

PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRITISH ACADEMY • 168

SLAVERY IN AFRICA  
Archaeology and Memory

Edited by  
PAUL J. LANE AND  
KEVIN C. MACDONALD

*Published for* THE BRITISH ACADEMY  
by OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

## Archaeological Perspectives on Colonial Slavery: Placing Africa in African Diaspora Studies in the Caribbean

E. KOFI AGORSAH

### Introduction: Definitions of African and Caribbean Slavery

AFTER DECADES OF RELATIVE INACTION, studies of the African Diaspora are at last beginning to understand the need to look on both sides of the Atlantic, rather than making the Atlantic the centre of the whole drama. This call for new and tangible evidence from both sides of the Atlantic started almost four decades ago (Posnansky 1972), is beginning to be more loudly made (Eltis and Richardson 1997; DeCorse 1999; Agorsah and Childs 2006), and new work is finally bringing both areas of study together (e.g. Thornton 1998; Kelly 2004; Horton and Horton 2005; Ogundiran and Falola 2007). In addition, it is becoming necessary to flesh out interpretations of 'slavery' and its social context at 'home' in Africa and 'abroad' in the Diaspora. It is also clear that the use of the terms 'slave', 'slavery', 'slave trade' and 'enslavement' can lead to complete distortion of history, unless the specific terms are qualified and explained in relation to specific circumstances, time and place. In the African sense, being a 'slave' could merely imply being a person of low social status in 'communalistic and even feudalistic systems with tendencies toward patronage' (Senah 2005: 205). The holding of such 'slaves' was also a source of prestige, sexual gratification and domestic labour support (Grace 1975). The domestic serfs of ancient Egypt, particularly during the Middle Kingdom until about 500 BC, and the semi-free labour forces in the ancient world, including the Near East such as Asia Minor and Mesopotamia as well as ancient Greece and Rome, for example, suggest phenomena similar to the traditional African 'slavery system', although of course with certain differences. On the other hand, within the Diaspora some would even take offence at the use of the term 'African slaves', preferring 'enslaved Africans', emphasising the fact that the Africans were forced into their situations away from 'home'. In the western paradigm, relating to the trans-Atlantic trade, slavery is purely capitalistic, including downright dehumanisation and racism. Profit was the main motive. The victims were made into a powerless, unpaid jobbing gang. Senah

(2005), Mintz and Price (1992) and others provide detailed discussions of this situation.

It is important to understand these differences in order to reveal the implications for our approaches in the interpretations of the evidence of the cultural formations and transformations created by the encounter of cultures of Africans and others in the Diaspora. Among African societies, the enslaved were not stripped of their social identity, denied opportunity to forge new bonds of kinship through marriage and alliance or considered as mere property. In contrast, Edward Long (1774), an eighteenth-century planter and a lawyer, representing the colonial concept of slavery, clearly described enslaved Africans as a 'commodity . . . Negroes . . . fit objects of purchase and sale, transferable like any other goods or chattels' (*ibid.*: 474). It is clear that our interpretations of the role and place of the slavery system depend upon local cultural attitudes towards it. In the past two decades, at least in the Caribbean and North America, archaeological interpretations centred on reconstructing only the lifestyles of the 'plantocracy' and 'the plantation' have been shifting towards reconstruction of the lifestyles and society of enslaved groups, those who sacrificed the most in the formation and transformation of the cultures resulting from the colonial encounter.

The beginning of serious archaeological research on the archaeology of the African Diaspora was motivated by socio-cultural events, such as the cultural awareness that followed far-reaching constitutional and educational changes in the Diaspora. Also important was the Caribbean-wide formation of political parties in democratic systems and resistance movements. The awareness created by these events served to propel many New World countries, particularly in the Caribbean and in South America, to view literature on African connections much more seriously than before. Yet many challenges, including a general lack of archaeologists with the relevant background training and interest, restricted funding sources, and the dearth of African and local scholars with an interest in the Diaspora, have remained. The next section reviews archaeological research in the Caribbean and its relationship to the reconstruction of the formation and transformation of African culture in the African Diaspora in the New World. Coordination of efforts between researchers is emphasised as essential for our understanding of the relationships and the processes of transformations occurring as African culture extended beyond its borders.

### A Review of Caribbean Diaspora Archaeology

In the Caribbean and South America, archaeological focus on Africa and slavery was almost non-existent until late in the last century. In the 1960s, archaeologists in the Caribbean held their first professional meeting, the

'International Congress for the Study of Pre-Columbian Cultures in the Lesser Antilles'. Great as the objectives of this group were, in their first major conference none of the seventeen papers presented mentioned the African Diaspora. The proceedings of 1985 recorded a change of the name of the association to the International Association for Caribbean Archaeology (IACA) and made mention of the African Diaspora for the first time in just two of the conference papers, which were by Rouse (1990) on social, linguistic and stylistic plurality in the West Indies and Nicholson (1990) on Afro-Antiguan folk pottery and emancipation. Also, for the first time, one of the eight sessions of the conference was devoted to 'Ethnohistorical and Historical Archaeology', although this session was more or less restricted to archaeology of the Spanish presence. One of the papers, 'To Have But Not to Hold: Spanish Trinidad from 1498 to 1592' (Glazier 1990), made no reference to any evidence of the African Diaspora in Trinidad. Research on the prehistoric era in the Caribbean took precedence over research on African Diaspora. The degree of attention paid to research on historical archaeology or archaeology of the African Diaspora in the Caribbean by the IACA since its active inception in 1985 was negligible, while research on the prehistoric era stood high among archaeologists in the Caribbean (Agorsah 2006: 60). In Trinidad, for example, of the hundreds of archaeological sites located and studied (Boomert 1984, 1987; Boomert and Harris 1988), one cannot count more than ten archaeologically researched African Diaspora sites. While the number might indicate increasing attention to the historic period, one must note that only a small part of the research in the period addresses the African Diaspora. Archeological endeavours that dealt with Euro-African connections (Brooks 2003) and how their activities might have been linked to the events among African societies were also rare. For example, in a recent publication Warner-Lewis (2003) has examined several transformational scenarios for Central Africans in the Caribbean providing ethnographic and linguistic evidence of possible areas of significance to archaeological reconstruction of African identity in the African Diaspora. Such linguistic references and their archaeological relevance have not been explored in Caribbean archaeology, although a great deal has been done in relation to native Caribbean societies. Warner-Lewis' (2003) publication calls on archaeologists to begin to take a look at coordination with historical linguists in ways that can enlighten our understanding of African societies of the Diaspora (see also Childs 2005), as has been realised in African archaeology (Ehret and Posnansky 1982). Havisser and MacDonald (2006: 5) have also drawn our attention to the fact that research among African archeologists and historians indicates that 'Africa also holds within it many internal Diasporas brought about by the endemic practice of slavery and slave raiding extending back into the first millennium AD.' This too needs to be more critically examined, when we discuss cultural formations and transformations in the African Diaspora. These internal Diasporas can give

us indications of transformations that could occur in the retentions and new formations in African culture in the Diaspora, the determination of which can be very elusive.

