

# African American Archaeology

Newsletter of the African American Archaeology Network

Number 6

Theresa A. Singleton, Editor  
Mark Bograd, Assistant Editor

Spring 1992

Department of Anthropology, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution

## Editor's Notes

### *On Riots and Archaeology*

Since our last newsletter, the Rodney King verdict and the riots in Los Angeles and other cities have jarred the American public. Racism and racial tension have been on the front pages of many newspapers and in the forefront of many minds for quite some time now. As a group of scholars devoted to the study of African American life, we need to think about the lessons we can learn from these sad occurrences.

Time and again, during interviews with African Americans either affected by the violence or attempting to analyze it, a particular point was made. Many African Americans voiced their discontent that other ethnic communities did not understand their culture. Although most scholars generally agree that African Americans have a unique history and culture, there is considerable disagreement as to what constitutes African American culture, and how to analyze it.

Archaeologists have viewed African American culture in various ways. Some see African cultural continuities or "Africanisms" as the basis for African American culture. Others believe that an African heritage had little or no influence in shaping African American life. Still others see anything uniquely African American as the result of social conditions --enslavement, poverty, or racism.

Singularly, each approach is overly simplistic and does not permit us to understand the complexities of African American culture as it was formed and reshaped over the past 300 to 400 years. Nor do any of these approaches allow us to understand African American life as lived.

Any attempt to fully comprehend African American culture should examine the many sources African Americans drew upon in the formation of beliefs, values, customs, and other practices. Sometimes this may have been an African heritage. Other times, certain social conditions and attitudes prevailed and were operative. A great deal of African American culture was newly created from innovations within the community. Finally, through interactions with other groups, African Americans participated in cultural give and take.

Simplistic models of any culture run the risk of generating negative stereotypes that are potentially dangerous. This was precisely the consequence of the scholarly trend that suggested that black Americans were somehow "maladaptive" to mainstream American culture. Thus, the lesson we can learn from the Rodney King verdict and the subsequent riots is that our research should aim to suppress racial and ethnic stereotypes, not reinvent or reinforce them.

---

## To The Editors

I recently presented a paper at a conference held at Temple University in Philadelphia and sponsored by the Afrocentric African American Studies Department, the only African American Studies department in the U.S. to grant the Ph.D. in this discipline. The conference was entitled, "African Origins of World Religions: Reclaiming the Past and Applying it to the Present." What was significant about this event, for me, was that I was the only non-African-non-African American presenter. How refreshing it was to receive feedback on my paper about African American resistance from both an Afrocentric audience and Afrocentric presenters!!

The second half of the title of the conference, "Reclaiming the Past and Applying it to the Present," also struck me as I strive to make sense out of my research in an increasingly racist context, which cannot be overlooked when engaging in the recovery of the pasts of Africans in the New World. I find myself supporting an Afrocentric perspective which creates a "subject" shift. As Dr. Molefi Asante puts it:

...when Afrocentrists say that George Washington and Thomas Jefferson were Slaveowners, inter alia, who did not believe in the equality of Africans, that is a fact descriptive of those two individuals. One can excuse the fact on the grounds of interpretation, one can claim ignorance, one can argue that their good points outweighed their bad points, and so on; but the fact is that they believed in the inferiority of Africans.... [T]he Afrocentric position is the recentering of African Americans in a subject position vis-a-vis history, culture, and science (Asante 1992: 307-310).

An Afrocentric perspective has a great depth of possibilities in the challenge to make the recovery of the pasts of African Americans a sensitive and anti-racist political practice in the present. I was delighted to see this newsletter clarifying its applicability to African American archaeology.

Nancy Ladd Muller  
University of Massachusetts, Amherst

Asante, Molefi

1992 The Painful Demise of Eurocentrism. *Book World* April: 305-317.

## Announcements

### Short Fieldschool Reports Wanted

For the next issue of the newsletter, the editors would like to see some more coverage of preliminary findings from summer fieldschools. We hope that this will allow us to beef up the Regional News section, which has grown noticeably thin even over the short life of this newsletter. *African American Archaeology* has been successful in providing a forum for debate about issues relevant to the field. Let's now make it also a forum for sharing research from our field excavations (See also the piece below on the Hermitage for different way to share research findings). The deadline for the next issue is September 15, 1992.

### Slides of Hermitage Field Quarter Excavations Available

Larry McKee, Staff Archaeologist at the Hermitage, has assembled a set of 31 slides of the 1990-1991 Hermitage field quarter excavations. The slides include maps, closeups, and overall shots of excavated features and artifacts. He will also send along a short report on the excavations at the quarter as well as a description of each slide. He prepared this slide set in response to the feelings expressed at the SHA meeting in Jamaica that archaeologists be more forthcoming in sharing the findings from their excavations. The editors encourage other archaeologists to compile similar slide and information sets.

McKee will loan a slide set to interested individuals, who can then make copies of any or all of the slides. Alternatively, he will be glad to make copies of the set and charge his cost (\$1.15 per slide). For more information contact Larry McKee, The Hermitage, 4580 Rachel's Lane, Hermitage, TN 37076-1331; (615) 889-2941.

### Request for Information on African American Biohistory

Ted Rathbun, Professor of Anthropology at the University of South Carolina at Columbia has been asked by *Annual Reviews in Anthropology* to prepare a critical essay on "African American Biohistory: The Physical Evidence." He plans to consider not only the nature and extent of the skeletal data, but also methodological and theoretical issues in biohistory and the social impact of the research. Wanting the essay to be as comprehensive as possible, he has asked for copies of articles relevant to the subject of African American biohistory and welcomes suggestions from our readership about issues that ought to be covered. Please send

## Special Report

### The Foley Square Project: An 18th Century Cemetery in New York City

Jean Howson  
New York University

*Excavations are currently ongoing at Foley Square, one of the largest African American cemeteries ever uncovered, and one of the most important African American sites in New York City. Jean Howson, an historical archaeologist in Manhattan and graduate student at NYU, has closely monitored ongoing events at Foley Square and the controversy surrounding the excavation. Though not a member of the investigative team, she has taken an active interest in ensuring that the cemetery is appropriately analyzed and that community interests are heard and acted upon. Further news about the findings at this site will appear in future issues of the newsletter.*

In May of 1991, test excavations began at Foley Square, Manhattan, in advance of construction of a new Federal office building by the General Services Administration (GSA). The site was once within New York's 18th century African American cemetery, known on historic maps as the "Negro Burying Ground." Human remains were discovered in a portion of the site that had been deemed sensitive. Subsequently, excavations revealed that the original land surface was intact at depths of up to 25 feet over much of the area, and that intact graves were present in large portions at the site. To date, over 300 burials have been excavated, with as many as 500 more projected.

The Burial ground was in use from at least 1712 through the late 1780s. New York's African American community, mostly enslaved, was able to use this ground for its cemetery only because it was located north of what was then the city boundary and was thus considered "waste." Several restrictive city laws were passed in the colonial period, in attempts to prohibit congregations of African Americans at funerals, especially at night. In spite of this, the burial ground continued for nearly 100 years as an important locus of religious practice and as a focus for community identity.

Tentative field assessments so far indicate that 56% of the burials are of adults. Of these, 38% are thought to be men, 29% women, and the remainder of indeterminate sex at this time. Fully 44 percent of the burials are of children (under approximately 15 years of age). Infants account for 25 % of the total number of burials. All but 4% if the individuals assessed so far have been identified as African American.

The dead were placed in wooden coffins, and in all but two or three cases, were oriented with their heads to the west (i.e. "facing" east). Very few grave goods have been found in association with the burials. A small number of buttons have been preserved, but remains of shroud pins are more common. One individual was buried with pennies covering the eyes. In a few instances, women were found buried with infants.

The mitigation effort began in the late summer of 1991, though at that time much of the site had not been tested. Since that time, excavations have been allowed to be extended incrementally, with construction of the building underway simultaneously. There has never been a public discussion of the possibility of avoiding or minimizing adverse effects through preservation of any part of the cemetery extant on the site. Because the cemetery's size and degree of preservation has been and continues to be determined incrementally, there has been no explicit statement of a decision to mitigate adverse effects through total excavation.

