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Africanisms and cultural modifications: a study at Southall Quarter, Williamsburg, Virginia

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AFRICANISMS AND CULTURAL MODIFICATIONS:
A STUDY AT SOUTHALL QUARTER, WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA

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before I did. I can only try to live up to all of your praises. Thank you for giving me the time and opportunity to be a graduate student.

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Abstract

Archaeological studies at sites of enslaved Africans and African-Americans have been intensely undertaken in recent years. In particular, the search for Africanisms and cultural processes has become a common trend within these studies. I analyzed previously recorded investigations of Southall Quarter (44JC969), an eighteenth-century enslaved African and African-American site in James City County, Virginia. Dominating anthropological themes of slave resistance, owner-imposed hegemony, and agentic actions guided my search for Africanisms at Southall Quarter.

I hoped to prove that the distance of the quarters from Southall's residence and therefore the lax owner supervision provided the enslaved inhabitants with opportunities to express their West African culture. The appearance and material fill of subfloor pits and the architectural layout and composition were surveyed in order to assess West Africanisms (or lack thereof). My analyses of subfloor pits and architecture determined that even with the distance from the owner's residence the enslaved inhabitants of Southall Quarter did not materially express an abundance of West Africanism. While one subfloor pit did demonstrate similarities to West African ancestor shrines, the remaining findings were demonstrative of an ongoing African-American creolization process. Agentic actions allowed by the lax owner supervision seems to have been more dominant than outright resistance of hegemonizing forces.

Chapter 1
Introduction

My research includes the study of structures and features of the enslaved at Southall's Quarter, 44JC969, in James City County, Virginia. This site is part of the archaeologically and historically relevant Virginia Chesapeake region. While it is true that plantation studies and the archaeology of the enslaved are no longer a new topic in Virginia, the majority of previous studies have focused on large plantations (Kelso 1984a; Noël Hume 1979). Additionally, a dominant theme in plantation archaeology has been to research the quarters of enslaved persons found close to the main house (Kelso 1984a; Samford 1996, 2007). Archaeology of enslaved persons conducted at smaller, more isolated plantations is be representative of a new data set under the broad realm of Virginia plantation archaeology. This representation may prove to be a beneficial source of comparative data concerning the material culture of the enslaved, ethnicity and cultural processes. I analyze and interpret the previously excavated Southall Quarter in an attempt to locate Africanisms and modifications of West African culture within the archaeological materials and spatial layout of the cabins. These Africanisms and modifications of a vernacular culture are evidence of African-American cultural processes. If my hypotheses are correct, artifacts representative of African ethnicity will be present, in part due to the isolated location of Southall Quarter from the main house.

Southall Quarter is located in James City County, on the northern bank of the James River (Figure 1). Southall Quarter is situated in a section of Virginia known as the Historic Triangle (Figure 2). Making up the three corners of this area are the city of Williamsburg and historic districts of Yorktown, and Jamestown. Each of these three sites played a pivotal role in the European, especially English, settlement of the colonies. For this reason, this historic area has long been a site for intense historical preservation and archaeological scrutiny.

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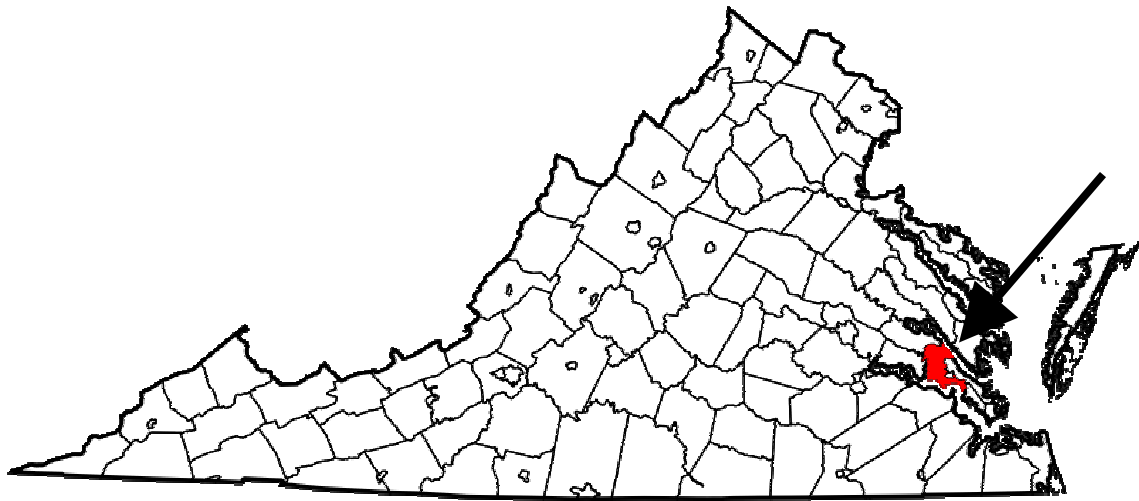
Figure 1. Map of Virginia counties with James City County highlighted.
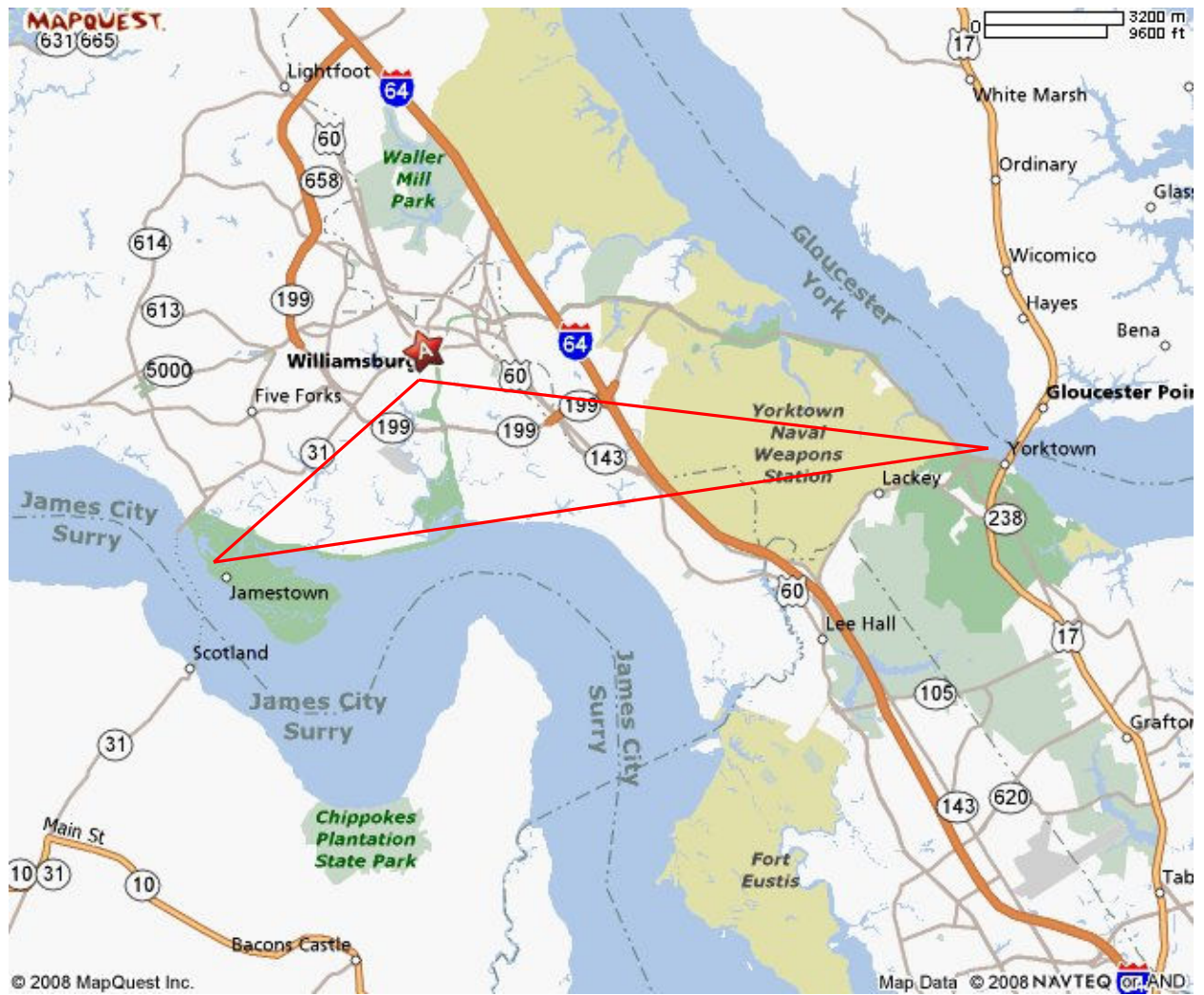
Figure 2. Virginia historic district (adapted from www.mapquest.com).

Although a more detailed history will be presented in Chapter 5, the following is a brief synopsis of settlement at Southall Quarter, 44JC969. Research indicates that the 920-acre tract of land where Southall Quarter is situated was continuously occupied from possibly as early as 1625 (Pullins et al. 2003:21). Site 44JC969 is located approximately 1.5 miles southeast of Williamsburg (Figure 3). Also relevant to this study is the proximity of site 44JC969 to Quarterpath Road, which was a highly trafficked thoroughfare in the eighteenth century (Figure 4). This tract of land, traded amongst Anglo-Americans during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, eventually became associated with the vast Kingsmill Plantation in 1803 (Pullins et al. 2003). Important to this study are the years between approximately 1770 and 1803 with James Southall's acquisition of the land. James Barrett Southall a prominent figure and proprietor of Raleigh Tavern in Williamsburg. Southall bought Raleigh Tavern in 1771 and with it he acquired land and slaves (Pullins et al. 2003:23).

Figure 3. Map of James City County showing location of Southall Quarter, 44JC969
(www.maptech.com).

Figure 4. Topographic map of 44JC969 project area showing site boundaries (www.maptech.com).

Often times archaeology is conducted at sites of enslaved African-Americans in order to understand plantation systems. I argue that research on enslaved Africans will also highlight the cultural transitions that African-American peoples underwent during American slavery. If we assume that no culture or tradition remains in a static state, evidence of Africanisms and modified Africanisms will highlight any cultural transitions that have taken place or any new meanings that these traditions might have within the slave environment. Therefore I will begin with Chapter 2 and a review of the theoretical arguments used to frame this thesis. It is essential to my study that the reader is aware of all relevant arguments regarding archaeological use of the term "Africanism" and it's many implications. I argue that culture and tradition are in constant fluctuation and while consistencies between African and African-American can be made, it is important to stress the cultural processes responsible for any consistencies and/or modifications.

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Chapter 2 will highlight the many dynamics involved in the study of enslaved peoples and their cultural materials.

Many studies have been conducted concerning the archaeology of enslaved African-Americans of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries (e.g. Fairbanks 1972, 1984; Fitts 1996; Jones 1985; Kelso 1972, 1984a; Lange and Handler 1985; Orser 1998a, 1998b; Otto 1980; Samford 1996; Singleton 1980, 1985). Chapters 3 and 4 will review the available literature on a subject that covers a vast array of subtopics falling under the umbrella of African-American slave archaeology (Jones 1985; Kimmel 1993; Landsmark 1998; Reitz, et al. 1985; Singleton 1985; Vlach 1997). Chapter 3 will review available literature pertaining to historical representations of the African diaspora, while Chapter 4 will review the material culture of the diaspora and African and African-American peoples. All of these efforts combined will create an overall picture of what slave life was like. Specifically, combining the studies of the African diaspora and archaeological material culture demonstrates the survival (if any) of ethnic West African culture (Samford 1996:88). African influenced and modified variations of Euro-American materials and architecture can be interpreted as "the product of a kaleidoscopic diffusion of influences" resulting in an expressive form of the African tradition (Singleton 1985:195). Chapter 5 is devoted to the history and previous research conducted at 44JC969 and the methodologies used for the current research. Chapters 6, 7, and 8 review and discuss the previous excavation results and my interpretive analyses.

Chapter 2
Framing Arguments

Certain trends within anthropological theory transcend the years and schools of thought. This section employs current trends and arguments in an attempt to interpret the master-slave relationship. The complexity of this relationship has led anthropologists and historians alike to attempt to decipher plantation relations and organization and the effect that these factors had on the enslaved population. In most cases the master-slave relationship was a daily struggle between power and culture. This so-called "tug-of-war" (Blassingame 1972:211; Camp 2004:2; Thomas 1998:531) between two opposing factors established an ever-present "gray area" in which any type of personal expression by the enslaved is seen as direct resistance to the master. Discerning race and ethnicity through artifact identification of enslaved persons has also been a goal for many archaeologists (Deetz 1996; Fairbanks 1972; Ferguson 1980, 1992; Schuyler 1980). Discussions of theoretical elements of enslaved persons, such as, status and race, resistance and hegemony, and ethnicity and identity will help discern the dynamics of slavery and master-slave relations.

Status and Race

If we assume that one of the goals of historical archaeology is to recover and interpret material culture, we must first outline that (a) material culture is not always indicative of status and, (b) material culture presents a unique view of consumerist dynamics. Frequently in the archaeology of enslaved persons, material assemblages are used as deterministic factors of status (Otto 1975, 1980, 1984). In these cases, archaeologists hypothesize that there is a direct correlation between archaeological remains and the status of the site's former inhabitants (Otto 1980:3). The complexity of master-slave societies, however, demands a more comprehensive look at plantations. Variables such as, race, ethnicity, occupation, gender, and location (Otto 1980:3) are going to effect material assemblages and thus effect interpretative discussions of the

assemblages as well. It will not always be possible to associate a site's material culture or lack thereof with a particular class of people. John Solomon Otto (1980:4) states, "Frequently, people occupy relatively high status positions which have only symbolic rewards or materials that are not commensurate with their standing. Conversely, other people occupy relatively low positions but accumulate material assemblages that are not commensurate with their true status." Due to this inability to directly connect archaeological remains to the status of an inhabitant, it is necessary to use documentary and chronological controls – written documents and oral histories – as a means of identifying site occupation (Otto 1980:4). In the case of Southall Quarter archaeologists verified site occupation and land use with supplemental documentary evidence (Pullins et al. 2003:15-25). Eighteenth-century Williamsburg City tax records, the Desandroüins map of 1781, and various secondary sources concerning other land plots from neighboring plantations were utilized by the archaeologists of the William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research (Pullins et al. 2003:15-25).

Capitalism has played an important role in historical archaeological analyses (Orser 1998a, 1998b; Mullins 1996). For instance, if capitalism is roughly defined as the economic and social praxis for the production of goods, then, historically, the plantation South and general enslaved society had a significant position in American capitalist history. The primary role of enslaved persons was to function as laborers in the Colonial capitalistic machine. The production of material culture in Colonial America placed the enslaved within a dichotomous position in this early intensely capitalistic period: (a) consumption of slave holders and other White peoples provided a demand for enslaved labor in American society, but (b) this demand only enabled the enslaved to enter a specific subordinate niche in this society (Orser 1998a:75, 1998b:663; Mullins 1996).

