into a formula, it could be related as follows: SC = PI + GI. In other words, Self-Concept (SC) is derived from the combination of one's Personal Identity (PI) with a particular Group Identity (GI). It is interesting to note that this particular formula was developed in the early 20th century by the social psychologists of the period and used to analyse psychological issues relating to 'racial' or ethnic identities (Lind 1913; Evarts 1913; E. Horowitz 1936; R. Horowitz 1939). It was at this time that the study of the formation of ethnic identity within the psychological context began developing in earnest. Most of these early works were born in the European stage, in Austria or Germany, and evolved in a time when many were seeking an explanation for the existence of self-hatred among European Jews (Gilman 1986; Cross 1991).

Much of early American investigations into the development of self and group identity similarly focused on what was termed the "colour complex" among African-Americans. Two of the earliest psychologists to study 'the mind of the Negro' were John E. Lind and A. B. Evarts. They were both of the opinion that in the mind of the primitive and inferior Negro, one could discover how the (white) mind probably functioned at an earlier point in evolutionary history (Cross 1991:3). "The existence side by side of the White and colored races in the United States offers a unique opportunity, not only to study the psychology of a race at a relatively low cultural level, but to study their mutual effects upon one another" (Evarts 1913:388). These ideas borrowed heavily from the seminal work of Alfred Adler (1926). His paper, originally published in 1912, was titled, *The Neurotic Constitution,* and was used widely to explain the self-hatred amongst many European Jews at that time (Cross 1991).

It is no surprise that early studies from this time period were highly flawed in their approach and methodology for the collection and analysis of data. Much of the data which did not support their hypotheses was either thrown out entirely or else presented in a manner

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which called into question the validity of the subject. One such example was in a revolutionary study performed 1939 by two of the earliest Black psychologists to make a significant contribution to their field. Kenneth and Mamie Clark were a husband and wife team who made their mark by studying the development of self-concept, group identity and personal identity in young children. Their most well known study has come to be known as the Doll Test.

In this experiment, they performed a Show Me Test on a group of children between the ages of 3 and 7, in which the children were asked to identify a doll out of multiple choices of skin colour which they preferred or identified with (ie. "Show me the doll you like best.", "Show me the doll that looks like you." etc.). Their results challenged the current literature claiming that the African-American suffered from 'wishful thinking' about their personal identity and racial preference. However, when reviewing the data retrieved from a fully integrated nursery school, they maintained that populations displaying a "chance" distribution, or the tendency to show a preference for neither, were in fact retarded:

> "This retardation and seeming confusion of identifications of these subjects in the mixed nursery school suggests that other factors not present in semi-segregated or segregated group situations are operative in modifying the expressions of this function." (Clark and Clark 1939b:163).

This can partially be attributed to the failure to do background research of previous similar studies. They would have found this result to accurately reflect earlier studies whose subjects were similarly distributed. In 1936, Eugene Horowitz completed his doctorate dissertation of the racial attitudes of white children living in the North, South and a communist commune in New York City. His goal was to show that racial preference was not biological and that social factors played a role in the development of racial attitudes. His results found that there was strong preference for white among the white children in the North and in the South and a small but significant preference for white among the black children in both the North and the South. However, the results showed a "chance" distribution of preference in the more progressive and integrated communist commune (Horowitz 1936). Had the Clarks reviewed this data they may well have been closer to coming to a similar conclusion as Eugene Horowitz and recognized that racial preference is not biologically established but socially conditioned. As it is, this realization would not become an accepted principle until after the Civil Rights and the Black Power movements in the 1960s (Cross 1991).

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, social experiments were conducted which were developed to research interpersonal and material aspects of intergroup relations, particularly in regards to conflict issues or Realistic Group Conflict Theory (RGCT)(eg. Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, and Sherif's Robbers Cave studies in 1961 and Asch's conformity studies 1956). Today, these studies violate ethical standards which prohibit the kind of studies which incite potentially harmful results or psychological anguish as a result of the environmental manipulation (see BPA's *Code of Ethics and Conduct* 2009 and the APA's *Ethical Principles of Psychologists and Code of Conduct* 2010). As a result, issues revolving around intergroup conflict became peripheral as research firmly embedded itself within a cognitive paradigm. This paradigm shift has proven more suitable for the social, economic, and epistemological forces in psychology today (Lui and Allen 1999; Liu and Liu 1997).

The modern approach to SIT maintains that group identities form in an attempt by the individual to negotiate the structure of society based on, and maintained by, observable differences. Self-Esteem Hypothesis (SEH) then states that, driven by a need for self-esteem (Abrams and Hoggs 1988), the individual must establish their own position in the larger social context. This group-based self-esteem comes from comparing one's in-group (the group of which they perceive themselves to be a member based on the criteria previously laid out in section *3.1 Archaeological Theory*) positively over an out-group (any group in opposition to the identified-with group). In the event that a positive outcome cannot be achieved, it becomes an individual's perception of the social stability and/or legitimacy which largely determines the next action to be taken (Liu and Allen 1999:65).

