THE MORASS OF RESISTANCE DURING THE ANTEBELLUM:

AGENTS OF FREEDOM IN THE GREAT DISMAL SWAMP

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For Korinne, Holden and Porter

In Loving Memory of Dad (Dr. John Horne Austin)

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ABSTRACT

The Great Dismal Swamp straddles the North Carolina and Virginia state lines. From the seventeenth century until the Civil War this remote landscape became home to thousands of Maroons. These Maroon communities were comprised of runaway slaves, Native Americans and disenfranchised Europeans. The swamp was not only part of the passage for the Underground Rail Road (UGRR) but it was also a destination for individuals who lived on high ground and islands throughout the swamp. These self emancipated individuals developed complex modes of communitization. This dissertation uses a variety of theoretical perspectives, including agency theory, diaspora, and marronage to aluminate and understand the conditions and cultural transformations that took place over the course of several centuries and generations. The examination of these different communal groups will show that each community possessed and left behind different archaeological assemblages. Towards the end of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the outside world began to view the swamp as an exploitable resource and commodity. This led to increased forays by the outside world into the swamp and increased the possibility of contact with remote communities living on mesic islands deep in the swamp's interior. As the outside world penetrated the interior of the Great Dismal Swamp it required the communities to adapt and transform. This dissertation will examine the cultural and communal transformations of a community that resisted contact with the outside world in response to loggers and canal laborers arriving in the deep interior of the swamp. The Great Dismal Swamp Landscape Study excavated the Crest of the nameless site during the 2009-2013 field seasons.

These excavations ran in conjunction with American University's Archaeological Field School. The excavations revealed a new architectural feature and artifact assemblage that represent a cultural transformation and the emergence of a new mode of communitization. These features and artifacts will be examined using a lens of agentive action to shed new insights into the Maroons who occupied a mesic island deep in the Great Dismal Swamp.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In a way, this dissertation represents the culmination of over 20 years of anthropological and archaeological inquiry, research and fieldwork that has spanned three continents. The doctoral program alone at American University represents close to a decade's worth of work in historical archaeology. It would not have been possible without the involvement of peers, colleagues, professors and family members who played significant roles in my continuing education.

I would first like to thank my dissertation committee for their insights, questions and guidance through the defense of the proposal and leading up to the defense of the dissertation. I am indebted to Dan Sayers, Chap Kusimba, Sue Taylor and Lance Greene for their mentoring and feedback in this process. Chap and Sue have provided guidance and helped to make significant revisions and refine this manuscript. Lance is not only serving as an out of institution committee member but I also took one of his historical archaeology courses at American University and he is the prehistorian for the Great Dismal Swamp Landscape Study. His insights and guidance are found throughout this dissertation. I am especially indebted to my advisor and committee chair, Dan Sayers, who allowed me to participate in his work with resistance communities in the Great Dismal Swamp. He has provided invaluable insights and dedicated a tremendous amount of time to answer my questions over the course of five summers of fieldwork and numerous semesters of course work. I am indebted to his patience and guidance.

The National Endowment of the Humanities (NEH) awarded Dan Sayers a grant in 2011 to continue to help fund excavations. This grant expanded the project and brought in several outside experts that were able to contribute to the Great Dismal Swamp Landscape Study.

The faculty in the Anthropology Department at American University also provided significant guidance during the doctoral program. William Leap provided an outstanding class on

linguistic analysis and discourse. His class inspired the primary source analysis of William Byrd's text in Chapter 3. Adrian Pine's reinventing applied anthropology provided the inspiration for the public archaeology piece at the end of Chapter 4. The late Joan Gero was also a significant inspiration to this dissertation. Her classes on contemporary archaeological theory and community archaeology resonate throughout this volume. David Vine taught a class on the foundations of anthropological theory, which satisfied the first comprehensive exam and provided me with an excellent theoretical foundation to progress in American University's doctoral program. Kevin Caffrey's class dealing with contemporary anthropological theory contributed heavily to my focus on agency theory in this dissertation. Joe Dent's class about the archaeology of the Chesapeake region also resonates throughout this manuscript. My enrollment in several dissertation seminars with David Vine, Dolores Koenig and Dan Sayers provided crucial guidance in the later years of the program.

Anita Cook, who I worked with as a Master's student at Catholic University of America, was a tremendous help and generously gave of her time as I worked through that graduate program. She was co-director with William Isbell on the excavations at Conchopata, a Huari site in Ayacucho, Peru and the focus of my Master's of Arts. David Guillet first exposed me to the theoretical perspectives of structure and agency with his class that was solely dedicated to agency theory and significantly influenced my theoretical approaches in this dissertation. The late William Gardiner who introduced me to Cultural Resources Management through his Thunderbird Archaeology Firm. Yorke Rowan and Lucy Cohen were both professors that taught me during the Master's program and provided tremendous guidance and inspiration.

Over the years I took advantage of the Consortium of Universities of the Washington Metropolitan Area. I am indebted to Paul Shackel who taught my first graduate level class that

focused on historical archaeology. I am also indebted to Donald Craib who offered an archaeological law class at the University of Maryland.

In 1997, Oded Borowski led a team of undergraduate students from Emory University to Israel to work on Tel Beth Shemesh, an Iron Age site, which was my first encounter with archaeological fieldwork. Shlomo Bunomovitz and Zvi Lederman were the directors of Tel Beth Shemesh and they extended their hospitality and contributed their knowledge and expertise to those excavations. My professors as an undergraduate in the Anthropology Department at Emory University laid the foundation for my continued passion, interest, and work in the discipline. I continue to be indebted to my undergraduate professors Bruce Knauft, Bradd Shore, Peter Brown, Debra Spitulnik Vidali and the late George Armelagos for planting a life long love of learning and inquiry into the field of anthropology.

I would also like to thank Jon Wilson from Region 5 of the United States Fish and Wildlife Services for his support. In addition, the following people at the Great Dismal Swamp National Wildlife Refuge have also aided and supported the Great Dismal Swamp Landscape Study, Chris Lowie, Deloras Freeman and Cindy Lane.

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and research assistants that field season. Tamara Mihailovic was a graduate student volunteer. The 2011 field season consisted of the following students, Christopher Daniels, Emma Horvath, Clare Kimock, Justin Levy, Erin Livengood, Bethany McMillon, Victoria Papas, Dan Remick-Cook and Mattie Wong. The 2011 season also had a number of volunteers, Margeaux Faticone, Madeline Konz, Becca Peixotto, Laura Buchanan and Scott Quigley. Cyndi Goode and Jordan Riccio were the teaching and research assistants for the 2011 season. The 2012 crew consisted of the following students, Mark Harrison, Rebecca Heath, Keenan Holmes, Alice Merkel, Becca Peixotto, Mark Hamilton and Willie Theaker. Margeaux Faticone returned as a volunteer this season. The teaching and research assistants were Jordan Riccio and Justin Uehlein. Becca Peixotto also contributed to the excavations in the Great Dismal Swamp, and made it the focus of her thesis and upcoming dissertation. Becca has been a source of support, motivation, and inspiration moving forward with this dissertation and the graduate program. I owe thanks to all of the students and volunteers who worked during the 2013 field season, they include Kathryn Benjamin, Bridger Bissel, Matthew Cekuta, Julia Klima, Marcus Nevius, Caitlyn Sellar and Hali Thurber. Mark Hamilton returned as a volunteer during the 2013 field season. Justin Uehlein and Cyndi Goode returned as teaching and research assistants during that season. The above friends, peers, students, colleagues and volunteers all contributed a significant amount of work to the Great Dismal Swamp Landscape Study and to this dissertation.

I need to thank the community at the Stone Ridge School of the Sacred Heart for their professional development program. Stone Ridge provided me with professional support by both nurturing my continued learning and financial help with partial tuition for course work. There are several Heads of School who approved my continuing education credits over the years; they include Anne Dyer, RSCJ, Richard Barbieri and Catherine Karrels. The faculty and staff over the

years are too numerous to list but were always supportive and interested in my work. I have also had the honor of teaching close to a thousand young women. While teaching requires an individual to give, it also permits the educator to take from their students and my encounters with so many brilliant young students has often served as motivation to continue my own education through a Master's of Arts and Doctorate of Philosophy.

Finally I would like to thank my family, including my parents, Swanee Maddox and the late John Austin for their emotional and financial support, especially as an undergraduate student in anthropology. As an undergraduate they allowed me to attend the excavations at Tel Beth Shemesh, Israel in 1997 and supported me backpacking through Egypt and Jordan after the field season to visit numerous archaeological sites. I want to thank my wife, Andrea, and our three children, Korinne, Porter and Holden for their support and patience. I also have to thank my in-laws, Tony and Joy Dritschilo who helped Andrea care for our very young children while I attended classes in the evening and stayed with Andrea and the children while I completed fieldwork in the Great Dismal Swamp. My sister, Katy Szcezepanik, and my stepmom, Paula Austin, who always appeared interested in my work and who were supportive over the years.

I apologize if I have forgotten anyone and it is unintentional. I have attempted to mention everyone who played a role in my anthropological education. This dissertation would not have been possible without the expertise, support and guidance of many others.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE GREAT DISMAL SWAMP LANDSCAPE STUDY

The Great Dismal Swamp is located to the south of Norfolk, Virginia and to the west of the Atlantic Coast. This morass is one of the largest in the United States and covers approximately 190 square miles. It serves primarily as a National Wildlife Refuge that is controlled by the Fish and Wildlife Service. The size of the Pre-Civil War swamp was approximately 2000 square miles so the current size is approximately 10% of its original size.