The status of a site's occupants is directly related to power and prestige. Charles E. Orser (1988) supplements the idea that race is the ultimate factor in understanding plantation slavery

by taking a similar approach to Otto's views on material assemblages and resulting discussions of status. Orser (1988) takes a Marxist approach, proposing that power differentials are a more important factor for understanding and examining the archaeological record of plantations. Philosopher and political economist Karl Marx's theories have been adopted in many realms of anthropological thought. Marxist thought becomes meaningful when connecting social concerns with position and power relations (McGuire 2006:124). Application of Marx's *Political Economy* by archaeologists and cultural anthropologists alike, presents a critique of capitalist approaches to archaeological class and status analyses (Marx 1970; McGuire 2006:125). Randall McGuire (2006:125) explains, Marxist dialectical assertions view social dynamics as being contingent upon one another. Thus, in Marxist reasoning, "slavery defines both the master and the slave" (McGuire 2006:125). This, combined with a critical political economy approach, leads to the conclusion that the plantation system is best understood in Marxist terms (McGuire 2006; Orser 1988:741). The two sets of people on a plantation, the planters and the enslaved laborers, comprise the plantation classes. The resulting interaction, performance of labor, and production of goods, reflects the class power struggle found on a plantation (Orser 1988:741). Marx's assertion concerning the relationship between power and material goods is most important to this particular study. Marx (1971:66-67) wrote, "each individual possesses social power in the form of a material object" (Orser 1988:741-742). The enslaved, whom had inevitably become associated with the Colonial capitalist society, desired to acquire and own materials displaying what would be considered luxury items. The owners, however, controlled acquisition of such materials by regulating the influx of luxury items onto their plantation. Conversely, the enslaved had the ability to control owner-owned material goods through their performance of labor: the owners were reliant upon the labor of the enslaved as a steady means of income. Thus, without enslaved labor the planter is limited in his pursuit for material goods (Orser 1988:741-742). Historical archaeologists have utilized Marxism and political economics as a means of

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interpreting the material culture of plantation systems (McGuire 2006; Orser 1988; Otto 1975). Social and cultural studies of power and race relations, in reference to the plantation system, can be used to interpret archaeological studies of plantation sites and quarters of the enslaved.

Hegemony and Resistance

When studying the slave system or quarters of the enslaved, close attention must be paid to the ongoing master-slave "tug-of-war." Researchers must be cognizant of the ambiguous position of the enslaved. For this reason, it is important to study the ways in which the enslaved handled this position. Many scholars devote copious amounts of time to the study of hegemony and resistance. The various applications of these terms can span multiple academic disciplines and various definitions. Are scholars overusing the terms hegemony and resistance? No, I argue that there is not an overuse of the terms but perhaps a failure to accurately define and apply such widely used and ambiguous terms. Even after narrowing the use of these terms to solely the field of anthropology, both hegemony and resistance take on multiple meanings within the sub-disciplines of anthropology. The consistent failure to accurately define these terms has led to widespread misuse. A monopolization of one theme, in this case hegemony and resistance, within current anthropological thought will eventually lead to broad generalizations and misuses of certain terms.

As mentioned above the ambiguity of hegemony and resistance has led to misuse and generalized applications of the terms (Kiros 1985:100). For this reason, before attempting to broadly apply the terms to anthropology or more specifically apply them to my research within anthropology and archaeology, it is essential to track throughout time the early definitions, their morphology, and current applications. A perusal of library, internet and journal information links the foundations of hegemonic research to the work of Antonio Gramsci (Day 2005; Fontana 1993; Jones 2006; Kiros 1985). While research concerning hegemony, society and power relations began before Gramsci's time, his definitions have become the more popular and cited

works. Gramsci's influences include, but are not limited to, Lenin's socialist theories (Jones 2006:42-43) and Marx's views on ideology (Kiros 1985:101).

Gramsci's use of the term hegemony began as a tool for historical and political analysis (Jones 2006:45). Much like Marxist views on class structure, struggles, and economics, Gramsci emphasized societal differences and their inner workings. A Marxist view strongly emphasizes the role of the dominating class while Gramsci's highlights the importance of the ruling class-working class dynamic. This difference between a dominating class structure and a more interactive dynamic is a key point in the transition to a more Gramascian hegemony. Traditional Marxist theory of power tells a version of class structure, giving all of the control to the ruling class creating one dominating viewpoint. Marxist theory is relational in that it exists within interclass dynamics. Gramsci's definition utilizes a more mutual approach to power and class separation. Gramsci contends that a ruling class cannot act alone without the consent and support of the working class. Therefore, the ruling class must not only spread its own worldviews but also adopt and include some of the working class's views. Gramscian hegemony, therefore stresses the acceptance of the ruling class views by the working class and reserves the term domination as an actual physical force (and a last resort, at that). Gramsci made modifications to the original definitions in accordance with the changing times and peoples (Jones 2006:45).

Gramsci's vision of hegemony is key in explaining master-slave relations (John 1999:45). The dynamics of plantation societies invented new and stratified racial cultures. Studies of race relations in contemporary America are due in large part to plantation societies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (John 1999:41). In her essay "The Construction of Racial Meaning by Blacks and Whites in Plantation Society" Beverly M. John (1999) enlists definitions of Gramscian hegemony as a source of explaining the inner political workings of plantation societies. According to John (1999) and Allan G. Johnson (1995) Gramscian hegemony is "a particular form of dominance in which the ruling class legitimates its position and secures the

acceptance if not outright support of those below them. For dominance to be stable, the ruling class must create and sustain widely accepted ways of thinking about the world that define their dominance as reasonable, fair, and in the best interest of society as a whole" (Johnson 1995:128-129). This demonstrates the progressions from a Marxist power ideology to the Gramscian hegemonic power structure. In this progression total domination without subordinate class support is replaced by ruling class domination that seeks the approval of their subordinates. Thus, as long as the enslaved did not resist ruling class domination, approval and support was achieved. In my opinion, using this definition does not necessarily imply that once hegemonic forces are in place, there is no resistance. On the contrary, counter-hegemony can be loosely defined as a subordinate class challenge to hegemonic forces and imposed ideologies. While these challenges may only be articulated through subordinate class's beliefs, they are still a form of resistance. As will be discussed in the following paragraphs, agency, or culturally motivated beliefs and actions, were viewed by the master as forms of resistance. Counter-hegemony and agentic actions therefore, may be viewed as similar attempts to defy the master within a culturally-influenced capacity.

Resistance is another term with vague connotations making it widely overused and misinterpreted. It can be easily adapted to a variety of situations, disciplines and arguments. In his essay "On Resisting Resistance" Michael F. Brown considers that the vagueness of the term resistance is what makes it so appealing: it effortlessly molds and shapes to various circumstances (Brown 1996:730). This ambiguity again creates a need for an accurate definition of resistance. Pinpointing a specific origin of resistance theory has proven to be more difficult than examining the origins of hegemonic arguments. Outlining a set of qualifications to define resistance, specifically slave resistance, will be beneficial to interpreting the uses of the term. It is first essential to this study to acknowledge that enslaved peoples embodied many things to their owners at any one time (Camp 2004:2). In one instance, they were persons and property as

well as resistors and the oppressed (Camp 2004:2). Understanding that enslaved peoples encompassed several functions at once within the plantation system illuminates their need to resist. Their ambiguous and constantly evolving position on plantations was impossible to control without supplementing the rules of their owners. Also important to the study of enslaved resistance is acknowledging that not all forms of resistance are going to be as drastic and visible as running away. Most examples of resistance were everyday occurrences necessary for slave survival. Many acts, such as theft, feigning illness, and sabotage of labor went unnoticed.

Establishing a link between resistance and agency will clarify definitions and misinterpretations. Often times, resistance is made synonymous with agency. In socio-cultural terms, agency refers to the "mediated human capacity to act" (Ahearn 2001:112). This definition, Laura Ahearn (2001) specifies, does not mean agency and free will are synonymous. Rather, agentic actions are widely influenced by cultural beliefs, opinions and norms, as well as power relations and social structures. Therefore, if we accept that agency and free will are not synonymous (and that agency refers to actions that are socio-culturally influenced), is it possible for peoples to possess agency without resisting and vice versa, is it possible to resist without these actions being considered simply agentic cultural norms? This line of questioning is important when studying enslaved Africans. Within the master-slave relationship, often times the forces of power and domination subjected on the enslaved population did not leave opportunity for culturally-influenced agentic actions to take place. Rather, I believe in relation to overwhelming forces of domination, any and all actions displaying agency shall be viewed as forms as of resistance. In terms of the current research, many culturally-influenced agentic actions of enslaved Africans and African-Americans were foreign to their new North American environment. Owners likely did not permit these culturally-influenced agentic actions in an attempt to strip the enslaved of their identity. Therefore, in such extreme circumstances of

enforced power the culture of the enslaved is not permitted and thus ignored and the master interprets any acts that defy the Euro-American beliefs and norms as resistance.

Locating hegemony and resistance within the archaeological record demands an attention to the minute details of everyday plantation life (Camp 2004). The public lives of the enslaved must be compared with evidence from their private lives. Likewise, all visible attributes of resistance must be compared to any hidden remnants of resistance. In this way, archaeologists examine the covert versus the overt evidence of resistance and domination. Questions archaeologists might pose prior to undertaking a critical look at hegemony and resistance in an enslaved quarter are, How much (or how little) did enslaved practice culturally-influenced agentic actions? Did the enslaved adopt cultural connections to their owners or did they hold ties to their African cultural and religious affiliations? Answers to these questions will be discussed further as an attempt to shed light on the cultural impact that slavery and domination had on the enslaved.

Ethnicity, Identity, and Africanisms

As mentioned above, cultural material is used as a means of interpreting aspects of the existence of enslaved persons. Patricia Samford (1996) notes, "Material culture, actively and intentionally produced, is viewed as a text whose meanings can be read within the context of the human societies in which objects functioned" (Samford 1996:101). There is not, however, one specific way to read this material "text." Materials, such as, jewelry and ceramics found on enslaved African-American sites, must be read or analyzed within a contextual framework of both African and white colonial uses of jewelry and ceramics. Analyses such as these will illuminate any functional and cultural comparisons and/or differences of the materials.

The issue of determining African cultural survivals, or Africanisms, within North American enslaved culture has been a prominent theme in plantation archaeology (Deetz 1996; Fairbanks 1972; Ferguson 1980, 1992; Schuyler 1980). Archaeologists searching for Africanisms

are looking for cultural connections between material assemblages of the enslaved and African materials and traditions. Architecture, food remains, and ceramic assemblages can all be demonstrative of the heritage of a site's inhabitants (Ferguson 1980; Otto 1980). These materials, however, may also be reflective of other social factors that were in constant play on plantations. Positions of status, both high and low, may have affected any one enslaved artifact assemblage. Additionally, the "culture of poverty" (Schuyler 1980:1), or an inherent status position of the poor, also presents discrepancies in material assemblages. Thus, the dominating theme concerning the identification of Africanisms becomes identifying whether the materials are African cultural remnants that survived the Middle Passage or whether these traits are indigenous to any lower status culture.

With clear evidence that African culture is present in American society today, there is a need to decipher how today's African-American culture resembles African culture as well as enslaved African and African-American culture. The search for Africanisms has been a staple of African-American archaeology and plantation archaeology. In its early stages this archaeological search for Africanisms occupied a specific section of historical archaeology. Initial attempts unsuccessfully sought to exemplify the retention of African culture through single artifacts (Fairbanks 1972). Jean E. Howson (1990) argued that a more sophisticated approach to this antiquated method would demonstrate not only African cultural survivals but also the processes by which enslaved peoples took to adjust to their foreign surroundings.

These various theoretical arguments have dominated my thesis research. My studies of the archaeology and architecture of Southall Quarter have demanded paying close attention to arguments concerning plantation race and status, resistance, and ethnicity. Applying these arguments to my own research entails looking at the architectural make-up and material assemblage of Southall Quarter. Questions that I will address are: 1) Were there housing standards for the slave quarters? 2) Did enslaved persons make modifications to these owner-

imposed standards? 3) Did these architectural modifications demonstrate cultural ties to African traditions, and thus Africanisms? 4) Does the material assemblage indicate Africanisms demonstrative of specific African cultures? Positive answers to these questions will prove that agentic elements of resistance were present at the Southall Quarter and additionally, that evidence of Africanisms can be determined as present in the structural layout of the quarters. I have deduced that the location of Southall Quarter in Williamsburg, Virginia is highly relevant to the study of the diverse material assemblage and architectural make-up of the site (Pullins et al. 2003). The site's proximity to Quarterpath Road, a main transportation route between Williamsburg and other James River ports could have presented opportunities for interaction with local commerce (Pullins et al. 2003). Additionally, the relative isolation from the master's residence provided ample opportunity for the enslaved population of Southall Quarter to provide for themselves (Pullins et al. 2003). These factors more than likely played an important role in the assemblage at Southall Quarter. The access to a major road and the lax supervision of the master gave the enslaved of Southall Quarter opportunity to create a more personal, private and individual residence.

Chapter 3
Africans in the Diaspora

This chapter will present important sequences and actions involved in the making of American slavery. Slave and plantation systems have a long history spanning back hundreds of years to Africa.

"Diaspora" Uses, Meanings, Interpretations

Interpreting the meaning of the African diaspora can be a complicated subject with many diverging opinions. To most, the term diaspora refers to a group of people whom have been displaced from a nation for religious, political, or cultural reasons. For years following the original displacement, new generations are often filled with a strong desire to return to their homeland. Dispersed peoples are often marginalized in their adopted new countries or communities. The dream to return to their homeland spawns a sense of unity and community across alien nations in which people feel a lack of true identity (Fabre and Benesch 2004:xiv; Palmer 2000:29). Definitions of the term diaspora concerning its application to the African people have evolved amongst scholars over the last fifty years. What is the overall importance of diaspora studies to African and African-American research (Alpers and Roberts 2002)? Should reference be made to an African diaspora before the nineteenth century, since the African peoples referred to themselves not simply as Africans but more specifically by regional names, such as, Igbo (Palmer 2000:29)? Should African diaspora studies include the pre-slavery incidence of voluntary African migration (Harris 1996:7)? The following section will attempt to briefly tackle these questions concerning historical and modern African diaspora studies and interpretations.

Until recently African diaspora studies heavily emphasized the creation of an African culture post-displacement from Africa (Alpers and Roberts 2002). In the 2002 *African Issues* article entitled "What is African Studies? Some Reflections?" the authors, Edward A. Alpers and

Allen F. Roberts (2002), attribute this emphasis to the early studies of Melville Herskovits and Sidney Mintz. The early studies of African culture led scholars to the conclusion that diasporic cultures were created as they were dispersed (Alpers and Roberts 2002). This antiquated conclusion backed by E. Franklin Frazier assumed that when the slaves endured the hardships of the Middle Passage nothing, including culture, survived. This conclusion made Africa irrelevant to African diaspora studies (Alpers and Roberts 2002:13). Current studies include Africa by adopting an "Afro-centric" perspective. The link between Africa and the African cultures is essential to diasporic studies (Alpers and Roberts 2002).

