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L. Antonio Curet, Series Editor

# Out of Many, One People

The Historical Archaeology  
of Colonial Jamaica

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# 8

## Excavating the Roots of Resistance

### The Significance of Maroons in Jamaican Archaeology

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#### Introduction

Since it was established at the University of the West Indies in 1990, the Maroon Heritage Research Project (MHRP) has conducted archaeological surveys, mapping, and excavation of Maroon and Maroon-related sites across the island of Jamaica and other parts of the circum-Caribbean region, including Suriname. Earlier phases of the project were conducted on Jamaican Maroon sites, including Nanny Town, Old Accompong Town, Seaman's Valley, Gun Barrel, and Reeder's Pen. This research contributed to a better understanding of the complexity of the Maroon past, including interactions between Maroons and dominant Atlantic cultural groups, as well as freedom-fighting partnerships Maroons forged with indigenous peoples and enslaved Africans. These studies have also explored Maroon survival strategies and their guerrilla lifestyle, using archaeological evidence for the first time, to examine the flexibility of Maroon sociospatial relationships as well as the formative process and subsequent transformations of their settlements and culture. As with any long-term investigation, many questions remain unanswered. However, cultural data on settlement locations and patterns, spatial behavior, mortuary practices, technological strategies, artifact patterns, and soil chemical analysis and dating have shed light on land use, spatial relationships, group dynamics, and other aspects of the Maroon experience. Our objective has been to employ archaeological evidence, supported by ethnographic and archival data, to identify the range of Maroon cultural responses and adaptations and thus to create a more nuanced understanding of the ecological, social, and economic conditions experienced by Maroons during the colonial era.

Maroon archaeology has revealed that a complex set of interactions emerged from the oppressive context of plantation slavery. Furthermore, the material evi-

dence of Maroon resistance to the plantation complex in the Americas challenges the historiographical assumptions that relegate the achievements of small-scale societies to a secondary place in New World history. Rather than a marginal aberration, the Maroon experience was a central, defining feature of the post-1500 Atlantic world. Archaeology provides evidence previously unavailable for the reconstruction of the history of the pioneer freedom fighters, whose past weaves through five centuries of history and culture in the Americas. The combined use of ethnographic, archival, and archaeological evidence in studying past societies has been found to be valuable to both anthropological and historical research (Gould 1980; Posnansky 1984; Agorsah 1985; Singleton 1985). Introducing archaeological evidence to the study of Maroons also helps make the large volume of written documentation and ethnographic data more complete and meaningful. The focus on resistance goes beyond the common approach to the study of small-scale societies as victims of slavery in the Americas. As an important single constant strand in resistance history, the Maroon evidence also provides temporal and cultural links between the experiences of the Maroons in Jamaica and other New World societies (Figure 8.1).

The story of the Maroons—enslaved Africans and their descendants—who fled from bondage and fought a long series of wars to maintain their freedom goes back to the very earliest days of European settlement and slavery in the New World (Thompson 2006). Documentary evidence from early sixteenth-century Hispaniola mentions the first known African slave to escape his captors and flee into the interior. Others later joined him to form the first documented Maroon society on an island off the coast of Hispaniola. In the succeeding centuries, hundreds more runaway communities would emerge throughout the New World. Many of the slaves escaped from the mines and plantations of the European colonizers and fought to maintain their freedom. Although small in size and in their operations, Maroon communities were among the first Americans, in the wake of 1492, to resist colonial domination, striving for independence and defining the experience of freedom. They forged new cultures and identities and developed solidarity out of diversity through processes that only later took place on a much larger and more visible scale. Colonial Maroon societies ranged in size from small groups of a few people to powerful groups often referred to as bands, although some numbered up to a thousand or more. Maroonage was a common phenomenon in all parts of the western hemisphere where slavery was practiced. Wherever large expanses of inaccessible and uninhabited terrain permitted, as in the rough and rugged mountains of Jamaica and the Dominican Republic, or the equatorial forest and marshlands of Suriname, or the marshlands of Oklahoma, Virginia, or Texas in North America, these communities proliferated (Figure 8.1). For example, in the British North American colonies, and later the United States, where unoccupied yet habitable spaces were not as plentiful, more than fifty Maroon settlements are known to have come into being between 1672 and 1864 (Bilby and N'Diaye 1992). It was in