Lack of coordinated efforts among archaeologists as well as between archaeologists and historians is one of the reasons why a reconstruction of the true picture of the events related to the dynamics of colonial slavery, resistance and abolition of slavery continues to be elusive. Unlike the tradition of collaboration and cooperation among and between Africanist historians and archaeologists over the years, in the New World the gap between them is greater and is tending to widen rather than narrow. Many historians, for whatever reasons, continue to distance themselves from archaeological evidence. For example, while sessions at archaeology conferences may be devoted to topics that are purely historical, conferences of historians rarely entertain or invite topics stemming from archaeological investigations even if they are of relevance for historical interpretation. Although there are exceptions to this accusation, as indicated by Morgan (2006), Blakely (2006), Gilmore (2006), Lovejoy (1997) and Allen (2006), there are few scholars in Diaspora history and other allied areas who would cite archaeological evidence to support their interpretations, even if it was very closely connected with the material in question. This is particularly unfortunate given that archaeological work in the Caribbean since the 1980s has been making important contributions to understanding the corrosive effects of slavery, slave lifestyles and the impact of resistance and other events leading to abolition (e.g. Posnansky 1972, 1973, 1984; Armstrong 1982, 1985, 1990; Agorsah 1994; Havisier 1999, 2006). Is it an attempt to avoid improper use of the evidence or a wish not to trespass? Or are we looking at ignorance of the significance of the archaeological evidence? Putting an end to this 'separation of disciplinary territories' will go a long way to making reconstruction of the past of the African Diaspora more refreshing. It might seem too much of an emphasis, but these are signs of how far we have drifted apart and how much effort we would need to make to close the gaps in our cooperation and collaboration to arrive at a clear history and culture of Africa and Africans, in Africa and out of Africa.

### Archaeology of Slaves and Slavery in the Caribbean

Since the 1970s, many archaeological endeavours in the Caribbean have focused on, or at least made reference to, the lives of the enslaved. This early research included studies in Jamaica by Bonner (1974) at the site of Nanny Town, Mathewson (1972) at Port Royal, Higman (1979, 1986, 1998) at Montpelier, and by Handler (1963) and Handler and Lange (1978) in Barbados. From 1980 onwards, we register an increase in such activities in Jamaica by Armstrong

(1982, 1985, 1990, 1992), Armstrong and Fleischman (1993), Hauser and Armstrong (1999), Agorsah (1991, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1999, 2001), Delle (1998), Ebanks (1984), Goucher (1999), and in the Dutch Antilles by Havisier and DeCorse (1991), Havisier (1999) and Gilmore (2006). Similarly, there has been increased activity in Barbados by Handler (1986, 1994, 1996, 1997), the Bahamas by Farnsworth (1996, 1999) and Turner (1993), Guadeloupe by Kelly (2001, 2004), and Montserrat by Petersen and Watters (1988). Additional themes which have emerged include bioarchaeological projects (Handler and Lange 1978; Watters 1987; Khudabux 1989, 1991; Fleischman 1992; Handler 1994); projects on patterns of change and adaptation at slave villages (Bryan 1971; Armstrong 1990, 1992; Farnsworth 1996, 1999); slave settlement structure and house forms (Higman 1998; Agorsah 1999; Havisier 1999); African ethnic identity (Handler 1986, 1994; Watters 1991; Fleischman 1992); archaeology of marronage and resistance culture (Heuman 1982; Olwig 1985; Agorsah 1992, 1993, 1994; Orser 1992, 1994; Orser and Funari 1992; Agorsah and Childs 2006; Funari 2006, 2007); and 'colonoware' ceramic analyses (Ebanks 1984; Nicholson 1990; Armstrong 1990, 1992; Hauser and Armstrong 1999). Recent comprehensive reviews of West Indian archaeology (Keegan 1994, 1996; Weik 2006) rightly confirm that archaeology of the African Diaspora in the Caribbean is at last 'riding the wave of the exponential curve' (Keegan 1994: 255).

The Society for Historical Archaeology (SHA), in one of its Columbian Quincentenary Series volumes edited by Singleton and Bograd (1995) and the two-volume *Bibliography of Caribbean Archaeology* (1990) by Keegan *et al.*, confirm increasing archaeological activity in other parts of the New World as well. The review also showed that many more scholars, including historians in North and South America, were becoming engaged with issues dealing with the material culture of the African Diaspora. The turn of the century saw archaeologists working in the Caribbean and adjoining areas embarking on multi-disciplinary initiatives to reflect the significant role of Africa in New World archaeological studies (e.g. Havisier 1999; Agorsah 2006; Havisier and MacDonald 2006).

Another new dimension that has gained much ground consists of studies of resistance cultures in the Caribbean and the Americas. These have infused dynamism into the archaeology of the African Diaspora through archaeological investigations into the Maroon past (Agorsah 2007). Of particular significance are endeavours in Brazil (Orser 1992; Orser and Funari 1992), in Jamaica (Bonner 1974; Agorsah 1993, 1994), in Suriname (Agorsah 2006), in Cuba (Laguerre 1989) and in the Dominican Republic (Arrom and Aravelo 1986). Maroon communities in Jamaica, Suriname, Brazil and Florida are to date the best archaeologically researched. Others remain to be investigated: the Garifuna on the Atlantic coast of Belize; the Maroons of the Costa Chica region of Mexico (Pereira 1994); the Cimarrónes of Cuba (Pereira 1990), the Dominican

Republic and Haiti (Arrom and Arevalo 1986), and the Blue Hills of the Bahamas; the Maroons of St Vincent, St Lucia and St Thomas; the Miskitos of Honduras; the Maroons of Mount Misery in St Kitts; and those on Guadeloupe, Martinique, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Grenada and Antigua. Maroon groups transported from Jamaica and other parts of the Caribbean can also be found in Halifax and Nova Scotia, as well as in Sierra Leone (Campbell 1988, 1993). One of the challenges faced by Maroons was to forge new ways of life and new societies while maintaining their hard-won freedom. Only a few Maroon groups survived. Many of them did not, as attested to by the histories of the Afro-Caribs of Mount Misery in St Kitts in the 1630s, the 'rebel Negroes' of Barbados in 1648, the Antiguan Maroons of the Shekerley Mountain in 1685, and a small band of Maroons in the Blue Hills of Central Providence of the Bahamas in the 1780s. Some did not have the time or opportunity to settle in their new environments before being routed by colonial forces; others lacked the proper resources or were betrayed by captives.

It is now generally recognised that marronage signified a historical imperative for abolition. The pressure of the Maroons on colonial powers mounted throughout the entire history of slavery starting from the Spanish and Portuguese territories, particularly in Hispaniola, and it is no doubt that the pressure, though uncoordinated, was a major force behind the call for abolition. With this new dimension in archaeological investigations in the Caribbean and other parts of the New World, it is clear that the previously assumed docility of the oppressed was only imagined and a 'myth'—or perhaps wishful thinking. Research on resistance cultures definitely has brought with it a new way of explaining the dynamics of the formation and transformation of African culture in the history of Africans in the Diaspora.

In a paper presented at the conference on 'Globalisation, Diaspora and Identity Formation' organised in the summer of 2004 in Paramaribo by the Department of History of the University of Suriname, Verene Shepherd (2004), professor of history at the University of the West Indies and Chair of the Jamaica National Heritage Trust (JNHT), noted that 'the Caribbean needs a wide range of tangible and national sites of memory to memorialise slavery and the trans-Atlantic trade in Africans and to honour the heroes [of resistance to slavery]—all of them. Every civilisation needs symbols, sites of memory and monuments' (*ibid.*). Shepherd is one of the few Caribbean historians, besides Barry Higman, now at the Australian National University, who sees the potential in Diaspora archaeology and constantly calls for greater attention to be paid to monuments and sites in the Diaspora and their African roots. Coordination of efforts, archaeologists collaborating with historians, will not only refine evidence for the historical experiences of slavery and abolition, but also provide the much-needed tangible and corroborative evidence to renew relevant historical narratives. Shepherd's words explain the current trend and real thirst for

including the African connection and its historical and archaeological bases for heritage development in the Caribbean.