Recent scholarship has illuminated a previously glossed over piece of the diasporic puzzle: the ethnicity of the African slaves. Along with other historians and anthropologists, Paul Lovejoy is a proponent of illuminating the history of the Africans, pre-slavery (Lovejoy and Trotman 2003; Palmer 2000). Since the diaspora of a group of people refers to their displacement from a homeland, then the homeland must become part of the study of their history and identity (Lovejoy and Trotman 2003). In order to fully understand the trans-Atlantic slave trade, Lovejoy (Lovejoy and Trotman 2003) claims that the ethnic identity of African slaves must be defined. It is segments of these African ethnicities and religions that are transformed, reorganized, and readapted in the New World (Lovejoy and Trotman 2003). This "Afro-centric" approach to analyzing the history of slavery and the African diaspora differs from the previous studies produced by early pioneers on the subject such as Frazier. Modern approaches attempt to put Africa back into the study of the African diaspora.

Pre-dating the massive influx of African slaves to the New World, Africans migrated, many on their own accord, to European and Caribbean nations (Harris 1996:7; Berlin 1998:17-18). Joseph E. Harris (1996) writes, confining African diaspora studies solely to the areas of slave trade and enslavement disregards the groups of Africans whom had been freely migrating for centuries. Ira Berlin (1998), author of *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of*

Slavery in North America, concurs with Harris' thesis. Both Berlin and Harris highlight voluntary migration of Africans whom had served as merchants, and sailors under Portuguese and Spanish reign (Berlin 1998:25; Harris 1996:7). Other Africans became enchanted with European Christianity and Islam, making the religions not only their own but also their job; African missionaries for Christianity and Islam traveled abroad freely (Harris 1996:7). Even though these voluntary passages to Europe and the New World are inconsistent with the passages made by slaves, in that one group had a choice to leave their homeland and the other did not, it is still important to incorporate the entire dispersal of the African peoples in order to approach the diaspora studies holistically.

Early History of Africans in the New World

As mentioned above, for centuries prior to European and American slavery, Africans had migrated freely to other continents for various reasons (Conniff and Davis 1994; Harris 1996). Landforms and geography affected the Africans ability to travel (Conniff and Davis 1994). Their role in society allowed for the opportunity to voluntarily work abroad (Berlin 1998). The following section will discuss the early opportunities for Africans prior to the slave trade.

James Curtis Ballagh (1902:4) attributes the origin and extreme growth of the African slave trade to the discovery of America and the colonization of the Spanish West Indies. Ballagh's (1902) *A History of Slave Trade in Virginia* notes that the Portuguese were the first nation to capitalize on African labor. During the fifteenth century the Portuguese focused their interests along the African coast establishing trading factories. Various other European nations followed suit, and the west coast of Africa became a mecca for transatlantic trade (Berlin 1998:18). During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Europeans began expanding their trading ports along the West African coast. Unlike what was soon to become the harsh slave tradition of North America, West Africans employed by Europeans in Africa were given opportunities demonstrative of the lucrative expansion of European-owned factories and ports

(Berlin 1998:16-20). Ira Berlin (1998:17, 381) identifies this era in African and European history as the birthplace of "Atlantic Creoles." Creolization refers to the process of creating a culture from a myriad of existing cultures (Joseph 2000:109). The African-American culture witnessed today is a product of this creolization of cultures (Joseph 2000:109). Children born of European men and African women during this time of Gold Coast expansion, Berlin (1998) specifies, are the beginning of this African-European creolization process. Populations in the coastal African towns increased by the thousands during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries due to ever-expanding trade routes. As trade and growth expanded, the role of the Atlantic Creole became more significant. Their intercultural position gave them a unique position and enabled them to profit from their arrangement. At the same time, Atlantic Creoles' ability to go unnoticed, largely due to their inability to identify with any one group made them a threat to the European nationalities. This paradoxical position – as valuable middlemen and constant outsider – made Atlantic Creoles susceptible to future enslavement (Berlin 1998). Interesting to this particular research, Berlin (1998:23) notes it was this paradoxical position that later emerged as a cultural "Africanism": the need for the Atlantic Creole to be in a constant negotiation of cultures can be seen in the archaeological record today. Enslaved African-Americans in North America experienced a similar contradictory position as both an essential tool of production on plantations as well as a cultural outsider and resistor to the colonial environment.

Before becoming significant figures in American plantation economy, Atlantic Creoles and Africans played an important role in Caribbean communities (Berlin 1998:27-28). The European islands of the Atlantic boasted intensive networks of plantations and slave systems. Creoles and Africans were an integral part of these systems. As Sidney M. Greenfield (1969:45) illustrates in his *Journal of Inter-American Studies* article "Slavery and the Plantation in the New World: The Development and Diffusion of a Social Form," the European colonization of Caribbean islands developed around the cultivation of sugarcane. Among the initiators of the

sugar tradition of the Atlantic islands were the Spanish and Portuguese, who in the fifteenth century began experimenting with plantation organizations. Greenfield (1969:47) points out that historically, sugarcane had always been cultivated in locations where large quantities of labor were available. In the early stages, however, the cultivation of sugarcane in the Caribbean lacked the human labor necessary for a successful economic production (Greenfield 1969:47). Therefore, a large supply of labor was necessary. Portugal and other European countries were ill-equipped to provide the substantial amount of labor necessary for the upkeep of the sugar plantations, and so began the steady African slave trade to the New World.

African Slave Origins and Destinations

The following section seeks to highlight the main criteria concerning the trans-Atlantic slave trade, or the Middle Passage. In order to appreciate slavery in any part of North America, it is important to fully understand the background of enslaved peoples. Where in Africa did the enslaved people come from? When? What was the destination of enslaved peoples once in the New World (Curtin 1969)? As previously mentioned, African ethnicity is essential to understanding enslavement in the context of bondage, a new environment, and the New World. The following research will study the environment of slavery in the Chesapeake region. Therefore, the research must focus on the specific ethnicity of Africans whom were purchased as slaves and brought to Virginia and the surrounding Chesapeake area.

Scholars agree that the first African slaves to be brought to America, arrived in Virginia in 1619 (Conniff and Davis 1994:125; Faggins 2001:23; Smith 1966). Arriving on a Dutch merchant ship, twenty Africans first made port at Point Comfort and were shortly thereafter transported to the English settlement of Jamestown (Conniff and Davis 1994:125; Faggins 2001:23). The origins of these initial Africans are difficult to discern, however, the origins of the Africans whom followed have been studied at length.

The origins of African slaves are particularly important to the study of slavery and the slave trade. Early work on the origins of Africans sold into slavery gives a broad geographical area as the primary source. In his master's thesis "The Royal African Company Slave Trade to Virginia, 1689 – 1713" Charles Killinger (1969), argues African slaves originated from a "three thousand-mile strip of West African coastline stretching between the Senegal River and present-day Angola" (Killinger 1969:52; Faggins 2001:23). Killinger further illustrates the large presence of West Africans in Virginia by pointing out that landowners had specific likes and dislikes in respect to the African imports, and therefore were very particular when it came to purchasing slaves (Killinger 1969:55; Faggins 2001:24). In *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census,* Philip Curtin (1969:157) highlights the many aversions that the colonists had to slaves of particular origins. The most prominent source of slaves in Virginia in the late seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century was the West African region Bight of Biafra. Biafran Africans and the Igbo dominated the slave market of Virginia (Chambers 2005; Curtin 1969:156-158). Their presence and cultural impact will be further explored.

Throughout the course of the seventeenth century Africans continued to arrive in Virginia. Accounts differ regarding the actual number of African slaves in the colony. Subjected to disease, maltreatment, and a new environment the slave population appears to have ebbed and flowed for several years before leveling in the late seventeenth century (Faggins 2001:26-27). In her Ph.D. dissertation "Colonial Virginia and the Atlantic Slave Trade" Susan Alice Westbury (1981), poses another theory for the slave population change of the seventeenth century, linking the slave trade to the economic state of Virginia and England. Westbury (1981:8) notes that the effects of the international situation at the time were taking a toll on the British Empire and thus having an effect on Virginia, making it economically impossible for Virginia to support slavery.

The Igbo of West Africa

The Virginia slave trade was at its peak during the second and third quarters of the eighteenth century (Chambers 2005). Although African slaves from many societies in Western and West Central Africa found themselves in Virginia during those years, there was no group as prevalent as the Igbo. Douglas Chambers (2005:23) estimates "a third (29 percent)" of the 93,000 Bight of Biafran Igbos were sent to Virginia in the first half of the eighteenth century. Chambers (2005:23) further asserts that slaves taken from the Igbo region were at least six times more likely to disembark in Virginia than in Jamaica or South Carolina (the other two primary destinations for these Africans). Due to these relatively high numbers of Igbo population in Virginia, many archaeologists and historians have interpreted the material culture of enslaved Africans in Virginia material culture by comparing it to that of Igbo culture (Chambers 2005; Kulikoff 1986; Samford 2007).

Originally referred to as the Ibo, but now more commonly known as Igbo, this large African ethnic group was spread out over the southeastern region of the present-day country of Nigeria (Shaw 1977:2) (Figure 5). Captured Igbo were deported from Nigerian territories, such as Calabar, Bight of Biafra, and Nri (Chambers 2005). Within these regions, Igbo communities were divided into several village democracies (Isichei 1983: 162). Distant communities differed in dialect and various cultural elements, however most shared structural commonalities, such as lineage rights and marriage patterns (Forde and Jones 1950). A set of wider organizational groupings connected the distant communities: several villages formed a polity and a number of polities formed a regional community (Isichei 1983:162). Trade and religion and beliefs linked these distant communities.

The physical location of West Africa has linked this area to an international trade system since the fifteenth century (Isichei 1997:341). Victor Uchendu (1965:104) points out that Igbo culture has been involved in every aspect of slave trade, "They were at one time slavers or

slaves, and then agents to the middlemen" (Uchendu 1965:104). The Atlantic slave trade of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had an enormous impact on the secluded Igbo communities of West Africa. There were some physical and environmental similarities between Virginia and West Africa that may have eased the transition somewhat: similarities in climate, agricultural methodologies, and food were visible to the Igbo upon their arrival in Virginia (Samford 2007:40). Additionally, during the eighteenth century more and more female slaves were purchased and slave owners slowly approved marriage and family within the slave system. The ability for the enslaved Igbo of Virginia to have families may have also facilitated their transition since community and kinship were of such high importance in West Africa (Samford 2007:40). These common elements between Africa and Virginia together helped begin the process of "Igboizing" African-American enslaved communities in Virginia (Samford 2007:40). This cultural process of African to African-American is the core of this research.
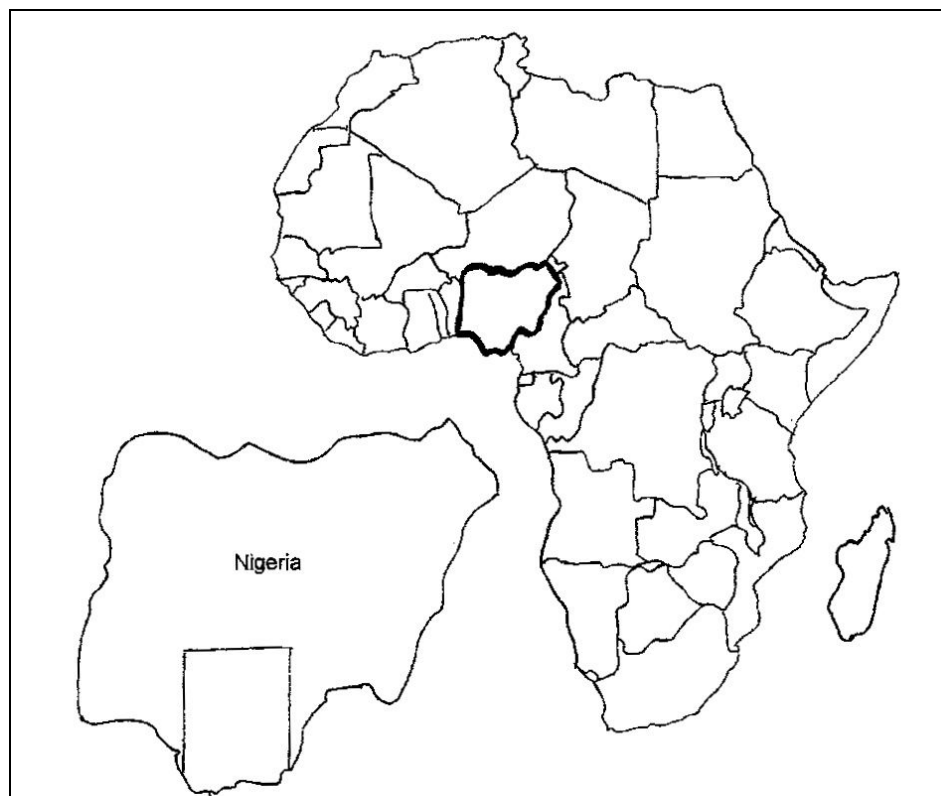
Figure 5. Region of densest Igbo settlement ca. 1700 (adapted from Chambers 2005:2).

Chapter 4
Archaeology of the Enslaved and Their Material Culture

The archaeology of African and African-American enslaved peoples is by no means a new topic. However, the constant transitions and theoretical innovations concerning the study of slavery, plantations, and cultural processes have evolved over the years.

Archaeology of the Enslaved

Theresa Singleton (1995) clarifies that African-American archaeology should not be solely limited to the archaeology of slavery. Singleton (1995) defines material culture as a tool for interpreting African-American culture and, in turn, African-American life. Thus, the archaeology of the enslaved is a mechanism for deciphering one of many aspects of African-American lifeways and cultural practices and processes. Singleton (1995:120) attributes the growing interest in such topics to various social, political and intellectual forces. The Civil Rights Movement of the 1960's and the continuance of black activism have propelled archaeology in new directions (Singleton 1995:120-122). Additionally, ideas arose concerning ethnicity and how to decipher ethnic groups within a pluralistic American society (Singleton 1995:120-122). Stemming from these theories, archaeologists sought to interpret the archaeology of the enslaved as a means of defining a forgotten ethnic group.

Important to this section is the understanding that although there are methodological and theoretical differences in the approaches to diasporic and plantation archaeology, there are obvious similarities too. Both approaches seek to understand slave culture, the origins of African-American material culture, and cultural processes.

Archaeology of the Diaspora

Not to be confused with the archaeology of plantations, current diasporic archaeology seeks to define African and African-American cultural processes. Previous research in disaporic archaeology sought to define specific African ethnic markers (Orser 1998a:66). The transition to

current investigations into the creolization process utilizes a more holistic approach. Plantation archaeology also seeks to provide evidence of cultural identity, but more important to the study of plantation archaeology is the reflection of the master-slave relationship in the archaeological data. This thesis employs both plantation and diasporic archaeological interpretations of Southall Quarter. It is my belief that the most productive method for understanding and analyzing African and African-American cultural materials is through a holistic approach, using both diaspora and plantation archaeological analyses.

According to Charles E. Orser (1998a:65) early historical archaeology in the southern regions of the United States focused mainly on the realm of the upper class. This led to a focus on the elite planters, plantation owners and other upper class, white men. In Virginia, specifically, historical archaeology was intensely biased toward the architectural preservation of prominent structures. J. C. Harrington, a historical archaeologist who began his career working for the Federal Government at Jamestown, Virginia, explained, "that one purpose for digging up a site – often the sole purpose – was to secure information for reconstruction" (South 1994:6). Of particular interest during this time were sites in the Colonial Williamsburg Historic District. The mission of Colonial Williamsburg was to find eighteenth-century sites and then demonstrate their function through interpretive recreations. The preservation and reconstruction of these significant buildings outweighed the study of cultural movements and for this reason architectural historians rather than archaeologists were given research priority at excavations. The Historic Sites Act of 1935 and the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 propelled historical archaeological scholarship toward its current state. Subsequent research has been viewed by many as a response and necessary move away from an intensely biased archaeology of the upper class.