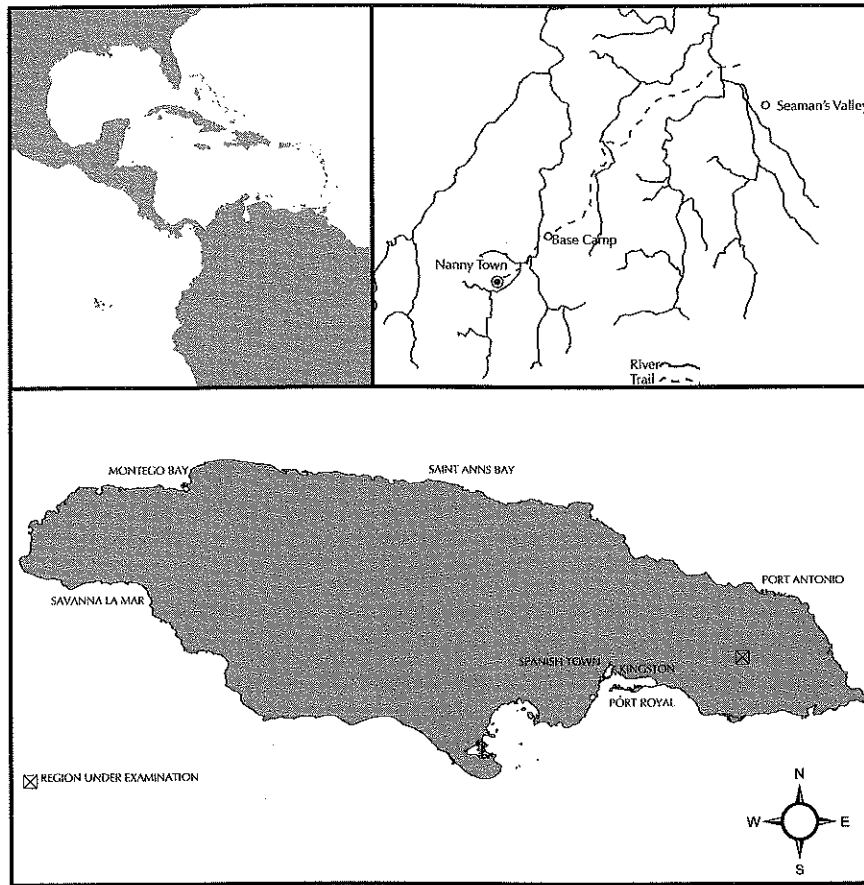


Figure 8.1. Maroon settlements. *Clockwise from upper left:* map of Maroon settlements in the Americas; location of Nanny Town Project Survey Area in Jamaica; location of Nanny Town.

these inaccessible areas that the Maroons found security, forging new cultures and setting the pace for freedom from slavery.

Following the abolition of slavery, many Maroon groups were assimilated into the larger societies that surrounded them. Like other small-scale historical communities so absorbed by larger societies, Maroons are sometimes scarcely remembered as ancestral freedom fighters. This neglect is compounded by the fact that much of the documentary evidence about the Maroons comes down from the very colonial people against whom they fought and whose intention it was to create divisive relationships among peoples of African and indigenous descent. Archaeological evidence has filled in some significant gaps in our knowledge of Maroonage

while providing more tangible material to broaden our understanding of the complexity of colonial societies more generally. An important collective contribution of Maroon studies has been the provision of explanations for cultural successes, adaptations in family lifestyles, subsistence, technology, on-the-ground political organization, settlement pattern, and spatial behavior and how these in turn contributed to Maroon survival outside the boundaries of the surrounding society. Many lines of evidence can be adduced to support the assertion that the Maroon experience is emblematic of broader processes that shaped the heritage of the western hemisphere. Not only were Maroons in the forefront of resistance to slavery, they were pioneers in exploring and adapting to the more remote, unsettled spaces in both American continents and the Caribbean. In the French colony of Saint-Domingue, for example, Maroons helped launch the Haitian Revolution, which gave birth to one of the first independent republics in the Americas in 1804. In Jamaica, they were among the first to establish communities in the remote Blue Mountains and Cockpit regions. Although there is a large body of scholarly writing about Maroons based solely on archival and oral history, relatively little is known about the processes of the formation of these persistent societies of freedom fighters.

### Maroon Archaeology in a New World Context

Early archaeological studies in the circum-Caribbean paid no attention to Maroon sites. These studies focused on surface collections, subsurface recovery of artifacts and structures, the study of architectural details and physical layouts of structures and sites, and historical documents. Such studies mainly concerned the pre-Columbian past and thus neglected Maroon heritage despite the fact that the Maroons were a major link between indigenous Amerindian groups and later European and African peoples. Consequently, a gap has long existed in the heritage of the Caribbean and indeed the wider New World. It is against this background that the program on Maroon archaeology was initiated following the establishment of a teaching and research program in archaeology at the University of the West Indies (UWI) in Jamaica in October 1987. The research project was initially dubbed the UWI Mona Archaeological Research Project (UMARP) and later MHRP (Agorsah 1991a, 1991b, 1992a). In addition to several reports, an edited volume with contributions from various symposium participants, including Maroon chiefs, was published in 1994, and numerous articles have explored in depth the strands of research summarized in the following sections.

#### Nanny Town

A crucial site that has revealed much about Jamaica's Maroon heritage is Nanny Town, one of the most important strongholds of the Jamaican Maroons. It is located in the heart of the Blue Mountains on a fairly level but well-protected plateau.