### Africa in the Caribbean: A Case Study and Critical Evaluation of the 'Kormantse'

Many issues have been raised about the African experience in the New World encounter, and specifically regard the direction in which archaeology on this subject should move in the current millennium. Cultural identity is one significant issue in interpretation and presentation of trans-Atlantic slavery and trade (Bryan 1971; Lovejoy 1997; Morgan 1997; Thornton 1998; Chambers 2001). This is linked with the terminologies and demographic categories we establish as we try to identify the main players in historical events. For example, one term that surfaces in discussions of the African Diaspora in the Caribbean is the name 'Kormantse', also written in various spellings in the historical record, such as Cormantine, Cormantyne, Cormantee, Coromantins, Koromantse, Koromantee, Kramanti, Kromanti, Cromanti, Cromotibo, Kromoti, Kromantine, Coromantis, Kromatis, Kumanti, Karamanti, Koromantyn. The term has meant different things to different scholars and writers. Although Kormantse is very widely mentioned in connection with the identity of many African societies in the Diaspora, no attempt has been made so far to examine the site and its neighbouring territories in order to identify the exact cultural relationships that its role as a settlement or as a departure point in the colonial encounter has created. Carey Robinson (1994), a Jamaican journalist and historian, writing about the roots of the Jamaican Maroons notes that:

Many of the captives came from war-like tribes which were called Coromantins by Europeans. They were described as fierce, bold, proud and courageous; possessing an elevation of soul which prompts them to enterprises of difficulty and danger, and enables them to meet death, in its most horrid shape, without flinching, despite their dangerous reputation, the British planters preferred Coromantins because of their strength and ability to work hard.

(*ibid.*: 89)

Kormantse is also described as:

a small settlement of the Fante-speaking people of the then Gold Coast [which] became the first location from which the English commenced their operation while settling in ... It was from Kormantse that the English began, in 1631, to ship their first consignment of slaves from the Gold Coast. Consequently all slaves coming from that point of embarkation were referred to as 'Coromantin' slaves. The town called 'Koromantse' by its modern inhabitants was and is still a small fishing village.

(Agorsah 1994: 30)

Most historians and archaeologists agree that the slaves often referred to as 'Koromantee' did not all come from Kormantse, and that they may only have come through this port. Many Caribbean cultural groups and individuals still refer to the place as their original 'home' rather than a transit point. Col. C. L. G. Harris, former Chief of the Moore Town Maroons of Jamaica, refers to the original language of the Moore Town Maroons as 'Kramanti', spoken freely among them until about the 1930s. A very specialised ceremony was also called the 'Kramanti play'—it utilised a hybrid of Twi, the Asante language of the Gold Coast (see also Bryan 1971). Harris even gives examples of the 'Kramanti' language (Harris 1994: 39). Similarly Carey (1997), a Jamaican historian, herself a Maroon from Moore Town, writes about 'Koromanti', 'Karamanti' drum and language, and also about 'Kramanti songs', claimed to be from the 'Twi tongue'. She also refers to a 'Koromantyn nation' under the leadership of a man called 'Tackey'. Kenneth Bilby, an American ethnomusicologist, refers to 'an esoteric language of the Maroons known as Kromanti to which several African languages have contributed', now functioning only as a liturgical language. Bilby also refers to a 'repertoire of Kromanti songs' (Bilby 1994: 77–85). Johnson and Smith (1998: 62) claim that the Kormantse 'were captives . . . Fulani, Malinke, and Wolof, members of tribes with names like ringing bells . . . they were the Whydahs, Asante, Fanti, Coromantees, pride filling their faces'. Wim Hoogbergen, a Dutch historian writing about the resistance of groups of Maroons in Suriname, refers to names of eighteenth-century locations and of rivers and places derived from 'Cromanti' (e.g. Cromotibo, Kromoti-Kodjogron) in Suriname (Hoogbergen 1990). Richard Hart, a prominent authority on the history of Jamaica notes the terms Kromantine, Kormantine, Cromantee, Coromantis and Kromatis, as generally referring to slaves who came from the Gold Coast (Hart 1985). Thoden van Velzen and Wetering (1988), writing about Maroon religious traditions in French Guiana, refer to 'Kumanti' deity or spirits associated with the sky, and to 'Kumanti' medicine men, who are depicted as spiritual mediums who formed the backbone of resistance against planters. The different uses of the term 'Kormantse' (and its variations) thus encompass people self-identifying with that term, as well as their cultural practices such as religious worship, drums and songs. Yet using it as a term for an ethnic group, or even a nation, raises serious ambiguities, and the potential for misinterpretation. Consequently its use in the trans-Atlantic English and Dutch slave trade continues to create problems in the identification of populations and the interpretation of their history. Indeed, its use may block our understanding of its real relevance. Morgan (1997) in a discussion of the origin and ethnicity of the enslaved in the trans-Atlantic slave trade observes, and rightly so, that the 'Coromantee' is perceived more as an identity adopted in the New World by diverse people of African descent. It signifies not a specific ethnic group but a point of departure of slaves coming from the Gold Coast and adjoining areas. Some scholars, such as

Lovejoy (1997), claim that sufficient archival information often exists about individual (ethnic) identities to dispense with generalised notions of African identity at a community level. Some of us, in view of the archaeological material evidence now being uncovered, think that there remains more that we do not know about African retentions and the new cultural formations triggered by specific African backgrounds. Evidence is unevenly distributed, leaving gaps, lacking objectivity in interpretation and seriously plagued by the use of cryptic jargons. There is a difficulty in identifying cultural transfers, due to the jumbled nature of pre-existing cultural traits among enslaved groups, who themselves served as the carriers of the original substantive aspects of the cultures, and the reconstruction and recombination of these cultures as transformed in the New World. Although it is clear that 'Kormantse' does not refer to any specific ethnic group in the Diaspora, certain influences can be attributed to some related aspects of African culture and indicate the important role in the encounter of cultures in the Diaspora.

### The Spiritual Legacy of Kormantse

Concepts and traditions, particularly the spiritual attachment to the heritage of 'Kormantse' in the African Diaspora (Harris 1994), appear to have empowered many African Diaspora groups, whether 'Kormantse' or not, in the definition of justice and power relations in the fight for freedom. But available evidence is limited. There is, everywhere in the Americas, evidence of spiritual attachment to Kormantse ancestry, real or imagined. In the Caribbean, the Nation Dance festival in the Grenadines (Elder 1988: 33) and 'Play' among the Moore Town Maroons of Jamaica (Harris 1994: 49) explain the force of the Kormantse legacy in the Caribbean, even if it is psychological. The 'Kramanti' dancer, according to Harris, is supposed to be performing a serious dance that enables him or her 'to glide from [a] purely physical plane on to the metaphysical' (*ibid.*: 59). With the conviction of their powers, the 'Koromantins', according to Dallas (1803), led the first major slave uprising in 1690 in Jamaica and instigated the subsequent one in 1760, as well as that in 1765–6 which led to the decision of the Jamaica Assembly to impose heavy taxes on the 'Coromantins' to make it difficult for planters to purchase them. Dallas calls them 'a people inured to war on the coast of Africa' (*ibid.*: 29–30). Linebaugh and Rediker (2000: 74–85) clearly explain that 'the cultures and memories of West Africa figured centrally in the planning for the 1741 New York insurrection . . . the leading cell was made up of . . . Coromantee (or in Fante, Kromantse)'. A more inspirational aspect of the Kormantse factor was the prevalence of war oaths known to be very popular among the 'Kormantse' in the Diaspora. These included oaths of allegiance of a leader to his or her people, of friendship, of solidarity, of trust (truth), and cursing

oaths. For the enslaved or the freedom fighter, the oaths of solidarity and secrecy were crucial. Linebaugh and Rediker note the use of such oaths by rebels in Antigua and by Nanny, the queen and leader of the Jamaican Maroons in the 1730s, to spiritually establish continuity of the solidarity, power and support from their Kormantse past. In their circumstances certain aspects of the religious process would become individualised, leading to the 'invention' of individual shrines to match, but could disappear with the passing of that individual. Thus while 'Kormantse' provided the historical context of the survival of the group, it also provided spiritual security, even if psychological, for confronting the challenges of the colonial experience. Military manoeuvres and successes were credited not only to the physical strength of the Kormantse but also to the spiritual powers that connected them to the ancestors, as well as their ability to remain fluid in readiness to extend borders into other religious realms or thought. This religious 'heritage', as it were, was much deeper and wider than many scholars have speculated in their discussion of the Kormantse.