Due to this fairly recent progression towards a more culturally sensitive archaeology, the archaeology of the African-American diaspora is relatively young. Charles E. Orser (1998a:66) states in his seminal 1998 *Annual Review of Anthropology* article "The Archaeology of the

African Diaspora," "the archaeologists' contribution to African diasporic studies would be to provide tangible evidence for the continuation of African cultural traits beyond the borders of Africa." Orser's (1998a) article is a detailed review of previous archaeological scholarship regarding the African diaspora.

As enslaved persons, Africans and African-Americans were forced to transform and readapt their former ways of life to new environmental and cultural surroundings. The archaeological data, whether it is architectural, ceramic, or otherwise, will clarify this change over time, demonstrating if the slaves were able to retain any of their native cultural elements. Orser (1998a:66) asserts that initially the principal goal of historical archaeologists' foray into studying African heritage outside of Africa would be to provide tangible evidence for the continuation of African cultural traits. This goal had the ability to respond to any unanswered questions stemming from early assumptions of the Herskovits-Frazier debate (Fairbanks 1972; Orser 1998a:66). Charles Fairbanks' 1960 excavations at Kingsley Plantation in Florida were among the original archaeological investigations at cabins of the enslaved (Fairbanks 1972; Orser 1998a:66-67). Fairbanks sought to support Herskovitz's argument and prove Africanisms did exist at the plantation's cabins of the enslaved (Fairbanks 1972, 1984; Orser 1998a:66-67). Fairbanks (1972, 1984), however, ultimately concluded that no definitive Africanisms could be identified (Orser 1998a:66-67). This setback did not dissuade archaeologists from continuing their pursuit of African identity markers.

Fairbanks' investigations at Kingsley Plantation began the archaeological pursuit of Africanisms in American archaeology. Previous research of enslaved African-Americans and other African-American sites had been undertaken (Bullen and Bullen 1945; Noël Hume 1966; Poe 1963) however, Fairbanks was the first seeking to investigate a set of anthropologically specific African and African-American oriented questions (Fairbanks 1972, 1984:1). Fairbanks' (1984) *Historical Archaeology* article, "The Plantation Archaeology for the Southeastern Coast"

specifies limitations for conducting an archaeology of the enslaved: written documents regarding the enslaved rarely match the material record (Fairbanks 1984:1, 8-9). Contrarily, the planter predominantly recorded written documents in order to reinforce the need for slavery (Fairbanks 1984:1). In other words, the focus of such records were biased accounts of the unusual behaviors of the enslaved (Fairbanks 1984:1). Absent are the cultural reasons the enslaved performed these behaviors. Due to this inconsistency archaeologists must take a dual approach when investigating sites of enslaved persons: written documents must be supplemented with the actual material assemblages in order to obtain a holistic view of lifestyles of enslaved persons (Fairbanks 1984).

While Fairbanks' initial investigation did not yield positive answers to the search for Africanisms, comparisons can be made to the findings at Kinglsey Plantation and Southall Quarter: both sites yielded findings alluding to the conclusion that the owners/overseers were "permissive" (Fairbanks 1984). Evidence of firearms, vast assortments of ceramics and expansive foodway collections led archaeologists from both sites to conclude that these particular enslaved inhabitants had more opportunities for acquiring materials (Fairbanks 1972, 1984; Pullins et al. 2003). Evidence of assorted supplemental artifacts does not necessarily indicate that the owners/overseers allowed the enslaved to deviate from their regulated materials. Rather it is an indication of variables that may have provided an opportunity for African-American agentic actions, such as, distance of the quarters of the enslaved to owners/overseers homes.

Plantation Archaeology

There are subtle differences between the archaeology of the diaspora and the archaeology of plantation systems. I hypothesize that among other questions, plantation archaeology seeks answers to questions regarding plantation economics and master-slave relationships. Archaeologists approaching the study of plantations are looking for evidence to explain the "cultural, economic, and political milieu" of these unique societies (Singleton 1990:70). This

section will briefly look at the archaeological research conducted on master-slave relationships and power dynamics. Theresa Singleton (1990) identifies the complexity of plantation societies as a reason for utilizing specific approaches and goals. Research questions must address various interrelated issues such as, class status, race, and power (Singleton 1990:70). Focused almost exclusively on preservation and restoration, early investigative methodologies, such as architecturally-focused techniques, can be credited with the positive direction that plantation archaeology is taking today (Singleton 1990). One of the most important changes in plantation archaeology has been the shift from early historically dominated studies to more anthropological interpretations (Singleton 1990:71). Singleton refers to early excavations of plantations as supplying supplemental data to historical documents (Singleton 1990:71). While it is vital to archaeology to supplement historical documents with artifactual evidence, it should not be the sole reason for conducting an excavation. Many historical documents from plantations and slave-holding communities fail to mention the presence of slaves, thus a historically oriented approach would disregard the plantation's most significant population. An anthropological approach emphasizes culturally influenced objectives and arguments and therefore is inclusive of all aspects of the plantation system. With a positive transition toward more anthropologically themed research questions and excavations, archaeologists began looking at plantations as systems that affected enslaved populations.

The study of power dynamics is also an essential component of plantation archaeology (Thomas 1998). Brian W. Thomas' (1998) investigations at the Hermitage Plantation in Tennessee employs the use of power theory to deciphering the master-slave relationship. Thomas (1998) argues that various categories of the material culture of the enslaved demonstrates how the planters controlled the enslaved and how the enslaved contested this control. As Thomas notes (1998:531) "power relations and the tensions inherent in them" are continuously present on any site where a dominating class rules over a subordinate class. Interpreting archaeological

material culture from these sites will demonstrate how the dominating class asserted their power and how (if at all) the subordinate class contested this power (McGuire and Paynter 1991; Saitta 1994; Thomas 1998).

Although the archaeology of power relations and plantation systems has been thoroughly conducted by many archaeologists (Barker and Pauketat 1992; Gailey and Patterson 1987; McGuire and Paynter 1991; Miller and Tilley 1984) Thomas' (1998) article "Power and Community: The Archaeology of Slavery at the Hermitage Plantation" is an excellent demonstration of the power dynamic between master and slave. The Hermitage Plantation by comparison is far larger both spatially and demographically to Southall Quarters and its outlying land, but Thomas' research can still provide analyses applicable to the general study of plantation archaeology. Archaeologically, evidence of foodways is illustrative of the constant master-slave give and take (Thomas 1998:542). After consulting documentary information concerning how rations were dispensed to the enslaved inhabitants on plantations, the archaeologists can then compare this written record to the actual material assemblage. Faunal remains found in the archaeological record, but not listed on the documentary record indicate a weakening in the planter-defined power structure (Thomas 1998:542-545). Whether enslaved communities sought to add to their apportioned diet out of a necessity or by choice, the supplemental remains suggest that certain enslaved peoples were able to contest planter-enforced power over diet.

Carter L. Hudgins (1996:47) pinpoints a specific time in American historical archaeology as pivotal in the growth of plantation archaeology: archaeology conducted in the mid-1970s began not so much with a specific goal in mind but more so as a reaction to a previous goal. The early decades of historical archaeology in Virginia had a strong focus on eighteenth-century upper class, urban sites. Thus, the next natural step for Virginia archaeology was towards investigations of plantation sites and rural communities. Hudgins (1996) argues that Virginia

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archaeology of the 1970s deviated far enough from the work of previous years that it in turn became a separate study: the "New Plantation Archaeology" (Hudgins 1996:48).

Historical Archaeology in Virginia

The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation has long been active in the excavation and restoration of Colonial Williamsburg and the surrounding historic buildings. Initiated in the 1930's by local citizen W.A.R. Goodwin and philanthropist John D. Rockefeller, Jr., the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation sought to preserve the city's historic buildings (Wertenbaker 1954). James Deetz described historical archaeology as "the archeology of the spread of European culture throughout the world since the 15th century, and its impact on indigenous peoples" (Deetz, 1977:5, 1988:362; 1996:5). Deetz (1988:362) goes on to say that this definition does include "southern plantation life, slave and free black communities," early investigations, however, especially at sites in Williamsburg, sustained a deliberate focus on the upper class of society. Important at this time and throughout the 1960s was the restoration and preservation of Virginia's colonial capital (Hudgins 1996). Additionally, archaeology during this time had an intensely architecturally-based focus, meaning a building's structure became more relevant than the culture of the building's inhabitants. Thus, archaeology conducted in Williamsburg and Virginia as a whole prior to the 1970s examined urban areas of the elite (Hudgins 1996:47).

Deemed by Carter L. Hudgins (1996) as the "Golden Age of Plantation Archaeology" the 1970s explored new avenues in eighteenth-century Virginia archaeology. Excavations at rural plantation sites became the dominant area of archaeological investigation. James City County and neighboring Charles City County specifically are home to several historic plantation sites. In James City County excavations at Carter's Grove and Kingsmill Plantations by archaeologists William Kelso (1984a) and Ivor Noël Hume (1974) began the study of Virginia's seventeenth and eighteenth-century plantation homes and quarters of the enslaved (Hudgins 1996:48). Hudgins (1996:49) asserts that these initial investigations into eighteenth-century plantation life

have established that certain social, cultural, economical, and geographical forces, such as funding for "worthy" sites, and the desire to open and excavate very large areas, shaped the archaeology of plantations in Virginia. Hudgins (1996:49) specifies that while these initial investigations and their successors established fundamental social, cultural, economical, and geographical elements of plantation life, there are still various questions of this time period and specific historic locations that need to be addressed archaeologically. Detailed archaeological and historical investigations of the eighteenth-century enslaved Africans and African-Americans in Virginia as a large and dynamic cultural group will aid in interpreting enslavement on plantations.

During the eighteenth century in Virginia, Africans and African-Americans comprised a large percentage of the state population. Specifically, in James City County and York County the enslaved represented 50 to 59 percent of the total population in 1750 and rose to over 60 percent in James City County in 1775 (Morgan 1998:98-99; Samford 2007:26). Instead of solely looking at these African and African-American populations as plantation slaves, Douglas Sanford (1996) asserts that it is time to begin investigating the culture of enslaved peoples and utilizing archaeology as a tool for cultural interpretations and comparisons. Past excavations have illuminated plantation standards regarding housing, foodways and material goods (Sanford 1996). What is missing and therefore necessary now, Sanford (1996) points out, is a critical look at previous work or artifact collections and an explicitly comparative research. Much previous work (Kelso 1984a, 1984b, 1986) has focused on plantations and enslaved populations from "the great plantations of the late 18th and early 19th centuries" (Sanford 1996:135). These plantations of elite planters and prominent political figures represent a specific and small niche in historical Virginia plantations. Research at smaller-scaled plantations and quarters of enslaved peoples will provide information on the vast majority of Virginia's slave populace.

Material Culture of the Enslaved

<u>Definitions of Material Culture</u>

The crux of this current research is to ascertain whether material culture, specifically that recovered at Southall Quarter, can be demonstrative of Africanisms, modifications of African cultural traditions, and African-American cultural processes. How does this evidence relay information to the archaeologist? Viewing this material evidence as a contextual story, what does this it speak of the cultural processes of the enslaved? In order to answer these questions first we must define material culture. It is perhaps first easier to identify what cultural materials are not: cultural materials are not any one single artifact. In order to relay cultural information to the archaeologist, materials must be looked at in context. For instance, to say that Colonowares found on Southern plantation sites can collectively demonstrate evidence of Africanisms would be a gross exaggeration. Similarities in Colonowares and African ceramics can be made, but differences are also identifiable. Variations are seen not only between ceramics from both continents but also between plantation sites in the South (Deetz 1988; Ferguson 1980; Singleton 1990:74-75). Thus, is evidence of Colonoware alone indicative of Africanisms? No, I argue that overall analyses of plantation and enslaved assemblages are better suited to define material culture. Patricia Samford (1996:87) argues that many artifacts of the enslaved are "unremarkable as single objects" and must be analyzed both in the context of surrounding artifacts as well as in the context of a structure or quarter of enslaved peoples. Therefore, material culture is artifacts studied in relation to their physical and cultural context. These artifacts should be considered a product of both people and culture as well as the physical environment of the culture.

Archaeologists examine material culture as a means for identifying ethnicity, cultural identity, and evidence of resistance and cultural processes. As mentioned previously, the search for one artifact as an archaeologically relevant Africanism can be very misleading to the researcher. Instead, looking at a site – whether it is the quarter of enslaved persons, a free

African-American's home, or an entire plantation – holistically will reveal cultural processes. Utilizing a holistic method, I would argue that it is important to look at architecture, foodways, and all other material goods of the enslaved. The following discussion will focus on material culture, both artifactual elements and spatial components that have come to be representative of traditions of the enslaved.

Subfloor Pits

Archaeologists interested in identifying enduring cultural traits look for patterns in the material assemblages and architectural features (Deetz 1996; Ferguson 1980; Kelso 1984a; Samford 1996, 2007; Yentsch 1991). The use of one specific architectural feature, especially in the Virginia Chesapeake region, has been attributed to the retention of West African cultural traditions. The predominance of subfloor pits in many enslaved African-American plantation quarters is believed to be a direct result of African cultural and religious traditions (Samford 1999). Ethnographic and ethnohistoric research of Afro-Virginian and West African societies has demonstrated a similarity between North American and African cultural contexts to these sub-floor pits (Samford 1999). Archaeologists argue that the subfloor pits found in Virginian landscapes and homes of enslaved persons, mirrors the subfloor pits found in West African cultures (Samford 1999; Yentsch 1991). Due to the occurrence of subfloor pits in English and Anglo-American structures it is important for archaeologists to be able to link the African-American pits found in slave dwellings with their West African predecessors (Kelso 1984a:201; Sanford 1991). An archaeological survey of subfloor pits and African and African-American traditions can avail the researcher of cultural links between the enslaved and their African ancestors.

Patricia Samford (2007:6) points out that subfloor pits have been identified at sites of each of the three cultural groups found in colonial Virginia. Pre-contact Native Americans, the English during Iron Age Britain, colonial period Euro-Americans, and the Igbo of West Africa

are all documented to have used subterranean pits for storage (DeBoer 1988; Fowler 1983; Yentsch 1991). Thus, in regard to this current research on subfloor pits in enslaved quarters, it is necessary to highlight any characteristics, both spatial and artifactual, specific to pits found in quarters of enslaved persons. Subfloor pits found in the Anglo-European colonists were generally on a much larger and better-constructed scale (Samford 2007:7). Appearance of subfloor pits in structures of enslaved persons coincides with population increases (Table 1) and origins of importation. In the late seventeenth century, Samford (2007) points out, the importation of enslaved persons from the West Indies ceased and direct importation from Africa increased. Additionally, as the direct importation of Africans rose in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, so did the number of subfloor pits in structures of the enslaved. As mentioned in previous sections, the Virginia slave trade was at its peak during the second and third quarters of the eighteenth century (Chambers 2005) with the enslaved populations representing 50 to 59 percent of the total James City County population in 1750 and over 60 percent in 1775 (Morgan 1998:98-99; Samford 2007:26). Table 1 demonstrates the correlation of the abundance of subfloor pits in the Chesapeake region to the enslaved population increases in the mid-eighteenth century. Further supporting the hypothesis that Africans brought and sustained this tradition is the abundance of subfloor pits in other southern states where Virginia colonists relocated and brought their enslaved Africans with them (Samford 2007:9; Wilkie 1995).