In late December, a Memorandum of Agreement was signed by the GSA, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, and the New York City Landmarks Preservation Commission. This Memorandum called for development of a research design for data recovery and analysis, involvement of interested parties in the local and professional communities, re-interment of the remains once they have been studied, and specific public

interpretation efforts. The latter include a 60 minute video, currently in production; an interpretive display for the lobby of the building; and a memorial at the site. GSA has offered a total budget of 250,00 for design and execution of the display and memorial. Both the budget and the nature of the public interpretive effort are subjects of current public debate.

In early December, the GSA and its federal agency consultants proposed speeding up excavation by use of the "coroner's method" (involving removal of burials with shovels rather than exposing articulated skeletons in place). This proposal was strongly challenged by archaeologists and physical anthropologists working on the project as well as a group of outraged citizens, resulting in the retention of appropriate archaeological excavation methods. The continuation of construction work on the site led to an incident in February involving the destruction of a number of graves when large concrete footings were poured. The GSA has called for increased diligence, while accepting no responsibility for reparation.

A high level of concern about the project has been generated within New York's African American community. A Task Force for oversight of the project was organized in early December by State Senator David Paterson of Harlem. This open-membership group has been extremely active in voicing public concern, playing a watchdog role, organizing petitions and letter-writing campaigns, and producing a newsletter. Many other groups and individuals have become involved and have voiced strong concerns about the treatment of the cemetery. Mayor Dinkins appointed a liaison and assigned a special representative to the project. The City Council held hearings and a packed town meeting took place on April 23. The community's demands include:

- designation of the site as a national monument.
- installation of a permanent large-scale interpretive exhibit and ideally museum of African American history, to be housed at ground level in the building.
- design and construction of a suitable memorial to the dead.
- re-interment of the remains on the original site after study.
- a leadership role for African American scholars in the analysis and interpretation of the human remains and the site.

Formal detailed presentations of these and other demands have been made to the GSA, the Landmarks Preservation Commission, the New York City Council, the Office of the Mayor, and representatives of other agencies. Mr. William Diamond, Regional Administrator for the GSA, stated that only an act of Congress can provide for a museum or re-interment of the remains on site. At this time, a campaign of public pressure has been called for to ensure that the concerns outlined above are adequately addressed.

The GSA is a federal agency responsible for the construction project, budgeted at nearly a quarter billion dollars. Interagency consultation is being provided by the National Park Service. The archaeological contractor is Historic Conservation and Interpretation, Inc. Edward Rutsch is the Principal Investigator, and archaeologist Michael Parrington is directing excavations. The Metropolitan Forensic Anthropology Team, a professional group based at Lehman College (CUNY) is conducting the physical anthropological analysis. The group includes Drs. Spencer Terkel, James Taylor, Leslie Eisenberg, Gary Hess, Robert DiBennardo, Bruce Byland, Pat Bridges, John Blitz, and Agagnosti Agelerakis. Dr. Michael Blakey of Howard University and Dr. Lesley Rankin-Hill of the University of Oklahoma at Norman have been invited to join the team. One or more of the physical anthropologists are working on the site at all times, conducting preliminary assessments as burials are exposed. Remains are being removed to laboratories at Lehman College, where analysis will begin after excavations conclude. As of this time, a proposal has been made by Dr. Blakey for Howard University to collaborate in an institutional partnership with the Lehman group in the projected analysis of several years duration.

*At about the time this newsletter went to press we learned that a new archaeological contractor was named. It is John Milner Associates. -ed.*

## Museum News

### Arizona

The Southern Arizona Division of the Arizona Historical Society will be installing a new exhibit in April 1993 entitled, "South Park: A Neighborhood." The focus of the exhibit is one of Tucson's earliest African American neighborhoods. A traveling version of the exhibit will also be available. The exhibits are being prepared by students in the African American History Internship Project of Pima Community College, with additional support from the Arizona Humanities Council. Five years of interview data and several booklets are available. Contact Steve Horvath, Division Director, Southern Arizona Division, Arizona Historical Society, 949 E. 2nd St., Tucson, AZ 85719.

### California

The California Afro-American Museum in Los Angeles supports musical concerts, film series, and many other activities. A special exhibit, "Extensions of the Heart: Drums from the Collection of Dr. Joseph H. Howard," is on display until September 1, 1992. California Afro-American Museum, 600 State Drive, Exposition Park, Los Angeles, CA 90037.

### Colorado

A new ethnographic exhibit is being planned for the Africa Hall of the Denver Museum of Natural History. The museum's collections are strongest for the nations of Zaire, Zimbabwe, Botswana, and South Africa. Some photographs are available from the museum's 1969 expedition to Botswana. Every spring, the museum sponsors an African-American Cultural Awareness program. Denver Museum of Natural History, 2001 Colorado Blvd., Denver CO 80205

### Washington, DC

Copies of the exhibit brochure for, "Pitchers, Pots & Pipkins: Clues to Plantation Life," on display at the National Museum of Natural History are available to anyone who wants them. The exhibit looks at colonoware as evidence of black, white, and Native American interaction on plantations. The brochure includes Theresa Singleton's family recipe for Okra Soup. Please contact the editors to obtain copies.

---

## Research Reports

### Mankala and Minkisi: Possible Evidence of African American Folk Beliefs and Practices

Drake Patten

Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation/Monticello

Archaeological Investigations at African American sites in the plantation South and Caribbean have uncovered a category of objects once unrecognized as cultural artifacts. These collections of mostly reused or reworked objects may well have strong correlations to West African spiritual beliefs or cultural practices. Their recognition and identification can provide a new avenue for understanding African American life under slavery. This group of artifacts includes, but is not limited to: quartz crystals, reworked glass objects, pierced coins, polygonal cut ceramic shards, cowrie shells, beads, Native American points, and kidney-shaped black pebbles.

For many archaeologists, detours into the world of "minkisi" or "voduhn" might sound dangerously like joining the New Age. It is doubtless for this reason that such discoveries have sometimes been downplayed or quickly categorized as "religious". It may be more appropriate to recognize these objects as representative of an African American belief system, a purposeful maintenance and restructuring of known traditions within, and despite, the pressures of a dominant European American culture.

There is ample evidence that African spiritual belief was well-suited to adaptation. Religious historians Mbiti (1970) and Zahan (1979) stress the flexible and adaptive nature of many African beliefs. While no responsible scholar should seek to homogenize the incredible diversity of beliefs within Africa, it is valuable to recognize the shared ideologies which do cut across geographical and ethnic boundaries. In each region of Africa, ceremony and ritual are modeled in response to outside influences of politics, economics, and the environment. Though belief systems may vary from region to region, associated ceremonies used objects that came from the land or were reused or created from locally available materials.

When a community's social and physical world changes radically, its spiritual code stands a better chance of surviving if it can adapt to its new environment. New objects may come to replace others in ritual practice. Students of African folk belief and religion are increasingly interested in these incidents of survival and readaptation of traditional practice. A survey of some recent discoveries at 18th and 19th century sites suggests that archaeologists may be uncovering material evidence of African American folk belief.

What began as an attempt to account for anomalies in an otherwise predictable assemblage at Jefferson's Poplar Forest led me to a preliminary re-evaluation of similar artifacts from contemporaneous African American sites. Although the sites discussed here hardly constitute a complete survey, it is clear that these anomalous artifacts are less unusual than might have been thought.

Archaeologists at Monticello have excavated crystals, pierced coins, a star-decorated polygonal counter, an a cowrie shell along Mulberry Row, the location of many quarters for Jefferson's household slaves. Although yet unanalyzed, excavations at Jefferson's Shadwell birthplace nearby has also yielded a small number of crystals. At Williamsburg, a smoky quartz crystal and a pierced coin were excavated from ravine fill at the Brush-Everard house, in association with a predominantly African American occupation dating between 1740-1790 (Patricia Samford, pers. comm.). In the past year, Park Service archaeologists at Manassas have found crystals, Native American points and a lump of galena in a slave context at the Stewart's Hill tract (Jackie Hernigle, pers. comm.). Other Virginia tidewater sites have yielded re-worked glass objects and crystals.