According to three group studies performed in the 1980s attempting to chart the limits of minimal group discrimination, it was established that group discrimination was less related to positive social identity than previously thought. They found that there was in fact a higher correlation between the level of power or status and the level of discrimination (i.e. The greater the stable power or status the greater the discrimination). This seems to contradict the hypotheses which predicted that the less the power/status, the lower the group-identity contingent self-esteem, and thus the greater the subsequent discrimination (Abrams and Hogg 1988:321).

> "It appears that in these modified minimal group studies the lower power/ status groups resort to different behavioural and perceptual strategies to attenuate their inferiority...It is people with high self-esteem, particularly

those whose status is under threat or at risk, who indulge in discrimination" (Abrams and Hogg 1988:321-22).

Ultimately, it was determined that discrimination was a by-product of interactions between groups either as a consequence of their perception of how to act based on their identification with a particular social identity, or else as an indirect result of an individual establishing poor methods for the construction and maintenance of self-esteem. They also note that it is plausible that an individual's self-esteem is associated with the esteem in which his or her group holds itself, as well as an aspect of intergroup behaviour (Tajfel 1981, cited in Abrams and Hoggs 1988).

This was significant to the development of ideas that maintain that it is not only a need for self-enhancement that motivates these social comparisons, but also a drive for self-evaluation. Again, this is similar to the conclusions reached by Bourdieu and Jones discussed in section 3.1 regarding the 'structuring structures' in our self-conceptualization which are informed by *habitus* and continually influence our perception of self and our surrounding environment, indefinitely. The relationship between these ideas can be better demonstrated here:

> "At the most human extreme, it has been proposed that individuals aspire to a state of self-enlightenment, or self-actualization (Maslow, 1954; Rogers, 1951). Any obstacle to attaining such a goal may also threaten self-esteem and the integrity of the self (Rosenzweig, 1944; Hall, 1961). Therefore, in this conception, self-esteem is a reflection of the coherence of the self, as well as its evaluative valence. Such formulations often suffer from being highly individualistic. Nevertheless, the possibility of a desire to make one's experiences and one's self meaningful, what Bartlett (1932) referred to as a search after meaning, does seem to be accepted by many (e.g. Berkowitz, 1968; Katz, 1960; Reykowski, 1982) and this notion, in different guises, is an important motivational foundation of current social psychology (e.g. research into attribution, social representations and social influence)" (Hogg and Abrams, 1988:325).

Possibly the most strikingly pertinent idea towards the construction of a relationship between self-esteem and culture used as an element of resistance is found in an article by Gecas and Schwalbe, (1983: 87) which argues that "people are motivated to be efficacious (cf. Bandura, 1982; McClelland, 1975; Deci, 1975) and that only through action can we know ourselves (see also Marx, 1844/ 1963)." This view asserts that action may act to increase self-esteem if it occurs in an appreciated context. As such, "social structural conditions enable and constrain efficacious action, influence the meanings we give to it, and are in turn reproduced

by it" (Gecas and Schwalbe 1983:87). This argument is particularly relevant to the formation of group identity.

The conclusions of these studies into SEH ultimately showed that self-esteem is heightened by increasing group cohesiveness and distinctiveness simply because it clarifies the relevant social identity. For example, the simple act of a countries participation in the FIFA World Cup may be enough to raise feelings of nationalism and solidarity without winning necessarily, or perhaps the act of participating in a perceived ritualistic practice is enough to feel a sense of community without necessarily meeting together or openly practicing with the identified-with 'in-group'. In fact, both self-defining and self-enhancing motives are aspects of a personal meaning system (Reykowski 1982). This shows how they can be understood to be highly related to the control efforts discussed in the previous section.

The motivation to understand yourself in relation to your environment is established with the help of SEH and SIT discussed above. The relationship between controlling the action taken and its affect on identify formation was explained with the structural theory of social action described in section *3.2*. Finally, the link between how these behavioural patterns can be seen in the archaeological record was shown in the observable elements of how identity and ethnicity are determined and interpreted, outlined in section *3.1*. Together, these theories allow for a complex analysis of the variations in the manifestation of culture within and between groups and the role material culture plays in the active need to assert construct positive group identity while in a social context which holds your group in a negative environment.

Chapter 4. Archaeology: Sites and Interpretation

The material remains from four different sites from the Americas will now be reviewed and their interpretations discussed. It is in no particular order that the sites have been analysed and the material fused with interpretation and significance – significance in terms of both a social and theoretical discourse. This discourse is one which aims to engage the reader in an active attempt at integrating archaeological material into the social domain. The ultimate goal is to bring further dimension of social relevance and theoretical integration into an imperfect system (Hodder 2001).