Table 1. Number of subfloor pits in African American structures
(adapted from Samford 2007:8).

Period *	Structures ** with no subfloor pits	Structures with 1 subfloor pit	Structures with 2-3 subfloor pits	Structures with >3 subfloor pits	Total number of structures with subfloor pits
1680-1700	0	0	1	1	2
1700-1720	1	2	3	4	9
1720-1760	0	2	4	5	11
1760-1780	0	5	1	10	16
1780-1800	3	7	5	3	15
1800-1830	1	3	1	0	4

Table 1 Continued

1830-1860	5	1	0	0	1
Total	10	20	15	23	
* Dates used in this table refer to structure occupancy beginning and end dates.					
** Structures used in this study include slave sites and probable slave sites from Virginia and North Carolina.					

<u>Function of Subfloor Pits</u>

Finally, were these subfloor pits used for storage or did they have other culturally African uses? Physical attributes and artifact evidence suggest some of the pits were used for more than simply refuse or storage (Samford 1996, 2007). Recently Patricia Samford (2007) applied this question to three sites in the Williamsburg vicinity. Quarters of enslaved persons at Carter's Grove, Kingsmill and Utopia plantations comprised Samford's (2007) test sites. Relevance of Samford's (2007) study to current research at Southall Quarter is plentiful: all share similar chronological, spatial, and demographic attributes. Following the analysis of Southall Quarter subfloor pits in Chapter 6, a brief discussion of the similarities between findings at Southall Quarter and Samford's (2007) research sites will elaborate on subfloor pit trends within the enslaved population of Virginia.

Like many cultures, religion and spirituality were and still are of significance to West African cultures. Prior to European contact and the slave trade, West African cultures, such as the Igbo, practiced many religious activities supporting their belief systems. Of importance to this study is the appearance of ancestor shrines in pre-slave trade era West Africa. Ancestor veneration is an important aspect of the spirituality and religion of West African stateless societies (Ray 1976:140; Samford 2007:152). These societies tended to focus on the implementation of kin-based leadership. Redeeming and honoring the wishes and beliefs of the ancestors is a common practice as ancestors remain "one of the most powerful spiritual forces" (Ray 1976:140; Samford 2007:152).

Samford (2007:150-157) highlights some of the archaeological, historical and, ethnographic findings concerning West African religious uses of subfloor pits. As cited in Samford's (2007) "Subfloor Pits and the Archaeology of Slavery in Colonial Virginia," researchers (Onwuejeogwu 1981; Oramaisonwu 1994; Quarcoopome 1987) have identified in both historical and contemporary contexts, the use of subfloor pits in West Africa as ancestor shrines. Tools, jewelry, pottery, beads, weapons and bottles are all artifacts that appear in West-African shrines (Onwuejeogwu 1981; Samford 2007:153-154). Perhaps more important than the quantity of artifacts in a presumed ancestor shrine, is the quality of these artifacts. While finding large amounts of tools, jewelry, pottery, beads, weapons and bottles is telling of cultural activities, it is additionally significant to determine how carefully these artifacts were treated. Samford (2007:150) asserts that unbroken or nearly complete items, such as glass bottles, can be indicative of a certain level of importance, which that particular unbroken bottle may have had to its owners. Also indicative of ancestor veneration are artifacts white in color (Pullins et al. 2003). A scared color in West African tradition, white symbolizes purity (Awolalu 1979:4; Pullins et al. 2003:169). As will be discussed in the results and analyses sections, one subfloor pit (Feature 37) at Southall Quarter, possesses many of the qualities of a West African ancestor shrine, including several white items. Since most everyday commodities were not abundant and easily obtained by the enslaved, it is logical to assert that the enslaved regularly reused many of their possessions. Thus, finding hidden and unbroken items may indicate purposes other than the obvious functions. Results and discussions in Chapters 6 and 7 will demonstrate that at least one subfloor pit at Southall Quarter possessed the qualities of a West African style ancestor shrine.

Architecture

Previous research regarding the architecture of the enslaved demonstrates a gradual change in dwelling styles. This gradual trend of stylistic change was a result of several transformations within the slave system. The dormitory style housing that had existed in Virginia

throughout the late seventeenth century gave way to familial units (Morgan 1998:104; Samford 2007:85-91). With this shift, came more substantial building materials and methods, such as brick foundations and plank floors (Morgan 1998:104; Samford 2007:85-91).

Size and form of dwellings of enslaved Africans and African-Americans began to change in the mid-eighteenth century (Samford 2007:87). At this time slave owners began permitting marriage between slaves. Marriage was not only a welcome institution for the slaves, but for the owners as well. Samford (2007:89) points out that marriage most likely served as an owner-imposed method for control: slaves involved in marriage and family were believed to be less likely to run away (Samford 2007:89). Thus, in accordance with marriage and family modifications on southern plantations, dwelling size and form changed as well. Barrack style dwellings used to house large, single-sex groups of slaves, were replaced with smaller, kin-based dwellings (Morgan 1998; Samford 2007). Archaeologically, kin-based units can be identified as being much smaller than dormitories and some may be partitioned in order to accommodate more than one family (Samford 2007:89). A study of the architectural data of 67 Virginia slave quarters by Garrett Fesler (2004) demonstrated a unit size decrease of approximately 60 percent over the course of the eighteenth century (Samford 2007:89). This drastic change over such a short period of time demonstrates the changes affecting slavery and plantation systems at the time.

Modifications to building construction and materials were also made to slave dwellings during the eighteenth century. Prior to the mid-eighteenth century earthfast and clapboard dwellings were the dominating types of building construction on Virginia plantations (Morgan 1998:104). Earthfast dwellings are recognizable in the archaeological record by a post-in-ground support technique (Morgan 1998:109). This traditional form of construction usually entailed "posts driven into the ground at roughly ten-foot intervals" (Morgan 1998:109). Above ground log construction replaced earthfast traditions as a more efficient and economical building

technique (Morgan 1998:109; Samford 2007:86). Above ground log structures were raised on log sills which do not survive in the archaeological record (Samford 2007:86). Thus, determining the existence of log dwellings on sites of enslaved persons is heavily reliant on comparisons to dwellings erected by other forms of construction as well as the identification of subfloor pits (Samford 2007:86).

<u>West African Influence</u>

African architectural traditions can be seen within the construction techniques and materials of enslaved African's quarters (Morgan 1998:118-120). Morgan (1998:118) specifies that African influence differed within regions of the southern Colonies. According to Elizabeth Isichei (1983:275) common Igbo domestic architecture was a rectangular timber frame, covered in clay plaster. Morgan (1998:118) asserts that the environment of the Carolina Lowcountry more closely resembled that of the West African environment than Chesapeake regions. For this reason, Lowcountry sites display more African architectural characteristics than Chesapeake sites (Morgan 1998:118). Techniques employed in the Lowcountry, such as a compound-like layout, arc-shaped arrangements, and communal yards, are reminiscent to West African village styles (Morgan 1998:118). Chesapeake characteristics, however, appear to have followed a more Anglo tradition. Morgan (1998:119) points to the overall predominance in this region to log construction as a demonstration of a more rapidly assimilating enslaved community. It does not appear that enslaved persons in Virginia had more stringent building regulations than the enslaved of the Carolina Lowcountry. Rather, as mentioned above, Lowcountry climate and construction materials more closely resembled the West African environment (Morgan 1998:118). Without the ability to closely replicate West African architecture due to environmental reasons, the enslaved persons of Virginia sought additional models for construction.

Chapter 5
Methods and Research

Methodology

Current research on the artifactual evidence of site 44JC969 followed a post-excavation interpretive analysis undertaken by the William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research (Pullins et al. 2003). In past years, excavations at the site have been conducted and recorded (Higgins and Gray 1997; Pullins et al. 2003; Underwood 1999). My personal research involved analyzing and interpreting the previously excavated materials. This research attempts to make comparisons between the archaeology at site 44JC969 and several other contemporaneous sites of structures of the enslaved in the Williamsburg area. Comparative studies can be very beneficial in archeological interpretations.

Research for this project was conducted in Virginia, June 2, 2007 through June 13, 2007. There, initial quests for a project site to analyze were conducted at the William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research (WMCAR), located in Williamsburg. WMCAR provides archaeological consulting and research services and applied educational opportunities in cultural resource management. With the guidance of WMCAR Director, Joe Jones, I was able to find a slave quarter site that had been recently excavated. Site 44JC969, Southall Quarter, was excavated by WMCAR over the course of 6 months, spread out during the years 2000, 2001 and, 2002 (Pullins et al. 2003). This previous research will be expanded upon in a following section. Subsequent research at the WMCAR facilities entailed utilizing the library and speaking with the archaeologists. I obtained a copy of the technical report (Pullins et al. 2003) of excavations at site 44JC969 which included artifact inventories, site plans, and maps.

Additional research in Williamsburg was conducted at The College of William and Mary Swem Library. The vast collection of materials on local history and archaeological resources proved to be very helpful. Several resources, including the Theodore R. Reinhart Papers found in

the Special Collections Department are unavailable through other libraries and schools. In particular, Reinhart's (1996) edited volume on the archaeology of eighteenth-century Virginia proved to be very useful to this research.

Following my research in Williamsburg I traveled to Richmond where I spent two days at the Virginia Department of Historic Resources. The Curation Facility at the Department of Historic Resources is the state repository for archaeological collections. Currently artifacts from more than 850 archaeological sites are curated here. Within in the Curation Facility, the Archaeological Collections Management Program includes preservation, conservation, cataloguing, and long-term curation services. With the help of Dr. Dee DeRoche I was able to view the excavated artifacts from site 44JC969.

Previous Research at the Southall Site

Initial research at the Southall Quarter site (44JC969) began in 1996 by the William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research (WMCAR) with an archaeological survey of the proposed Route 199 corridor (Higgins and Gray 1997; Pullins et al. 2003:1). This thesis research primarily relied upon the subsequent and more extensive 2000, 2001, and 2002 investigations of Pullins et al. (2003). Phase I research at site 44JC969 indicated that the site extended beyond both sides of the existing Route 199 and within the projected Route 199 right-of-way. This thesis research looks at solely the eighteenth-century component area found on the north side of Route 199 (Pullins et al. 2003:2). During Phase II investigations, a systematic excavation of 210 shovel test pits on both sides of the existing Route 199 and within the projected right-of-way area took place. Subsequent excavations of five test units from the northern section of the site yielded 343 artifacts, 333 of which were historic and 10 prehistoric (Pullins et al. 2003:2).

Following a subsequent archaeological evaluation (Underwood 1999) and official analysis of the results, the historic component at site 44JC969 was recommended eligible for the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) (Pullins et al. 2003:1). WMCAR conducted

archaeological investigations at the Southall Quarter site (44JC969) from August 7 through September 29, 2000, from November 14, 2000 through January 12, 2001, and from September 30 through October 16, 2002 (Pullins et al. 2003:1). Archaeological recovery at this site was carried out under contract with the Virginia Department of Transportation (VDOT), as a means of regulatory investigation of the proposed Route 199 project in James City County (Pullins et al. 2003:1). WMCAR Director Dennis B. Blanton supervised data recovery and Project Archaeologists Stevan C. Pullins and Joe B. Jones were responsible for organization of the field program and preparation of the final report, respectively (Pullins et al. 2003:1). Also utilized in this thesis research is the project's historical background research conducted by John R. Underwood, Kimberly A. Ettinger and David W. Lewes (Pullins et al. 2003:1).

Historical Background of Site 44JC969

The William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research conducted investigations concerning historical uses of this site and its immediate surroundings (Pullins et al. 2003). Supplemental histories for surrounding areas were also obtained from William Kelso's (1984a) *Kingsmill Plantations: 1619-1800, Archaeology of Country Life in Colonial Virginia*. An important limitation of Pullins et al.'s (2003) research is that most James City County records prior to 1865 were burned in Richmond during the Civil War. This means that many tax and census records that would have been helpful sources are no longer available. Family records for the owners of the neighboring Kingsmill Plantation helped illuminate settlement and use of the area in general.

Located on the northern bank of the James River, land included in the Southall and Kingsmill tracts was in very high demand during colonial settlement. Good soil and ease of access to shipping access helped make this land attractive to settlers and it has been cultivated since the English initially arrived in the area during the first quarter of the seventeenth century (Kelso 1984a; Pullins et al. 2003). Utilizing natural boundaries, such as, the James River and

other smaller tributaries like College Creek (formerly Archer's Hope Creek) and Grove Creek, land was sectioned off and cultivated. By as early as the 1620s, large parcels of land along the James River were patented by wealthy owners (Pullins et al. 2003:16). Many of these owners chose to sell their property off in small sections and many favored renting land and encouraged tenants to farm (Pullins et al. 2003:16).

During the eighteenth century several of the smaller parcels of land were purchased by wealthy families and amounted to large plantation tracts. Two families who held the property rights to much of this land for most of the eighteenth century were the Brays and Burwells (Pullins et al. 2003:17). Marriage and rules of inheritance doubled the land holding for these families over the course of the first half of the eighteenth century. By the third quarter of the eighteenth century, land holdings had become too large for family management and more supervision and laborers were necessary (Pullins et al. 2003:17). Several of the former tenants had designated names – Littletown, Utopia, and Tutty's Neck – for their smaller parcels of land. These names appear in documentary records at this time as overseer-managed farms (Pullins et al. 2003). Although the existence of James City County slaves can be documented in 1766 with a runaway slave advertisement in the *Virginia Gazette* (Kelso 1984a:46; Pullins et al. 2003:17), available tax records do not show evidence of taxable slaves until 1785 when the then Kingsmill owner imported 12 slaves from his Carribbean property (Pullins et al. 2003:18).