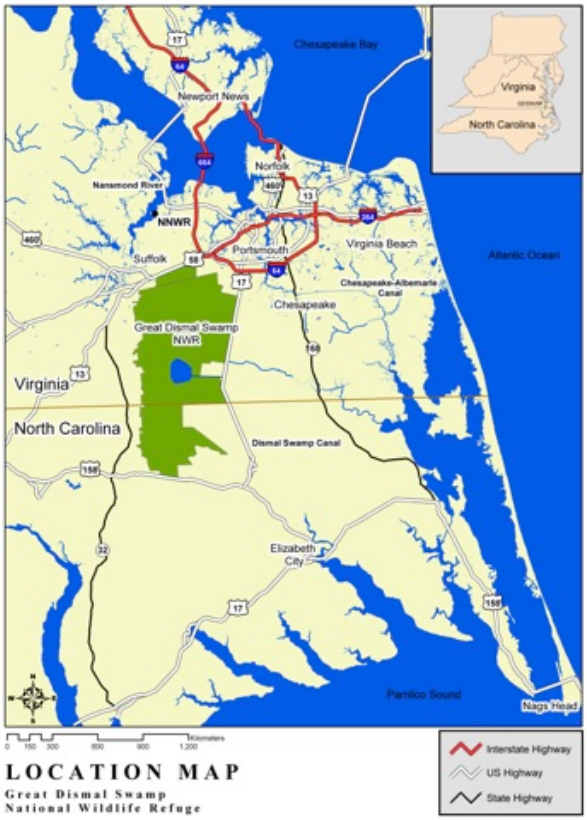

Figure 1: Map of the Great Dismal Swamp.

Image courtesy of the Great Dismal Swamp Landscape Study.

The swamp has been a part of the regional history for the past 400 years. Not only is it a landscape of natural beauty and mystery but it has also served a central role in the cultural and modern history of the region. The landscape was a very familiar place to Native Americans in

the 1500's and 1600's. It also became a home and place of refuge to enslaved individuals seeking freedom between ca. 1660 and 1865. During that period the Great Dismal Swamp became home to thousands who ran away from enslavement, or Maroons, who permanently settled different parts of the swamp and its vast interior. Finally, between 1763 and 1863 communities formed of enslaved African American laborers working for canal and lumber companies. While this 250+ year history of human settlement is significant, much remains to be known about the people and different communities that called the swamp home before the Civil War.

The Great Dismal Swamp Landscape Study, GDSLS hence forth, was initiated in 2001 (Sayers 2008a, 2014). Over the past decade and a half the GDSLS has worked to elucidate the lives of individuals and communities in the Great Dismal Swamp through historical archaeology and interdisciplinary research. GDSLS researchers have variously explored the lives of deep swamp dwelling resistance communities, enslaved company workers and their communities, and, to a lesser extent, communities that formed on the swamp's natural edges. No archaeological fieldwork had been completed to this extent prior to the GDSLS. The project has also provided rare insights into the millennia of Native American exploitation and settlements of the swamp.

Figure 2: Map of the Great Dismal Swamp.

Image courtesy of the Great Dismal Swamp Landscape Study.

This dissertation contributes to the on-going work of the GDSLS. It is based on my participation with the American University Field School and the GDSLS between 2009 and 2013 as well as continued involvement on a variety of levels, including conference papers and documentaries about the archaeological work in the swamp. During those field seasons I helped to direct excavations and interpret findings. I also discussed research questions with Daniel Sayers, the site's Director. More specifically, this work will explore the rise of canal and labor companies and their impact on deep-interior resistance communities after 1763. How did a scission community transform at the end of the eighteenth century and start of the nineteenth century in response to the arrival of canal labor companies and loggers? Much of the data that is

used in this dissertation is derived from field notes and reports to the United States Fish and Wildlife Service (Sayers 2006b, 2008b, 2010, 2011a, 2012c, 2013). This project will utilize perspectives rooted in several key concepts, such as agency, diaspora, marronage, and a political-economic structure, that are framed by a wider Marxian lens to examine cultural change from the eighteenth century to nineteenth century. Previous work by the GDSLS has been influenced by Marx's contributions to anthropology and archaeology (Marx 1989; McGuire 1992, 1993; Sayers 2004, 2006a, 2007a, 2007b, 2008a, 2009, 2012b, 2014, 2015; Sayers et al. 2006). The archaeological data will be analyzed to test the central hypothesis: architectural styles changed within interior resistance communities in the first quarter of the nineteenth century in response to canal and lumber companies penetrating the interior of the Great Dismal Swamp. By testing this hypothesis, I will be able to explore the capitalistic exploitation of swamp resources on interior resistance communities. This will contribute important understandings and analysis of the impacts of capital on the swamp-wide mode of production that researchers have argued emerged in the seventeenth century and lasted until the Civil War (Sayers 2004, 2006a, 2007a, 2007b, 2008a, 2009, 2012b, 2014, 2015; Sayers et al. 2006).

Anthropological Research Motivations

My anthropological work and research has followed a long and twisting path. This journey has taken me from Tel Beth Shemesh, an Iron Age (BCE 1200-550) Biblical site in Beth Shemesh, Israel in 1997, to a Middle Horizon (AD 500-1000) Huari site in Ayacucho, Peru that goes by the toponym Conchopata in 2003, to working on a number of CRM projects throughout the Mid-Atlantic in the 2000's. In 2004 I was the Teacher at Sea for the Office of Naval Research's and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration's search for the United States Navy's first submarine, the *USS Alligator,* that was lost in 1863 off the coast of Cape

Hatteras, NC. This led to a publication in the Journal of Middle Atlantic Archaeology about the expedition's public archaeology practices (Austin 2005). During the summer of 2005 I worked as an underwater archaeologist for the state of Maryland in their Maritime Archaeology Program. My most recent archaeological fieldwork has taken place through the American University Field School and the GDSLS from 2009-2013 in the Great Dismal Swamp. Throughout this journey I have always had an interest in anthropological theory, especially agency theory and how agentive actions are identified in the archaeological record. Finally, public archaeology has been an area of interest and how history is taught and represented. The theme of public archaeology has been the focus of several of my graduate courses and research papers.

In addition, I have been interested in the stratification of societies and resistance. Resistance is a way for alienated and marginalized individuals to subvert dominant structural ideologies. How agents have interacted in stratified structures has been a focus and interest of mine. The research and fieldwork work for my Master's degree examined ritual practices by elites and how private and public ritual spaces would have influenced the agentive actions of individuals at Conchopata, a Huari provincial center.

The Great Dismal Swamp provides a compelling site to examine the agency of individuals and their resistance to the dominant, racializing ideologies and social conditions. Also, with its history of Native American resistance to colonialism, marronage among African Americans, and enslaved laborer communities working in capitalistic economic environments, the Great Dismal Swamp can provide us with clear insights into modern conditions that emerged with diasporas and alienating world economies. This study will bring into view the social complexities, and powers of human agency, that have long remained underexplored and even hidden by historical silences and ignorance.

Background on the Great Dismal Swamp Landscape Study

Chapter 4 will cover a more in-depth discussion of the archaeological work that has been completed in the Great Dismal Swamp. This section is meant to offer the reader a short summary and to better contextualize the fieldwork that has taken place as part of the GDSLS. Following the work of Elaine Nichols's (1988) MA Thesis, Daniel Sayers (2008a; 2014) commenced the GDSLS during the Fall of 2001. The initial surveys of the GDSLS focused on locating dry ground in the Great Dismal Swamp. The GDSLS was interested in developing predictive models to help identify what kinds of communities lived in the swamp at a given site. Interest also focused on how individuals were marginalized and alienated in the capitalist landscape. The swamp provided a landscape for Maroons to establish several different types of communities in the swamp. The types of communities that were established often depended on where they were located in the swamp, exterior or interior. These modes of communitization are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2 and Sayers' (2008a, 2014) use of a Marxist approach to understanding Maroons is also discussed in more detail in this chapter. The bulk of the research and fieldwork for Sayers' (2008a) dissertation was completed by the GDSLS between 2003 and 2006 and dealt with a community that lived deep within the swamp on a mesic island, site 31GA120, in an area referred to as the Grotto. The mesic island took the toponym of the nameless site.

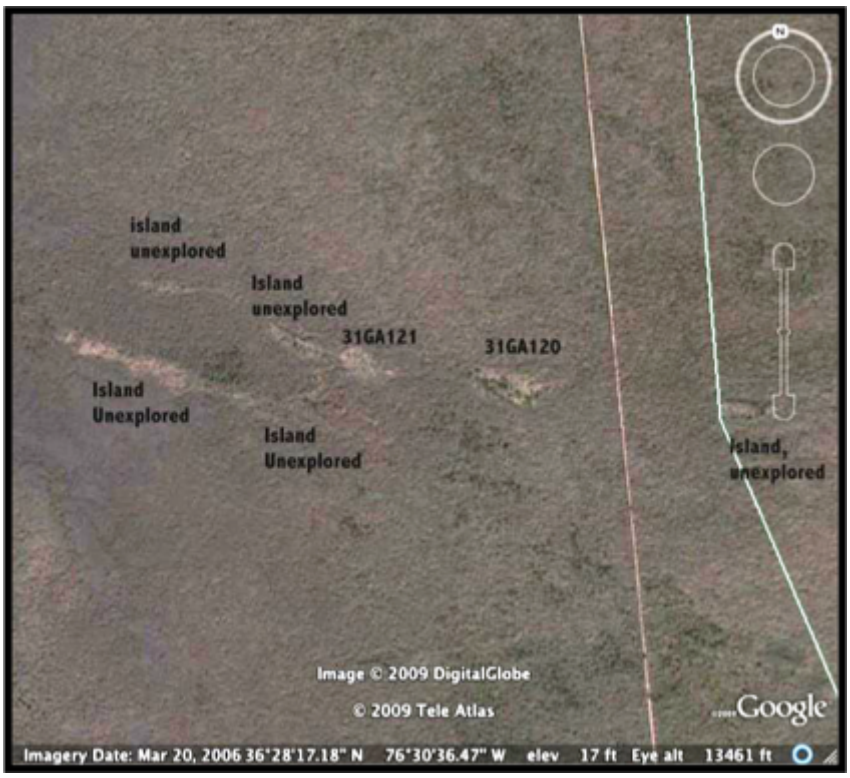

Figure 3: Google DigitalGlobe Map of Site 31GA120 and Other Sites and Unexplored Islands in the Vicinity. Image courtesy of the GDSLS.