Among the six Maroon groups of Suriname historically visible, structural features, traditions and practices depicting possible Kormantse impact have been observed. Community and individual shrines and monuments invoke the memory of Kormantse. 'Kromanti' herbal and spiritual healing processes (Thoden van Velzen and Wetering 1988; Counter and Evans 1981) include names of plants such as *Kromantikankan* (*Spigelia anthelmia*), *Kromantiwiri* (*Struchium sparganophorum*) and *Kwasibita* (*Quassia amara*) (May 1982: 37-9). These stand out among others as the most potent in healing. These 'Kromanti' connections emphasise the healing power and effectiveness (both physical and spiritual) of herbal medicine made from these plants. In the minds of the healers and the priests and priestesses their survival still depends on the Kormantse spiritual legacy that, in the first place, enabled them to win freedom from slavery. But these are observations that need to be studied in detail to differentiate between retentions and new cultural formations in the Diaspora, which Mintz and Price (1992: 52-60) have so very clearly explained as crucial but difficult to determine. Archaeology provides further options for examining these issues. The Kormantse example is providing that hope.

#### Preliminary Archaeological Investigation of Historic Kormantse

Archaeological study of the original site of Kormantse, launched in 2007 as part of my Fulbright Fellowship at the University Cape Coast, Ghana, should help throw more light on the site in its relationship to the African Diaspora and associated interpretations. The current location of Fort Amsterdam on the coast is surrounded by the modern town of Abandze (Figure 10.1). It was not the location of the original colonial Kormantse settlement, where an attempt to build the

first British fort failed. The colonial Kormantse is located on a hill about 2km due north-east of Fort Amsterdam. The field research project consisted of an archaeological study of the original location, physical characteristics and material culture of the traditional village of Kormantse in its relation to the colonial trans-Atlantic trade and the resulting cultural encounters in Africa and the Diaspora. It was an investigation into the cultural formation and transformation of the historic Kormantse settlement on the Gold Coast, in response to changes occurring through colonial times. It sought to explain the processes and cultural manifestations by which the settlement's population, including those who passed through Kormantse during the trans-Atlantic slave trade between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, negotiated their survival and identities. Preliminary studies in 1999 and 2007 indicated that Kormantse embraced the colonial slave trade and had access to abundant mass-produced local and foreign trade items and other material culture, while serving as a rallying point and an

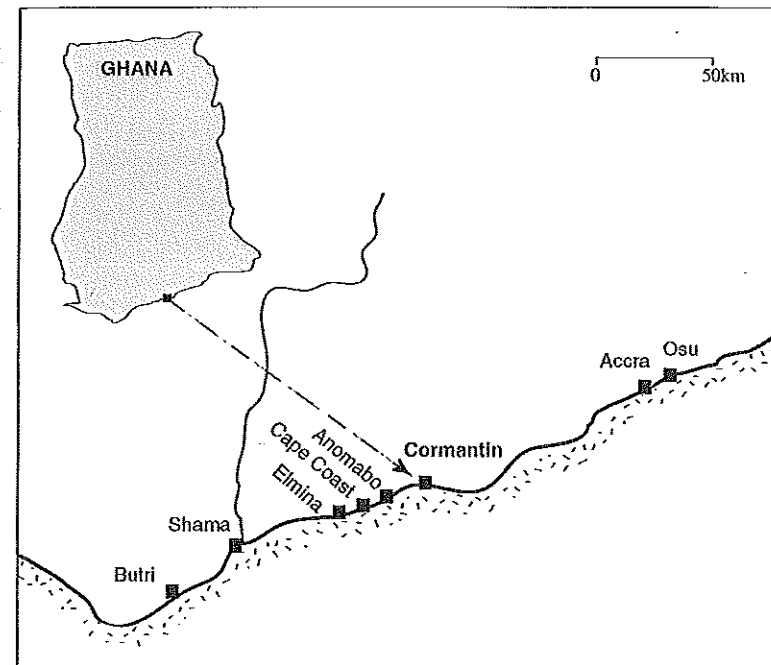


Figure 10.1. Selected coastal settlements and forts of Ghana in the 1650s. Fort Cormantin later became Fort Amsterdam. The settlement of Kormantse is located on a hill about 2km due north-east of this fort.

outlet for both the trans-Saharan and Atlantic trades. In the end the archaeological assemblage and ethnographic and historical data should help explain and represent the numerous African populations identified under varying 'African-named groups' in the colonial encounter in West Africa, and their implications for the New World African cultures. Specific issues addressed included identifying recognised material traces indicative of internal and external trade contacts and exchanges, migration routes and patterns of market traffic, and, ultimately, the different groups represented in the colonial encounter with Kormantse and surrounding areas as the connecting links. Evidence of changing burial and other social practices, as indices of the community's shifting identity, would help determine how the communities in and around Kormantse adjusted to the colonial encounter. Artefact differentiation and sources of goods and 'people', travel routes, makers and makers' marks on artefacts, and scientific dates were the main means of identifying and establishing how they related to emerging and continuing social distinctions within communities in and around Kormantse.

Kormantse is protected on all sides by deep depressions, except to the north-east. To the south and west of Kormantse and on another hill on the coast is Fort Amsterdam, which was a location given by the Etsi for a new British fort. It bore the name Kormantse until the Dutch took it from the British in 1665 when they renovated it and renamed it Fort Amsterdam (Atta-Yawson 2002). A village developed around the fort and is today called Abandze, meaning 'under the fort'. During the 2007 preliminary archaeological study (Agorsah 2008), the site was divided into three major areas for archaeological purposes. Areas 1 and 2 coincide with the area inhabited by the Etsi, said to be indigenous to the settlement, and Area 3 in and around an individual's garden. The west end of Area 1, which is the highest point of the settlement, was the location of the British lodge that was never completed owing to the hostility and resistance of the local Etsi against the British settlers, who had eventually to abandon the lodge and relocate at the current site of Fort Amsterdam. To the west of it was the local burial area of the original site. Area 2 consisted of the eastern half of the site and is occupied by many old mud and wattle and daub houses, mostly in ruins, several piles of iron ore and slag, family and community shrines, and abandoned large grinding stones. This is the open centre of the site. Area 3 is to the extreme south-east of the settlement and is a garden area preserved by one of the elders of the Etsi clan of the old village. These divisions are significant in terms of the distribution of structural features, family houses, activity areas and other features at the site. Several piles of iron slag and ore, thousands of potsherds, a large number of assorted local and imported beads (Figure 10.2) and smoking pipes (both local and imported, see Figures 10.3 and 10.4), imported ceramic cups, plates bowls, grinding and sharpening stones, and human and animal skeletal remains were uncovered and are currently being analysed (*ibid.*). Also present at the site are seventy-one traditional shrines (Figure 10.5), both abandoned and in current use, a fairly high number for



Figure 10.2. Assorted beads from Kormantse.

a settlement measuring 1.0 × 0.5 miles. Their distribution, types and associated other features will also be examined as the project develops.