4.1 Annapolis, MD

In 1987, archaeologists working with the Archaeology in Annapolis Project, the International Masonry Institute and the Maryland Historical Trust, began excavations on the gardens of the Charles Carroll House in Annapolis, Maryland, USA. In 1991, archaeological excavations expanded to include the ground story of the house. These excavations would yield significant information pertaining to the hidden discourses being concealed by the enslaved occupants of the house throughout the late eighteenth and nineteenth century (Logan et al 1992:1-2; Leone and Fry 1999). It was not until they began to excavate multiple locations that they were to see a pattern of African-American use emerging within each site:

> "We found that all had deposits in some of the standard locations: hearths, sills, and northeast corners of rooms…we do understand that spirits, who are used in conjure, pass up and down chimneys, in and out of doorways, and can be controlled by using the bundles in a hearth or beneath or above a sill to affect a human being also in these environments" (Leone and Fry 1999).

The similarities between the Carroll House (Figure 4.1) and other houses excavated in the surrounding area (Figure 4.2) as well as with analogous sites outside the Annapolis area, resulted in the development of a process for identification and interpretation. Archaeologists at the Carroll House found that many of their artefacts related to other sites which identified the recovery of "Africanisms." Among others these included pierced coins, cowrie shells (Gruber 1991), colonoware vessels that are thought have religiously significant markings (Ferguson 1992), and glass vessel fragments that have been reworked (Klingelhoffer 1987).

Figure 1– Charles Carroll House. Charles Carroll House and quartz crystals that were discovered under a pearlware ceramic bowl. Images courtesy of Archaeology in Annapolis and HABS online database.
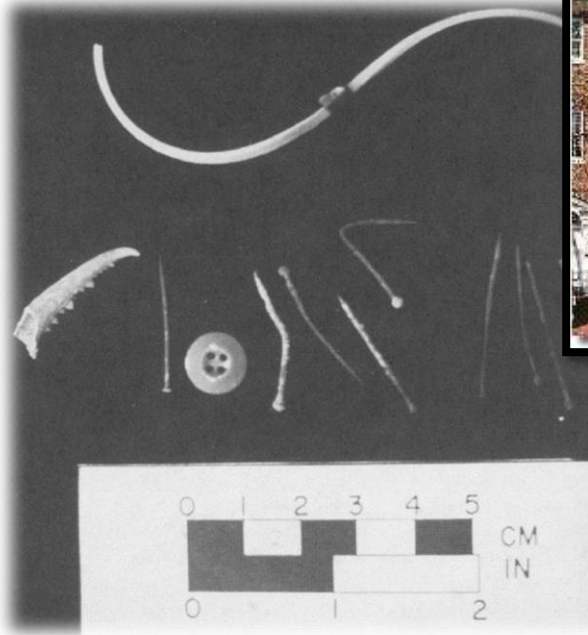

Figure 2 – Slayton House. A cache of nine pins, a crab claw, and a blue bead from the Slayton House workrooms that came from beneath a door sill. The items date from the 19th century (Leone & Fry, 1999). Images courtesy of Archaeology in Annapolis and HABS online database.

All were visibly altered or decorated to serve a function other than that for which they were originally made. Archaeologists began to see previously unrecognized ways in which the many "Anglo-American" objects may actually have been material expressions of their users' West African religious traditions and value systems. The many seemingly ordinary artefacts excavated from the East Wing's lower soil layers, virtually identical to artefacts found on sites occupied by Anglo-Americans, may have been used in ways, or may have been selected for reasons shared by African-Americans but completely unknown among Anglo-Americans.

Over the years, a growing number of hidden African-American caches have been discovered at excavations in the surrounding area. With significant African or African-American discoveries made at excavations at the Brice House, the Slayton House, Paca House, Hammond-Harwood House, and Fleet Street, this small historic town became a hotbed for dialogues regarding the secret and concealed practices of the vast network of enslaved people. The ubiquitous nature of the material within such similar contexts raised the question as to the frequency across a more comprehensive sample.

During the analysis of the earlier sites in Annapolis materials initially thought to be Anglo-American were eventually acknowledged to have undergone some striking alterations. Ferguson (1992) referred to such selection and usage as part of a 'creolization of cultures,' what some today might call hybridization. In this process, he explains, "material things are part of the lexicon of culture while the ways they are made, used, and perceived are part of the grammar or structure" (Ferguson 1992:xlii). When looking at the physical manifestation of culture or ethnicity, these cues become significant. When seen in isolation they may appear eccentric or even random. However, as argued in Chapter 3, these expressions or assertions represent maintenance of a wider group identity. By retaining some level of continuity these examples leave the realm of mere personal expression of religiosity or superstition and enter a macrocosm for the collective preservation of a more specific whole. The significance of the wide-spread pattern of occurrence observed in the Annapolis area lends support to SIT which argues that when placed in an environment which threatens, restricts or prohibits self-expression, the desire to retain elements of their personal identity, as well as their group or ethnic identity is fuelled by the need to assert ones fundamental opposition to their plight (Liu and Allen 1999).