In 2009, the GDSLS continued work by instituting an Archaeological Field School through American University. The field school was open to undergraduate students, graduate students and volunteers. The bulk of this work took place on the Crest and the North Plateau on the mesic island, site 31GA120, of the nameless site. The North Plateau will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4 and the Crest is the focus of Chapter 5. The Crest is the area where I spent five years working as a volunteer and graduate student and is the focus of this dissertation. However, a discussion of the different excavation areas on the nameless site is necessary to demonstrate the unique architectural and material signatures of the Crest. The GDSLS has produced several publications that explore various dimensions of the social history of the swamp (Goode In Production; Riccio 2013; Peixotto 2013, 2017; Sayers 2004, 2006a, 2006b, 2006c, 2007a, 2007b, 2008a, 2008b, 2009, 2010, 2011a, 2012b, 2012c, 2014, 2015).

Central Research Concepts

I think it is important to briefly discuss Marxist thought and how it has been used by anthropology and more specifically archaeology. Much of the work completed by the GDSLS is rooted in Marxist thought, especially alienation. The theoretical concepts that appear in this dissertation also owe their origins to Marxist thought. A Marxist perspective allows individuals to interpret human nature and history to understand how cultures change and resist change (Trigger 1993). These cultural changes are examined through class, class struggles, resistance and structures, to name a few Marxist concepts.

Thomas Patterson (2009) makes the argument that Karl Marx, while identified frequently as a journalist, economist and radical, was an early anthropological philosopher. Thomas (2009: 5) states,

> In the late 1830's and early 1840's, Marx began to develop a philosophical anthropology that included the corporeal organization of human beings, ensembles of social relations, the relation of the individual to society, the diversity and historicity of human societies, alienation, objectification, production, reproduction, labor freedom, practical activity, and the historicity of dispositions and social relations commonly attributed to human nature.

This statement succinctly demonstrates the breadth of Marx's philosophy and his inquiry into these subjects have set the foundation for much on the anthropological and archaeological analysis that takes place in today's world. Marx's philosophies continue to be applied to anthropological inquiry in the twenty-first century. Marx begins to identify the role of the individual in society and activity, paving the way for what would become agency and structure. His concerns with labor, alienation, objectification, and production are commonly used in today's anthropology. These concepts and lenses of analysis have also been transferred into historical archaeology. Marx's concern for the historicity of societies also connects with historical archaeology.

Extending beyond the concept that Marx was an anthropologist, at a basic level, Bruce Trigger (1993) argues that a Marxist approach to anthropology and archaeology is a lens to understand human behavior. However, archaeologists have failed to reach a consensus on how Marxism can explain human history and behavior (Trigger 1993: 183). Connecting human behavior and action within structures will be a focus of this dissertation. Agentive actions will be a main focus of analysis in Chapter 2 and 6 of this dissertation.

Randall McGuire (1992, 1993) focuses on Marxist philosophies and their applications to archaeology as well as possessing a dialectical relationship. The post-processualist movement, in response to the New Archaeology, embraced Marxist perspectives. Marxist concepts have and will continue to play a relevant role in archaeology as the discipline continues to examine how capitalism shapes and transforms culture. Historical archaeology has embraced an examination of the nascent capitalism and capitalist structures (McGuire 1992, 1993; Trigger 1993). Utilizing Marxist concepts can help better understand the behaviors and changes of individuals and groups in response to the structural emergence and changes within capitalism.

The following is meant to provide the reader with a brief discussion and definitions for the following concepts that are thematic throughout this dissertation. Although there are a variety of interpretations and applications for these concepts and lenses of analysis, I think it is important to provide a foundation of how I will interpret, understand and apply them to the scission resistance community in the Great Dismal Swamp. They will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2 and revisited in the discussion and analysis of Chapter 6. However, they thematically appear throughout most of the chapters in this dissertation.

Diaspora is used in this dissertation to represent both forced and unforced migrations. Additional diasporic concepts such as exile, race and creolization will be elaborated on in

Chapter 2. The other concepts, structure, agency, alienation and ideology, have a variety of philosophical interpretations, although connected and rooted in Marxist thought. The use of agency in this dissertation will be connected to Anthony Giddens' (1979: 55-56) definition of human action and its dialectical relationship with structure. Giddens understands agency as a "continuous flow of conduct" and he recognizes that there is choice in the actions of conduct (Giddens 1979: 55). The concept of agency will be expanded on in a variety of archaeological contexts in Chapters 2 and 6. Structure will also be defined by Giddens' (1979: 60-62) definition in the context that it represents patterns of social relations, and how the rules and resources are organized in those relations. Randall McGuire (1992:49) defines alienation as the separation of humans from their natural selves both in their work and relations. Randall McGuire (1992:33) defines Praxis as the ability for humans to consciously make changes to themselves and the world. McGuire (2008) continues exploring praxis as collective action that can bring about positive change. However Sayers (2015) views praxis as action that produces revolutionary change, where as action in and of it self does not produce revolutionary change. I think it is important to acknowledge that in his context, praxis can also happen on an individual level. Agentive actions can be understood through multiscalar levels of analysis and application. When appropriate, connections between these various concepts and lenses of analysis will be made throughout this dissertation.

Alienation at the most basic level is how humans become detached from the natural world and begin to objectify the natural world (Patterson 2009: 147-148). Objectifying the natural world is part of all societies. However, Marx differentiated alienation in pre-capitalist societies and capitalist societies. In precapitalist societies alienation begins to differentiate the subject from the object, especially when an individual objectifies nature. In the capitalist society

Marx saw individuals being alienated from the objects that they produced. In both models, alienation is strongly connected with objects and the natural world as well as the influence society demands on individuals and objects (Patterson 2009). Alienation deals with how individuals become detached through their actions or agency. Segal (1991) argues strongly for a connection with agency and alienation. Marxist philosophies are strongly connected with how anthropologists, and in turn archaeologists, examine and view the material and natural worlds.

Communities are widely defined as a group of individuals that exists somewhere between the household and an Empire (Marcus 2000). William Isbell (2000: 243) believes that communities are traditionally defined by two approaches including that they are comprised of "(1) shared residence and space and (2) shared life experiences, knowledge, goals and sentiments." However, this traditional view or natural view of communities takes a behaviorist approach to community analysis (Isbell 2000). The natural community is characterized by stability, the interacting of individuals with shared views and goals and the reproduction of the group (Isbell 2000: 245-248). Stability is a defining theme in the natural community. Community formation is a natural cultural process that permits the reproduction of organisms and society. Isbell argues that anthropology views the natural community as a universal occurrence in the human condition and that this form of community fails to take into account human agency (Isbell 2000). There are exceptions and Isbell (2000: 246) cites the rare hermit as well as the formation of homesteads during the nineteenth century as cases in which a natural or traditional community failed to form. The natural community is often connected with the processualist traditions in archaeology. To better understand communities anthropology needs to imagine communities as volatile and dynamic (Anderson 2006; Isbell 2000). Isbell (2000: 247) states, while citing Bourdieu (1973, 1977, 1990) and Giddens (1984), "Concurrently,

anthropology has discarded the human behaviorist mode of thinking in favor of informed human agents."

Transitioning from the behaviorist approach and utilizing the "imagined community," according to Isbell, will present a past of "informed agents" (Isbell, 2000: 263). Isbell's explanation of an "imagined community" as being dynamic and "volatile" is how archaeologists can begin to recognize the importance of agents in communities and the changes that occur within them (Isbell, 2000: 249). Imagining the scission community as being dynamic through agentive actions can help better understand why they would change to a defensive mode of daily life around the nineteenth century. By recognizing the ability of individuals to shape and change a community, a more accurate archaeological analysis can be made. Archaeologists have to break out of the mold of a "natural community" or a community that is easily defined by households and the "building block of culture" (Isbell: 2000: 252). Michelle Hegmon (2002: 268) elaborates on Isbell's point by stating "In practice, focus on imagined communities involves interpretation of discourses of identity within communities, in part through analyses of symbolism and possibly the contrasting messages conveyed by different classes of material culture." Isbell's and Hegmon's perspectives recognize the possibility of communities and their identities changing over time and being influenced by individuals. Viewing the Maroon scission community through the lens of an imagined community can also help us better understand the choices they used in their material culture. In the case of the scission community at the nameless site, they resisted many mass-produced items and frequently used or reused swamp available resources.