Human skeletal remains associated with seventeenth- and eighteenth-century artefacts were recovered during the 2007 test excavations at Kormantse. In total the three areas of the site contain evidence of at least seven individuals and perhaps as many as nine. In Area 1 at least two adult individuals are represented from leg bones. One may have been a female. Two teeth and eight skull fragments were recovered from Area 2. In Area 3, at least five individuals are present. One is likely a young adult (aged *c.*24–35) and the other is a sub-adult between six and ten years of age at death. These estimates are fairly conservative and as the context



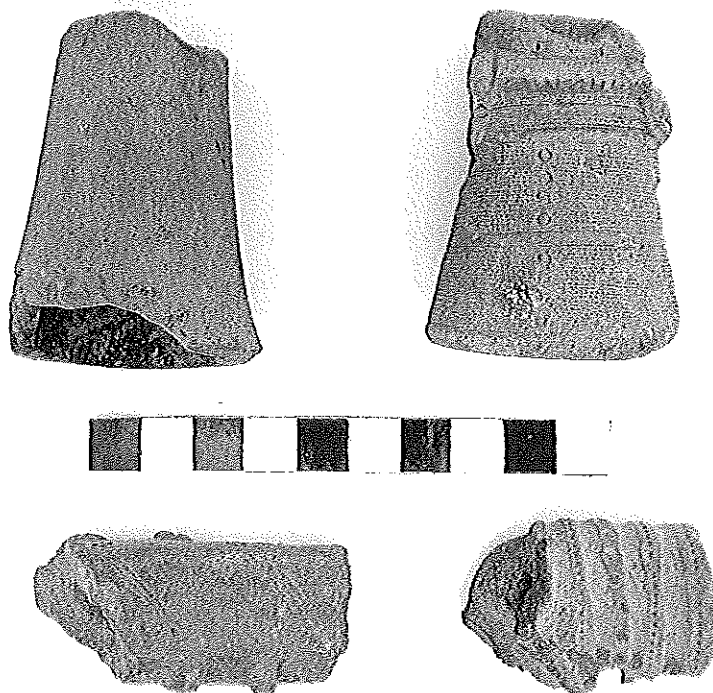


Figure 10.3. Local smoking pipes from Kormantse.

is better understood, a more accurate determination can be made. All three areas are treated as distinct features or mortuary components; thus, a minimum number of individuals (MNI) is calculated for each area as a unit and then added together to provide a total for all three features as a whole. William Schaffer of the Department of Anthropology, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, is still analysing the human skeletal remains. No interpretations or conclusions can be made about this preliminary work and material, although the evidence confirms the archaeological richness of the Kormantse site. The project provides a good opportunity for unravelling some of the unclear aspects of the Kormantse heritage in the African Diaspora. The project is also exploring possibilities of definite identifications including DNA considerations, and the provenance of the trade items and possible trade routes by which they arrived in Kormantse from the interior. The long unbroken occupation of Kormantse through the colonial era until now increases the prospects that a range of such finds will help in the identification of



Figure 10.4. Imported kaolin smoking pipes from Kormantse.

some of the individuals and their places of origin. Additionally, such an assemblage should bring substantial and substantive evidence to bear on our interpretation of the populations with Kormantse connections. It is obvious from the preliminary study that much evidence awaits the archaeologist at Kormantse, and the site will become most significant for our interpretation of the encounter of cultures during the colonial era in Africa and the African Diaspora. Archaeological, ethnographic and further historical investigation of the settlement of Kormantse and its adjoining areas, therefore, provides a major hope for revisiting the Kormantse factor and the formation of the African Diaspora.

### Conclusion

Despite the gains in studies outlined in the preceding pages, many endeavours continue to maintain their guarded regional interests even where it is clear that they need to reach out and connect the two sides of the Atlantic. Suggestions toward a further reversal of the imbalance, such as depicting the history of the African Diaspora as part of the total past of Africa, need to be tabled for discussion. The abolition of slavery also brought in its train a new phase: the encounter of the advantaged and the disadvantaged, something that requires us to consider

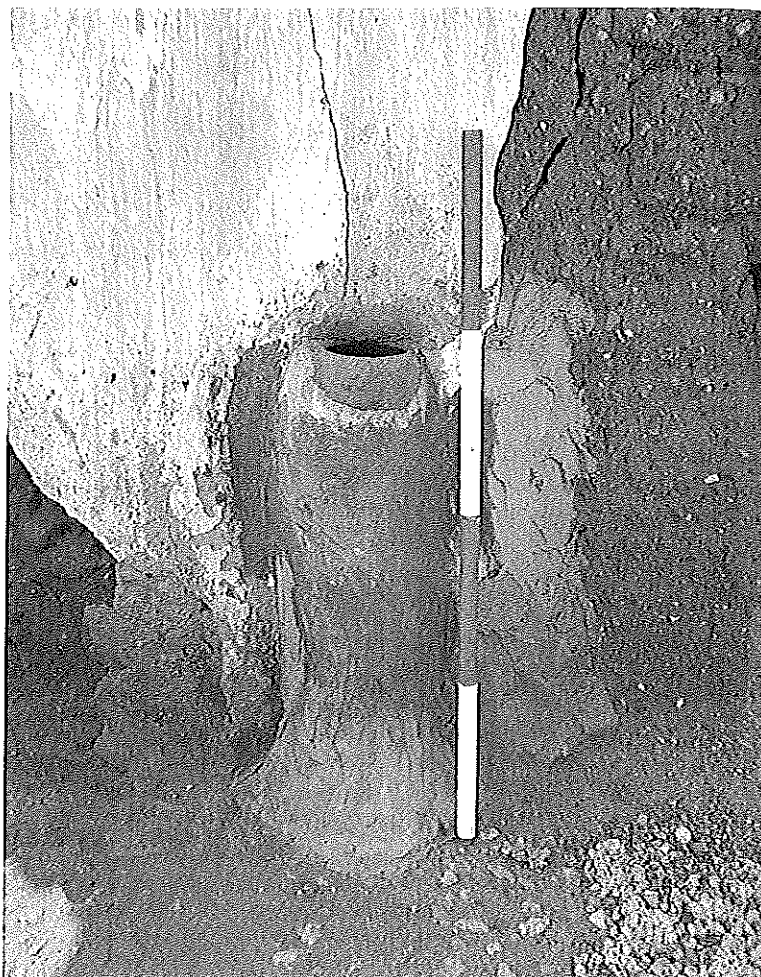


Figure 10.5. Traditional family shrine, Kormantse.

in much more detail the post-slavery traumatic syndrome. These and many other issues should be visited or revisited in the contexts that link both sides of the Atlantic. This complex situation poses challenges to archaeological research which, in attempting to explain the African past abroad, will continue to face the challenge of identifying the roots of many discrete enslaved individuals or groups, as well as addressing community traditions, beliefs and values.