To date, similarities among the occurrence of these caches has been well established in certain geographic locations and within what can be called the 'traditionally-enslaved' or

'actively-enslaved' context. The rest of this section will address the frequency of similar findings in both non-traditional enslaved populations and in different geographical regions.

4.2 Great Dismal Swamp, Southern Virginia and North Carolina, USA

The Great Dismal Swamp National Wildlife Refuge covers some 190 mi^2 in the Tidewater region between south-eastern Virginia and north-eastern North Carolina (43,000-48,000ha; Sayers 2007:61; Culp 2000:263; LeGrand 2000:41). Despite the unaccommodating excavation environment, substantive historical sources referring to canal labourer settlements and maroon settlements within the swamp enticed a team of archaeologist to begin the momentous task of attempting to fill in the considerable gaps in knowledge. As a result the Great Dismal Swamp Landscape Study was initiated in 2002 (Sayers 2006:61).

The area in question served as a refuge to thousands of people in the 225 years prior to the Civil War. There were two major groups who lived in the Great Dismal Swamp, those who escaped to the swamp in defiance of their enslavement and the enslaved canal company labourers who were reportedly given more degrees of freedom in the swamp in exchange for the harsh conditions (Figure 3 and Figure 4). "Thus, the Great Dismal Swamp emerges from historical study as a contradictory landscape of great consequence, one that fostered willful long-term defiance by oppressed thousands to the conditions of "diasporic exile" as well as continued chattel oppression"(Sayers 2007:60-61).

In the past 8 years, archaeologists have recovered a great deal of information previously unknown by historians which had been left to speculation. For example, there was virtually no historic record of the presence of disenfranchised Native Americans residing in within the Great Dismal Swamp. Not only did archaeologist discovered that the Great Dismal Swamp harboured Native Americans, they also discovered that it had been so utilized for nearly a century prior to the onset of self-emancipated African/African-Americans utilizing the Swamp as a sanctuary. The positive identification of material evidence supporting a substantial maroon or diasporan occupation was particularly significant.

Figure 4 – Fugitive Slaves in the Dismal Swamp, Virginia. Historic painting depicting the runaway slaves who inhabited the unfriendly landscape. Image painted by David Edward Cronin, 1888, oil on canvas, 17 x 14 in., on display at the New-York Historical Society, retrieved from: http://www.eaglespeak.us/2009/04/sunday-ship-history-dismal-swamp-canal.html

Figure 3 - Maroon Homestead. Depiction of the island settlements rumored to exist within the Great Dismal Swamp. Retrieved from http://www.oceanvoyaging.com/SnippetPages/Snippets2009/SnippetsOctober2009.html

Throughout Sayers extensive work on the economic and political structures developed within the Swamp, he argues that it was the effect of exilic alienation which led to the political-economic resistance manifest in the Dismal Swamp. Sayers engages with the exile and resistance theory of Edward Said wh claims that,

> "…to be exiled is to be forced into developing a new state of uprooted being and all that such existential rendering entails. And one of the significant results of exile is the development of notions and senses of defiance to the constraints and impositions of forced transplant" (2006:15).

Said goes on to emphasise the lasting effects that the alienation of exile has on the psyche,

> "…It is the unhealable rift between a human being and a native place, between the self and its true home: it's essential sadness can never be surmounted" (Said 1990: 357, quoted in Sayers 2006:15).

These perspectives can be contested based on current identity theory which asserts that ethnic identities are not rigid or fixed entities but flexible and mutable, constantly in a state of reflexivity where it is reforming and redefining itself (Voss 2008:407; Meskell 2002; Jones 1997: 13). Also of demonstrable importance to the current discussion are the dialogs commenting on the nearly inseparable relationship between heritage and identity. This is not to say that exile has no lasting effect on the development of personal or group identity. On the contrary. More accurately, it discourages the view that these groups were "permanently undermined by the loss of something left behind forever" as Said dramatically argues (1990:357) and instead allows for the reinvention of a modified ethnic identity which makes adjustments and adapts to the new 'structuring structures' of the exilic (Bourdieu 1977).

In later applications of Said's theory there is an attempt at integrating how identities are maintained and transformed in diasporan populations. However, it would seem that the notion that identity is a reified entity which must be categorically lost, preserved, or in some way damaged hinders the interpretation. Rather, it seems that the formation of disparate, isolated communities within this environment relied on nuanced associations and identities as a result of their resistance. Their new political-economic identities are seen to emerge in place of more culturally based traditions. This seems to support the argument presented by Liu and Allen (1999) that when faced with a common goal, there becomes a greater need to focus on their environment instead of one another. In short, the need to control of the production of sustenance and economic maintenance to ensure the continuation of their

position as free and autonomous entities won-out over the development of more culturally based identities.