Organization of this Dissertation

Chapter 1 of this dissertation has offered a brief background on the GDSLS, provided the area of inquiry for the author's motivations, research and fieldwork, and provided background on central research concepts. Chapter 2 provides a literature review and discussion of the African Diaspora and marronage. In addition, Chapter 2 will provide a theoretical discussion of structure and agency. This chapter will provide a review of how archaeology can use agency theory and aspects of agency theory that are relevant and its application to Maroons during the African Diaspora and the communities they established in the Great Dismal Swamp. Chapter 3 provides a linguistic analysis and semiotic discussion of William Byrd's (1967) primary source account of the Great Dismal Swamp and runaway slaves to better understand structural and ideological perspectives and how they were changing from the eighteenth century to nineteenth century. Chapter 4 provides a detailed background on the archaeological investigations that have taken place in the Great Dismal Swamp at the nameless site and the GDSLS. Discussion will focus on work that has already been completed at the site and that does not directly connect with my research question but is relevant to the larger discussion. Chapter 5 will discuss the excavations and data that have been collected from the Crest of the nameless site as part of the GDSLS from 2009 to 2013. The use of data from earlier field seasons will help to establish how very different and unique the concentration of artifacts are across the Crest in relation to what is believed to be the footprint of a defensive structure. Chapter 6 will provide an analysis of the results from the five years of fieldwork on the Crest incorporating discussions of agency theory in our understanding of cultural changes that were taking place with the Maroon community between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Chapter 7 will provide the concluding remarks.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL RESEARCH AND CONCEPTS: THE AFRICAN DIASPORA, MARRONAGE, STRUCTURE AND AGENCY IN THE GREAT DISMAL SWAMP

This chapter will discuss several theoretical research aspects and how they apply to archaeological investigations in the GDSLS. I will explore the historical African Diaspora and the agency of Maroons, particularly within the wider ideological milieus of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, such as the eighteenth century Georgian Order and leading into the nineteenth century during the Antebellum. The research and discussion in this chapter will serve to contextualize ideological apparatuses and responsive changes in the structure and agency of Maroons. This will include a discussion of diaspora, marronage, and how they connect to the individuals that made the Great Dismal Swamp their home. One of the goals of this research is to re-empower individuals, which is also the goal of agency theory (Given 2004).

Diaspora

Diasporic perspectives focus on and are meant to understand the sociocultural, political-economic, and identity dynamism inherent to coerced and forced migrations of people across human history. In addition, this perspective recognizes and takes into account such issues as exile and alienation during the migration. In historical archaeology, such perspectives have informed a wide range of approaches to modern history. For example, researchers have focused on African, Irish, Chinese, and Jewish diasporas and other specific trajectories to further our knowledge of the role of material culture and landscape in those processes (Agorsah 1996, 2007; Battle-Baptiste 2007; Chan 2007; Dubois 2003; Edwards 2004a, 2004b; Kusimba 1999, 2007: McGhee 2007; Mintz and Price 1992; Ogundiran and Falola 2007; Said 2001; Sayers, et al.

2006; Singleton 2006). Though historical archaeology has long focused on capitalism, colonialism and imperialism, diasporic perspectives have often helped refine such wide-net interests without losing or foregoing emphases on capital and state expansions in the modern world (Delle 1998; Wolf 1992). Western scholarship for many decades viewed sub-Saharan Africa as a place without history and even the earliest archaeologist expeditions had little interest for the indigenous people (Kusimba 1999: 46-48). In addition, the emergence of Colonialism saw the increased enslavement of Africans and the breakdown of previously existing trade networks (Kusimba 1999: 176). A diaspora perspective allows researchers to approach the diversity of cultures and transformations that took place both in the homeland and abroad. Of particular interest here is the African Diaspora as it emerged and persisted from expanding capitalism and its colonialist enterprises.

The demand for labor during the expansive colonial period and more recently the capitalist period has required both forced and unforced migrations or diasporas. The African Diaspora is a well documented forced migration of bondage and servitude that has been analyzed through fundamental aspects, or different lenses for analysis of the diaspora experience such as landscape, space, exile, race, Creolization, migration, agency, homeland, material culture and labor (Agorsah 1996, 2007; Battle-Baptiste 2007; Chan 2007; Dubois 2003; Edwards 2004a, 2004b; Kusimba 1999, 2007: McGhee 2007; Mintz and Price 1992; Ogundiran and Falola 2007; Said 2001; Sayers, et al. 2006; Singleton 2006). These and other aspects of the African Diaspora have contributed to historical archaeology's better understanding of the African experience as enslaved people and the transformation and creation of African culture in the New World.

African Diaspora

Historical archaeologists are analyzing the African Diaspora to better understand the experiences and development of African American culture and black identity. A variety of archaeological resources and areas of focus have contributed to the development of a diaspora perspective. The Middle Passage started in the early 1500's and continued into the 1800's all the while influencing and contributing significantly to the development of an African American and black identity. Despite the horrendous conditions of the Middle Passage it did not erase the individuality of the captive and enslaved people. Upon reaching the New World these enslaved individuals were thrust into labor on plantations in brutal conditions. The enslaved people were able to retain connections and cultural practices with origins in Africa as they began a new life of marginalization and alienation in the New World (Mintz and Price 1992).

The forced migration of Africans into the system of chattel slavery requires discussion through a diasporic perspective. Stephanie Dubois (2003: 14) states, "These men and women were uprooted from the African soil and separated from their families and communities for centuries, deprived of institutions, and condemned to an existence that the sociologist Orlando Patterson qualifies as "social death." However, by using a diaspora perspective and its many facets we recognize that while "social death" was very much part of the African experience so was transformation and creation as individuals came together to continue to practice culture in oppressive and constraining conditions. Despite the alienation caused by enslavement these people were able to hold onto self-identity and resist certain components of the structure they were forcibly thrust into. A diaspora perspective should shed additional insights and meaning into experience and move it beyond just "social death." Mintz and Price (1992: 19) state, "Thus

the organizational task of the enslaved African in the New World was that of creating institutions – institutions that would prove responsive to the needs of everyday life under the limiting conditions that slavery imposed upon them." Mintz and Price recognize the need to create new social institutions in place of those that died during the forced exile from Africa. A diaspora perspective can aid in understanding the creation of new social institutions.

The need to have deeper understanding behind the meaning of experience is a critical component that a diaspora perspective can offer historical archaeology. Dubois (2003: 36) argues that a diaspora cannot be contextualized into simple oppositions, such as "political/economic, forced/voluntary, or temporary/permanent." Dubois is arguing that a diaspora perspective can help to understand the "frameworks of meanings" in which the migrations occur. It becomes much more then just a forced movement that has economic ties. The agency of individuals in different structures will influence the diasporic movements of individuals and communities. The actions of individuals in a diaspora must be understood in the framework in which they occurred (Dubois 2003). The diaspora perspective should, through its multi-faceted lenses, be able to provide insights into the actual meaning of the experience and explain the context and framework in which the migration took place. This is significant to historical archaeology if we are to understand the relationships of people and their identities in chattel slavery and move beyond the categorizing of artifacts by function.

Exile in the Diasporic Experience

Using the concept of exile can help historical archaeologists better understand the diaspora in the modern world and is a significant component in the diaspora experience. Edward Said (2001: 173) provides a powerful definition for exile stating, "Exile is strangely compelling to think about but terrible to experience. It is the unhealable rift forced between a human being

and a native place, between the self and its true home: its essential sadness can never be surmounted." It is something that historical archaeologists must contextualize when looking at diasporic cultures, such as the African Diaspora. The "essential sadness can never be surmounted" is profound when understanding the ordeal experienced during the Middle Passage and enslavement. However, a diasporic perspective can call attention to the insurmountable sadness that shaped the African experience and the birth of African American culture or the creolizations of culture (Mintz Price 1992; Weik 2002, 2009, 2012). This approach allows historical archaeologists to apply meaning and definition to experience. It allows historical archaeologists to move beyond simply categorizing artifacts based on form, shape or style. Mintz and Price (1992) look at the African Diaspora experience as a profound factor in shaping, transforming and creating an African American culture. The diaspora perspective uncovers the meaning within people's experiences that transformed their understanding of the world around them.

Much of the modern world has been shaped by exile as a diasporic component. Said (2001: 173) farther states, "Modern Western culture is in large part the work of exiles, émigrés, refugees." He acknowledges the role that exile has had on creating the modern Western culture. His statement recognizes the role migration, whether forced or unforced, has contributed to the creation and transformation of culture, which in turn have defined the modern world. The importance of exile in diaspora and the creation of culture is further reinforced by Said's (2001: 181) statement, "Much of the exile's life is taken up compensating for disorienting loss by creating a new world to rule." Said is focusing on the necessity of creating a new home and becoming part of a new structure. Stefan Rossbach (2007: 95) also asserts that while globalization has turned the physical movement of people and "the experience of exile into mass

phenomena" it has also created a spiritual and philosophical exile from reality. Rossbach is suggesting that people become both physically and philosophically detached from their homeland, alluding to the necessity of creating a new life to live in the modern world. Said's and Rossbach's contributions are critical to historical archaeologists who want to theorize or imagine how people viewed themselves and lived their lives in a capitalist structure. It lends itself to understanding alienated and marginalized people who were ripped from their homeland and forced to labor in brutal conditions. The exilic component in diasporic studies permits historical archaeologists to uncover the agency in creating a world to live in within a capitalist system. The agency of exiled individuals is relevant to and connected with understanding their sociocultural diasporic experiences.

Diaspora and Creolization

A diaspora perspective can help historical archaeology understand the transformation and creation of social institutions by Africans upon reaching the New World. Creolization is the creation of a hybrid culture and is complimentary to the diaspora experience. There is sometimes a tendency for the minority culture to incorporate more cultural practices from the dominant culture than the other way around. The process of Creolization can transform many social institutions such as language, religion, material culture, social behaviors, architecture and others. A diaspora perspective recognizes that the transformation of culture will occur when groups migrate voluntarily or involuntarily. Understanding these transformations to the social institutions of culture can permit historical archaeologists to better understand the experiences of those involved with the diaspora.