Since 1990 the site has been the focus of a series of reconnaissance investigations as well as a full-scale excavation; several reports have emerged from this (Agorsah 1992b, 1994). Excavations at the site yielded over four thousand artifacts including local earthenware, local and imported smoking pipe stems and bowls, grinding stones, wine and pharmaceutical bottles, fragments of gun barrels, musket balls of various sizes, coins, fragments of lead, iron knives, beads, brass buttons, nails, and glass. Some of the artifacts, particularly those from the lowest of the three levels, appear to be prehistoric and are therefore considered to be associated with the indigenous Taino. Terracotta figurines and Spanish coins found in association confirm that Taino inhabited parts of Jamaica when the British took over the island in 1655, indicating that some indigenous people, thought by some to have long since been exterminated, survived into the seventeenth century. That stratigraphic level appears to predate the Maroon presence in the area and is represented by a mixture of local ceramics, shells, and stone artifacts.

The recoveries of the indigenous artifacts suggest a possible Maroon interface with the indigenous people of Jamaica. Those finds also challenge the myth that all the Amerindians in Jamaica had been exterminated before the arrival of the British. The Spanish coin finds strengthen the speculation that native runaways had found their way into the hills before the Spaniards, who tried to enslave them, left the island; it also suggests that African fugitives may have joined an existing refugee community in the interior mountains. This further supports the hypothesis that the Maroons and Taino coexisted. Such a situation would be comparable to the relationship forged between the African runaways and the Seminole in Florida, an alliance that was confirmed by the oral history of the Black Seminoles.

The excavations also produced evidence of a distinctly Maroon occupation of the site; artifacts included grinding stones and a considerable quantity of charcoal, gun flints, fragments of gun barrels, musket balls, iron nails, a red-clay and several kaolin smoking pipe bowls and stems, and green and clear glass bottle fragments. This occupation phase probably dates between 1655 and 1734. The third phase of occupation was represented by a stone fortification and an engraved stone. The archaeological evidence from Nanny Town made it possible to link the Maroons to the remnant Amerindian population in clear stratigraphic relationship, although the nature and process of the evolution of the settlement remain unclear (Agorsah 1994). These archaeological data along with evidence from the significant site of Guanaboa Vale in the hilly Juan de Bolas region of central Jamaica have helped document the appearance of African-indigenous interactions through the seventeenth century, thus substantiating colonial records and suggesting the foundation of geographical and other local knowledge that must have been transmitted among the earliest generations of Maroons.

Finally, the location of Nanny Town is even today remote and difficult to access; this has prohibited unwanted access to Maroon settlements. This was a strate-

gic choice that no doubt furthered the chances for survival. The archaeologist Paul Healy (1980) has observed similarly difficult terrains selected by Maroons in the Rivas Region of Nicaragua. Healy further notes the resultant challenges for the archaeologist, "[from] the almost complete absence of building in stone, the scattered settlement pattern and the disappearance of perishable structures and materials in consequence of the general humidity of the climate" (1980:3-4). Jamaican Maroons acknowledge the significance of their ancestors' choice of rugged locations as necessary to the success of their struggle to remain an independent people and survive in resistance to the expanding European plantation complex. Thus, Maroon archaeology of these remote and nearly inaccessible sites has itself been a struggle to find even the most meager clues to the elusive Maroon past.

### Old Accompong Town

The Maroons in Jamaica inhabited two regions: the Windward Maroons lived in the eastern mountains around Nanny Town, while the Leeward Maroons lived in the central karst-dominated region known as the Cockpit country. The site of Old Accompong Town with its tropical karst and unique vegetation of the Cockpit country is a place where the Maroons set an unprecedented example by using guerrilla tactics to successfully fight the British military to a stalemate in a protracted military struggle known as the First Maroon War (1731-39). The main archaeological sites in the neighborhood of Accompong (Agorsah 1990) include the site of Kindah (a place-name interpreted to mean "We are a family"), said to have been the camp where Maroon military wing leaders met to coordinate tactics against the British forces. In addition, Kodjo's (or Cudjoe's) Burial Ground, thought to be the grave site of the great Maroon leader, is located in a fairly level ground about half a kilometer down a rugged slope northeast of Kindah. Other sites around Accompong include Big Ground Grass site, an open area to the east of Kodjo's Burial Ground, and the Peace Cave site, also called Ambush, which sits at the eastern edge of the Accompong Maroon lands. The cave was used as a hideout by the Maroons because it overlooked their opponent's military camp and the colonial plantations to the east. The final battles of the First Maroon War took place in the valley below on a site now known as Petty River Bottom.

During excavations in the Accompong district, three main stratigraphic levels of Old Accompong Town were identified. However, only one clear cultural level was observed and it consisted mainly of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century material including local earthenware, a glass bead (probably imported), a copper bracelet, fragments of green glass bottles, and a few musket balls. Three cowrie shells (*Cypraea moneta*) with a West African provenience were also recovered. Doug Armstrong (1991b) has also reported recovering similar West African cowrie shells from excavations at the site of Seville. Because indigenous shell currencies were also persistent in other parts of the Americas during the early centuries of Euro-

pean interaction, their appearance in later Maroon contexts suggests the similar importance of independent economic systems of trade, exchange, and monetary circulation in Jamaica.