Water-worn ceramic triangles, preliminarily identified as gaming pieces, while found in great numbers at Poplar Forest, have been less frequently reported elsewhere. The paucity of these references may have more to do with the lack of recognition of these artifacts than with their absence. Archaeologists have themselves suggested that they not have recognized the fragments as anything significant. None-the-less, it should be noted that gaming pieces of various dimensions have been found at Portici (Parker and Hernigle 1990), and also at Drax Hall in Jamaica (Armstrong 1990).

In addition, the gaming pieces and other objects identified here sometimes appear on the same sites, like at Poplar Forest. At Garrison Plantation, a worked tumbler base, decanter finial, and a polished stone, were found in conjunction with a number of worked gaming pieces in a variety of materials (Klingelhofer 1987). On Montserrat, at Galways Plantation, polished black and white pebbles were excavated along with gaming pieces like those at Drax Hall (Jean Howson, pers. comm.).

One of the most remarkable and popularly reported finds was recently made in Annapolis, Maryland. George Logan excavated an unusual group of artifacts in slave context from the basement of the Carroll Mansion, an 18th century site. It includes, among other objects: crystals, a polished rock, a bead, coins, marbles, and the base of a handpainted pearlware bowl with a star motif (George Logan, pers. comm.).

18th and 19th century travellers in West Africa noted the wearing of "charms" and "fetishes" of various types, including pierced coins, cowrie shells, and a cloth or skin-wrapped bundles. These bundles might contain rocks, bone, fragments of mirror and metal --which was thought to have spiritual significance in many regions of West Africa. It is the particular combination of objects, many originating from the earth, which imparts the desired protection or harm of the wearer or user.

Contemporary recollections from South Carolina and the West Indies make reference to various forms of "altars" and "offerings" place in trees or attached to houses. The practice of diving through "casting" has been

recorded in West and Central Africa and America using cowries, rocks, seeds, and pieces of pottery. Among the Yoruba, upside down pots are employed for shrine building and to contain offerings.

A similar inventory of objects is connected to Mankala, a predominantly African game with at least a 3500 year history. Although many games and pursuits might account for the presence of counters on African American sites, Mankala has proven to be unusually tenacious in both the Old World and New. Its ability to simultaneously involve many players, whose skill at the game is highly valued, places it in a central position in community life. Like the "bundles" and shrines, Mankala uses "found" and recycled objects and needs no formalized permanent location.

Of course, all of these artifacts might be explained away by chance, but the frequency of like occurrences on slave sites suggests otherwise. By necessity, the interpretations offered here are composites, culled from various primary and secondary sources. They cannot do justice to the wealth of specific information available through traveler's accounts, narratives, ethnographic studies, literature, folklore, and art history. The more that African survivals in America are understood, the more obvious it becomes that archaeological interpretation of slave assemblages can consider the ambiguous explanations as well as the "self-evident."

Armstrong, Douglas V.

1990 *The Old Village and the Great House: An Archaeological and Historical Examination of Drax Hall Plantation, St. Ann's Bay, Jamaica.* University of Illinois Press, Urbana.

Klingelhofer, Eric

1987 Aspects of Early Afro-American Material Culture: Artifacts from the Slave Quarters at Garrison Plantation, Maryland. *Historical Archaeology* 21(2): 112-119.

Mbiti, John

1970 *African Religions and Philosophy.* Paragon Books, New York.

Parker, Kathleen A. and Jacqueline L. Hernigle

1990 *Portici.* Occasional Report No. 3. National Park Service, Washington, DC.

Zahan, Dominique

1979 *The Religion, Spirituality and Thought of Traditional Africa.* University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

-----  
**Afro-Virginian Root Cellars and African Roots?  
A Comment on the Need for a Moderate Afrocentric Approach**

**Douglas B. Chambers  
Corcoran Department of History, University of Virginia**

Doug Sanford (AAA, No. 5) offered a thoughtful response to Anne Yentsch's research note on Ibo below-ground storage spaces and Afro-Virginian archaeology (AAA, No. 4). In his comments, Sanford took her to task for suggesting that early nineteenth-century Afro-Virginians might have drawn on older West African material cultural patterns or knowledge for use in the Chesapeake region. In particular, Sanford warned against "a politically biased search for Africanisms" in the effort to account for material cultural patterns among slaves and free blacks.

Despite all his social-scientific jargon about "taphonomic processes" and "temporal parameters" and "emic and etic behaviors," the point of Sanford's critique is to emphasize the process of creolization, or how Africans became African Americans. The problem is that, in his rush to be "processual," Sanford downplays the Africaness of black people in early Virginia. Sanford seems to assume that creole (and creolizing) slaves and free blacks lost, or simply discarded, African knowledge and behavior patterns in the American context. Why?

Creolization was a syncretic process, as Sanford obliquely suggests. Slaves maintained old patterns that were useful or adaptive in their new world. There is no reason for historians and historical archaeologists to assume a strict dichotomy between African and Afro-Virginian cultural patterns, social organization, or systems of belief. The tobacco colony's hoe agriculture was not foreign to 18th century Africans; in fact, African skills may have been as important to the development of Virginia's plantation economy as they were in South Carolina (Dunn 1983: 49-82, Wood 1974). Cultural change was not a one-way street, and as Mechal Sobel (1987) suggests, Africans may have deeply influenced Anglo-Virginian cultural patterns.

"Pan-cultural" behaviors like constructing below-ground storage cellars may have survived precisely because both Afro- and Anglo-Virginians drew from their respective cultural backgrounds in building them. This does not mean, however, that different groups utilized the same artifact in identical ways. Can we see any evidence of differential use of cellars between black and white sites in early Virginia?

Any meaningful, contextual, analysis of early African American sites in Virginia must begin with the recognition that the people whose artifactual remains we dig up were very likely either Africans or the immediate descendants of Africans. Yentsch's point about Ibo storage cellars is particularly suggestive when we pay attention to the ethnicity of African slaves in Virginia.

I would underscore the numbers from Kulikoff's (1986) *Tobacco and Slaves* which Yentsch supplied in her note, by arguing that a significant proportion of Africans transported to Virginia originated in the hinterlands of the Bight of Biafra. The rulers of numerous mini-states east of the Niger Delta (of which the Kingdom of Bonny was the most powerful) competed in the 18th century for political control of a complex regional trading network increasingly oriented to the export of captives from the Cross Rivers' densely-populated interior in exchange for iron bars, cotton textiles, cowrie shells and other commodity-currencies on the coast. One English captain who traded in the region between 1787 and 1800, wrote that Bonny was

The wholesale market for slaves, since not fewer than 20,000 are sold here every year. Of these, 16,000 come from one nation, called the Ibos, so that this single nation has exported over the past twenty years, not fewer than 320,000 of its people; while members of the same nation sold at New and Old Calabar, in the same period, probably amounted to 50,000 more (Davidson 1977: 224; see also Alagoa 1986; Rodney 1975; Webster and Boahen 1967).

The Virginia market for slaves was a marginal one in colonial British America. Relatively poor Chesapeake tobacco planters could not compete with well-heeled Caribbean sugar planters for "the best slaves" --which British Americans identified as originating on the Gold Coast, whom they called "Coromantee" or Koromantin, identified today as Akan or Twi-speaking peoples, as well as the Mande-speaking peoples of the Gambia/Windward Coast (Littlefield 1981; Wax 1973). Like other North American slaveholders, Chesapeake tobacco planters also preferred Gold Coast and Gambia Africans, and feared receiving the cast-offs from the Caribbean, but they were particularly reluctant to buy slaves from Angola and Loango Coast. Tobacco planters made a virtue of necessity, buying Gold Coast and Gambia slaves when they could, while accepting Africans shipped directly from the Bight of Biafra as the preferred alternative. Ibo slaves had a generally poor reputation; consequently they wound up disproportionately in the poorer British colonies, like Virginia (Wax 1978).