4.3 Palmares (Quilombo dos Palmares) site, Pernambuco, Brazil

About 50 miles off the coast of Brazil there was a network of hills parallel to the colonial settlement of Pernambuco (see Figures 4.3 & 4.4). It was no coincidence that in the sixteenth century this became a safe haven to hundreds of self-emancipated slaves and indentured servants, disenfranchised natives and disgruntled Europeans with military obligations. This community also became a militant fulcrum enabling those who sought refuge within the harsh terrain to defend their self-government. Records exist of a scouting party led by a man named Bartholomeus Lintz who lived among those at Palmares, and described it as two main settlement areas, the capital village in Serra da Barriga and a smaller hamlet on the left bank of the Gurungumba River (Orser 1992:4). He reported that "after staying with them [he knew] their places and mode of life" (cited in Barleus 1974:252; cf. Orser 1994:14) which would indicate that white people living among the maroons was not a cause for suspicion. Further evidence supporting an ethnically diverse community is found in accounts of a raid on Palmares in 1644 which produced captives from the community. Out of thirty-one captives, seven were Amerindians and some were mulatto children suggesting a combined African and Indian slave population (cited in Barleus 1923:253, 304; cf. Rowlands 1999:333). Historical documents refer to houses, streets, chapels, statues (of Jesus and Catholic saints) granaries, and even palaces at Palmares, along with crops such as corn, cassava, beans, sweet potatoes, sugarcane and bananas (Carneiro 1988:203). In 1671, Fernao Coutinho found workshops, blacksmiths shops and that people were producing pottery and timber (Price 1979:12).

Despite the ample historical evidence indicating that Palmares was an ethnically diverse environment, it has been characterized overwhelmingly as African. There has been a significant amount of work in modern times dedicated to the establishment of the runaway community as the first African kingdom in the New World (eg. Kent 1979 and Genovese 1981). However, it has also been argued that there is no pure African culture in the Americas, only new American cultures (Glassman 1991:278, and also Gwete 1991). Modern research has shown that although the 'Angolans' comprised different ethnic groups, they shared broad principles, assumptions, aesthetic ideals, and cultural understandings (Palmer 1995:233).

Figure 5 – Pernambuco, Brazil. Pernambuco is shown in red. Image from from www.slavevoyages.com

Figure 6– Palmares. Detail of Palmares Settlements, Pernambuco, Brazil. Image from Freitas 1984, sited in Funari 1999.

To bring further clarity to the debate, archaeology begun at Palmares to establish what material evidence was available. Field work began in July 1992 with a series of surveys of the capital city of Macaco, now called Serra da Barriga (8km from the modern town of Uniao dos Palmares). Three different pottery types were found at Palmares: Brazilian type native to the area, European and a locally-made 'Palmarino ware.' Orser (1994c:13) claims that these were natural occurring representations of the cultures involved, whereas Allen (1999) argues on the side of the creation of a whole new culture. No clear conclusions were reached in the analysis of the material recovered in the Palmares excavation. As Funari points out, the display of African and native American influences in artefacts, even though important in itself (Singleton 1991), is probably not sufficient to establish the actual mix of different cultures in the maroon settlement (Funari 1999:321).

Regardless of how others have chosen to think of the community in modern times, it is worth noting that both the archaeological and the historical records indicate that there was not a reified concept of appropriate cultural display within the group identity. This is not to say that there is a lack of a development of group identity. There seems to be an abundance of material which firmly establishes a community environment among the residents. The proximity of the structures, the presence of a political economy, and the organization of military presence all attest to the presence of a group identity or ideology. As argued by Jones (1997:78),

> "Ethnicity is a multidimensional phenomenon constituted in different ways in different social domains. Representations of ethnicity involve the dialectical opposition of situationally relevant cultural practices and historical experiences associated with different cultural traditions."

The continuity of more individualized manifestations of cultural traditions indicates that the individual ethnic identities were also being maintained simultaneously.

4.4 Jackson Homestead Site, Burtonsville, Maryland

In late 2007 and early 2008, a site was discovered and excavated by archaeologist surveying the area in advance of the construction of a major highway. Early in the excavation of the foundation of the structure, archaeologists found evidence of the ritualistic placement of items which corresponded to that associated with the cultural practices of Hoodoo. Research began to attempt to locate the historical record of the occupants of the structure.

"Sometime between the 1830s and 1850s, Ann Downs had a single-pen slave quarter built on her property in Montgomery County, Maryland. In 1869, she sold this home along with almost nine acres of land to Melinda Jackson and her children, all of whom were previously enslaved by Ms. Downs. The land and home stayed in the Jackson family through the twentieth century when it burned to the ground sometime around 1916" (Schablitsky 2009:1).