### Seaman's Valley

The Seaman's Valley site (see Figure 8.1) is one of the few known sites in Jamaica in which the Maroons came into open combat with the British military. The colonial military force was the largest ever sent against the Maroons, yet it suffered total annihilation. The eighteenth-century site was not only a battle site but also, and perhaps more importantly, a Maroon contact zone. Visible features at the site consist of the ruins of a plantation waterwheel, a mill housing full of debris, weeds, house foundations, clusters of roofing slates, and widely scattered local and imported ceramics, metal scrap, and other artifacts and traces of house walls.

The main archaeological finds consisted of a wide variety of items and in very varied quantities: imported ceramics including stone jars, pearlware, and roofing tiles; bricks; glass, including fragments of wine, alcoholic, and pharmaceutical bottles; metal scraps and implements; fragments of a gun barrel; musket balls of various sizes and weights; nails; scrap lead; and fragments of such other metal objects as a knife, a spearhead, door hinges, a cast iron (three-legged) pot, buckles, and horseshoes. Also recovered were kaolin (white-clay) smoking pipe bowls and stems, glass and stone beads, and metal buttons. Generally the range and type of finds are not too different from those found at Nanny Town and appear to support the speculation that the Maroons possibly had a strong link with the site in pre-treaty years, raiding it from time to time, or had intelligence or supply agencies there. Seaman's Valley evidence indicates that although not a Maroon stronghold, it supported the survival of Nanny Town as a stronghold. The technological basis of Maroon material culture will be further discussed below.

### Linking Maroon and Enslaved African Communities

The Maroon experience was predicated on a collective struggle to live apart from the world the Europeans made. Entwined in the struggle to remain socially, politically, and economically independent is the concept of survival. Not necessarily a search for remnant "Africanisms," work linking Maroons to the enslaved African population of Jamaica can address what practices—including the production of material goods—did emerge from African precedents to shape Jamaica's colonial experience. After all, the Atlantic colonial era provided opportunities for forging links not only between continents and peoples but between their technologies as well. As part of the dramatic and complex cultural transformations of the era, Caribbean technology in particular reflected significant contributions of the world beyond Europe. While the assumption of the inevitable replacement of African in-

dustry by European technology has long held sway, closer examination of Caribbean evidence for technological innovation, patterns of demand, organization of production, and imports suggests an alternative narrative. The historical archaeology of other sites of material interaction has made it possible to examine the variety of evidence for the African contributions to the metallurgical industry on the island of Jamaica. The struggle to remain in control of the production of iron—a powerful object in many West African contexts—can thus be seen, like Maroonage, to be part and parcel of a wider historical process of survival and resistance.

### Reeder's Pen

Jamaica's oldest and largest iron and brass foundry was Reeder's Foundry, located on the western edge of the town of Morant Bay in the parish of St. Thomas. Founded in 1772 by the Devon coppersmith John Reeder, the foundry relied on African metallurgical expertise, which drew from a rich iron-making tradition (Goucher, Herbert, and Saltman 1986). According to Reeder, the 276 laborers, including enslaved Africans, Maroons, and free Africans who operated the foundry, were "perfect in every branch of the iron manufacture, as far as it relates to casting and turning of wrought Iron." With a knowledgeable, though enslaved, African labor force at his disposal, Reeder applied for permission from the Jamaica Assembly (the island's legislature) to erect charcoal-fueled iron-smelting furnaces. The foundry operations were short-lived and ended abruptly. Ten years after its founding, the governor ordered that it be dismantled, fearing that it could fall into enemy hands if the island were invaded by French and Spanish forces.

Excavations of Reeder's Pen, including the foundry site, confirmed the large-scale works that supplied the Royal Navy and local plantations with much sought-after iron tools, weapons, machinery, and repair work. The extensive factory site's structural foundations were partially mapped and a test pit was excavated by the authors with students from the University of the West Indies and Portland State University. Large quantities of slag, iron and copper-alloy objects, pottery, glass, and clay pipes were uncovered and dated by association to the seventeenth to twentieth centuries. Tentative identification of the hearth and forge features inside the foundry building matches the known descriptions of similar operations in England. Possible identification of the water-powered mill and canal system proposed by Reeder suggests the rechanneling of the Morant River waterways in subsequent decades.