James Barrett Southall first appears in historical documents in 1757 as a Williamsburg tavern proprietor (Pullins et al. 2003:18). It is unknown exactly which tavern Southall owned at this time, however, evidence indicates that it may have been Wetherburn's tavern in downtown Williamsburg, which Southall was renting and managing in 1767 (Pullins et al. 2003:18). Ending his lease at Wetherburn's in 1771, Southall then purchased Raleigh Tavern directly across the street from Wetherburn's (Pullins et al. 2003:18). In the years prior to the Revolutionary War Raleigh Tavern served as an unofficial meeting place for politicians and social elites, making

Southall an influential Williamsburg businessman (Pullins et al. 2003:24). Southall would remain owner of Raleigh Tavern for the next 30 years (Pullins et al. 2003:18). Included in the purchase of the tavern was also 19 slaves and a stable and pasture (Bullock 1932:4; Virginia Gazette 1771; Pullins et al. 2003:19). The 1781 Desandroüins map (Figure 6) indicates "Southall's Quarter" as a plot of land on the outskirts of Williamsburg.
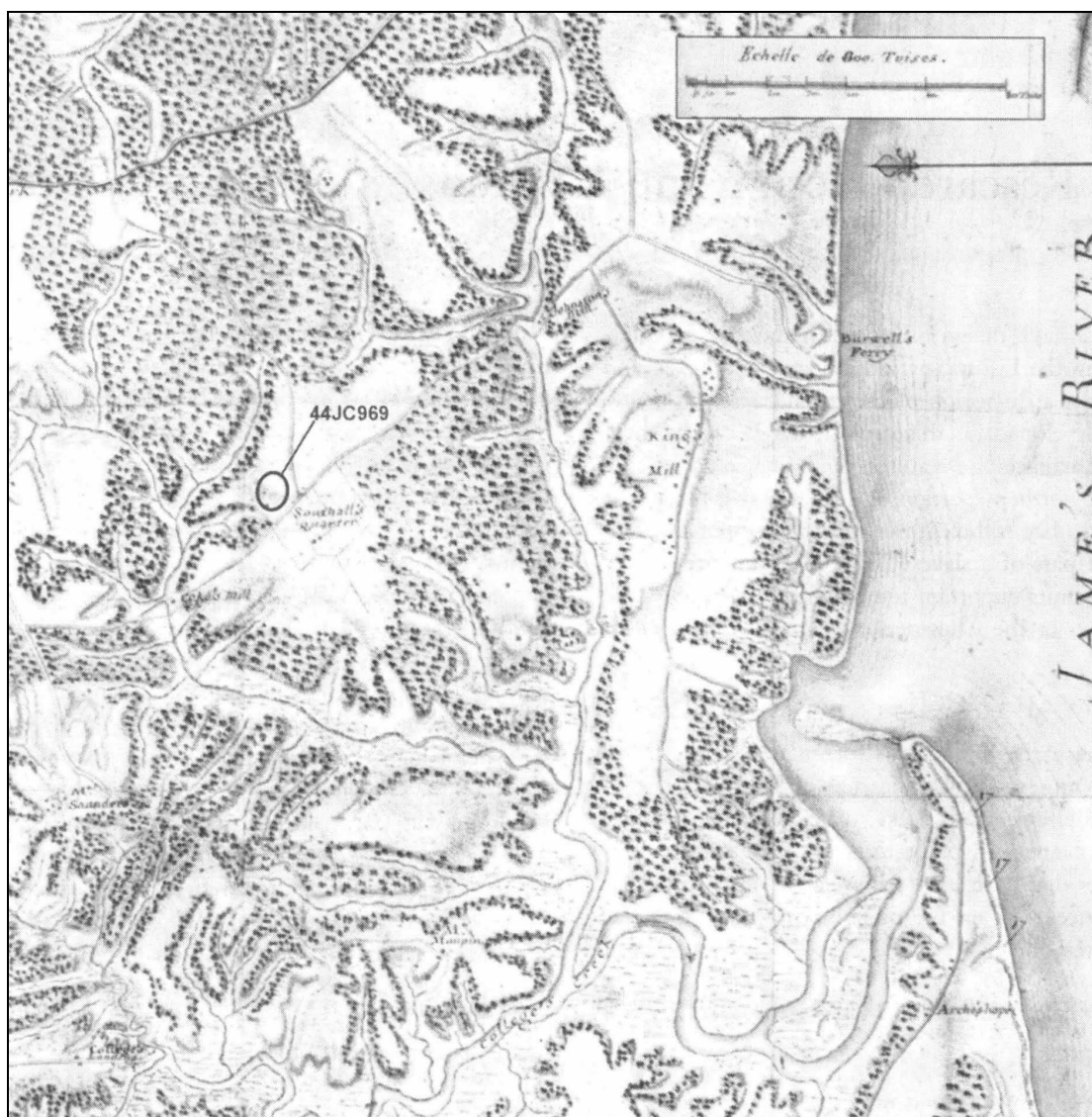
Figure 6. Desandroüins 1781 map of Williamsburg (Pullins et al. 2003:8).

In order to solidify his elite status as the Raleigh Tavern proprietor, Southall relied on other agricultural enterprises and an enslaved labor force at his outlying plantation. Various records dating from 1765 to 1798 indicate Southall owned between 5 and 19 adult enslaved

Africans and African-Americans as well as additional juvenile enslaved Africans and African-Americans (Pullins et al. 2003:25). Additionally, Southall was taxed in 1785 and 1787 for a white male, probably an overseer, suggesting that Southall did not live on his outlying property but most likely resided within downtown Williamsburg (Pullins et al. 2003:25). After 1787 documentation shows an absence of taxable white males (Pullins et al. 2003:25). This supports the theory that the enslaved residents of Southall Quarter had lax owner supervision and perhaps more opportunity to vary and supplement their regulated belongings. Historical documentation indicates that in 1803 William Allen, owner of Kingsmill Plantation, acquired the 920-acre tract previously known as Southall Quarter (Pullins et al. 2003:22). At this time Southall Quarter became part of what is known today as Kingsmill Plantation. Archaeology conducted by the William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research suggests Southall Quarter was abandoned toward the end of the eighteenth century, indicating that once William Allen purchased the land, Southall's enslaved Africans and African-Americans either moved elsewhere or were included in Allen's purchase and subsequently went to live in Kingsmill Quarters.

Chapter 6
Results

My review of the William and Mary Center for Archaeological Research (WMCAR) excavations at Southall Quarter yielded much data pertinent to this thesis. Since WMCAR's investigations at the site were conducted over a large period of time, the artifact assemblages are expansive. For the purpose of this current research, I have chosen to analyze only a portion of the data recovered. The need for historical archaeologists to be flexible in their interpretations of excavations is important. However, the need for flexibility among archaeologists studying materials of enslaved peoples is an absolute necessity. Slave cultures as a whole were in constant fluctuation and variations within the archaeology of the enslaved will always be noted. A multitude of factors will constantly affect variations within material assemblages of enslaved peoples. For instance, site location – both on a local level as well as a national level and plantation type will cause variations in artifact assemblages and architectural aspects and thus difficulties in determining an overall artifact pattern of enslavement. Thus, artifact patterns for this particular research will look at the Southall site and a number of other structures of enslaved peoples within close proximity to Southall. Using sites in relatively close proximity to one another will lower variations that may have resulted if the sites were much farther apart in time and space. Approaching the patterning process with sites of close proximity will assume that some of the enslaved may have had contact with each other, especially in a major city, like Williamsburg. Additionally these neighboring sites were also occupied contemporaneously to Southall Quarters period of enslaved inhabitation. This variable also adds to the assumption that fewer variations and more similarities will be apparent in comparative analyses. The current analyses will be discussed according to functional groups and both spatial and qualitative pattern delineations will be observed.

Overall Site Structure

During WMCAR's investigations three structures and two activity areas were located and at least partially excavated (Figure 7). Of the 129 features identified, 63 were completely excavated, 15 excavated partially and 51 were left unexcavated or later determined not to be a feature (Pullins et al. 2003:30). Historic feature types identified include, but are not limited to, subfloor pits, structural postmolds and postholes, fence postsmolds and postholes, and chimney hearths and support features (Pullins et al. 2003:36).
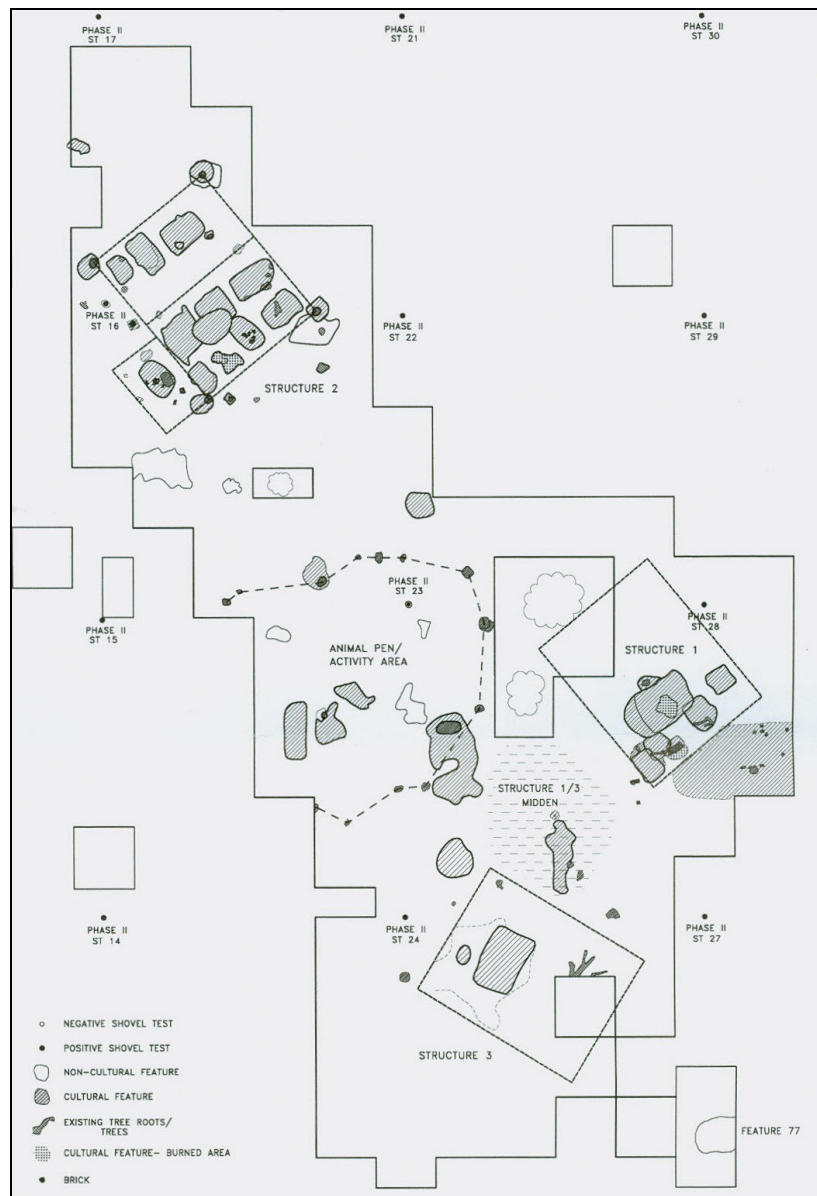

Figure 7. Southall Quarter, plan view of site structures and surrounding area
(Pullins et al. 2003:31).

Subfloor Pits

For the purpose of this present research subfloor pits, their location, abundance, and fill are of relevance. Following the research conducted by Samford (2007) at three eighteenth-century Williamsburg-area quarters of enslaved peoples, I will begin by analyzing subfloor pits and their artifact contents (Table 2) and the spatial layout of these pits as a means of demonstrating continuity of African ethnicity and cultural identity. Factors I will use to base my assumptions on are as follows:

- can delineations between primary / secondary refuse and significant artifact groupings be made?
- are there any isolated caches of mostly intact artifacts?
- do artifact assemblages within the subfloor pits appear to relate to location within structures?

Primary and secondary refuse delineations can be helpful in determining the overall function of a feature. As defined by Schiffer (1983, 1987) primary and secondary refuse will appear in the archaeological record as markers of function. Primary refuse is debris deposited at the location of its use (Samford 2007:118; Schiffer 1987:18). For instance, building materials, nails and brick, are considered primary (Samford 2007:118; Schiffer 1987:18). Secondary refuse is defined as scattered debris often trampled and swept into features from outside activity areas. Secondary refuse can often be recognized by its fragmentary appearance (Samford 2007:119; Schiffer 1983, 1987). In Samford's (2007) study of Williamsburg-area quarters of the enslaved, initial delineations between primary and secondary refuse in all subfloor pits enabled specific functions of each pit to be observed. Of relevance to the current research are differences between primary / secondary refuse deposits and artifact caches. I hypothesize that subfloor pits could serve multiple purposes at any given time. Thus, it is reasonable to propose that primary and secondary refuse will be observed in all subfloor pits in strata close to the surface. Delineations between these strata and artifact caches are of importance to this study.

<u>Structure 1</u>

Within Structure 1 (Figure 7) are two identifiable subfloor pits (Features 17 and 105). Feature 17 measures 7.7 by 4.9 ft. and 2.1 ft. deep (Pullins et al. 2003:43). Feature 17 is located less than 3 ft. northwest of the main hearth in Structure 1. Feature 17 yielded a large array of artifacts (n=431). Artifacts of architectural function, specifically wrought nails and wrought nail fragments, comprised approximately half (49.9%, n=215) of the artifact assemblage of Feature 17. Food consumption and preparation artifacts, such as ceramic and glass tableware, bottle glass, and utensils, comprised the next largest amount (21.3%, n=92). Also, 300.9g of oyster shell, and small amounts of botanical and faunal materials, such as yellow pine, white oak, charcoal, corn, and mammal long bones, further indicate the functional purpose of this hearth-front pit. The artifact assemblage of Feature 17 can be described as containing both primary and secondary refuse indicating that it most likely served as a more functional root cellar or refuse pit than any other cultural purpose. Additionally, the location of Feature 17 (so close to the hearth) and its eventual reuse as two additional and superficial subfloor pits (Features 44 and 55), followed by an informal hearth (Feature 51) (Pullins et al. 2003:160) demonstrates that it did not contain cultural importance necessary for salvation. Feature 17 could have previously functioned as a pit of African cultural importance; its multiple instances of reuse suggest it functioned more as a necessity than anything else during the last years of residence at Structure 1.

Feature 105 is much smaller than Feature 17, measuring only 2.5 by 2.7 ft. and 0.23 ft. deep. This small pit is located less than 3 ft. northeast of Feature 17 and 6.6 ft. northeast of the hearth. The artifact assemblage from the shallow pit yielded only 6 historic artifacts, including hand-made brick, one lead shot, four wrought nails, and a small piece of unidentifiable glass (Pullins et al. 2003:45). Unlike Feature 17, Feature 105 did not yield any organic materials. The artifact assemblage of Feature 105 indicates that this small pit was used for refuse for a short period of time.

Table 2. Southall Quarter subfloor pit artifact counts by functional group (adapted from WMCAR 2003 data).