Kormantse, with many cultural connotations and identities in the African Diaspora, offers opportunities to envision its population's past oral, artistic, written and performed religious expressions. For example, we need to find out the extent to which the elusive realm of beliefs observed from historically visible, structural features, traditions and practices in Kormantse impacted the African Diaspora. The many different types of shrines in this 600–700-year-old fishing village, considered home to many Diaspora Africans, could help test the proposition that the shrines and related religious traditions empowered the enslaved who passed through Kormantse. Preliminary archaeological investigation at Kormantse appears to suggest that the culture of spirituality among the enslaved would have been transmitted via trade activities in and around Kormantse, which linked other trading centres such as Anomabo, Elmina and Cape Coast on the coast and the interior areas of Begho and Kumasi (Posnansky 1971, 1973), Salaga (Okoro 2007) and Krachi—traditionally the territory of the famous Krachi Dente oracle (Agorsah 2003). Archaeological finds (assorted international and local trade items) attest to vibrant local activities, which provided the context for the religious activities at Kormantse that permanently remained in the memories of Africans in the Diaspora and carried them through the colonial encounter. It is important, however, to remind ourselves that slavery cannot be identified through archaeological efforts alone as we struggle to reconstruct the 'colonial encounter' across the Atlantic. Understanding Africa in the Caribbean, or in the New World generally, has come a long way but is in dire need of the coordination of efforts across disciplines. We should consider changing the nature of related conferences, publications and professional associations to reflect the current need for expanded multi-disciplinary collaborations. The nature and style of professional conferences, such as that held by the BIBA and UCL Institute of Archaeology in 2007 to commemorate the two hundredth anniversary of the abolition of slavery, represent the format for the collaborations and exchanges envisaged in the search for continued common grounds of operation.

### References

- Agorsah, E. K. 1991 Evidence and Interpretation in the Archaeology of Jamaica. *Reports of the Archaeological-Anthropological Institute of Netherlands-Antilles* 9(1): 2-14.
- Agorsah, E. K. 1992. Archaeology and Maroon Heritage in Jamaica. *Jamaica Journal* 22: 2-9.
- Agorsah, E. K. 1993. Archaeology and Resistance History in the Caribbean. *African Archaeological Review* 11: 175-96.
- Agorsah, E. K. 1994. *Maroon Heritage: Archaeological, ethnographic and historical Perspectives*. Kingston, Jamaica: Canoe Press.
- Agorsah, E. K. 1995. Archaeology of the African Diaspora. *African Archaeological Review* 13: 221-4.

- Agorsah, E. K. 1999. Ethnoarchaeology of Maroon Heritage: Social behavior and settlement patterning in the Caribbean Diaspora. In *African Sites: Archaeology in the Caribbean* (ed. J. B. Havisser). Princeton: M. Weiner, pp. 38–64.
- Agorsah, E. K. 2001. The Secrets of Maroon Heroism, as Pioneer Freedom Fighters of the African Diaspora. In *Freedom in Black History and Culture* (ed. E. K. Agorsah). Middletown, CA: Arrow Point Press, pp. 1–17.
- Agorsah, E. K. 2003. *An Ethnoarchaeological Analysis of Human Functional Dynamics in the Volta Basin of Ghana: Before and after the Akosombo Dam*. Mellen Studies in Archaeology 2. Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press.
- Agorsah, E. K. 2006. The Other Side of Freedom: The Maroon trail in Suriname. In *African Re-Genesis: Confronting social issues in the Diaspora* (eds. J. Havisser and K. C. MacDonald). Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, pp. 191–203.
- Agorsah, E. K. 2007. Scars of Brutality: Archaeology of the Maroons in the Caribbean. In *Archaeology of Atlantic Africa and the African Diaspora* (ed. A. Ogundiran and T. Falola). Bloomington: Indiana University Press, pp. 332–54.
- Agorsah, E. K. 2008. Archaeological Investigation of the Historic Site of Kormantse. *African Diaspora Archaeology Newsletter* September 2008: 1–22.
- Agorsah, E. K. 2009. Kormantse and the African Diaspora. Paper presented at the 42nd annual conference of the Society for Historical Archaeology, Toronto, Canada, 7–11 January 2009.
- Agorsah, E. K. and Childs, T. (eds.) 2006. *Africa and the African Diaspora: Cultural adaptation and resistance*. Bloomington: Authorhouse.
- Allen, R. M. 2006. Constructing Identity through Inter-Caribbean Interactions: The Curacao-Cuban migration revisited. In *Africa Re-Genesis: Confronting social issues in the Diaspora* (ed. J. Havisser and K. C. MacDonald). Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, pp. 111–22.
- Armstrong, D. V. 1982. The 'Old Village' at Drax Hall Plantation: An archaeological process report. *Journal of New World Archaeology* 5: 87–103.
- Armstrong, D. V. 1985. An Afro-Jamaican Settlement: Archaeological investigation at Drax Hall. In *Archaeology of Slavery and Plantation Life* (ed. T. A. Singleton). New York: Academic Press, pp. 261–87.
- Armstrong, D. V. 1990. *The Old Village and the Great House: An archaeological and historical examination of Drax Hall Plantation, St Ann's Bay, Jamaica*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Armstrong, D. V. 1992. African-Jamaican Housing at Seville: A study in spatial transformation. *Archaeology Jamaica* 6: 51–63.
- Armstrong, D. V. and Fleischman, M. 1993. Seville African Jamaican Project: summary report. *Syracuse Archaeological Reports* 6(5): 33–65.
- Arrom, J. J. and Arevalo, M. A. G. 1986. *Cimarron*. Santo Domingo: Fundación García-Arévalo.
- Atta-Yawson, P. 2002. *The History of Fort Amsterdam*. Cape Coast: Osadama.
- Bilby, K. M. 1994. Maroon Culture as a Distinct Variant of Jamaican Culture. In *Maroon Heritage: Archaeological, ethnographic and historical perspectives* (ed. E. K. Agorsah). Kingston, Jamaica: Canoe Press, pp. 72–85.
- Blakely, A. 2006. Putting Flesh on the Bones: History–anthropology collaboration on the New York African Burial Ground Project. In *Africa Re-Genesis: Confronting social*

- issues in the Diaspora* (ed. J. Havisser and K. C. MacDonald). Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, pp. 62–70.
- Bonner, T. 1974. The Blue Mountain Expedition. *Jamaica Journal* 8(2–3): 46–50.
- Boomert, A. 1984. *An Inventory of the Archaeological Sites in Trinidad and Tobago. Report No. 1: North and Central Trinidad*. St Augustine, Trinidad: University of the West Indies.
- Boomert, A. 1987. *An Inventory of the Archaeological Sites in Trinidad and Tobago. Report No. 2: South East Trinidad*. St Augustine, Trinidad: University of the West Indies.
- Boomert, A. and Harris, O. P. 1988. *An Inventory of the Archaeological Sites in Trinidad and Tobago. Report No. 3: A Classification in terms of Cultural Resource Management*. St Augustine, Trinidad: University of the West Indies.
- Brooks, C. E. 2003. *Euroafricans in Western Africa: Commerce, social status, gender and religious observation 16th–18th Centuries*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.
- Bryan, P. 1971. African Affinities: The blacks of Latin America. *Caribbean Quarterly* 17(3–4): 45–52.
- Campbell, M. 1988. *Maroons of Jamaica 1655–1796: A history of resistance, collaboration and betrayal*. Granby, MA: Bergin and Garvey.
- Campbell, M. 1993. *Back to Africa: George Ross and the Maroons (from Nova Scotia to Sierra Leone)*. Trenton: Africa World Press.
- Carey, B. 1997. *The Maroon Story: The authentic and original history of the Maroons in the history of Jamaica 1490–1880*. Kingston: Agouti Press.
- Chambers, D. B. 2001. Ethnicity in the Diaspora: The slave-trade and the creation of African 'nations' in the Americas. *Slavery and Abolition* 22: 25–39.
- Childs, T. G. 2005. Language Creation by Necessity: Linguistic ramifications of the African Diaspora. In *Africa and the African Diaspora: Cultural adaptation and resistance* (ed. E. K. Agorsah and T. Childs). Bloomington: Authorhouse.
- Counter, S.A. and Evans, D. 1981. *I Sought my Brother: An Afro-American reunion*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Curtin, P. D. 1968. Epidemiology and the Slave Trade. *Political Science Quarterly* 83: 190–216.
- Curtin, P. 1969. *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A census*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Dallas, R. C. 1803. *History of the Maroons*, vol. I. London: Longman.
- DeCorse, C. 1999. Oceans Apart: Africanist perspectives on Diaspora archaeology, in *'I Too am America': Archaeological studies of African-American life* (ed. T. A. Singleton). Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, pp. 132–55.
- Delle, J. 1998. Archaeology of Social Space: Analyzing coffee plantations in the Blue Mountains of Jamaica, 1790–1850. *Historical Archaeology* 33: 136–58.
- Ebanks, R. 1984. Ma Lou and the Afro-Jamaican Pottery Tradition. *Jamaica Journal* 17: 31–7.
- Ehret, C. and Posnansky, M. (eds.) 1982. *The Archaeological and Linguistic Reconstruction of African History*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Elder, J. D. 1988. *African Survivals in Trinidad and Tobago*. London: Karia Press.
- Eltis, D. and Richardson, D. 1997. *Routes to Slavery: Direction, ethnicity and mortality in the trans-Atlantic slave trade*. London: Frank Cass.