African culture and social institutions had to adapt and transform on plantations. These transformations happened as Africans from different cultural backgrounds interacted amongst

themselves and at the same time interacted with overseers or masters who had ownership over them. Mintz and Price (1992: 34) state,

> It has been our contention that the so-called creole cultures of the plantation colonies began to be forged during the earliest interaction of Europeans and Africans, and of Africans of different origins with each other, under conditions in which the outer parameters of variation were set by the environmental and ecological circumstances typical of subtropical colonies, by the overarching objectives of the plantation system, and by the monopoly of power vested in the European master classes.

They recognize the immediacy of cultural transformation as Europeans and Africans had to negotiate a landscape of power and domination. These experiences would contribute to the earliest social institutions being created by Africans that would allow them to operate and address their daily needs, in terms of language, religion, marriage, economic structures, in an extremely oppressive system. The creolization process began almost immediately for Africans.

Despite being enslaved Africans were not tabula rasa following the Middle Passage who were immediately "Americanized" upon arriving in the New World. A number of cultural practices in the form of language, religion, music and other cultural institutions maintained a connection with the homeland, despite a return to Africa being unlikely if not impossible (Ferguson 1992; Mintz and Price 1992). Emerson (1999: 73) suggests that African ethnic markers, such as the kwardata motif, can be found on some of the pipes from the Chesapeake region. He suggests that that people expressed themselves through decorative art. Mouer, et al. (1999) argues that Emerson jumped to conclusions by using ethnic markers to tie material culture to Africa. However, it is quite plausible that as part of the Creolization process enslaved people were manipulating New World and European material culture with their own influence and design. Ferguson (1992) argues that the coiled basket style made of sweetgrass found on plantations, and even for sale in low country road stands today, represents a style in material culture that was brought from Africa to the New World. Colonoware made on plantations may

represent Native American influence mixed with African traditions (Ferguson 1992). These artifacts offer a representation of the agentive actions enslaved people began to transform material culture in ways that permitted them to maintain connections with the homeland but also to improvise in oppressive situations.

Terrance Weik (2002, 2007, 2009, 2012) examines the ethnogenesis of Maroon culture with Black Seminoles at the Pilaklikaha site in Florida. Weik views ethnogenesis as the "fissioning" of two distinct cultural groups through contact (Weik 2002:4). The fissioning of cultural groups is very similar to the creolization as the creation of culture. Weik's concept of ethnogenesis is very much rooted in Maroons of the African Diaspora.

Creolization is a necessary analytical lens when understanding the African Diaspora. Creolization has offered the diaspora perspective the ability to see the transformation of social institutions and material culture during several centuries of slavery in the New World. Creolization is a creative action and representative of agency both in cultural and material practices. The material culture that is created can also be understood in the context of material agency and will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter. The diversity of analytical lenses that are available in a diaspora perspective will continue to make significant contributions to historical archaeology. Marginalization and alienation through racialization is unfortunately all too often a component for minority groups in a new hostland.

Diaspora and Race

The spread of colonial and capitalist ideology around much of the globe improperly involved the classification of people into race-based groups. In addition, as European colonial influence extended its reach so did the marginalization of populations of indigenous groups and

non-western cultures. The dominant ideology in this historical context stratified groups and cultures based on what were defined in Western terms as desirable traits.

These emerging ideologies directly led to the development of racial classification. These racial classifications were used to marginalize and alienate groups of people into lower statuses allowing them to be legitimately subjugated into slavery or other lesser positions by the dominant European and United States ideologies. Charles Orser (2007: 13) states, "Racialization creates a racial hierarchy in which some "races" are judged to be superior to others." Colonialism, imperialism and eventually capitalism all required a mass labor force to produce commodities. By creating race based groups colonialism, imperialism and capitalism gave the appearance of legitimacy, justifying the enslavement of Africans because they were of a lower race or status.

Racialization is also a connected concept with the diaspora perspective, Orser (2007: 10) states, "People have used racial designations to divide and segment, to identify and stigmatize." By racializing indigenous and native groups it allowed for colonial and imperial powers to force people into slavery and exile them from their homelands to take on roles as forced labor. Orser (2007: 13) states, "The connection between race and material culture in the modern world thus rests upon a foundation of consumption." The capitalist system required people to produce and consume. Racialization was an attempt to legitimately stratify people into roles of laborers and the producers of commodities for consumers. As people migrated through forced exile under enslavement they began to acquire aspects of their new hostland culture, the beginning of the creolization process. In this context it is evident how the different lenses and aspects of a diaspora perspective can be interconnected. The diaspora perspective can show how different

lenses of analysis can tie together to create a larger understanding about the experience and identities of migratory groups and individual agents.

Diaspora Discussion

A diaspora perspective with its many lenses and angles of analysis has contributed significantly to historical archaeology and the emergence of African American culture. Through the use of theory and material culture a diaspora perspective will continue to create new understandings about the experience of migrations in the modern world and the creation of new identities. Mintz and Price (1992: 1) state,

> No group, no matter how well equipped or how free to choose, can transfer its way of life and accompanying beliefs and values intact from one locale to another. The conditions of transfer, as well as the characteristics of the host setting, both human and material will inevitably limit the variety and strength of the effective transfers.

Mintz's and Price's statement echoes the importance of diasporic studies to understand cultural transformations. The African Diaspora represents the birth of African American culture because this group had no freedom upon reaching the hostland, which was one large labor factory. Historical archaeology must rely on perspectives that offer diverse interpretations, including non-Marxist approaches, as it attempts to understand the meaning of experiences in the modern world and capitalist system.

Marronage

The term "Maroon" and "Seminole" are probably derived from the Spanish word *cimarron.* The term *cimarron* meant "wild and untamed" and was often used to refer to cattle or swine that escaped from farms (Arrom and García-Arèvalo 1986; Covington 1993; Fairbanks 1978; Weik 2002: 6). Eventually the term was applied to runaway slaves and Europeans, Africans, Native Americans and other disenfranchised individuals who resisted colonization and

enslavement (Weik 2002:6). Maroons are those individuals who have removed themselves from constraining ideologies that consisted of racialization, chattel slavery, capitalism and exploited labor that were present in Colonial and Early America and established communities in remote locations. These constraining ideologies not only impacted African Americans but also resulted in Native Americans joining Maroon communities due to relocation, enslavement and racialization (Greene 2009, 2010; Weik 2002, 2007, 2009, 2012). In racialized and Eurocentric Colonial America it is not surprising that the term Maroon was derived from a word that was used to describe escaped and wild farm animals. Essentially those individuals who bravely resisted the alienating structure were marginalized to the level of swine and untamable beast. This farther solidified the ideological control of the elite and those who had access to modes of production.

Maroon studies can contribute to the African Diaspora because they examine a form of resistance and the removal of individuals from chattel slavery. Although the term Maroon carries dehumanizing aspects, it has become a word that also now possesses positive connotations by representing individuals who self-liberated themselves (Weik 2009, 2012). The term is now one that possesses empowerment and pride.

Marronage is agentive action as individuals began to self emancipate themselves upon immediately arriving into enslavement. Maroon communities were established throughout parts of the Americas including in North America, the Caribbean and South America (Agorsah 1994; Aptheker 1939, 1947; Bilby 2005; Price 1996; Sayers 2004, 2006, 2012b, 2008a, 2014; Sayers, et al. 2006; Weik 1997, 2002, 2004, 2007, 2012). Herbert Aptheker's (1939, 1947) pioneering work on Maroon studies called attention to the phenomena in the Americas. He identified frontier locations that distanced the Maroons from the "slavocracy," such as mountains and

swamps, as destinations to establish independent communities. Aptheker (1939, 1947) utilized historical accounts, discussing how maroons would raid surrounding communities and farms for supplies and the actions of colonial Americans to hunt down Maroons and wipeout their communities. Richard Price (1996) also argues that Maroon communities must inhabit remote locations if they are to be successful. Price (1996) suggests that swamps, especially in the Southern United States, make for an ideal and favorite location for Maroon communities. See Chapter 3 for a linguistical analysis of how swamps were viewed in Colonial America. It is estimated that there may have been as many as fifty Maroon communities established during the period of slavery in the United States (Aptheker 1996: 151-152). Maroon societies were "holistic models of socialization" and may have also created a positive social identity for those involved as they preserved their culture, blended cultures, and created new cultural practices (Weik 2012: 7).

Figure 4: Osman a Maroon Who Lived in the Great Dismal Swamp.

Image courtesy of the GDSLS.

Many Maroon studies have concentrated on historical perspectives and accounts, oral histories and ethnographic work with descent communities (Agorsah 1994; Aptheker 1939, 1947; Bilby 2005; Price 1996). However, Charles Orser (1998) suggests that the rebellious nature of Africans who self-emancipated themselves will attract people to Maroon archaeology. Archaeological studies of Maroon communities have only recently been investigated as opposed to ethnographic and historic perspectives that have been completed for some time.

Archaeological investigations of two Maroon settlements took place in Jamaica at Nanny Town in Blue Mountains and Old Accompong Town in the Cockpit (Agorsah1994a, 1994b). In the United States two archaeological projects involving Maroon archaeology have taken place in the Great Dismal Swamp in Virginia and North Carolina as well as Pilaklikaha in Florida (Sayers 2004, 2006a, 2008a, 2012b, 2014; Sayers, et al. 2006; Weik 1997, 2002, 2004, 2007, 2012).

Identifying Maroon archaeological sites is a difficult process because they established communities in remote locations and potentially did not leave a lot of material culture behind to be unearthed (Price 1983; Weik 2012). Maroons may have acquired very few material possessions during raids to plantations. These small and portable possessions would have been easily carried as Maroons moved from different locales or emerged from remote sedentary locations (Landers 1998; Price 1982; Weik 2012). In addition, Maroons may have avoided all forms of material culture from Colonial America and the capitalist system because the items represented the system that enslaved them and that they were actively resisting (Price 1983; Sayers 2008a, 2012b, 2014). The lack of substantial material culture can make it difficult to identify Maroon settlements. The following will examine several different forms of marronage.