Feature	Structure 1		Structure 2									Structure 3	Totals
	17	105	19	23	32	34	37	50	66	67	90	95	
Architectural	215	4	4	44	97	101	176	44	99	30	12	123	949
Food preparation / consumption	92	4	6	56	43	65	250	50	260	55	4	202	1087
Smoking	61	0	0	5	4	6	31	6	42	9	1	13	178
Unassigned material	33	1	1	24	29	20	33	9	30	5	0	22	207
Clothing	8	0	0	10	3	7	5	5	6	3	1	0	48
Bone	16	0	0	9	4	26	51	1	16	9	0	19	151
Arms and military	2	1	0	6	6	2	5	6	3	1	1	1	34
Domestic attributes	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
Activities	2	0	0	2	0	1	4	0	2	1	0	1	13
Medicinal hygiene	1	0	0	1	6	1	10	5	3	2	0	3	32
Furniture	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	4
Personal	0	0	0	2	1	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	7
Ground stone	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Total artifacts	431	6	11	160	193	231	568	128	463	115	90	386	2715

49
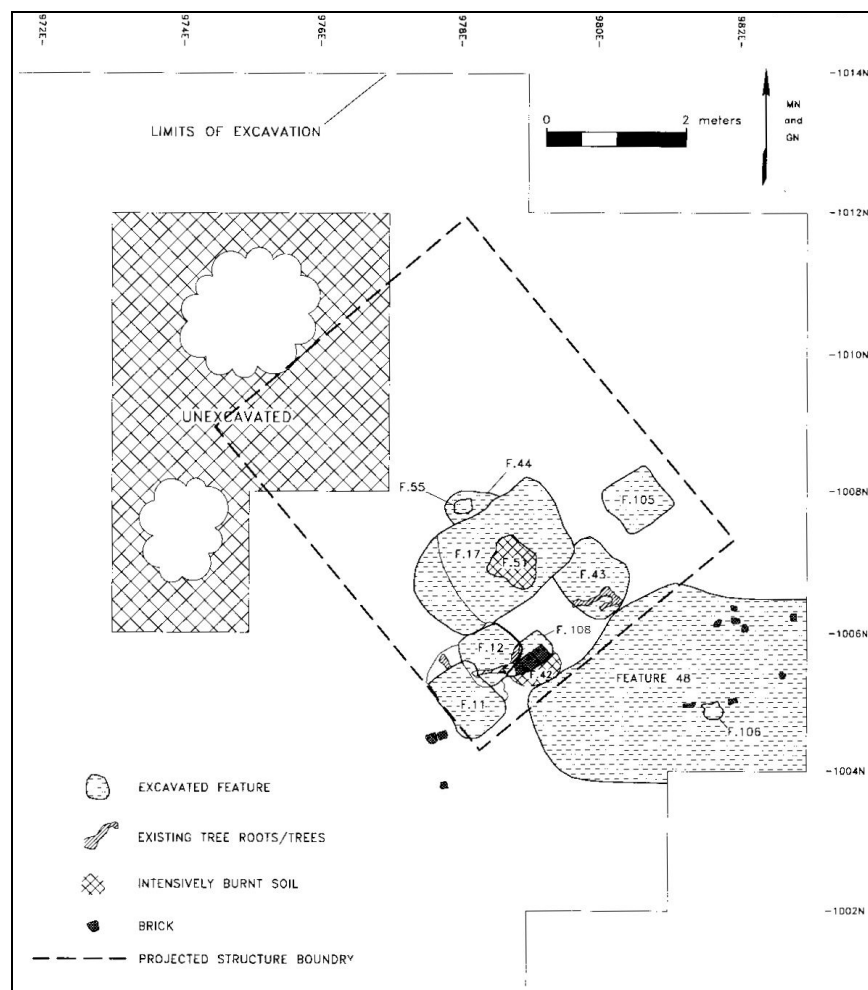
Figure 8. Structure 1, plan view of features (Pullins et al. 2003:38).

Other features associated with Structure 1 include Features 11, 12, 42, 43, 48, 106, and 108. Features 11, 12, 42, 43, and 108 are all associated with the chimney construction and chimney hearth floor. Features 48 and 106 are categorized in Pullins et al. (2003) as "other." Feature 48 most likely represents a large midden area. Feature 106 consisted of a darker soil than Feature 48, indicating it is either a nonstructural post or differential midden fill (Pullin et al. 2003:48).

Structure 2

Subfloor pits in Structure 2 (Figure 8) are of much higher abundance than in Structure 1. Nine subfloor pits were identified in Structure 2 (Pullins et al. 2003:50). Similar to Structure 1, the hearth in Structure 2 seems to have been a focal point when constructing the subfloor pits.

50

Three relatively large pits are located in the immediate hearth-front vicinity. Features 37 and 66 are two square pits that sit side-by-side from each other and northwest of the hearth. Feature 67 cuts through and postdates both Features 37 and 66 (Pullins et al. 2003:58). In addition to the hearth-front complex, Features 19, 23, 32, 34, 50, and 90 are other identifiable subfloor pits located in Structure 2.

The subfloor pit hearth-front complex is representative of several distinguishing spatial and artifact components. Feature 37, identified as a roughly square pit measuring 3.7 by 3.3 ft. and 1.5 ft. deep, yielded the best-preserved faunal assemblage on site as well as indications of an artifact cache (Figures 9 and 10). According to Pullins et al. (2003:62), "an intense deposit of artifacts was revealed in situ, resting on a thin layer of soil." Artifacts recovered from this assemblage in the northwest corner approximately 1.2 ft. below the surface, include two unbroken wine bottles and one broken wine bottle, scissors, a wig curler, an intact smoking pipe, oyster shell and a knife blade (Pullins et al. 2003:62). Pipe bowl analyses reveal a date range of 1730 to 1790 and the ceramic assemblage from the entire feature produced a mean ceramic date of 1760 with all ceramics dating prior to 1820 (Pullins et al. 2003:62). This cache is similar in artifact quality and quantity to artifacts from subfloor pits determined to be ancestor shrines in North Carolina and the Williamsburg-area (Samford 2007). Similarities include scissors, unbroken wine bottles and clay pipes. Chapter 4 highlighted that many traditional West African ancestor shrines contain items white in color as a means of symbolizing purity (Awolalu 1979:4; Pullins et al. 2003:169). The artifact cache of Feature 37 contained several white items, such as the white clay wig curler, shell, burned bone and a white clay pipe (Pullins et al. 2003:169). This is further indication that the artifact cache in Feature 37 served as a traditional West African ancestor shrine. Pullins et al. (2003:169) also hypothesizes that this intact artifact cache is demonstrative of a West African ancestor shrine.
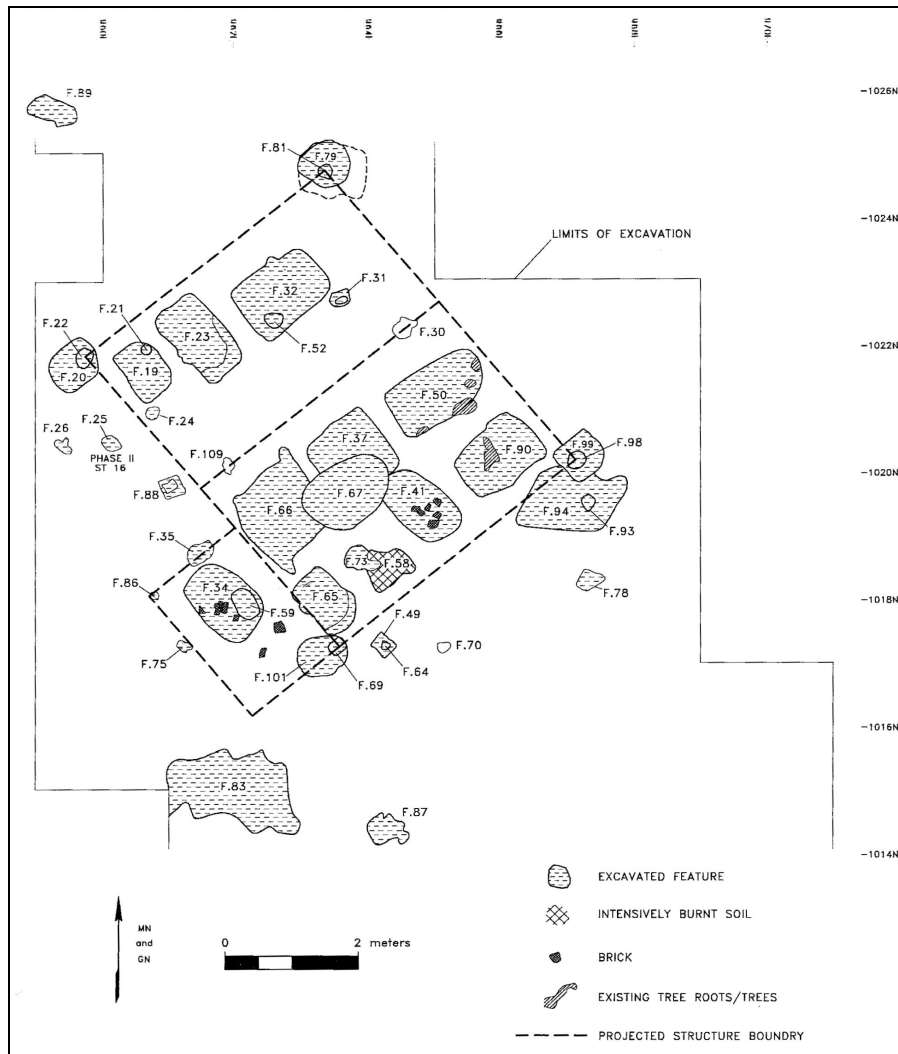
Figure 9. Structure 2, plan view of features (Pullins et al. 2003:51).

Noted at the beginning of this chapter is the importance of separating primary and secondary refuse from intact artifact deposits. The high incidence of nail fragments and brick and mortar as well as abundant ceramic fragments recovered from the fill above the artifact cache indicates a multi-functional subfloor pit. Although Feature 37 exudes qualities of an intact artifact cache, several strata of refuse indicate the space was also used for disposal of other objects and finally backfilled with refuse. Feature 37 is an important finding to the study of Africanisms on North American plantations because it demonstrates that even in acts of African cultural tradition (i.e. ancestor shrines in subfloor pits), the enslaved were also incorporating

functional uses. Thus, the use of one subfloor pit as both an ancestor shrine as well as a refuse pit is indicative of a creolization process.
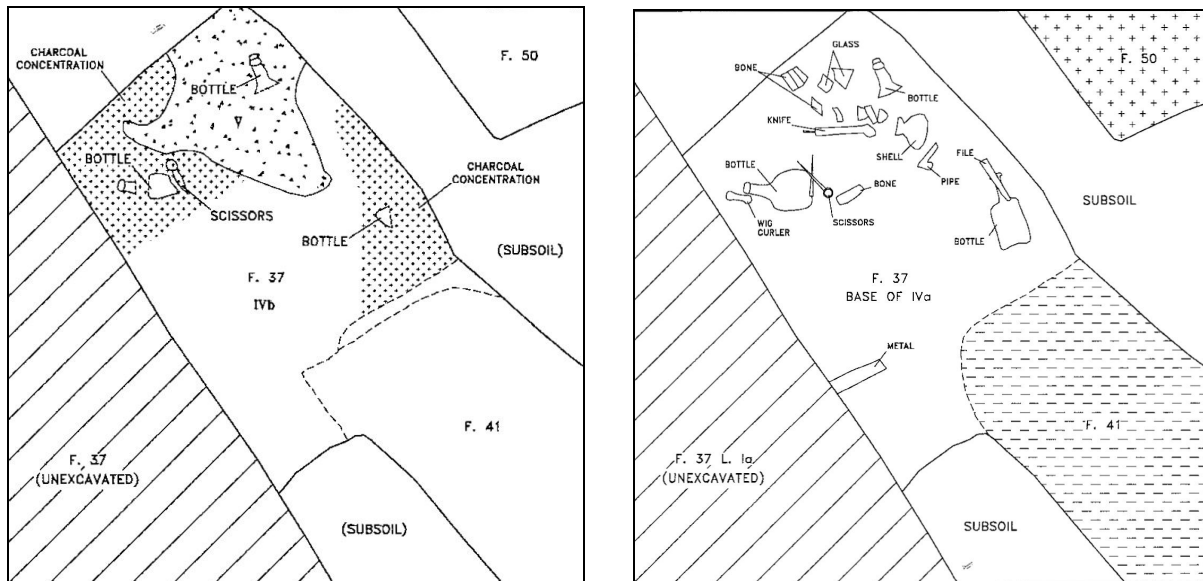
Figure 10 and 11. Structure 2, Feature 37, base of Level IVa and IVb
(Pullins et al. 2003:63-64).

Somewhat larger than Feature 37, Feature 66 is located directly southwest of Feature 37 and measures 4.3 by 4.1 ft. and 1.5 ft. deep. Feature 66 yielded a large amount of artifacts (n=463) and organic faunal and floral materials, however there is no identifiable artifact cache. One similar and telling attribute that both Features 37 and 66 share is the abundance of yellow pine recovered from flotation samples. Pullins et al. (2003:65) assert that this abundance of yellow pine is an indication that these subfloor pits were possibly lined and structurally supported by pine logs. Additionally, Feature 66 has a similar mean ceramic date of 1760 with all ceramics dating prior to 1820 (Pullins et al. 2003:62). The artifact assemblage of Feature 66 indicates it was constructed in a similar fashion and at the same time as Feature 37. Although Feature 66 does not contain an artifact cache it did contain comparable amounts of artifacts to those found in Feature 37. These similarities indicate that Features 37 and 66 shared comparable functions (besides the ancestor shrine of Feature 37) as refuse pits.

Feature 67, located directly in front of the hearth, is more oval than square, and measures 4.5 by 2.8 ft. Portions (northeast corner) of Feature 67 were excavated as part of Feature 37, however, it was established that these were two separate features and subsequent excavations noted this separation. The ceramic dating of Features 37 and 66 artifact assemblages differentiate these two pits from the third pit in this hearth-front complex. The mean ceramic date for Feature 67 is 1771, supporting the idea that this pit postdates Features 37 and 66 (Pullins et al. 2003:68). The artifact assemblage of Feature 67 is also much smaller (n=115) indicating that it was most likely used for a much shorter amount of time than Features 37 and 66. Similar to Features 37 and 66, Feature 67 most likely served as a refuse pit. Since Feature 67 postdates and sits atop Features 37 and 66, it is probable that Feature 67 was constructed after Features 37 and 66 were filled and no longer available as refuse pits.

The additional subfloor pits of Structure 2 – Features 19, 23, 32, 34, 50, and 90 – share many attributes. All are of a relatively similar size and shape, yet spread out through Structure 2. Cross mended ceremaics taken from several of the pits but at similar levels indicate that some of the subfloor pits were filled at about the same time. The scattering of these six subfloor pits and the ceramic implication that they were filled at approximately the same time may indicate that most of these pits, with the exception of Feature 37, shared functional storage uses and were filled prior to site abandonment.

<u>Structure 3</u>

It is important to note that thus far, all of the subfloor pits from Structures 1 and 2 have been oriented on the same northeast-southwest axis. Feature 95 in Structure 3 (Figure 11), however, according to Pullins et al. (2003:81) is on an axis oriented 15 degrees clockwise. Feature 95 is larger than the subfloor pits in Structures 1 and 2, measuring 11.8 by 7.2 ft. In relation to the large size of Feature 95, the artifact assemblage is relatively small (n=387). Both primary and secondary refuse were apparent in the artifact assemblage of Feature 95, however no

artifact caches were identified, indicating a storage and refuse function. Differences in subfloor

pit orientation suggest that Structure 3 was perhaps quickly constructed after Structures 1 and 2.