Philip Curtin (1969: 157) estimated that 38% of the slaves imported to Virginia between 1710 and 1769 originated in the Bight of Biafra. Furthermore, as Susan Westbury (1985) has shown, some 91% of slaves imported into the colony 1727-1769 were brought directly from Africa. She argues that, from the 1670s onward, "most of Virginia's slaves came directly from Africa without previous experience in the West Indies"(p. 234-235, 237). Given these numbers, it is likely that some 15,000 to 20,000 Ibo peoples wound up in Virginia during the height of the slave trade. Did these Africans, and their children, "lose" cultural practices and knowledge brought with them? Or did they adapt useful practices to meet new conditions.

The possibility of African roots of particular Afro-American cultural and social patterns must not be dismissed out of hand. Such searches for Africanisms, must be grounded in detailed historical research. Perhaps the insights provided by what the editors of this newsletter have termed "moderate Afrocentrists" can open new questions and offer alternative answers. The questions, however, must be historical; that is, sensitive to issues of time, of place, of ethnicity, and of change over time (e.g. Thornton 1991).

Clearly, a moderate historical Afrocentrism is useful in considering how Africans became Afro-Virginians. If nothing else, it would avoid the embarrassment of assuming, as one Eurocentric archaeologist did at the 1989 Mississippi conference out of which evolved the African American Archaeology Network, that African American slaves had been deracinated or de-culturated by the Middle Passage.

Alagoa, E.J.

1986 The Slave Trade in Niger Delta Oral Tradition and History. in *Africans in Bondage: Studies in Slavery and the Slave Trade*, edited by Paul E. Lovejoy, pp. 127-136. African Studies Program, University of Wisconsin, Madison.

Berlin, Ira and Ronald Hoffman

1986 *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution*. University of Illinois Press, Urbana.

Curtin, Philip D.

1969 *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census*. University of Wisconsin Press, Madison.

Davidson, Basil

1977 *A History of West Africa, 1000-1800*. Longman, London.

Kulikoff, Allan

1986 *Tobacco and Slaves*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill

Littlefield, Daniel C.

1981 *Rice and Slaves: Ethnicity and the Slave Trade in Colonial South Carolina*. Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge.

Rodney, Walter

1975 The Guinea Coast. In *The Cambridge History of Africa, Vol. 4, From c. 1600 to c. 1790*, edited by J.D. Fage and Roland Oliver, pp. 252-276. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Sobel, Mechal

1987 *The World they Made Together: Black and White Values in Eighteenth-Century Virginia*. Princeton University Press, Princeton.

Thornton, John

1991 African Dimensions of the Stono Rebellion. *American Historical Review* 96: 1101-1113

Wax, Darold

1973 Preferences for Slaves in Colonial America. *Journal of Negro History* 53(4).

1978 Black Immigrants: The Slave Trade in Colonial Maryland. *Maryland Historical Magazine* 73(March): 30-45.

Webster, J.B. and A.A. Boahen

1967 *West Africa Since 1800: The Revolutionary Years*. Longman, London.

Westbury, Susan

1985 Slaves of Colonial Virginia: Where They Came From. *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 42(2).

Wood, Peter

1974 *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion.* W.W. Norton, New York.

---

### African-American Cross Cultural Workshop

Tom Wheaton  
New South Associates

The Jamaica meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology included a workshop on the cross cultural aspects of African American archaeology. The African-American Cross Cultural Workshop consisted of a panel of researchers from Africa, the Caribbean and the United States. The primary purpose of the workshop was to bring together people from various regions working in or interested in African American archaeology. The panelists included Merrick Posnansky (UCLA) and Ann Stahl (SUNY Binghamton), who have extensive experience in Africa; Jean Howson (NYU), who has been working in Montserrat; Nancy Muller (UMASS Amherst) who has worked in the northeast (and who substituted for Carrel Cowan-Ricks (Clemson) who was unable to participate); and, Tom Wheaton (New South Associates) who has worked in the southeast and served as moderator. Forty-one people attended the session, many participating in the discussion following the panelists brief statements.

The panelists emphasized the necessity of viewing African American archaeology in a broader perspective. Posnansky provided many examples of "Africanisms" misunderstood by many American practitioners and pointed out, as did Stahl, the complexities of African cultures and the difficulties in identifying clear Africanisms, even in Africa. These two speakers cautioned researchers from other areas to be extremely careful in making comparisons since recent research has shown large differences between inland and coastal groups and great changes through time. Clearly we must keep control over time and be as clear and specific as possible about our use of African examples. Although it may be too much to ask that Americanists become experts in African history, we do have an obligation to have a general understanding before drawing comparisons in material culture. Africa is a diverse place and there is no monolithic African culture in the same way that there is no monolithic African American culture.

One of the goals of the workshop was to develop research questions that would be of interest to those working in any region. This goal was not met in the strictest sense, but certain research needs did come to the surface during the workshop. As always, participants noted the need for good historical research, not simplistic trends or simply the recovery of Africanisms. American scholars need to become aware of the depth and breadth of African culture; more specifically the anthropology of colonialism, African distribution systems and internal economies, the material culture of households and spatial relationships. Comparisons should be made between slave quarters and various African village types, as well as the study of functional attributes of artifacts. For example, the generalized forms of colonoware ceramics, though they may have been made by African slaves, may not lend themselves to studies of African connections. However, the functions of colonoware and other artifact types may hold clues to world view and thus to African cultural survivals. The study of function would include not just cooking, but also artifacts and practices dealing with medicine, traditional ceremonies/activities, as well as with death. We should remember that tools may change, but the underlying processes and purposes often continue.

While the point of view of Africanist archaeologists at the workshop seemed to focus on the lack of knowledge about Africa by Americanist researchers, the Americanists were more concerned with identifying African American populations archaeologically (regardless of the presence of Africanisms) and the evidence for change in them in the archaeological record. There was a consensus that the dialogue should continue.

At the present time a proposal for a second African-American Cross Cultural Workshop has been submitted to the SHA for the 1993 meeting in Kansas City. The plan is to again have panelists who represent research in Africa, the Caribbean, and the United States. Focus groups are planned for 1993 --two suggested topics are research goals and a code of ethics for African American Archaeology. There is also the possibility that participants can bring artifacts for hands-on comparison. Anyone interested in helping organize the 1993 workshop should contact Tom Wheaton at New South Associates, 4889 Lewis Road, Stone Mountain, GA 30083; (404) 493-7764.

---

## Regional News

### NORTHEAST

#### *Massachusetts*

**DuBois Homesite** - The DuBois Homesite is the subject of archaeological investigations by Robert Paynter and graduate students at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. A video is now available on DuBois' early years in Great Barrington, Massachusetts. The hour-long film, "W.E.B. DuBois of Great Barrington," was produced by Lillian Baulding of WGBY-TV Springfield, an affiliate of WGBH Boston. The documentary focuses primarily on DuBois' early years and his ties to Western Massachusetts. Five generations of African Americans lived and worked in the Great Barrington area. The video was aired during Black History Month and is available. For more information contact: Nancy Ladd Muller, Anthropology Department, Machmer Hall, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA 01003.

**SHA Papers** - For those interested in the historical archaeology of African Americans in the Northeast may be interested in following papers from last SHA meeting in Jamaica (see list at the end of this newsletter): Askins, Christ and McCarthy, Fitts, Garman, Hauteniemi, Muller.

### SOUTHEAST

#### *Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina*

**Research on Gardens and Yards** - "Traditional Gardens and Yards of African-Americans in the Rural South" is the title of a research study recently completed by Richard Westmacott, a landscape architecture professor at the University of Georgia with a Design Arts grants from the National Endowment for the Arts. The purpose of the research was to describe patterns and practices which are traditional in the gardens and yards of African American families in three rural areas of the South and how they are changing. One criterion for the selection of subjects was that they

were able to clearly remember and describe the garden and yards of their parents. The three areas studied were the Lowcountry in South Carolina (Colleton County), the Georgia piedmont (Oglethorpe County), and the Black Belt of Alabama (Hale and Perry Counties). A comparison of these three areas, each distinct geographically and with different settlement histories helped to identify traditions and designs that showed cultural continuities in African American gardens and regional variations between them. The functions of the garden for food production, for household chores, for welcome, leisure and entertainment were analyzed. Detailed surveys were made of each garden and the elements in each recorded. All plants growing in the gardens were identified and a frequency analysis carried out. Interviews with each gardener explored the meanings and beliefs associated with the garden and the rationale for its design.