Ironworking, and the use of iron objects, was not restricted to planter-owned foundries; many enslaved Africans worked on plantations as blacksmiths, a skilled craft that survived among African Jamaicans into the twentieth century, though few blacksmiths now remain. In the 1990s, we had the opportunity to interview one of Jamaica's last blacksmiths, a man who operated a small forge at Ginger Ridge, a site of Maroon occupation between Linstead and Chapelton; his smithy operated

much as it might have in earlier times. The historical linguistics of Jamaican blacksmithing reveal the ties to resistance and survival linking skilled artisans to the Maroons. For example, blacksmiths referred to anvils as the "mother" of their forges, a term entirely consistent with the West African conceptual links between gender and technology (Goucher and Herbert 1996). Although no blacksmiths survive in the area around Reeder's Foundry, their vocabulary does. Local informants were able to provide the African (Twi) word for a ceremonial cutlass excavated at the foundry site and remembered in the context of Kumina ceremonies in Jamaica, a form of African spiritual revivalism. As in West Africa, changing stone to metal and bending iron through heat treating at the forge were thought to harness both technical and spiritual forces. Iron knives were used in the most sacred of rituals, including blood oaths and in the signing of Maroon peace treaties. While some iron weapons and guns were obtained by theft and raiding, historians have often discounted the technology required to refashion and repair the items obtained. Further, metallurgical skills have also been described as integral to slave rebellions. For example, around 1791, cutlasses were reportedly being manufactured in Maroon communities and lead shot was secretly cast (Geggus 1987:287n62). Finally, not only were Jamaican Maroons armed with guns, but every man, woman, and child reportedly carried an iron hoe. Despite the fact that enslaved Africans arrived in shackles, the historical archaeology of Maroons has demonstrated that iron technology was at the heart of resistance, empowerment, and survival.

### Maroon Archaeology beyond Jamaica

Maroon archaeology has been based on the conviction that for any given period of time, place, or people, it should be possible to archaeologically observe and explain the relationship between human behavior and the material evidence resulting from that behavior. The spatially patterned remains of the Maroons of colonial Jamaica should be considered as potentially informative about the spatial structure and the way the otherwise hidden society organized itself. In particular, the social structure of a group generates behavior patterns that in turn redefine the social structure. Early on, the Maroon project sought evidence to explain Maroon survival in terms of social adaptations, including family networks and relationships, settlement patterns and adaptive spatial behavior, and related phenomena. Although the excavations in Jamaica helped reconstruct some aspects of Maroon cultural behavior and confirmed the partnership of enslaved Africans and Amerindians in freedom fighting, questions concerning sociospatial relationships and formative and transformative processes of Maroon settlements and culture remained unanswered. These are important issues, which may be addressed by the Maroon experience in Suriname, where the sites are larger with more visible surface and habitation features. In moving the MHRP beyond Jamaica to Suriname, we have been

able to address many questions left unanswered in Jamaica, including questions concerning transformations in ecological, political, and economic conditions experienced by Maroons during the colonial era. In doing so, the project has demonstrated that the Maroon experience was an essential part of the search for freedom in the New World. This objective has presented its own challenges. In expanding our goals and research focus to transcend the common approach to the study of small-scale societies as victims, we have sought to identify contributions Maroons made to the development of New World heritage. As this project unveils scientific archeological evidence, the large volume of ethnographic and historical data available on the Maroon experience (e.g., Price 1983, 1992; Robinson 1992; Bilby 1984; Bilby and N'Diaye 1992; van Velzen and van Wetering 1988; Hoogbergen 1991) will become more complete and meaningful.

While the excavations at the Jamaican sites broke new ground in Maroon heritage studies, the lack of evidence from houses and structural features limited our analysis of spatial data crucial to understanding spatial flexibility as a Maroon adaptation. Questions about the internal physical plan and organization of Maroon settlements and their spatial relationships, mortuary practices, and inferences about foodways remain undetermined. While the Maroon sites in Jamaica did not permit the acquisition of material to address these and other related issues, comparative sites in Suriname appear, from preliminary reconnaissance, to have the potential for evidence that could be used to address some of these unanswered questions, wholly or at least partially, and they have suggested new directions for future research. Availability of extensive ethnographic material on Maroons of Suriname (Price 1983, 1992; Hoogbergen 1995; Bilby 1984, 1995; Harris 1994) should make this goal more attainable over time.

Maroon sites in Suriname provide comparative data on settlement development using evidence from the sites of Kumako, Tuido, Bakakum, and Sentea (Figure 8.2), which span the earliest, middle, and later periods of Maroon history in the region in that order. Evidence of physical and locational changes in house features indicates adaptation to the settlement space available to them and adjustments in their social relationships over time. Subsequent phases of the project in Suriname also have provided the additional opportunity of obtaining transformation data about Maroon societies that would provide evidence of longer sequence and continuous occupation or habitation of the same area. Without the archaeological portrait, histories of such small-scale societies, which give a place texture and dimension, are often elusive and fragile, as the Jamaica data suggest.