Significant artefacts were recovered from around and inside the stone foundation, the chimney and the hearth. Archaeologists disassembled the chimney and learned that the Jackson home contained three courses of caches within the chimney and that there was evidence of consciously placed artefacts and bone within the foundation. The stone foundation had been mortared; however, time and the heat from the fire caused partial collapse of this feature. Careful excavation of the stone foundation revealed a number of artefacts, including a doll limb, a child's teacup, and over two dozen buttons. Twenty buttons were found in the south wall of the house, and only five buttons were pulled from the north wall, four of which were white Prosser porcelain. This same pattern held for the porcelain toys; most of these items were tucked in the southern foundation. In all, eight projectile points flaked from quartz and quartzite were found on the interior of the house foundation, one chert projectile point was recovered directly in front of the fire hearth and a polished stone ax was found under the southwest corner of the original single-pen slave quarter (Schablitsky 2009).

A significant amount of faunal specimens were also collected from underneath and between the stones that formed the foundation of the later nineteenth century addition. Faunal analysis of the remains showed spiral and torque fractures indicating their arms and legs were dismembered through a pulling and twisting action, indicating that they too were related to a ritualistic placement. Like the foundation, the chimney base was also constructed from field stone. Archaeological evidence showed particular care was given in the ritual evidence associated with the chimney's construction. In a conference paper presented in 2009, Julie Schablitsky writes:

"After sealing the stone with mortar, the mason allowed a mixture of artifacts, bones, and plant material to be placed on this first course of stone. The layering and mortaring of stone continued four layers high with each course of stone receiving an offering of bone, plant remains, and artifacts. Although the construction technique of the chimney was not unusual, the sealing of items within the three courses of stone was significant. Initially, we thought the bone may have been remnants from cooking that somehow fell through the cracks of the stone; however, the stones were sealed with mortar and there

were no cut marks or burning on the thousands of bone fragments. Clearly, the artifacts recovered from the chimney were sealed inside by the people who helped build the home."

Schablitsky concludes her analysis with a discussion about the act of symbolically changing the meaning of objects through rituals. The ubiquitous nature of the ritual act of concealment seen in many cultures leads her to the conclusion that, while the core of hoodoo is African, these spiritual practices are not impervious to change and elaboration. She argues that the material culture associated with hoodoo likely reflects temporal and regional differences, stating that:

> "Due to changes in material culture and human migration, both the objects used and the places of concealment to conjure spirits changed over time and differed by region…Since these everyday items are ubiquitous on archaeological sites, it is imperative to only make interpretations of ritual placement when the context is controlled; only then can archaeologists begin to understand how every day items deviated from their original function to fulfill a deeper, human need." (Schablitsky 2009: 9-10)

She makes a strong case for a positive association of the material with the family's group identity, however she fails to highlight significant issues related to the agency of the individuals. She forgoes the more meaningful implications which these discoveries have about the identity maintenance for those preserving these cultural traditions in opposition to the dominant cultural practices and effectively chooses to assign significance to the placement rather than the placer. Similar approaches have been more recently criticised (Hodder 1982; Jones 1997; Meskell 2002; Voss 2008), choosing to acknowledge the more flexible and situational nature of ethnicity. The significance of the attempts to preserve these cultural traditions carries major implications regarding the active choice to continue to engage with a similar identity group as they did while enslaved. This is, in many respects, a powerful social commentary speaking to the continuation of their oppression and of an unyielding domination of a minority ethnic group.

Chapter 5. Discussion

In the previous section, the four archaeological locations and interpretations were discussed. The understanding of these sites and how they relate to resistance and defiance movements have been explored (Sayers 2006; Rupple et al 2003; Harmond et al 2000; Leone and Fry 1999; Funari 1999; Rowlands 1999). However, a more focused discussion on how these sites fit into the wider context of discourses between various enslave populations has yet to be addressed. Why is there such variation in the pervasiveness of cultural material represented on these sites? If the motivation was a simple matter of cultural preservation, then why such a discrepancy in the observable occurrences of culture strongly represented amongst enslaved populations? The evidence available from these sites reviewed in Chapter 4 along with the application of the theoretical approaches outlined in Chapter 3 allows for some discussion about the implications of these variations in the material record between these sites and the individuals who occupied them.

5.1 Site Comparisons

The archaeological evidence reviewed indicated that there was a strong presence of ritualistic cultural preservation at two of the four sites: the enslaved individuals in Annapolis, Maryland, USA, and the freed slave homestead in Montgomery County, Maryland, USA. The first obvious issue to address is the proximity to each other. These sites are geographically very close to one another and therefore it could be questioned whether the evidence of religious or ritualistic materials could be regionally based. For this reason, one of the two maroon sites analysed was intentionally chosen from this region as well. The Great Dismal Swam is in southern Virginia within the same regional environment. Virginia and Maryland were sister states and, until the Civil War, their politics and culture were remarkably similar.