Some attempts were made to interpret the values and ideals associated with the yards and gardens of rural African Americans. As symbols of security of tenure, of self-sufficiency, self-reliance, resourcefulness, and hard-work these yards reflected agrarian values held by old-time rural families across America regardless of ethnic origin. Nor could features, like the swept yard be attributed solely to African Americans. Although Europeans may have adopted the practice of sweeping the yard from enslaved Africans, it was practiced in the South by both black and white families.

It was in the arrangement of the flower yard that clear differences were discerned between African American and European American yards. Plants were grown and appreciated as individuals and rarely massed to form a background or to enclose a space. Plants grown for hedges, edges, foundation planting were notably absent. Privet was quite

common and was sometimes growing in lines but was rarely managed as a hedge. Rather, plants were trimmed individually giving each its own character. Magnolia Moses summed up the difference when she said that white people's yards are "all shaped up." A scattering of individual plants (and other manufactured ornaments) throughout the yard of course makes mowing tedious and probably explains the persistence of sweeping as a practice in many of the yards of rural African Americans. Yards where mowing was practiced showed signs of more spatial organization and in some, plants continued to be grown as individuals, but arranged in rows to make mowing easier. It was disappointing that no examples of complex intercropping or other agriculture practices found in the tropics were seen in gardens, and African Americans appeared to have adopted row-cropping exclusively.

The attitude of the gardeners to change was given careful attention and it was observed that most gardeners anticipated change with pleasure. They often spoke, for instance, of "watching" the garden, not looking at it. Watching implies that change is imminent and change necessarily involves work. But pleasure was derived from working in the garden and so change was welcomed.

Little attention has been paid by garden designers to African American gardens as a source of inspiration. In other artistic endeavors, the performing and decorative arts, quilt-making, music, sculpture, dance, etc., the influence of African Americans has been enormously invigorating to our culture. This study recognizes the innovation and freshness in the designs of decorative displays by African Americans in their yards.

This work, with an introduction by Dr. Theresa Singleton from the Smithsonian Institution, will be published in the fall by the University of Tennessee Press.

#### *Georgia, South Carolina*

**African American Cultural History, Richard B. Russell Dam and Lake** - The Interagency Archeological Services Division, Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service has contracted for a non-technical oral history and photo essay account of the African American experience in the Richard B. Russell Dam and Lake area in Georgia and South Carolina. The purpose of

this project is to produce, utilizing existing primary research information, oral history accounts, and other available existing information, an account of African American cultural and social history within the Richard B. Russell area. Publication of this volume is expected in early 1993.

#### *South Carolina*

**Clemson** - Carrel Cowan-Ricks of the Department of Historic Houses at Clemson University will be leading a team of students and volunteers this summer in the search for the final resting places of those pre-emancipation African Americans who lived and worked in bondage on the John C. Calhoun farm, now the site of Clemson University in Clemson, South Carolina. No remains will be exhumed; the purpose of the excavation is to document the location of the burial ground and to create a memorial to the individuals buried there. Cowan-Ricks has actively recruited African American students with a background in anthropology and history. For more information about this project, contact Carrel Cowan-Ricks, Project Archaeologist, Department of Historic Houses, Clemson University, Trustee House, Clemson, SC 29634.

#### **WEST**

##### *Wyoming*

**Early African American Homesteaders** - In 1986, Metcalf Archaeological Consultants conducted limited excavations at the homestead (48CA897) of James Lampkin, one of the first African American settlers of Campbell County, Powder River Basin, Wyoming. Test excavations were completed in the house depression and an adjacent refuse mound. Numerous artifacts and dietary remains were recovered. Historical research, documentation, and archaeological research were used to justify nomination of the site to the National Register of Historic Places and to mitigate the impacts of surface mining upon the site by Thunder Basin Coal Company's Black Thunder Mine. Mr. Lampkin arrived in Campbell County from Mississippi at age 46 in 1921. He patented his homestead on March 8, 1926 and enlarged his holdings in 1928, before being bought out in 1936 by the Resettlement Administration. His Original Homestead Entry (#023725) lists a house, 45 acres of plowed land, a barn, one mile of fence, and a cellar. He dry farmed portions of his land, ran stock and horses, and leased other portions to neighbors for grazing. Details are available in the project report by Anne McKibben, Michael D. Metcalf, and Kevin Black,

1987 1986 *Archaeological Investigations at Black Thunder Mine, Campbell County, Wyoming*, an unpublished report on file at the Office of the Wyoming State Archaeologist, University of Wyoming, and Medicine Bow National Forest Office, Laramie, Wyoming.

#### CARIBBEAN

##### *U.S. Virgin Islands*

**Site Interpretation at Hassel Island** - In conjunction with the archaeological and archival survey of Hassel Island, St. Thomas Harbor, U.S. Virgin Islands, the Interagency Archaeological Services Division of the National Park Service is developing a recommended site interpretation sub-theme that emphasizes the importance and

cultural contributions of the black West India Regiments. Contingents of the West India Regiments were stationed at Hassel Island during the Napoleonic era British military occupation of what was then the Danish West Indies between 1801-1815. Research has revealed that, by the late 18th century, the British military had discovered that black soldiers functioned much better in the Caribbean environment than their European counterparts. The replacement rate for West India Regiments, was in fact five times less than the rate for European Regiments. The establishment of the West India Regiments eventually created a large black elite of disbanded soldiers who were to have a significant impact on the surrounding society in the West Indies.

---

### Other News

#### Audio Resources

The Folklore Society of Utah Council [617 E. South Temple St., Salt Lake City, UT 84102; (801) 533-5760] distributes a series of five 90-minute tapes on African American music and culture. The series, "The Religious Music of Utah's Black Community," was produced by Craig R. Miller, with support from the Utah Arts Council and radio station KRCL. Write or call for information.

The Department of Education of the Arizona Historical Society [949 E. 2nd St., Tucson, AZ 85719; (602) 628-5774] offers an audio cassette of Black Cowboy Traditions.

#### Ethnic Sensitivity Symposium

The Interagency Archeological Services Division (IASD) of the National Park Service plans to organize and chair a proposed session at the 1993 Society for American Archaeology annual meeting in St. Louis to be entitled: "Toward Sensitive Interpretation of Archeological and Ethnographic Materials." Presentations will address topics on sensitive ethnic (group) interpretation that effectively communicates the actual experiences and perspectives of defined ethnic/cultural groups relating to ethnographic, archaeological, and historical materials. Presentations will represent experiences relating to a diversity of ethnic or minority groups, including African Americans, Hispanics, and American Indians. Consistent with past policy, IASD plans to publish the results of the session. For more information contact John Jameson, IASD, Southeast Regional Office, National Park Service, 75 Spring Street, Atlanta, GA 30303; (404) 331-2630.

#### *Critique of Anthropology* Special Issue on W.E.B. DuBois

A special issue of *Critique of Anthropology* entitled: "W.E.B. DuBois and Anthropology" highlights DuBois' contributions to anthropology and will be available sometime in 1992. Essays include: Robert Paynter's analysis of his own field study of the DuBois Boyhood Homesite; Faye Harrison's assertion of DuBois' influence on the first generation of African American anthropologists; a discussion of DuBois' philosophical contributions to the "race" concept by Nancy Ladd Muller; an explication of DuBois' concept of "double consciousness" by Earnest Allen; an essay of Donald Nonini on the contemporary applicability of DuBois' *Black Reconstruction*; and, an essay by Willie Barber on DuBois' unique contributions to economic anthropology. Thomas Patterson, part of the U.S. working group on *Critique*, facilitated this special issue.

### **Support for Research and Training**

The Utah Arts Council offers 3-12 month apprenticeships in folk arts, to begin after April 1993. Applications are due by December 31, 1992. Obtain details from the Folk Arts Program, UAC, 617 E. South Temple St., Salt Lake City, UT 84102.