This hypothesis is also substantiated by analyses of construction orientation and materials, which

will be further discussed. The large dimensions of Feature 95, but comparatively small artifact

assemblage suggest that the pit was not used for as much time as it has been built for. This is

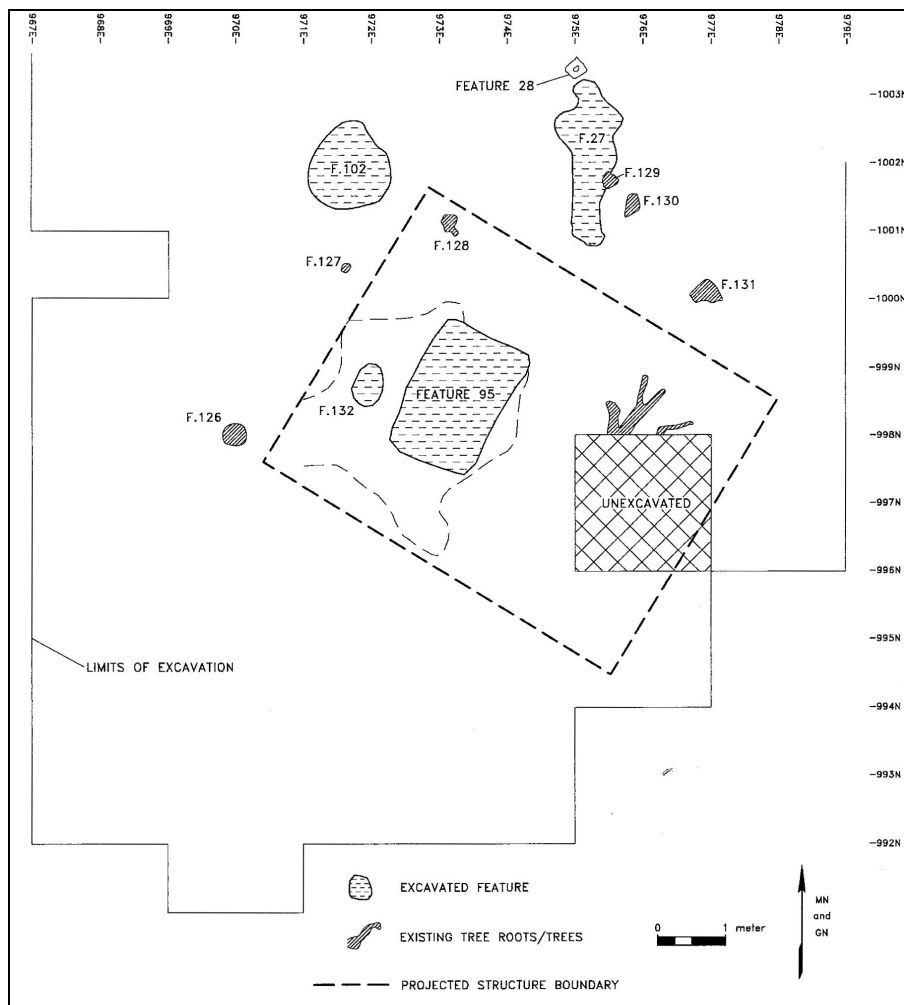indicative of site abandonment not long after the occupation of Structure 3.

Figure 12. Structure 3, plan view of features (Pullins et al. 2003:82).

Architecture / Site Layout

Current research will analyze the architecture, construction materials, and site

composition of Southall Quarter. These elements can convey the cultural processes of the site's

occupants. This is of specific importance on historic sites where documentation is limited. Architectural studies of sites occupied by enslaved African and African-American sites have helped to elucidate the past of peoples whom are missing from the written record. For this research certain factors were given specific attention when attempting to decipher enslaved African and African-American architecture and living-space design:

- what does the material used for building construction convey?
- what do the site and structure layout say?
- what do these elements say about the cultural processes of the site occupants?

<u>Building Methods and Materials</u>

Building methods are not uniform at Southall Quarter. As mentioned in Chapter 4 building materials and construction techniques underwent changes during the eighteenth century. Earthfast construction, recognizable by a post-in-ground support technique, was replaced by above ground log construction, recognizable by its lack of archaeological evidence due to the raised technique. The lack of postmold or posthole evidence for Structure 1 suggests that it was of log construction and sat above ground on log sills (Pullins et al. 2003). Large amounts of soil with organic materials and similarly dominating amounts of pine wood charcoal indicate a log construction of pine wood for Structure 1 (Pullins et al. 2003). Therefore, with no evidence of structural supports, buildings of above ground log construction must be compared to other site structures in order to ascertain other spatially significant information. A comparison to Structure 3 suggests that this building as well, is of above ground log construction. Again, Structure 3 displays no evidence of structural postholes (Pullins et al. 2003). With much less interior features, Structure 3 is actually even less archaeologically visible.

Conversely, the stylistic and material composition of Structure 2 seems to convey a more substantial building. Structure 2 appears to have been supported by four corner posts and two mid-structure posts. Features 20 and 22, 79 and 81, 101 and 69, and 99 and 98 represent post and

post holes respectively, of each of the four corners of Structure 2 (Pullins et al. 2003). Features 30 and 109 represent the two mid-structural support posts (Pullins et al. 2003). Additionally, evidence of small, shallow depressions located around one of the subfloor pits, Feature 34, may represent supports for an attached shed against the back wall of the unit (Pullins et al. 2003:160).

Dimensions and Orientation

Due to the fact that Structures 1 and 3 are most likely of above ground log construction, determining actual dimensions of these structures was difficult. With no evidence of postholes for these two structures, archaeologists estimated these dimensions from the dimensions of Structure 2. As a result all three structures at Southall Quarter are estimated to be 15 by 20 ft. (Pullins et al. 2003:159-163).

Constructed from different log construction techniques, Structures 1 and 2 share the same southeast to northwest orientation. Structure 3, however, made of similar materials to Structure 1, is oriented on an axis 15 degrees clockwise to the other two structures (Pullins et al. 2003:159).

Chapter 7 – Discussions

This research has looked closely at the material culture and spatial components of the Southall Quarter in Williamsburg, Virginia. This section will interpret the preceding results. In addition similarities between Southall Quarter and neighboring enslaved African and African-American sites will be illuminated here. Changes in the slave system were occurring during the eighteenth century. These changes are evident in the archaeology of enslaved African and African-American material life and architecture. Cultural processes of the enslaved most likely changed during enslavement. Important to this study is how much (or how little) these new cultural elements deviated from traditional culture of West Africa. Finally, a section at the end of this chapter will draw upon the theoretical arguments from Chapter 2 as a means of interpreting the cultural dynamics at play at Southall Quarter.

Subfloor Pits

As mentioned in previous chapters, the archaeology of subfloor pits has demonstrated the many uses of these features in enslaved African and African-American quarters (Kelso 1984a; Samford 1996, 2007; Sanford 1991; Yentsch 1991). Functions of subfloor pits ranged from root cellars to refuse pits areas to ancestor shrines. Archaeologists (Neiman 1997; Samford 1996, 2007) have attempted to connect several aspects of subfloor pits to their function. Spatial layout, location in reference to other features within a structure, and artifact assemblages have all been analyzed as a means of interpreting their functionality. In reality, most subfloor pits were most likely used for a variety of purposes at any one specific time or over time. The subfloor pits at Southall Quarter are a good example of this likely multi-function hypothesis.

Dr. Frasier Neiman (1997) has argued that subfloor pits served as personal "safe-deposit boxes" for the enslaved. He asserts that with eighteenth-century modifications to slave housing, fewer subfloor pits should appear in the archaeological record. Prior to these modifications, Chesapeake slave quarters were not organized into kin-based units. This posed a greater need to

hide or store personal belongings. Thus, with the initiation of kin-based housing units, there should not be a need to hide personal items from non-family members. This hypothesis can be applied to the structures at Southall Quarter. Of the two earlier structures (Structures 1 and 2) subfloor pits are in a greater abundance than in the later structure (Structure 3). Given that a high abundance of pearlware was recovered from Structure 3 and more creamwares were recovered from Structures 1 and 2, it is more than likely that Structure 3 was the last to be built and occupied. Noël Hume (1969) suggests creamwares are not visible within the archaeological record prior to 1769 in Virginia, indicating any structures with an abundance of the ceramic would have to have been occupied in the last half of the eighteenth century. Therefore, it is plausible that since Structure 3 was erected closer to the time of kin-based housing modifications there was less of a need for "safe-deposit box" subfloor pits. Architecturally, kin-based housing is discernable within the archaeological record by smaller structures or structures with evidence of mid-structure partitioning. This, however, does not explain why there would still not be a need for root cellars or ancestor shrines. I assert that there would actually be a greater representation of ancestor shrines in kin-based housing units because families would have more freedom to observe their culture. Evidence in support of this hypothesis could include structures with partitions as well as large amounts of subfloor pits, especially ancestor shrine related pits. Structure 2 exudes qualities of serving as a kin-based partitioned home with an abundance of subfloor pits, including Feature 37, identified as a traditionally-African ancestor shrine.

Particia Samford's (2007) seminal study "Subfloor Pits and the Archaeology of Slavery in Colonial Virginia" provides several hypotheses for the functional use of these features. In terms of enslaved African and African-American archaeology, subfloor pits likely served multiple functions. Samford (2007:121) asserts that "pit location and function were related on Virginia quarters." Samford (2007:121) hypothesizes hearth-front pits predominantly served as root cellars for food storage, especially for sweet potatoes. According to Samford (2007:121) pits

located in corners, along walls, and in the center were likely used for personal storage spaces or culturally relevant ancestor shrines. Application of these spatially based hypotheses to subfloor pits at Southall Quarter deviates slightly from Samford's (2007) conclusions. While large amounts of faunal and floral materials recovered from Feature 17, a hearth-front pit in Structure 1, indicate that Samford's (2007:121) assessments concerning the use of hearth-front pits are true, Feature 37, also a hearth-front pit from Structure 2, contained a large array of primary and secondary refuse as well as an apparent ancestor shrine. Thus, it is plausible that differences in chronologies of the occupation of the structures may have influenced the function of the pits. The wide array of artifacts and faunal collections demonstrates that the enslaved occupants of Southall Quarter had access to many goods. It is plausible that some of these artifacts, like currency, jewelry, and beads would have been considered personal items, therefore there would have been a need to conceal these items. Richard H. Kimmel (1993) asserts that the act of concealment within subfloor pits is not specific to enslaved African and African-Americans. Research at sites occupied by African-Americans, Euroamericans, and Native Americans all show similarities in subfloor pits that appear to have functioned as spaces of concealment (Kimmel 1993:104). This suggests that since most African-American subfloor pits appear to have served multiple functions, perhaps more than one of those functions (root cellars, personal storage/hiding places) was also shared by other cultures in the eighteenth century. The appearance of ancestor shrines on enslaved African and African-American sites can then be attributed to being a culturally traditional African (though African-American modified) function of subfloor pits.

Architecture

As mentioned in Chapter 4, enslaved African and African-American architecture underwent several modifications in the eighteenth century (Fesler 2004; Morgan 1998; Samford 2007). These structural and material modifications stemmed from the shift to kin-based housing

(Fesler 2004; Morgan 1998; Samford 2007). With the permission from slave owners to wed and have families, eighteenth-century enslaved African and African-American quarters became more efficient and economically structured (Morgan 1998:109). In this regard, the archaeological record of enslaved African and African-American architecture (or lack thereof) is demonstrative of the chronological and cultural changes at play.

Structure 2 is the only building at Southall Quarter constructed in the earthfast tradition. This dates Structure 2 to sometime before Structures 1 and 3, which are of above ground log construction. Additionally, Structure 2 has the largest abundance of subfloor pits (n=9). Thus, taking into account the earthfast construction and large amount of subfloor pits identified in Structure 2, it is the opinion of the author that Structure 2 is the earliest out of the three, and most likely served as a dormitory style dwelling for at least a short amount of time. Further evidence, however, indicates that Structure 2 may have also been used as a kin-based dwelling: Features 109 and 30 suggest a mid-unit partition. This finding agrees with evidence found at Utopia Quarter Period IV (ca. 1750-1775) located in the Williamsburg area, southeast of Southall Quarter. Samford (2007:89) notes that many of the larger, barrack style units "were retrofitted into smaller spaces by adding partition walls." Samford's (2007:89) findings of barrack style units being transformed into duplexes directly correlates to architectural elements of Structure 2. Structures 1 and 3, architecturally invisible in the archaeological record, are indicative of the mid to late eighteenth-century construction modifications.

Hegemony, Resistance and Agency

Chapter 2 explained many of the theoretical arguments that pertain to the plantation system, the archaeology of enslaved persons, and the master-slave relationship. Theories concerning hegemony and resistance have monopolized anthropological thought for years (Brown 1996; Day 2005; John 1999; Kiros 1985). Considering hegemony and resistance in terms

of the archaeology of Africans and African-Americans will illuminate the cultural and social factors at play on a plantation and more specifically in the quarters of the enslaved.

Given the definitions found in Chapter 2 of hegemony, resistance, and agency, I believe the enslaved inhabitants of Southall Quarter exhibited agentic actions in their everyday lifestyle. Lax owner supervision at Southall Quarter was a major factor in the actions of the enslaved inhabitants. The distance of the quarters from the owner's home provided the enslaved with a so-called freedom from direct hegemonizing forces. This does not neglect the fact that slavery in-and-of itself is a hegemonizing power of strict coercing forces. The enslaved of Southall Quarter, were, however, given a level of freedom with the distance from any supervisory persons. Therefore, cultural actions, such as constructing ancestor shrines were not necessarily direct actions of resistance but more likely agentic actions displaying West African culture. The lax supervison at Southall Quarter provided the enslaved with enough freedom to perform agentic cultural actions without these actions having connotations of direct resistance.

Chapter 8 – Conclusions

The goal of this thesis research was to search for archaeological evidence of West African traditions at Southall Quarter. Archaeological evidence of subfloor pits and architectural components were interpreted as a means for identifying West African culture. Subfloor pit interpretations proved to positively identify some forms of West African cultural practices, or Africanisms. The abundance of subfloor pits in Structure 2, and especially the material assemblage in Feature 37, suggest that subfloor pits did have a cultural significance at Southall Quarter. However, the abundance of subfloor pits without culturally relevant West African material assemblages suggests that these pits served more than one function. It is likely that structures at Southall Quarter and other sites of enslaved peoples had subfloor pits for various cultural and functional purposes. Architectural evidence suggests that the enslaved at Southall Quarter followed the dominant structural trend of the eighteenth century: earthfast construction was gradually replaced by above ground log structures. Furthermore, the scarcity of subfloor pits in Structures 1 and 3 and the evidence that these structures were of above ground log construction, indicates Neiman's hypothesis that the advent of kin-based housing did correlate with a need for fewer subfloor pits (Neiman 1997).

In conclusion, late eighteenth-century residents of Southall Quarter seemed to have followed a more colonial lifestyle than an African-influenced one. Distance from the owner's residence and close proximity to the well-traveled Quarterpath Road seems to have contributed to the slaves expression of identity with cultural materials. With this lax supervision the enslaved were allowed a certain amount of freedom within the bonds of the extremely oppressive slave system. The enslaved of Southall Quarter had more leeway to perform agentic actions than slaves at quarters with more direct hegemonizing forces. It is interesting to note, however, that even with the distance separating master and slave, the enslaved of Southall Quarter constructed only one identifiable ancestor shrine. Thus, even with the opportunity to perform agency and

resist the confines of slavery, it appears that the enslaved of Southall Quarter succumbed to the overall planter coercion and to a colonial North American lifestyle.

Much research has already been done within the realm of archaeology of Virginia's enslaved. Future research could utilize other previously recorded and excavated sites. Initially, I had also planned to compare my results of Southall Quarter to that of findings from the DAACS database. After beginning my research of archaeological sites recorded in the DAACS database I realized that the resulting information would be far too abundant for my thesis research. However, future studies of sites of the enslaved could benefit from comparative analyses of DAACS-stored information.

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Vita

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Jessie plans to continue working in the field of archaeology by working in cultural resource management for some time. Jessie also hopes to pursue her interests in the field of museum studies.