The presence of evidence of significant ritualistic activities carried out in concealed and hidden environment, spanning multiple generations of enslaved individuals in multiple sites across the city, indicates some level of identification with a larger ethnic group. As argued by White, these 'control efforts' would be significant in the formation of this self-concept affiliating their identity with an ethnic group they perceived themselves or of whom they were perceived by others to be a part, (as defined by Jones' theory of ethnicity 1997). This is a fairly straightforward example of the way these theories can be seen. However, there are some less than obvious connections to be made; for example, in the case of the Jackson

homestead. As in Annapolis, this site showed evidence to support significant ritualistic activities carried out in concealed and hidden environments which spanned multiple generations, but in this case, it was of *free* individuals. The issue in the forefront to be addressed lies within that variation in social status. As White laid out, these control-efforts help form bonds with groups you perceived to be like you. But in a free environment, why would one resort to concealment and hidden activities? According to Abrams and Hoggs (1988) the motivation to for these control-efforts stems from the need to build positive associations of yourself in relation to the social structure you observe around you. In both enslaved and free circumstances, the members were fully inundated in a social structure where the majority culture engaged in discriminatory, negative group views. The need to engage in rituals which linked them to their perceived ethnic group allowed for the passive resistance to the majority culture that held them in such negative esteem.

Considering previous interpretations of the significance cultural traditions played in the formation of the African-American identity, an expectation to see an increase in independent communities of cultural material indicating these traditions would be a natural assumption. Contrary to this expectation however, an absence is seen of material evidence indicating a significant emphasis on preservation of cultural traditions among individuals at the two maroon communities: the Great Dismal Swamp in Virginia and North Carolina, USA, and Palmares in Pernambuco, Brazil.

Initially, an argument could be made that the multiethnic communities could be responsible for this development. However, it has been established that exposure and competition for resources becomes a catalyst for the creation and maintenance of boundaries, both physical and cultural (LeVine and Campell 1972; Hodder 1982). Here, the theory argued by Lui and Allen (1999) regarding group conflict resolution is useful in explaining the apparent decrease in ethnic reification despite diverse cultures within an area of limited resources. This theory states that one of the most successful ways of solving intra-group conflict is through working together to overcome a common obstacle or to reach a mutually beneficial goal (LeVine and Campell 1972, as cited in Lui and Allen 1999:68). In these marooned environments the most immediate threat was not the competition for resources found from other maroons or runaways, rather it was the common threat presented by those who would pursue and apprehend any of the residents of the swamp or mountains with the intent on forcing them back into the unacceptable environment from which they were taking

refuge. This real need to unite with other maroons would allow for the control-efforts, as argued by White (1992), to be extended toward making a literal 'us' versus 'them' in relation to the maroons versus the bounty hunters. As a result, this environment would be ideal in facilitating the development of a group identity based not on the preservation of traditional cultural ties, but from the activities that were endeavoured upon together.

5.2 Negotiation of Culture & Ethnicity

From these sites, questions can be raised regarding the motivation of people to congregate together as a minority group. Why one would chose to identify with a group which would ultimately be a target for persecution comes to mind. As discussed in Chapter 3, the boundaries of ethnic identity allow for much flexibility and are largely need based (Sherif et al. 1961; LeVine and Campell 1972; Lui and Allen 1999). As is seen in the maroon communities, the diverse nature of the environments seemed to be directly dependant on the level of perceived threat to the economy allowing life within the swamp or hill communities to continue. As one of the most basic statutes of RGCT asserts: the greater the threat, the more unified the community (Sherif et al. 1961). This constant threat to the continuity of a desired environment of living presented a catalyst for solidarity within an otherwise culturally divergent environment. The result was an ability for many cultures to identify with one another and form a broader social group, or ethnic group (vis-à-vis Jones 1997).

It is important to therefore make a distinction between ethnicity – "the shifting, subjective identifications of self and others rooted in ongoing daily practices and experiences" (Jones 1997:13) – and culture – the material or behavioural displays which allow for an expression of common ideals, beliefs, or aesthetics. These can be associated, but are not required in order to independently exist (see Hodder 1982 for more detailed discussion). These communities were not defined as a group by shared individual cultural practices, neither where they discouraged from maintaining them. However, it is evident that the basis for the development of an ethnic group identity was present and manifest in the archaeological record at both maroon sites. This indicates that the use of culture as a form of resistance is by no means the only way to resist a prescribed social structure. The overt resistance involved in the process of escaping and establishing one's self within a community in a similar situation appears to achieve all salient requirements in the negotiation through the process of identity formation, transformation and maintenance.