Forms of Marronage

There are several different and identifiable forms of marronage that individuals would have participated in leading up to and into the nineteenth century. It is worth noting again that Maroons are not limited solely to runaway slaves; some maroons could have included Native Americans and outcast and disenfranchised Europeans, which would have significantly impacted the different communities that formed (Sayers 2008a: 121, 2012b, 2014; Weik 2002, 2007, 2012b). Marronage was multiscalar in the sense that it occurred on a *petite* scale and *grand* scale (Price 1996; Sayers 2008a, 2012b, 2014). The Great Dismal Swamp offered a landscape for two

agentive forms of marronage to take place. First, *grand marronage* allowed individuals to create independent communities, permanently emancipating themselves from the system of chattel slavery on plantations. Second, and in contrast to the first form of marronage, there was *petite marronage*, in which individuals were truant but eventually returned to plantations (Price 1963, 1996). *Grand marronage* existed in two forms. First, the *extralimital* form in which Maroons fled from places where the system of enslavement was not present (Sayers 2004, 2008a, 2014). Destinations in this form of *grand marronage* included states, countries, polities and sovereign territories. Second, the *intralimital* form in which Maroons fled to remote locations within the slave system such as swamps, mountains or even to urban settings where they could be protected by anonymity (Sayers 2004, 2008a, 2014).

The GDSLS proposes that there were three modes of communitization that arguably would have built houses on islands as opposed to stilts over the morass in the Great Dismal Swamp. The three identified communities are semi-independent, labor exploitation and scission (Sayers 2008a: 120, 2012b, 2014; Sayers et al. 2006). The modes of communitization are defined by their location within the swamp and their artifact assemblages. The model established by the GDSLS frequently refers to mass-produced goods, in reference to artifacts and materials that were produced outside of the swamp and brought into the swamp. These are artifacts that would be consistent with the historical archaeological record at a plantation or town. Swamp based resources are in reference to materials that were available in the swamp, the flora and fauna that helped to create the natural environment.

First, the semi-independent communities were characterized as those that lived on the edge of the swamp and potentially exchanged with the outside world. This community would have been comprised of Native Americans and Maroons. Their artifact assemblage would be

characterized by an equal distribution of mass-produced and swamp-based materials. These communities were established pre-1770 (Sayers 2008a, 2012b, 2014).

Second, the labor exploitation communities were canal laborers who lived in the swamp in close proximity to where canals were being constructed. This took place post-1763 and into the nineteenth century. The artifact assemblage for this mode of communitization would consist of mostly of mass-produced objects from the outside world and only a few swamp-based materials. The community would have consisted of enslaved canal laborers, free African Americans, Maroons and Europeans (Sayers 2008a, 2012b, 2014).

Third, the scission communities lived in the interior of the swamp and resisted contact with the outside world. Scission communities would have relied heavily on swamp based resources and resisted mass-produced objects from the outside world. Members in this mode of communitization would have consisted of disenfranchised Europeans, Native Americans and Maroons. An interesting occurrence is how these three communities may have interacted. Sayers (2008a: 275, 2012b, 2014) suggests that the inhabitants of the Great Dismal Swamp were diverse and formed complex communities and were interacting with one another in a variety of manners and at different times (Sayers 2008a, 2012b, 2014).

These forms of marronage occurred throughout the colonial period and capitalist structure, which required labor and land to produce commodities in the southern states. The landscape became an important aspect for Maroon communities, especially those that occurred on a grand scale in the intralimital dimension. The Maroon community in the Great Dismal Swamp may have been the largest grand and intralimital Maroon community in North America (Sayers 2004, 2008a, 2014).

Marronage as Resistance and Agency

Marronage as resistance is in reference to individuals, through their agency, removing themselves and resisting the colonial and capitalist structures that promoted enslavement in the Southern United States. Aptheker (1939:168) wrote about the Great Dismal Swamp as being one of the "most noted" Maroon communities. Sayers contextualizes marronage as a form of self imposed exile that is closely tied to Marx's ideas of alienation (Sayers 2008a, 2014). The concept of exile is also connected with the African Diaspora (Said 2001). The argument that agency can be used in marronage studies is further supported by Terrence Weik (1997: 81) when he states, "Examining marronage, the formation of Maroons, in an African Diaspora is an important means of adding to the discourse on African agency beyond the African continent." Agency theory can be useful in understanding the actions of enslaved individuals who created groups, in the context of Maroon communities, in defiance to the colonial and capitalist structures. Weik (2012) believes this form of agency, resistance, fought slavery. It was their action against a larger system of slavery that creates new smaller structures in which they lived out their lives. Historical archaeology can understand how Maroons lived through excavation of material culture, primary source documents, and theoretical inquiry into their actions. Also, there will be a brief comparative study on how archaeological theoretical perspectives can be applied to two Maroon sites in the United States. The discussion will include the work of Daniel Sayers, who uses a Marxian perspective in the Great Dismal Swamp, and Terrance Weik who employs a socio-political approach to ethnogenesis at Pilaklikaha in Florida (Sayers 2008a, 2014; Weik 2002, 2012).

Theoretical Archaeological Approaches to Marronage: Two Archaeological Projects, GDSLS and Pilaklikaha

The following will examine and compare two theoretical perspectives to better understand Maroon communities through archaeological investigations and will include the work of Daniel Sayers (2008a, 2012b, 2014) in the Great Dismal Swamp and Terrance Weik (2002, 2007, 2012) at Pilaklikaha in Florida. Sayers uses a Marxian perspective to understand labor, community and social relations that drove individuals into the swamp and influenced how they structured their communities. Sayers states that a Marxian perspective can help to understand 1) community and social structure, 2) landscape and material culture and 3) resource exploitation and extraction (Sayers 2008a: 33; 2012b, 2014). He cites Marx who suggests that capitalism has destroyed the ideal community because capitalism has replaced virtues of community and cooperation (Marx 1989: 67-120; Sayers 2008a: 36; 2014). Sayers makes the argument that capitalism produces alienated agents because class community is defined by access to modes of production (Sayers 2008a: 38; 2014). Using a Marx perspective Sayers explains how the structure of the emerging capitalist system produced conditions that created an atmosphere for resistance. Capitalism, and its needs for labor, began to alienate people from the modes of production, including subsistence practices. Enslaved individuals were laboring to produce commodities, including food, for the elite. Enslaved individuals represent the most extreme form of alienated agents. Sayers' perspective offers an understanding to the forms of resistance that Africans exercised in opposition to the capitalist system. Sayers used a Marxist perspective dealing with alienation as means to provide insights into Maroon communities and the self-emancipation of enslaved individuals.

Weik takes a socio-cultural perspective that focuses on ethnogenesis for understanding the formation of Pilaklikaha (Weik 2002, 2007, 2012). Weik defines ethnogenesis as, "…the

creation and fissioning of distinct cultural groups from cultural contact situations" (Weik 2002: 4). Weik believes that the Black Seminoles created their own culture and reshaped relations with outsiders. However, Weik argues that Black Seminoles and Native Americans should be studied together because each group would have shaped or left their mark on material culture (Weik 2002: 20; 2007, 2012). This is an important statement for larger Maroon studies because many Maroon communities were not comprised of a single ethnicity. Instead, Maroon communities were comprised of diverse groups of disenfranchised individuals and alienated agents. Weik (2012: 46) states, "Ethnogenesis is valuable for analyses because it forces scholars to think about social complexities and mechanisms of collective transformation, as opposed to simply assuming that these self emancipated communities were replications of African-based models of society, creolized subgroups of early American cultures, or chaotic outliers of slave society." Weik's use of ethnogenesis recognizes the complex relationships of individuals taking into account that different cultural groups would have influenced one another in a variety of situations.

Weik focuses on the cultural histories of the First Floridians as well as the cultural history of the African Diaspora. He transitions into the first African and Amerindian contacts in the Americas (Weik 2002: 22-43; 2012). The formation of the Black Seminole probably took place as Creek Indians joined Africans in a movement away from towns, plantations and farms (Weik 2002: 44). It is possible that the American Revolution led to a large migration of diverse people into Florida and that the Black Seminole may have even been a "tri-racial" society comprised of Africans, Native Americans and Europeans (Weik 2002: 60). These Maroons were probably culturally diverse with unique languages, beliefs and physical differences (Weik 2002: 46; 2012). This concentration on pre-contact Native Americans and pre-trans-Atlantic trade of Africans plays a large part of his theoretical analysis and is very socio-cultural in nature. Weik's cultural

discussion and history of the involved groups is critical for his formation of a distinct Black Seminole culture. He argues that the creation of a distinct culture provided the Black Seminoles with interests and skills that allowed them to engage Seminole Indians on equal terms (Weik 2002: 61; 2012).

The use of additional perspectives will provide insights for understanding Maroons and as the literature about archaeological investigations into Maroon communities continues to grow so will the history of these resistance communities. Maroons were culturally diverse as Africans from a variety of places self-emancipated themselves and established communities in frontier locations. Their interactions and relationships with Native Americans and Europeans arguably shaped their practices. Maroon studies can provide the framework for culturally understanding resistance communities.

Marronage and the Underground Railroad in the Great Dismal Swamp

Marronage in the Great Dismal Swamp played a significant role in the Underground Railroad. The swamp provided a remote location for the *intralimital* form of *grand marronage* to take place. Thousands of Maroons made the Great Dismal Swamp a permanent destination on the Underground Railroad (Aptheker 1939, 1947; Austin 2015; Leaming 1995; Nichols 1988; Sayers 2004). The swamp also provided passage for Maroons who were participating in the *extralimital* form as a brief stop or passage to states in the North that did not practice enslavement.