### **Critical Perspectives on Race and Archaeology at the AAA Meeting**

Last November, at the American Anthropological Association meetings in Chicago, Terry Epperson of Hunter Research, Trenton, NJ organized a session entitled, "Critical Perspectives on "Race" and Archaeology." The abstract for the session reads as follows:

Understanding "race" as an ideological construct, this session presents a dual focus. On one hand, it views archaeology as an ideal methodology for analyzing processes commonly understood as racism and "racial difference." On the other hand, however, thinking of race as a thing or a natural category for which one searches in the archaeological record is a classic example of "misplaced concreteness," a reification which validates and reinforces the racism of our own society. As critical archaeologists we must strive to denaturalize and deconstruct essentialist racial categories while simultaneously recognizing and valorizing subaltern cultural traditions.

Presenters included:

Thomas Patterson (Temple) Race and Archaeology: A Comparative and Historical View

Nancy Ladd Muller (UMASS/Amherst) The Lingering Illusion of "Race" as a Category in Historical Archaeology

Terry Epperson (Hunter Research) Racism and Empiricism in Archaeology

Paul Mullins (UMASS/Amherst) Race and the Subaltern: Characterizing African-American Resistance

Jean Howson (NYU) Analyzing Colonial Interpretations of Nineteenth Century African West Indian Material Culture

Carrel Cowan-Ricks (Clemson) African American Cemeteries: Historical Symbols

Discussants: Robert Paynter (UMASS/Amherst) and Michael Blakey (Howard)

### **1992 Annual Meeting of the Society for Historical Archaeology**

In January, the Society for Historical Archaeologists met in Kingston, Jamaica for their annual meeting. A large number of archaeologists attended the conference whose main theme was, "500 Years of Change: Contact and the Consequences of Interaction." Many of the papers presented at the meeting were relevant to the field of African American Archaeology and they are listed below. Readers interested in obtaining copies of these papers should contact the authors themselves. Institutional affiliations follow the author's name. For addresses, readers should consult either the American Anthropological Association's annual *Guide to Departments* or the SHA membership list published annually in the *Society for Historical Archaeology Newsletter*.

Adams, Natalie P. (Chicora Foundation, Inc.) STRUGGLE IN THE QUARTERS: THE DESIGN, CONSTRUCTION, AND USE OF SLAVE HOUSING IN THE SOUTH CAROLINA LOW COUNTRY

Affleck, Rick (Louis Berger and Assoc., Inc.) SETTLEMENT PATTERN CHANGE AT MIDDLEBURG PLANTATION, BERKELEY COUNTY, SOUTH CAROLINA

Agorsah, E. Kofi (University of the West Indies) THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF AFRICAN MAROONS IN JAMAICA

Andrews, Susan C. (University of Tennessee, Knoxville), and Amy L. Young (University of Tennessee, Knoxville) PLANTATIONS ON THE PERIPHERY: MODELING A NEW APPROACH FOR THE UPLAND SOUTH

Anz-Meador, Diana (University of Houston) LOCATING SUB-SURFACE FOUNDATIONS USING GROUND PENETRATING RADAR

Ground penetrating radar (GPR) was used to locate foundations of presumed slave quarters near a cistern on the Levi Jordan Plantation.

Armstrong, Douglas V. (Syracuse University), and Kenneth Kelly (University of California, Los Angeles) SPATIAL TRANSFORMATIONS IN AFRICAN JAMAICAN HOUSING AT SEVILLE PLANTATION

Askins, William (Baruch College, CUNY) THE HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY OF FREE AFRICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITIES

Barka, Norman F. (College of William and Mary) A CULTURAL RESOURCE SURVEY OF SINT MAARTEN

Bell, Alison K. AFRICAN-AMERICAN PATTERNS OF ADAPTATION TO PLANTATION LIFE IN THE NEW WORLD

Berkland, Ellen P. (Boston University), and Mary C. Beaudry (Boston University) "A KIND OF FREEDOM ON HIS LITTLE PLANTATION": DOCUMENTARY ARCHAEOLOGY OF AFRO-CARIBBEAN SLAVE HOUSEHOLDS

Blomberg, Belinda (John Milner Associates) FREE BLACKS IN THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT: A COMPARATIVE VIEW OF GENDER AND STATUS IN ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA

Brannon, Nick (Department of the Environment for Northern Ireland) ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE 17TH CENTURY PLANTATION IN ULSTER

Bratton, John (Texas A&M University) YABBA WARE AND THE AFRICAN PRESENCE AT PORT ROYAL

Breitburg, Emanuel (Tennessee Department of Conservation) and Larry McKee (The Hermitage) EXPLORING DIETARY DIVERSITY WITHIN ARCHAEOLOGICAL COMMUNITIES: SOME TENNESSEE EXAMPLES

This paper presents a model of plantation diet diversity based on both archaeological and documentary sources.

Brown, Kenneth L. (University of Houston) AN OVERVIEW OF HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY AT THE LEVI JORDAN PLANTATION, BRAZORIA COUNTY, TEXAS

Buisseret, David (The Newberry Library) OVERVIEW OF THE PORT ROYAL SYMPOSIUM

Butler, Lindley S. (Rockingham Community College) BARBADIANS ON THE CAPE FEAR: A WEST INDIAN FRONTIER PLANTATION

Catts, Wade P. (University of Delaware) AFRICAN AMERICANS OF THE UPPER DELMARVA PENINSULA: ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT THE HOME OF THOMAS CUFF (CA. 1790-1858), A "FREE NEGRO OF CHESTERTOWN"

Cheek, Charles D. (John Milner Associates, Inc.) SETTING AN ENGLISH TABLE: BLACK CARIB ARCHEOLOGY ON THE CARIBBEAN COAST OF HONDURAS

Clayton, David (Boston University) THE DANISH PLANTATION GRID SYSTEM: HISTORICAL DESIGN AND MODERN SURVIVALS

Cooper, Doreen C. (University of Houston) WHY DO WE HAVE ALL THIS STUFF? AN ANALYSIS OF ABANDONMENT AT LEVI JORDAN PLANTATION

Cowan-Ricks, Carrel (Wayne State University) AFRICAN AMERICAN CEMETERIES: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Crane, Brian (University of Pennsylvania) COLONO AND CRIOLLO WARE POTTERY FROM CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA, AND SAN JUAN, PUERTO RICO, IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

Christ, Thomas A.J. (John Milner Associates, Inc.), and John P. McCarthy (John Milner Associates, Inc.) COMPARATIVE ARCHAEOLOGY AND OSTEOLOGY OF THE FIRST AFRICAN BAPTIST CHURCH CEMETERIES: OBSERVATIONS CONCERNING THE FORMATION OF PHILADELPHIA'S AFRICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH

De La O, Nora (The University of Texas at San Antonio), and Maureen J. Brown (The University of Texas at San Antonio) BEYOND THE LID: AN HISTORICAL-DEDUCTIVE ANALYSIS OF PRIVY-CONTENTS IN A SOCIALLY DIVERSE MULTI-ETHNIC NEIGHBORHOOD, CIRCA 1850-1930, IN A FRONTIER TOWN CENTURY

Deagan, Kathleen (Florida Museum of Natural History) (Florida Museum of Natural History) THE EMERGENCE OF A MULTI-CULTURAL SOCIETY: SPANISH AMERICA AFTER 1500

Delle, James A. (University of Massachusetts, Amherst) THE WEST INDIAN ORIGINS OF NEW ENGLAND RACISM

Dermody, Larry D. (National Trust for Historic Preservation--Montpelier) FIRE AND ICE: JAMES MADISON IRONWORKS (1762 TO 1801)

Derry, Linda (Alabama Historical Commission) THE PROBLEM WITH "PLANTATION ARCHAEOLOGY": A FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE

Dismukes, Diane (University of Houston) PROTEIN IN THE SLAVE/TENANT FARMER DIET  
This paper reports on the examination of the faunal remains within the cabin areas of the Levi Jordan Plantation Slave quarters.