### Maroon Sites in Suriname

The Maroon areas of Suriname are located south of the coastal plain, primarily in the tropical forest region in northeastern South America. The Maroon groups include the Saramaka, Ndjuka (Djuka), Matuwari (Matawai), Paramaka, Kwinti, and

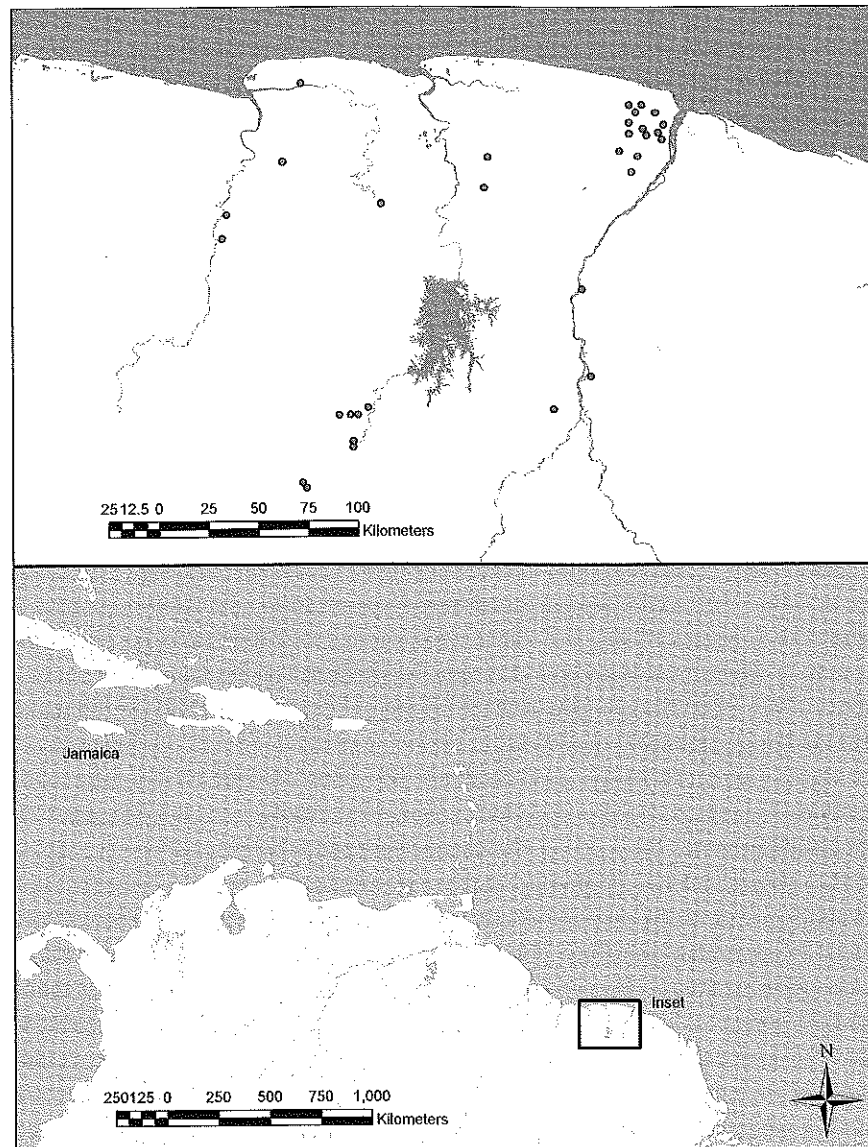


Figure 8.2. Location of sites in Kumako Survey Area, Suriname.

Aluku (Boni). More than thirty Maroon archaeological sites have been identified in the basins of the major rivers, particularly the Suriname and Saramacca rivers (Hoogbergen 1991). In the late 1990s, research expeditions sponsored by Portland State University and supported by the Suriname National Museum and Maroon chiefs completed reconnaissance surveys of the basin of the Suriname River, recording forty-one Maroon settlements. It was observed that while many sites were being destroyed and modern Maroon settlements being displaced by operations of timber and gold mining companies through concessions granted by the Surinamese government, many more continued to be inundated by the construction of hydroelectric dams.

Based on their known distribution, Maroon archaeological sites were stratified into zones defined by cultural context, drainage pattern, and other geographical considerations; each served as a survey zone and formed the basis for the data collection. Survey of two areas was conducted by small crews assigned to relocate known or identify new Maroon sites and determine the geographical limits (boundaries) of those sites based on the distribution of artifacts and surface features. Archaeological data were supplemented with ethnographic information and descriptions obtained from local informants. Ecological studies involved recording data on the topography, soils, drainage patterns, site modification, vegetation, or plant resources and included recording local place-names. Samples were collected and soil chemical analysis was employed to help differentiate, define, and delimit activity areas and site boundaries. Supported by the National Geographic Society, two additional expeditions were undertaken in 1997 and 1998 to further explore the sites using oral traditions, place-names, and other ethnographic information. Two sites were studied in some detail: the Saramakan site of Kumako and the Matawai site of Tuido (see Figure 8.2).