However, one aspect of marronage to consider is that the periphery of the swamp provided a destination for marronage to take place on a *petite* scale. This would have allowed enslaved individuals to interact with semi-independent perimetrical communities on the edge of the swamp, permitting trade or acquiring additional swamp resources. Further, those enslaved

individuals participating in the *petite* scale of marronage may have acquired additional subsistence through hunting or other swamp resources without interacting with the other Maroon communities. These scenarios offer a variety of agentive perspectives regarding the actions of individuals.

Marronage Discussion

The above offers an explanation of marronage, including the types that can take place as well as the sort of communities that formed in the Great Dismal Swamp. In addition, a comparison of two archaeological theoretical approaches to Maroons by Sayers and Weik was provided. The actions of Maroons should be viewed and considered to be a significant component of the African Diaspora. The courage of these individuals to flee chattel slavery and live freely offers insights into a group that history has intentionally ignored. Maroons resisted the dominant ideologies and structures that marginalized, alienated and exploited individuals based on race to labor in brutally inhumane conditions. Maroons experienced their own hardships in the conditions of marronage but as agents were able to create their own cultural structures in remote locations.

Theoretical Perspectives Applied to Individuals and the Environment of the Great Dismal Swamp

The following will discuss key and relevant theoretical perspectives in anthropology and how they apply to the examination of the GDSLS. It will connect several perspectives that can be tied to multiscalar views within structure and agency. Structure and agency are relevant tools of analysis in developing perspectives on micro and macro scales for understanding the past and changes in structural ideologies when identifying marginalized and alienated groups in the material culture of the historical archaeological record (Barrett 2001; Dobres and Robb 2000,

2005; Emerson 1999; Ferguson 1992; Gilchrist 2005; Knappett and Lambros 2008; McGhee 2007; McGuire 2008; Mouer, et al. 1999; Scham 2001; Silliman 2010). I will examine the concepts of structure and agency providing definitions and how they have been used in the discipline of archaeology. I will then examine how the ideology of maroons and resistance connect within these frameworks in the African Diaspora.

Agency and Structure

Agency is a relevant tool of analysis for understanding aspects of archaeology because it ties directly with the actions of individuals and groups of individuals within a structure. The goal of an agency perspective is to re-empower individuals, giving them choice within the structure. In addition, agency studies have been used to focus on material culture and architecture. This theoretical perspective can also be connected with the act of marooning in a diaspora experience as a form of resistance.

The post-processualist movement in archaeology has embraced agency as a means to identify and analyze human action within structure (Barrett 2000, 2001; Johnson 1999; Dobres and Robb 2000, 2005). Some significant early contributions to the development of agency have included Pierre Bourdieu (1977) and Anthony Giddens (1979). By examining agency within the capitalist structure we can better understand the plurality of individuals that exist within that structure (Dobres and Robb 2000: 5). Anthony Giddens (1979) provides understanding to the dialectical relationship between individuals within a structure. In the context of people, agency will be defined as the actions of individuals or groups of individuals. This action is tied with a flow of conduct that can be conscious or unconscious (Bourdieu: 1977; Giddens 1979). The use of agency as a flow of conduct refers to the actions chosen by specific individuals. It is connecting action with behavior, which is useful when analyzing and discussing the choices that

are available and made by alienated peoples within structures. These actions may play out differently within different landscapes, such as plantations, factories, slave ships, Maroon communities or some other venue in the capitalist system.

Looking at individual actors and their social practice can provide understandings to how action is produced by structure and how agency helps to produce, manipulate, resist, reproduce and transform structure. It offers a mechanism for understanding social change or transformation. However, the degree of intention in agency does not always necessitate change or transformation to the structural system (Giddens 1979: 72). Giddens recognizes the agency of individuals even when they are found in alienated and oppressive positions and structures. This is relevant to marronage and the African Diaspora because individuals resisted enslavement in the capitalist structure through self-emancipation. Individuals are able to act in a variety of forms of resistance (Scott 1985, 1990), including but not limited to marronage (Price 1996, Sayers 2006, 2008a, 2012, 2014; Weik 1997, 2002, 2004, 2007, 2012), sabotage and foot shuffling (Shackel 1996, 2000), revolt and hiding additional resources (Delle 1998, 1999, Shackel 1996), as well as other forms of nonconforming action (Given 2004; Orser and Funari 2001). Foot shuffling in this context implies the intentionality of an individual to move slowly when assigned the completion of a task. It is when an individual intentionally takes longer in completing a task that would usually require a shorter amount of time. Agency takes on many forms when people are exploited and alienated in the context of capitalism.

Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* attempts to bridge the gap between structure and agency through patterned action and thought and is similar to Giddens' concept of praxis (Bourdieu 1977: 81-83). Bourdieu also recognizes the ability of individuals to act within a structure and this action is often associated with structures of inequality. Individuals and communities help to

create the structure (Giddens 1979). The structure contributes to standardizing the behavior and actions of individuals and groups (Bourdieu 1977). John Barrett (2001: 153) discusses the use of *habitus* in terms of the archaeological record by acknowledging the ability of *habitus* to recognize patterned social practices in the archaeological record and material culture. Societal and personal relations are expressed through routine practices (Given 2004). The different theoretical aspects of agency become enlightening perspectives for identifying different human actions in the archaeological record both in material artifacts and through theoretical approaches of agency. Giddens' (1979) view of structure is how rules and resources are organized and patterned with regards to social relations. The actions and practices of individuals can manipulate and change the structure just as the structure can influence the actions of agents. This is the dialectical relationship between structure and agency.

Structure and Agency in the Context of the African Diaspora

Agency is closely tied with the structure that was in place during the African Diaspora. Marronage, as a form of agency, was taking place on a large scale in the Americas when colonialism and capitalism were the dominant structures (Johnson 1996; McGuire and Paynter 1991; Sayers 2006, 2008, 2012, 2014 Sayers et al 2006; Wolf 1992). In the context of this discussion resistance will be considered a form of agency in and of itself, although it is not limited to this theoretical framework (Given 2004). Structure and agency are relevant to diasporic and marronage studies because they allow archaeologists to understand the actions of individuals who were part of a much larger community escaping the constraints of chattel slavery and the emerging capitalist structure. It is also critical to the archaeology of capitalism because, "Understanding the genealogy of specific ideologies and social structures is an enduring form of polemical discourse and a political necessity (Leone and Knauf 2015: 11; Shklar 1971)." Maroon

communities were comprised of individuals but they represent only one group in the larger African Diaspora. Agency theory helps to address the multiscalar world that developed during the colonial period and will allow archaeologists to differentiate the different roles on micro and macro scales (Silliman 2010).

James Delle (1998: 24-25) defines capitalism as a political economy in which human relations are stratified by allegiance to social classes. This is relevant for understanding the individual and communities because their actions will be shaped by their stratified position within capitalism. Archaeologists have used agency analysis in different forms to better understand the relations of power and hegemonic ideology over individual action and how specific individuals reacted to alienation within the capitalist system (Dobres and Robb 2000, 2005). Agency can also be used to better understand collective action, or how groups or classes of individuals act within the structure of capitalism (McGuire 2008).

Resistance as Agency in the Capitalist Structure

Resistance is a form of agency that allows individuals acting independently or collectively to better self-serve their needs. Joyce Hollander and Rachel Einwohner (2004) discuss how scholars have used the concept of resistance as a form of action that can take place on an individual, collective and institutional level. Resistance is agency that attempts to undermine the structure on different levels (Given 2004). Hollander and Einwohner (2004: 534) reinforce the idea that resistance can take place in a labor setting and can occur both individually, micro-scale, or collectively, macro-scale. In their discussion of resistance and the variety of uses that resistance entails in scholarly works, Hollander and Einwohner (2004: 538) come to the conclusion that all scholars see action and opposition in resistance. Their definition and characteristics of resistance as action and opposition supports the use of resistance as agency.

Mark Leone and Jocelyn Knauf (2015:18) state, "Where the scholarship on ideology points, Marx himself leads to seeing that exploiting labor leads to resistance." When individuals are exploited and alienated it leads to resistance in various forms, these differing acts of resistance constitute agency.

Michael Given (2004: 13) also supports the concept that resistance is a form of agency by examining individual choice of actions in an attempt to re-empower the colonized or oppressed. The capitalist structure demanded labor, which caused the alienation and enslavement of individuals. However, resistance can also consist of "using the mind to confront and eliminate any form of oppression" (Weik 2012: 34). The agency of Maroons can be examined through their resistance to chattel slavery in the Georgian Order and the emerging capitalist structure.

Material Culture and Agency

In addition to looking at human action within a structure, agency studies have also started to focus on material culture. Archaeologists rely on artifacts to understand the people and cultures that are being studied. The importance of identifying theoretical concepts, such as agency, in the remains of material culture is paramount to the archaeologists understanding of a past culture. The concept of material agency can be extended to mean several things. An artifact can contain the actions of individuals through their manufacture and become an expression of human action (Delle 1998; Ferguson 1992) or the agency of an object can shape the action of individuals (Knappett and Malafouris 2008b). Delle (1998: 6) recognizes human agency in the creation of material culture in the structure of capitalism because agency creates commodities. It is the creation of the dialectic of agents creating commodities because that is what the structural system of capitalism dictates. Meaning is assigned to the material through the dialectic of social relations between the agent and the structure. Archaeologists, who uncover the material

commodity as an artifact, need to be aware of the larger meaning created by the relationships of the sociopolitical and economic structure in which an individual created the object and which the structure has assigned value.