- Farnsworth, P. 1996. The Influence of Trade on Bahamian Slave Culture. *Historical Archaeology* 30: 1–23.
- Farnsworth, P. 1999. Isolation and Development of Bahamian Culture. In *Proceedings of the International Association for Caribbean Archaeology 1997* (ed. John H. Winter). Nassau: IACA, pp. 300–13.
- Fleischman, J. 1992. Skeletal Remains from the Seville Plantation in Jamaica. *Archaeology Jamaica* 6: 44–50.
- Funari, P. P. 2006. Archaeological Study of Africans in Brazil: Some ethnic issues. In *African Genesis: Confronting social issues in the Diaspora* (eds. J. B. Haviser and K. C. MacDonald). London: UCL Press, pp. 184–190.
- Funari, P. P. 2007. The Archaeological Study of the African Diaspora in Brazil. In *Archaeology of Atlantic Africa and the African Diaspora* (eds. A. Ogundiran and T. Falola). Bloomington: Indiana University Press, pp. 355–71.
- Gilmore, R. G. 2006. All the Documents are Destroyed! Documenting slavery for St Eustatius, Netherland Antilles. In *Africa Re-Genesis: Confronting social issues in the Diaspora* (eds. J. B. Haviser and K. C. MacDonald). London: UCL Press: 70–89.
- Glazier, S. D. 1990. To Have But Not to Hold: Spanish Trinidad, 1498–1592. *Proceedings of the International Association for Caribbean Archaeology, 11th Congress, Puerto Rico 1985*. San Juan: IACA, pp. 494–500.
- Goucher, C. 1999. African-Caribbean Metal Technology: Forging cultural survivals in the Atlantic world. In *African Sites: Archaeology in the Caribbean* (ed. J. B. Haviser). Princeton: Markus Wiener, pp. 143–56.
- Grace, J. 1975. *Domestic Slavery in Africa: With particular reference to the Sierra Leone Protectorate, 1896–1927*. London: Frederick Muller.
- Handler, J. S. 1963. Pottery Making in Barbados. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 19: 314–34.
- Handler, J. S. 1986. Weaning among West Indian Slaves: Historical and bio-anthropological evidence from Barbados. *William and Mary Quarterly* 43: 111–17.
- Handler, J. S. 1994. Determining African Birth from Skeletal Remains: A note on tooth mutilation. *Historical Archaeology* 28: 113–19.
- Handler, J. S. 1996. A Prone Burial from a Plantation Slave Cemetery in Barbados, West Indies: Possible evidence for an African-type witch or other negatively viewed person. *Historical Archaeology* 30: 76–86.
- Handler, J. S. 1997. An African-type Healer/Diviner and his Grave Goods: A burial from a plantation slave cemetery in Barbados. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 1: 91–130.
- Handler, J. S. 1998. Slave Revolts and Conspiracies in Seventeenth-Century Barbados. *Nieuwe West-Indische Gids* 56: 5–42.
- Handler, J. S. and Lange, F. W. 1978. *Plantation Slavery in Barbados: An archaeological and historical investigation*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Harris, C. L. G. 1994. The True Traditions of my Ancestors. In *Maroon Heritage: Archaeological, ethnographic and historical perspectives* (ed. E. K. Agorsah). Kingston, Jamaica: Canoe Press, pp. 36–63.
- Hart, R. 1985. *Slaves Who Abolished Slavery: Blacks in rebellion*, vol. II. Kingston, Jamaica: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies.
- Hauser, M. and Armstrong, D. V. 1999. Embedded Identities: Piecing together relationships through compositional analysis of low-fired earthenware. In *African Sites: Archaeology*

- in the Caribbean* (ed. J. B. Haviser). Princeton: Markus Wiener, pp. 65–93.
- Haviser, J. B. 1999. *African Sites: Archaeology in the Caribbean*. Princeton: Markus Wiener.
- Haviser, J. B. 2006. Cognitive Issues Related to Interpreting the African Caribbean. In *African Re-Genesis: Confronting social issues in the Diaspora* (eds. J. B. Haviser and K. C. MacDonald). London: UCL Press, pp. 32–37.
- Haviser, J. B. and DeCorse, C. D. 1991. African-Caribbean Interaction: A research plan for Curaçao creole culture. *Reports for the Anthropological/Archaeological Institute of the Netherlands Antilles* 9: 326–37.
- Haviser, J. B. and MacDonald, K. C. 2006. Introduction: An African Re-Genesis, In *African Re-Genesis: Confronting social issues in the Diaspora* (eds. J. B. Haviser and K. C. MacDonald), London: UCL Press, pp. 1–6.
- Heuman, G. J. (ed.) 1982. *Out of the House of Bondage: Runaways, resistance and marronage in Africa and the New World*. London: Frank Cass.
- Higman, B. W. 1979. African and Creole Slave Families in Trinidad. In *Africa and the Caribbean: Legacies of a link* (ed. M. E. Crahan and F. W. Knight). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 41–65.
- Higman, B. W. 1986. Plantation Maps as Sources for the Study of West Indian Ethnohistory. *Ethnohistory* 35: 107–36.
- Higman, B. W. 1998. *Montpelier, Jamaica: A plantation community in slavery and freedom, 1739–1912*. Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies.
- Hoogbergen, W. 1990. A History of the Suriname Maroons, Resistance and Rebellion: Old and new. In *New Studies in Third World Societies* (eds. V. H. Sutlive, N. Altshuler, M.D. Zamora and V. Kerns). Williamsburg: College of William and Mary, pp. 65–102.
- Horton, J. E. and Horton, L. E. 2005. *Slavery and the Making of America*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Howson, J. 1990. Social Relations and Material Culture: A critique of the archaeology of plantation slavery. *Historical Archaeology* 24: 78–91.
- Howson, J. 1992. The Foley Square Project: An 18th century cemetery in New York City. *African-American Archaeology* 6: 3–4.
- Johnson, C. and Smith, P. 1998. *Africans in America*. New York: Harcourt Brace.
- Keegan, W. 1994. West Indian Archaeology 1: Overview and foragers. *Journal of Archaeological Research* 2: 255–84.
- Keegan, W. 1996. West Indian Archaeology 2. After Columbus. *Journal of International Research* 4: 265–94.
- Keegan, W., Stokes, A. V. and Newson, L. A. 1990. *Bibliography of Caribbean Archaeology*, 2 vols. Bullen Research Library. Gainesville: University of Florida.
- Kelly, K. 2001. Change and Continuity in Coastal Benin. In *West Africa during the Atlantic Trade: Archaeological perspectives* (ed. C. DeCorse). London: Leicester University Press, pp. 81–100.
- Kelly, K. 2004. The African Diaspora Starts Here: Historical archaeology of coastal West Africa. *African Historical Archaeologies* (eds. A. Reid and P. Lane). New York: Kluwer Academic, pp. 219–41.
- Khudabux, M. R. 1989. Signs of Physical Strain as Indications of Health Status during Growth in a Negro-slave Population in Suriname (S.A.). In *Advances in Paleopathology* (ed. L. Capasso). Chieti: Marino Solfanelli, pp. 131–4.
- Khudabux, M. R. 1991. *Effects of Life Conditions on the Health of a Negro Slave Community in Suriname*. Gravenhage: Pasmans.