Edwards, Jay (Louisiana State University) HISTORIC VERNACULAR ARCHITECTURE IN THE CARIBBEAN

Edwards, Ywone Decarlo (Jamaica National Heritage Trust) CULTURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT IN JAMAICA-- POTENTIALS, PROBLEMS AND FOCUS

Emerson, Matthew C. (Princeton University) GENERATIVE GRAMMARS AND DECORATIVE ART: LOOKING AT SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY TOBACCO PIPE ART

England, Suzannah (University of Cambridge) ACCULTURATION IN THE CREOLE CONTEXT: A CASE STUDY OF LA POTERIE MARTINIQUE  
This paper reviews ongoing research into West Indian Creole Ware.

Farnsworth, Laurie A. Wilkie (University of California, Los Angeles) RECOGNIZING AFRICAN-AMERICAN ETHNICITY: A CASE STUDY FROM WEST FELICIANA PARISH, LOUISIANA

Farnsworth, Paul (Louisiana State University) COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS IN PLANTATION ARCHAEOLOGY: THE APPLICATION OF A FUNCTIONAL CLASSIFICATION

Finamore, Daniel (Peabody Museum of Salem) ENGLISH MARINERS AND AFRICAN SLAVES: FRONTIER SETTLEMENT IN THE BAY OF HONDURAS

Fitts, Robert (Brown University) THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF NEW ENGLAND SLAVERY: PROBLEMS AND PROMISES

Fleischman, Mark L. (Syracuse University) HUMAN SKELETAL MATERIAL FROM SEVILLE SETTLEMENT, JAMAICA

Galke, Laura J. (National Park Service/University of Maryland) YOU ARE WHERE YOU LIVE: STATUS DIFFERENCES BETWEEN FIELD AND VILLAGE SLAVES IN PIEDMONT VIRGINIA

- Gardner, Jeffrey W. (Brockington and Associates, Inc.) CHINESE PORCELAIN AND COLONWARE: EVIDENCE OF COLONIAL PLANTER- SLAVE INTERACTION FROM A SOUTH CAROLINA LOW COUNTRY PLANTATION
- Garman, James C. (University of Massachusetts, Amherst) "A PLACE TO BURY STRANGERS": THE MASKING AND MARKING OF ETHNICITY IN THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF DEATH  
This paper examines the masking and marking of ethnicity in an African American burying ground in Newport, Rhode Island.
- Gerace, Kathy and Timothy King (Youngstown State University) PLANTATION ARCHAEOLOGY ON SAN SALVADOR ISLAND, BAHAMAS: THE PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATION OF THE FORTUNE HILL SLAVE QUARTERS
- Gibb, James G. (State University of New York at Binghamton), and Esther Doyle Read (Anne Arundel County Office of Planning and Zoning) VARIABILITY IN PLANTATION SITING IN THE CHESAPEAKE BAY REGION, 1650-1725
- Gray, Dorrick (Jamaica National Heritage Trust) LOCALLY MADE PIPES FROM PORT ROYAL
- Hagan-Smith, Barbara (St. Croix Landmarks Society) RESEARCH, EDUCATION, AND PRESERVATION PROGRAMS OF THE ST. CROIX LANDMARKS SOCIETY
- Handler, Jerome S. (Southern Illinois University) SEARCHING FOR A PLANTATION SLAVE CEMETERY IN BARBADOS, WEST INDIES
- Hauteniemi, Susan (University of Massachusetts, Amherst) THE W.E.B. DUBOIS SITE: MATERIAL CULTURE AND THE CREATION OF RACE AND GENDER
- Haviser, Jay B. (Archaeology-Anthropology Institute Netherlands Antilles) PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATIONS AT ZUURZAK, A 17TH CENTURY DUTCH SLAVE CAMP ON CURAÇAO
- Heidtke, Kenan (Texas A&M University) HAND-MODELED RED CLAY PIPES FROM PORT ROYAL, JAMAICA: THEIR MARKINGS AND POSSIBLE ORIGINS
- Hernigle, Jacqueline L. (National Park Service/University of Maryland) YOU ARE WHAT YOU EAT: THE SLAVES OF PORTICI PLANTATION
- Holsoe, Svend (University of Delaware) ARCHIVAL RESEARCH ON ESTATE WHIM AND ST. CROIX: SLAVE LIFEWAYS AND THE 1840S SLAVE REBELLION
- Howson, Jean (New York University) AFRICAN-WEST INDIAN POTTERY FROM MONTSERRAT: QUESTIONS OF STYLE AND CONTEXT
- Hurry, Silas D. (Historic Saint Mary's City), and Henry M. Miller (Historic Saint Mary's City) THE VARIETIES AND ORIGINS OF CHESAPEAKE RED CLAY TOBACCO PIPES: A PERSPECTIVE FROM THE POTOMAC SHORE
- Jameson, John H., Jr. and Paul H. Hawke (National Park Service) RECOMMENDATIONS FOR AN INTERPRETIVE PROGRAM STEMMING FROM ARCHEOLOGICAL AND ARCHIVAL INVESTIGATIONS AT HASSEL ISLAND, VIRGIN ISLANDS NATIONAL PARK
- Jones, Bruce A. (Statistical Research) HOG FARMING IN THE GREAT DEPRESSION: ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS AT THE BLACK COMMUNITY OF MOBILE, ARIZONA
- Jones, Donald G. (Boston University) RESULTS OF THE FIRST EXCAVATION SEASON AT ESTATE WHIM PLANTATION MUSEUM
- Joyce, Dee Dee (College of Charleston) RACE, CLASS, GENDER AND ETHNICITY: THE COMPLEXITY OF SOCIAL INTERACTION IN ANTEBELLUM CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA

Joyner, Charles (University of South Carolina, Coastal Carolina College) DIGGING COMMON GROUND: AFRICAN AMERICAN HISTORY AND HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

Kardatzke, Tim and April Hayes (University of Houston) JEWELRY USE IN AN AFRICAN-AMERICAN SLAVE COMMUNITY

Kelso, William M. (Monticello) LANDSCAPE HISTORY BY HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY: TESTIMONY OF THOMAS JEFFERSON'S GARDENS, GROUNDS, AND SLAVE HOUSES AT MONTICELLO AND POPLAR FOREST

Kowalski, Amy B. (Colonial Williamsburg Foundation) SOCIAL HIERARCHY AND THE SLAVE-MASTER RELATIONSHIP ON THOMAS THISTLEWOOD'S JAMAICAN PROVISIONING ESTATE: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF JAMAICAN SLAVE LIFE IN THE LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Landers, Jane (University of Florida) CIMARRONES AND VECINOS: AFRICAN COMMUNITIES IN THE SPANISH CARIBBEAN

Lewis, Lynne G. (National Trust for Historic Preservation--Montpelier) LITTLE HOUSE ON THE PIEDMONT: LOOKING FOR JAMES MADISON'S FIRST HOME

Loftfield, Thomas C. (University of North Carolina at Wilmington) CODRINGTON COLLEGE: INTEGRATION OF CHURCH, STATE, AND SUGAR

Markell, Ann B. (University of Cape Town) THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF SLAVERY IN SOUTH AFRICA

McDonnell, Christine (University of Connecticut--Storrs) THE CREATION OF ETHNICITY

McGaw, Judith A. (University of Pennsylvania) TOOLS OF TRADITION?: ETHNIC FOODWAYS AND FOOD PROCESSING IMPLEMENTS IN THE COLONIAL MID-ATLANTIC

McGuire, Randall H. (State University of New York at Binghamton) ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE COLUMBUS QUINCENTENNIAL

Meissner, Barbara A., I. Wayne Cox and Frank W. Meissner (University of Texas at San Antonio) BLACK & WHITE: EVIDENCE OF A CASE OF ECONOMIC PARITY IN A FAUNAL AND CERAMIC ANALYSIS OF TRASH PIT REMAINS FROM A BLACK HOUSEHOLD IN A WHITE NEIGHBORHOOD, CIRCA 1862-1910

Miller, Orloff G. (Department of Environment, Northern Ireland and 3D/Environmental Services Inc.) ENGLISH MATERIAL CULTURE ON THE FRONTIER: THE INTERFACE OF LATE-MEDIEVAL AND EARLY-MODERN LIFE AT 17TH CENTURY SALTERSTOWN, COUNTY LONDONDERRY, NORTHERN IRELAND

This report recounts the interactions between indigenous Irish and colonizing English peoples as observed in the material assemblage recovered from a 17th century English plantation village in Ulster.