#### Kumako and Tuido

Site identification has benefited from investigation of the place-names remembered by local communities. According to the Surinamese anthropologist Hermes Libretto (personal communication, 1999), there are many modern Maroon place-names that help identify the strategic nature of those locations, such as Kumako ("Kuma hill"), Tuido ("a very distant location," presumably far away from the white man), Bakakum ("behind the hills"), Dangogo ("bottom of the falls"), and Bakaafetihila ("white man likes conflict"). There are others that reveal control by specific leaders or groups, including Dosu kiiki ("Dosu's creek"), Kofi kiiki ("Kofi's creek"), Negroe Will ("Negro village"), Kofijompo ("Kofi jumped/escaped"), Kwakugron ("Kwaku's ground" or "land"), Congo Kiiki ("Congo creek"), Daume ("Dahomey"), and Kwamikondre ("Kwami's village" or "town"). Many of these names directly or indirectly suggest a specific West or Central African origin for the inhabitants of the settlements. The formation of alliances may have occurred more spontaneously

in the wake of the "divide and rule" tactics used by colonial authorities to enslave others. As Rebecca Bateman suggests, "Blacks and Indians sometimes found themselves allied in a mutual fight against Euro-American domination; at other times, the 'divide and rule' policies of whites pitted the two groups against each other" (1990:1). They formed hamlets of small hideout villages after running away. In Suriname these were referred to as kibrikondres or "hidden villages," which may be the equivalent of the large-scale mocambos of the Maroons in Brazil. The quilombos in Brazil refer to smaller settlements or hideouts. These would constitute the midway hideouts expected to be located along their escape trails.

Kumako was one of the earliest Saramakan Maroon sites in Suriname. The site is located on a ridge at a considerable distance from the coastal plantation area and at a strategically chosen spot between the Eba Top Ridge and the headwaters of the Kleine Saramaka that protected it. Trees such as lokisi and dwumu abound at the site, confirming Maroon traditional belief in the cultural, medicinal, and spiritual importance of these trees. Evidence of floors, but none for house structures, indicates the possible use of hammocks, as was the practice among the natives of the forest. Artifacts including ceramics and musket balls indicate military activity. The site is one of the largest open areas in the thick forest with several large and tall trees to the west of Tutubuka and south of the stream that flows into the Akogandi Creek, which curves around the northern limits of the ridge. Approximately 3.4 acres, the site appears to be securely located within the loop of the Akogandi and Paaba creeks that surround one half of its circumference. Several mounds were identified and appear to be limited to the drier parts of the site. Test pits and surface study yielded several earthenware vessels, some of which were very poorly fired, and several pieces of quartz and quartzite. A large rock at the center of the site and a few raised small mounds, possibly burials, have also been observed and excavated but yielded very little material. Some of the Kumako ceramics meet descriptions of those of known native people in the area. The site may offer evidence of transition from the native traditions to those of the later African escapees, who occupied the site three hundred years ago. Radiocarbon dates obtained for the Saramaka Maroon site of Kumako (Agorsah 2007), while confusing at first sight, have since been interpreted as evidence suggesting interface between the native cultures and those of the Maroons. Any conclusions must await cooperation between archaeologists dealing with those two eras of studies (prehistoric and historical) in Suriname.

The dates include:

(Beta 197585) 1860+/-60 BP and 1800+/-60 BP (Cal AD 80-390; 1870-1560)

(Beta 197584) 1640+/-60 BP and 1630+/-60 BP (Cal. AD 260-560; 1690-1320).

It is clear that the above dates are prehistoric and predate the Maroons. It appears that we are probably working at a Maroon site that was later located over a prehis-

toric site. These dates will be reexamined in the context of later development of the new trends of the research. Two other dates from the same site in the more recent levels are:

(Beta 197586) 280+/-50 BP and 270+/-50 BP (Cal. AD 1490-1680; 1770-1800)

(Beta 197587) 420+/-40 BP and 420+/-40 BP (Cal. AD 1420-1520; 1590-1620)

Interpretation of these dates must await further work and more dates. However, the dates indicate the possibility of future identification of the interface between the two cultures. At this time, the relevance of these dates for the evidence remains unclear. Results of earlier research on the indigenous people of Suriname provide an excellent foundation for speculating about the evolution of the culture of the indigenous people of Suriname. However, cooperation or interaction with the later African escapees in a cultural interface that has so far been ignored in Suriname Maroon studies remains to be examined.

Tuido, a Matawai settlement located on the Pikin Tukumutu Creek, a branch of the Saramacca River, is described in oral traditions as a very large Maroon village consisting of many clan groups with several separate entry points. Tuido (see Figure 8.2) is located in a bend of the Tukumutu Creek near its confluence with the Tupi Creek. It is a much later site, possibly dating to the end of the nineteenth century. Located much farther inland, with prohibitive distance and access, the site has clearly defined floors as well as mounds with hearth areas that appear to divide the site into group living areas. The site depicts a location on which several groups would have converged. Owing to its later foundation, Tuido also reveals clear floors with cooking clay hearths, lots of imported European artifacts such as green glass bottles, stoneware, and a wide variety of local ceramics. Different mound areas with hearths probably also represented group areas or quarters according to family or clan relationships. The Tuido site, according to oral traditions, lasted until the early twentieth century. Thus, while Kumako could be chronologically placed at the early part of the Maroon trail, Tuido would be placed toward the furthest part of the trail. Evidence of spatial and artifact patterning and changes from the earlier (Kumako site) to the later (Tuido) and further observed patterning in modern settlements, such as Tutubuka, should help provide evidence of a continuum of settlement and cultural development that could explain the formation and transformation of Maroon heritage and culture. Although still a theory, it can be claimed that recent Maroon ceramic vessel types could have constituted an aspect of the Maroon cultural paraphernalia established while in the process of transformation into the more stable river culture.