- Laguette, M. S. 1989. *Voodoo and Politics in Haiti*. New York: St Martin's Press.
- Landers, J. 1992. Fort Mose: A free black town in Spanish colonial Florida. *American Historical Review* 95: 9-30.
- Linebaugh, P. and Radiker, M. 2000. *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, slaves, commoners, and the hidden history of the revolutionary Atlantic*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Long, E. 1774. *The History of Jamaica*, 3 vols. London: T. Lowndes.
- Lovejoy, P. E. 1997. Biography as a Source Material: Toward a biographical archive of enslaved Africans. In *Source Material for Studying the Slave Trade and the African Diaspora* (ed. R. Law). Stirling: Centre For Commonwealth Studies, pp. 119-40.
- MacEachern, S. 1996. Foreign Countries: The development of ethnoarchaeology in sub-Saharan Africa. *Journal of World Prehistory* 10: 243-304.
- MacEachern, S. 2001. State Formation and Enslavement in Northern Cameroon and Northern Nigeria. In *West Africa during the Slave Trade: Archaeological and historical perspectives* (ed. C. DeCorse). London: Leicester University Press, pp. 131-51.
- Mathewson, D. 1972. Jamaican Ceramics: An introduction to 18th century folk pottery in West African tradition. *Jamaica Journal* 6: 55-6.
- May, A. F. 1982. *Surinaams Kruidenboek Sranan Oso Dresi*. Paramaribo: VACO.
- Mintz, S. and Price, R. 1992. *The Birth of African-American Culture: An anthropological perspective*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Morgan, P. D. 1997. The Cultural Implications of the Atlantic Slave Trade: Regional origins, American destinations and New World developments. *Slavery and Abolition* 18: 122-45.
- Morgan, P. 2006. Archaeology and History in the Study of African Americans. In *Africa Re-Genesis: Confronting social issues in the Diaspora* (eds. J. B. Haviser and K. C. McDonald). London: UCL Press, pp. 53-61.
- Nicholson, D. 1990. Afro-Antiguan Folk Pottery and Emancipation in Antigua and Barbuda. *Proceedings of the International Association for Caribbean Archaeology, 11th Congress, Puerto Rico 1985*. San Juan: IACA, pp. 433-7.
- Ogilby, J. 1851. *A Description and History of the Island of Jamaica*. Kingston, Jamaica: George Henderson.
- Ogundiran, A. and Falola, T. 2007. *Archaeology of Atlantic Africa and the African Diaspora*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Okoro, A. 2007. Salaga: A great name in the 18th and 19th centuries. *The Ghanaian Times*, 14 September, p. 7.
- Olwig, K. F. 1985. *Cultural Adaptation and Resistance on St John*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press.
- Orser, C. E., Jr. 1992. In Search of Zumbi: Preliminary archaeological research at the Serra Da Bariga site of Alagoas, Brazil. Normal: Midwestern Archaeological Research Centre, Illinois State University.
- Orser, C. E., Jr. 1994. Historical Archaeology: An example from Brazil. *Historical Archaeology* 28: 5-22.
- Orser, C. E. (Jr.) and Funari, P. P. A. 1992. Pesquisa Arqueologica Inicial em Palmares. *Estudo Ibero-Americanos* 18: 53-69.
- Pereira, J. 1990. The Maroon in Cuban and Jamaican Literature. In *Caribbean Literature in Comparison* (ed. J. R. Pereira). Institute of Caribbean Studies Series I. Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies, pp. 9-30.
- Pereira, J. 1994. Maroon Heritage in Mexico. In *Maroon Heritage: Archaeological, ethnographic and historical perspectives* (ed. E. K. Agorsah). Kingston, Jamaica:

- Canoe Press, pp. 94-108.
- Petersen, J. B. and Watters, D. R. 1988. Afro-Montserratian Ceramics from the Harney Site Cemetery, Montserrat, West Indies. *Annals of Carnegie Museum* 57: 167-87.
- Posnansky, M. 1971. *Origins of West African Trade*. Accra: Ghana Universities Press.
- Posnansky, M. 1972. Introduction. *Journal of New World Archaeology* 5: 1-2.
- Posnansky, M. 1973. Aspects of Early West African Trade. *World Archaeology* 5: 149-62.
- Posnansky, M. 1984. Towards an Archaeology of Black Diaspora. *Journal of Black Studies* 15: 195-205.
- Robinson, C. 1994. Maroons and Rebels: A dilemma. In *Maroon Heritage: Archaeological, ethnographic and historical perspectives* (ed. E. K. Agorsah). Kingston, Jamaica: Canoe Press, pp. 86-93.
- Rouse, I. 1990. Social, Linguistic and Stylistic Plurality in the West Indies. *Proceedings of the International Association for Caribbean Archaeology, 11th Congress, Puerto Rico 1985*, pp. 56-64.
- Senah, Kwaku, 2005. Explicating the Primary Nexus: Africa and the African Diaspora. In *Africa and the African Diaspora: Cultural adaptation and resistance* (eds. E. Kofi Agorsah and Childs Tucker). Bloomington: Authorhouse, pp. 204-22.
- Shepherd, V. 2004. Keynote Address. Conference on Globalization, Diaspora and Identity Formation, Paramaribo, Suriname, August 2004.
- Singleton, T. and Bograd, M. D. 1995. *Archaeology of the African Diaspora in the Americas*. Guides to the Archaeological Literature on the Immigrant Experience in America 2. Ann Arbor: The Society for Historical Archaeology.
- Thoden van Velzen, H. U. E. and Wetering, W. 1988. *The Great Father and the Danger: Religious cults, material forces and collective fantasies in the world of the Surinamese Maroons*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Thornton, J. 1998. *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1680*, 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Turner, M. 1993. An Archaeological Record of Plantation Life in the Bahamas: Amerindians, Africans and Americans. In *Three Papers in Caribbean History* (eds. G. Lafleur, S. Branson and G. Turner). Kingston, Jamaica: Department of History, University of the West Indies, pp. 107-25.
- Warner-Lewis, M. 2003. *Central Africa in the Caribbean: Transcending time and transforming cultures*. Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press.
- Watters, D. 1987. Excavations at the Harney Slave Site, Montserrat. *Annals of Carnegie Museum* 56: 289-318.
- Watters, D. 1991. The Harney Site Slave Cemetery, Montserrat, Archaeological Summary. *Proceedings of the International Association for Caribbean Archaeology, 13th Congress, Curaçao 1989*. Curacao: AAINA Reports, pp. 313-25.
- Weik, T. 2006. Archaeology of Maroon Societies in the Americas: Resistance, cultural continuity and transformation in the African Diaspora. *Historical Archaeology* 31: 81-92.