It is interesting to note that the preservation of cultural traditions and rituals can illicit the same powerful effect in populations who are unable to participate in an overt resistance to their enslavement. The fulfilment of the psychological need to have involvement or control in the active rejection of the oppressive or dominant social structure through continuing ritualistic participation is seen to bring about a similar result in the negotiation through the process of identity formation, transformation and maintenance as a the more overt resistance seen in those who fled. When approached from the perspective of White (1992) it becomes clear that these forms of resistance develop and serve a significant function in the cognitive negotiation of identity formation and group awareness.

The previously ambiguous relationship between the distribution of cultural traditions and how they relate to ethnic identifications also becomes clearer. As negative group identification within the social structure is realized, one of two options becomes available to those attempting to form meaningful understanding of their own position within the social framework. The first option is to assimilate into dominant or the majority culture. There are certain social 'tests' one must pass in order for this option to be actualized, such as they must possess a limited number of indicators that they are 'Other.' This is accomplished partially through *habitus* (knowing how to negotiate the unspoken elements of social situations) as discussed by Bourdieu (1977), and partially by the significance of biological qualities (eg. skin colour, gender, or accent). If available to the individual, the choice to assimilate may not even consciously be made. Similarly, the choice to actively participate in cultural traditions may not be a conscious decision in the conventional sense. However, if assimilation with the majority group is not an option, some action is taken (active or passive) to assert the appropriate level of rejection of the dominant social structure. In those who have evaluate the social stability and determined the social structure to be in some way untenable, the control-efforts (as argued by White 1992) are more likely to become active (eg. fleeing, revolting, or malingering). Those individuals who determine that the social structure is legitimately stable tend to engage in passive actions (eg. ritualistic practices or religious engagements).

5.3 Archaeology of Resistance & Identity Formation

At this point, a clear connection is needed; the final piece to complete the puzzle of how material culture and issues of identity and resistance become intertwined. In the previous sections, a direct line of thought has been outlined in order to allow for a better understanding of how motivation and meaningful expressions of self are imperative in the processes of

identity formation and the successful negotiation of self amongst the social structures surrounding us. These cognitive pathways naturally result in actions (White 1992), which subsequently leads to the formation of group associations with particular actions or expression methods better known as 'culture'. Through this manifestation of culture in its material form, we can see patterns of behaviour and the development of systems of social interactions allowing for or restricting these actions of self or group identity expression. In instances of observable repression of certain cultural behaviours or a strong social favouring of one culture over another, what can only be described as movements of cultural resistance can be seen to develop within minority groups. This resistance-manifestation varies according to multiple factors, some of which include accessibility of each form of resistance to the individual, the   level of acceptance of the social structure the individual retains (eg. threat of harm to self or others, immobility from age or health, etc.) and the amount of support received from each individual's identification group. These contextual diversities effect a result in the manifestation of resistance accordingly. Bourdieu further reinforces this trend with the response of those who have been the dominated:

> "It is only when the dominated have the material and symbolic means of rejecting the definition of the real that is imposed on them through logical structures reproducing the social structures (i.e. the state of power relations) and to lift the (institutionalized or internalized) censorship which it implies, i.e. when social classifications become the object and instrument of class struggle, that the arbitrary principles of the prevailing classification can appear as such and it therefore becomes necessary to undertake the work of conscious systematization and express rationalization which marks the passage from doxa to orthodoxy" (1977: 169).

It is the process of leaving the majority, whether in the physical or metaphysical sense, that we are able to detect the Otherness of the actions. It is when these actions of departure impact the materiality of culture that we may detect it archaeologically.

Chapter 6. Conclusion

This dissertation has reviewed the manner in which the archaeological record can be used to study group identity, resistance and cultural significance by using an interdisciplinary approach, applying social and psychological theory. This research has shown how the differences in social contexts affected the manifestation of resistance to the dominant culture and how the psychological elements played an important role in the formation of identity. There has been a limited amount of research to date regarding the psychological significance which cultural continuity plays within diasporic populations and how the development of these cultural differences could represent different forms of resistance to enslavement. The case studies showing archaeological evidence depicting enslaved peoples' cultural practices and the variations in frequency that cultural traditions are observed within the different contexts effectively demonstrates that these manifestations in cultural traditions have significant and complex implications in the formation of identity. Moreover, it is clear that the goal of identifying whether psychological resistance and identity formation is archaechaeologically evident has been determined through the evidence of how each population responded to their captivity.

Throughout the various case studies this research has found that resistance has been a constant. From the hidden practice of traditions passed down despite a scattered social group, these revolutions carried with them significance only vaguely understood. Not unlike the *habitus* informing us constantly without our knowledge or approval, so these acts of asserting ones 'self' and establishing an identity within a social framework assail us without invitation. It is this ultimate enhancement of understanding that this investigation into a more comprehensive, interdisciplinary approach was attempted. It is toward the continuation of a more fully integrated method of studying culture, meaning and motivation that this research finds meaning and, perhaps, some success.

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