The initial survey was based on the four areas into which the site was logistically divided. The site was observed as consisting of sections marked by mound clusters.



Each cluster of mounds is also marked by copses of large trees with open land areas between the sections. The mounds are thought to represent collapsed huts. Other surface features included clay hearths, stone circles, approximately seventy large and small pieces of black to dark brown earthenware including large flat pieces and rim and body fragments, and imported stoneware. Excavation of these sites will provide data on settlement development from the earliest (Kumako) through Tuido to the latest (Bakakum and Sentea) sites.

As indicated at the outset of the Maroon Heritage Research Project in Suriname, determining the locational and spatial transformations continues to constitute the main challenge. Identifying social relationships using comparative analysis of spatial regularities and artifact patterns at the project's modern and archaeological sites heightens the challenge. Ultimately, it should be possible to reconstruct transformational relationships between the observed patterns and the functional adaptation and related cultural responses of the Maroons of Suriname through time. Material remains at the sites will eventually help define the category to which each site belongs in the chronological scheme. We should not be led into thinking that the present settlements of the Maroons along the rivers are located on the original sites. This is one of the reasons why there is an ongoing argument over the fact that we do not yet know all that we need to know about the formation of Maroon heritage. It also suggests the significant contribution Maroon archaeology will make in the interpretation of evidence and reconstruction of the past.

#### Local Community Support

The successes of the preliminary expeditions were due to the strong support and cooperation received from the Suriname Administration, the National Museum of Suriname, the Directorate on Culture and Education, and the paramount chiefs (Granman) and sub-chiefs (Kapiten) of the entire Saramakan and Matawai Maroons, who actively participated in the 1997 and 1998 National Geographic Society-sponsored trips by joining in the entire survey, mapping and field walks, and test excavations and by placing all their local resources at our disposal. Surinamese student participation was very encouraging. The experiences in both Suriname and Jamaica have proven local community collaboration to be critical to the historical archaeology project. As excavations and research were under way, the involvement of collaborators and consultants in all phases of the project gave further promise to the feasibility of the project goals, while the participation of students, staff, chiefs, and local elders and scholars have helped provide recognition of the historical meanings necessary to preserve the sites in the arena of each country's public history.

Maroons in other parts of the world also reveal some interesting points for comparative study and insight into the Caribbean world. Like Jamaica, the Indian Ocean island of Mauritius was home to a European-dominated plantation economy

based on sugar cultivation, enslaved Africans, East Indian indentured laborers, and Maroons. Archaeological work by Amitava Chowdhury (2003a) has demonstrated that Mauritian Maroon sites are typically low-density, short-term occupational sites. A significant shift in geographical locations of Maroon sites through time has been observed, with sites tending to be located on top of inaccessible mountaintops and underground lava tunnels only during the expansion of plantations during French occupation of the island (as opposed to open-air Maroon sites during the earlier Dutch occupation). One of the key differences is the absence of indigenous communities in Mauritius. While in the Caribbean, Maroons had the option of taking refuge in Native American settlements and thus, conceivably, could use Native American adaptive techniques in coping with the new way of life, such an option was not available to Mauritian Maroons. Thus the formation of Maroon culture in Mauritius retained the characteristics of the African European cultural continuum. In contrast, Jamaican Maroons forged one of the first global societies, fueling their resistance through interactions with Afro-Eurasian and American peoples.

#### Conclusion

Ethnohistorical evidence from the Caribbean appears to suggest that both accommodation and conflict characterized processes of cultural continuity and innovation in Maroon heritage. Archaeological interest and research have paid a disproportionate attention to the contributions of enslaver and enslaved experiences in New World history, thereby marginalizing the historical role of freedom-fighting resistance communities. Owing to the mosaic character of the observed historical pattern of cultural transformation in the Caribbean, the identification of the component features of resistance behavior patterns appears to be elusive given only ethnographic and historical writings. The study of Maroons is even more seriously flawed when archaeological data are absent. These challenges may be expected to be encountered by future Maroon research, since much more work remains. The focus on resistance also goes beyond the common approach to the study of small-scale societies as victims of slavery in the Americas. As an important single constant strand in New World history, the Maroon evidence may eventually provide temporal and cultural links between the experiences of the dominant society and other small-scale communities. While written documentation has characterized Maroon heritage in terms of military conflict, the historical archaeology provides perspectives on the indispensability of accommodation and collaboration with a variety of cultural groups from prehistoric communities to enslaved Africans within the plantation complex. Underpinning Jamaican history is the understanding that the formation and transformation of Maroon cultural identity are as central to the story of indigenous survival and African heritage as they are to the traditions of New World freedom at the heart of the earliest globalization.

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