Mintz, John J. , and Jerry Hilliard (Arkansas Archeological Survey) THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF SLAVERY IN THE OZARK PIONEER PERIOD

Missio, Nicole (Boston University) THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF ESTATE WHIM AT ST. CROIX  
This research report will explore the material culture of the plantation system on St. Croix.

Morris, Rick , and Joseph C. Winter (University of New Mexico) GOLD ROAD, ARIZONA: HOPES, DREAMS AND SEGREGATION IN AN EARLY 20TH CENTURY COMPANY RUN GOLD MINING TOWN

Morrissey, Marietta (University of Toledo) GENDER RELATIONS IN CARIBBEAN SLAVERY

Mouer, L. Daniel (Virginia Commonwealth University) CHESAPEAKE CREOLE: A CRITICAL APPROACH TO COLONIAL FOLK CULTURE

Muller, Nancy Ladd THE HOUSE OF THE BLACK BURGHARDTS: A LOOK AT LAND OWNERSHIP BY AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN IN HISTORICAL NEW ENGLAND

Mullins, Paul R. (University of Massachusetts, Amherst) "MEN IN DIFFERENT ATTITUDES": THE INTEGRITY OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN RESISTANCE

Ortiz Aguill, J.J. (Temple University) CULTURE HISTORY AND THE ELITES WITHIN NON-DOMINANT GROUPS: SOME OBSERVATIONS FROM CARIBBEANIST ARCHAEOLOGY

Parker, Scott K. and Ann L. Miller (National Trust for Historic Preservation--Montpelier) PARADISE AND THE LITTLE MOUNTAIN: COMPARISON OF TWO PIEDMONT PLANTATIONS

Patten, M. Drake (Corporation for Jefferson's Poplar Forest) THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF PLAYTIME: ARTIFACTS OF AFRICAN AMERICAN GAMES IN THE PLANTATION SOUTH

Peterson, James B. (University of Maine at Farmington), David R. Watters (Carnegie Museum of Natural History), and Desmond V. Nicholson (Museum of Antigua and Barbuda) "AFRO-CARIBBEAN" CERAMICS FROM ANTIGUA AND MONTserrat: AN INVESTIGATION OF ETHNICITY IN THE NORTHERN LESSER ANTILLES

Poplin, Eric (Brockington and Associates) VARIATIONS IN STRUCTURE: A COMPARISON OF ABSENTEE AND PRINCIPAL RESIDENCE RICE PLANTATIONS IN THE LOW COUNTRY OF SOUTH CAROLINA

Posnansky, Merrick (UCLA, Director of African Studies) ARCHAEOLOGY: A WORLD PERSPECTIVE

Potter, Douglas T. (National Park Service-Southeast Archeological Center) SLAVE OR ABO: CAN CHEMICAL ANALYSES TELL?

Reeves, Matthew B. (Syracuse University) A SLAVE'S VIEWPOINT: USING ETHNOGRAPHY AS AN INTERPRETIVE TOOL

Ryder, Robin THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF POST-COLONIAL "COLONO-WARE" IN VIRGINIA

Smith, J.N. Leith (University of South Carolina) CERAMIC USE-WEAR ANALYSIS: AN AFRICAN CASE STUDY WITH NEW WORLD ARCHAEOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS

Southerland, Joseph K. (University of Florida, Gainesville), and James A. Delle (University of Massachusetts, Amherst) ALTERNATIVES TO SUGAR: THE DEVELOPMENT OF CATTLE PENS AND COFFEE PLANTATIONS IN JAMAICA

Spencer, Carole (Syracuse University) SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION IN AFRICAN-JAMAICAN VILLAGES

Sprinkle, John H., Jr. (Louis Berger & Associates, Inc.) CHARLES COX'S MILL HOUSE CHEST: A HISTORICAL ANALOGY FOR AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL FEATURE

Stahl, Ann B. (State University of New York at Binghamton) BRITISH IMPERIALISM AND HISTORIC TRANSFORMATIONS IN WEST AFRICA: IMPLICATIONS FOR ETHNOGRAPHIC ANALOGY

Stewart-Abernathy, Leslie C. (Arkansas Archeological Survey) CUTTING CHRISTIANS INTO SHOESTRINGS IN THE TWINKLING OF A BEDPOST: URBAN ARCHEOLOGY ON THE COTTON FRONTIER

Strutt, Michael A. (Corporation for Jefferson's Poplar Forest) CHANGES OF SPACE IN TIME: INTERPRETING THE ROLE OF SLAVERY AND SPACE USE AT THOMAS JEFFERSON'S POPLAR FOREST

Temple, David P. (University of Houston) TRANSACTING ON THE HALF SHELL: THE TESTING OF AFRICAN MODELS OF EXCHANGE AT THE LEVI JORDAN PLANTATION

Tidwell, Kristine N. (University of Houston) WHY DO WE HAVE ALL THIS STUFF 2: A DISTRIBUTIONAL ANALYSIS OF ARTIFACTS FROM ABANDONED TENANT QUARTERS

Walker, Mark (Engineering Science, Inc.) RACE AND CLASS: THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE JOSEPH BENNETT HOUSE SITE (44FX1785), FAIRFAX COUNTY, VIRGINIA

Wayne, Lucy B. (SouthArc, Inc.) BRICKMAKING IN THE SOUTH CAROLINA LOWCOUNTRY: A VITAL COTTAGE INDUSTRY

Weaver, Guy G. (Garrow & Associates, Inc.) THAT CROOKED LITTLE STREET: ARCHAEOLOGY ON BEALE STREET, MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Wheaton, Thomas R. (New South Associates, Inc.) MIND OVER MATTER: TWO LITTLE STRUCTURES IN THE LOWCOUNTRY

This paper discusses two structures, a lime kiln on the Moore Plantation in Berkeley County, and an orangerie at Drayton Hall in Charleston County.

White, Esther C. (Mount Vernon) "TO INDULGE THEMSELVES IN ALL THE LUXURIES AS WELL AS NECESSARIES OF LIFE": COMPARISON OF SLAVE QUARTER AND KITCHEN MIDDEN ASSEMBLAGES FROM GEORGE WASHINGTON'S MOUNT VERNON

Wood, Peter H. (Duke University) DIGGING DOWN AND LOOKING BACKWARD: THE AWKWARD RELATION OF HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY

### *African American Archaeology*

ISSN # 1060-0671

Theresa A. Singleton, Editor

Mark Bograd, Assistant Editor

#### **Regional Editors**

Northeast Nancy Ladd Muller- Department of Anthropology, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA 01003

Delmarva Dennis Pogue, Esther White- Archaeology Department, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, Mount Vernon, VA 22121

Southeast Joe Joseph, Tom Wheaton- New South Associates, 4889 Lewis Road, Stone Mountain, GA 30083

South Paul Farnsworth- Department of Geography and Anthropology, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, LA 70803.

Southwest Bill Fawcett- Department of Sociology, Social Work and Anthropology, Utah State University, Logan, UT 84322

Midwest Charles E. Orser, Jr.- Midwestern Archaeological Research Center, Illinois State University, Normal, IL 61761

West Todd Guenther- South Pass City Historic Site, Route 62, Box 170, Lander, WY 82520

Caribbean Jerome Handler- Department of Anthropology, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, IL 62901

Roderick Ebanks- Jamaica National Heritage Trust, Old Naval Hospital, Port Royal, Kingston 1, Jamaica, West Indies

*African American Archaeology* is produced on a Macintosh Computer using Microsoft Word software. *African American Archaeology* is free and is published three times a year in the fall, winter, and spring.

**Submissions and Subscriptions** - Send to: Theresa A. Singleton, Editor, *African American Archaeology*, Department of Anthropology, National Museum of Natural History, MRC 112, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC 20560; Fax (202) 357-2208.

**The deadline for the next issue is: September 15, 1992.**