Robert Preucel (2006: 5) argues that archaeology has failed to look at the "socialness of things" and has relied to heavily on "style debates." Preucel discusses the needs to approach material culture from an agency perspective or as he defines it materiality. Preucel utilizes a semiotic approach to understanding the materiality of objects. This approach to materiality, material agency, can allow the archaeologist to engage with the landscape through the resources that have been used in the creation of material culture. This is especially relevant given the material choices and artifact signatures of the scission Maroon community living in the Great Dismal Swamp, which were mostly created with floral and faunal swamp-based resources.

Knappett and Malafouris (2008a, 2008b) examine agency from a non-anthropocentric aspect. Their aim is to discuss how material influences agency, this can be through commodities or the landscape. By taking a non-anthropocentric approach they are looking to move agency beyond the individual or collective and expanding it to the environment. Material agency permits the examination of material culture and commodities as having social lives (Appadurai 1986: 3; Knappett and Malafouris 2008a, 2008b). This extension of agency from the individual to the material can offer an important theoretical framework for understanding the archaeological record. Material culture is connected with the creation of agents and expressing agency in archaeology (Dobres and Robb 2000: 14; Knappett and Malafouris 2008b). They argue that artifacts need to be examined not solely as products of human action but to recognize that they also can shape human action. In addition, an artifact can be assigned a use value, which is what traditional archaeology has accomplished. However, by examining the artifact as having both use

value and exchange value and being an act of agency in-and-of-itself can help better situate agents in a capitalist structure. This allows material agency to extend to the materials used and how they were used and directly ties to the material culture that was used and produced by Maroons. This approach recognizes that material remains are representative of relations of individuals in a larger structure and not solely a functional commodity. An example for the Maroons of the scission community living in the Great Dismal Swamp would be the use of swamp-based materials and resources including wood, reeds, reworked lithics, and ceramics to create artifacts and resisting objects from the outside or mass produced artifacts.

Archaeologists, when examining material from the historical archaeological record, more commonly use an anthropocentric analysis of artifacts. An anthropocentric practice allows archaeologists to assign meaning to objects through agency; it is what provides an object with meaning. Individuals can actively use material culture through expressive and symbolic means that contribute to their social strategies (Hodder 1982, 1986; Knappett and Malafouris 2008b: xiii). The utilization of material for negotiating social strategies is what Knappett and Malafouris refer to as an anthropocentric view of agency and an overly human approach to understanding how individuals created objects and what meaning those objects may have. This method of examining artifacts, as telling a story of the individual, has been a more common archaeological practice of analysis in recent decades. It is human action through the creation and utilization of an object that it gains meaning.

Anthony Sinclair (2000) argues that technological studies can aid in identifying individuals in the archaeological record. Sinclair examines Solutrean lithic tools because he believes the examination of the materials and techniques that are used demonstrate individual agency by exposing the choices of material and the style of knapping employed by individuals

(2000:196). Although Sinclair's analysis focuses on lithic tools from the Paleolithic, his model of using technological studies by examining knapping techniques and materials can be used to help identify agency in more recently constructed lithic tools. Sinclair explains (2000: 200) that the "constellation of knowledge," is based on the different elements in tool manufacture and use. This recognizes agency in the acquired knowledge of using certain materials and manufacturing them in a specific manner for the desired tool. There is a considerable amount of diversity in the "constellation of knowledge" but technological studies can help to identify the individual by recognizing the actions and materials of manufacturing a tool (Sinclair 2000: 196). This can contribute to understanding individuals in Maroon communities who knapped tools out of local or imported lithic resources. In addition, it can aid in understanding how Maroons manipulated preexisting Native American lithic tools for reuse. Sinclair (2000: 200) believes that the mass production of goods has removed the individual from many artifacts. However, lithic tools and other individually constructed artifacts allows for individual agency, or choices by individuals

Archaeology has become increasingly reliant on the different facets of agency analysis. Delle (1998: 6) states, "Archaeologists of capitalism consider material culture as a crucial element in the negotiation of capitalist social relations. It is through human agency that material culture is given meaning, and through human agency that new material culture is given meaning." This statement recognizes that agents provide meaning to artifacts, and that they have value and represent exchange within the modes of production. In terms of historical archaeology these actions and values are based in the structure of capitalism, allowing archaeologists to examine how the capitalist structure constrained individuals and how those individuals responded (Delle 1998: 26; Johnson 1996; McGuire and Paynter 1991a, 1991b; Wolf 1982: 75-

76). If there are changes in material culture it is through the interactions of individuals within the capitalist structures.

Archaeologists have often reduced agency to individual action when discussing its contributions to archaeology. McGuire (2008) puts forth the argument that collective agency through praxis, action that brings about positive social change, is crucial in understanding how cultural transformations occurred in the historical archaeological record. As a theoretical framework it can contribute to numerous archaeological perspectives. The archaeologist is left with the daunting task of understanding and recognizing the many facets in which agency occur. It is certainly represented in individual action as Bourdieu (1977) and Giddens (1979) argue but it also extends into the collective realm of group action that McGuire (2008) uses to demonstrate cultural change or praxis. In addition, agency can be found in material culture both through action, technologies and value. As historical archaeology continues to progress, the field should continue to recognize the dynamic uses that agency presents in understanding culture in a capitalist system.

Agency in Architecture

Timothy Pauketat and Susan Alt (2005) argue that we can find agency in the construction of architecture and the digging of postmolds. They argue that architecture embodies all dimensions of human agency (Pauketat and Alt 2005: 213). Although Pauketat and Alt focus on the placement of postmolds during different periods of construction in the Cahokia culture, they recognize physical constructions as cultural constructions. Pauketat and Alt examine the communal construction of palisade structures built by the Cahokia during periods of depopulation, echoing similarities to a shrinking interior community in the Great Dismal Swamp. Identifying a palisade or other intentional defensive structure on the Crest will require an

examination of postmolds and the potential for communal action. Pauketat and Alt (2005: 216) argue that the methods and construction of architecture represent agential moments. The digging of postmolds is not a normative or benign behavior; instead it represents active behavior that embodies the production of identities and social histories (Pauketat and Alt 2005: 219-220). Pauketat and Alt (2005: 230) continue by arguing that postmolds and agency are connected and important to archaeological analysis because they "literally" represent the construction of a community's physical world. Identifying the structures of the interior resistance community will require an analysis of postmolds, trenches and pits to better understand the creation of the architectural landscape on the Crest.

The creation of a community's physical world is agency that is imposed onto the landscape. The intention of constructing various types of architecture is representative of purposeful action. The organization of postmolds is intentional action and representative of the intended style and desired purpose of architecture. Through agency, communities are manipulating the natural landscape to construct their built environment.

Discussion

The above analysis of literature has put forth an argument that ties agency with marronage and situates both in the African Diaspora. In addition it recognizes that ideology and structure represent social relations and how they manifest and reproduce themselves. I argue that historical archaeology can benefit from using these frameworks for understanding the formation of resistance communities, how individuals resisted enslavement and empowering individuals that were intentionally neglected by history. Examining Maroons as agents in a structure can contribute to the understanding of Maroon culture and how individuals acted within the community. As useful as agency theory is for understanding human action, archaeologists must

be careful to not project western ideals on free thinking individuals of the past (Dobres and Robb 2000; Given 2004).

Maroon archaeology has developed a history for individuals who resisted the colonial and capitalist structures. History, for centuries, has down played the history of enslaved individuals and those who risked everything to self-liberate themselves. Discovering the history of Maroons is public archaeology (White 2010). Weik discusses a vindicationist approach to understanding Maroons. He cites William Katz (1986) in articulating a vindicationist approach as being one that represents those Africans who were misrepresented and omitted from world history (Weik 2002: 59). This offers an important aspect to the archaeology of Maroons. Vindicationism is what public archaeology is attempting to accomplish, providing a history for those who were left out of the historical record. It is providing a voice to individuals who were intentionally muted. This is a relevant aspect in the study of Maroons and their agency and it is a part of the larger discussion about the African Diaspora.

Through agentive actions, Maroons created a new life hidden away from colonialism, the Georgian Order, enslavement and the emerging capitalist system in the New World. In addition to the creation of new social systems, new material culture began to emerge as diasporic individuals, including maroons, adapted to their new environment (Emerson 1999; Ferguson 1992; Knappett and Malafouris 2008a, 2008b; Mouer et al. 2008). These are profound processes that would shape the experiences and identities of individuals living within the swamp. Utilizing these frameworks allows archaeology to have a positive impact and move to a realm of public archaeology and collective action, or praxis, as it provides an understanding and voice for individuals and communities who have been largely ignored by mainstream history.

CHAPTER 3

SEMIOTICS AND A LINGUISTICAL ANALYSIS ABOUT THE GREAT DISMAL SWAMP IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Semiotics is used to understand how events, objects and landscapes are assigned meaning (Jaworski and Thurlow 2009). Using discourse as a means to understand past ideologies and the semiotics of landscape can allow archaeology to understand the sociocultural relationships of individuals to the landscape. David Harvey (2006: 125-126) argues that it is human practice or their agency that defines the meaning of landscape. The semiotic relationship of colonial Americans with the Great Dismal Swamp will demonstrate why it was a landscape and destination for Maroon communities to inhabit in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Robert Preucel (2000) argues that informed agents through their discourses of difference and similarity create communities. The following will use semiotics and discourse to provide insights into aspects of Maroon culture in the Great Dismal Swamp.

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries a semiotic transformation took place as the outside world viewed the landscape of the Great Dismal Swamp as an exploitable resource. Specifically, the semiotic transformation that took place was one that viewed the swamp as a wild and untamable wasteland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to a landscape that could be and would be exploited by the end of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Linguistic analysis of texts in the discipline of archaeology can provide additional means of analysis and understanding, combined with more traditional fieldwork and research. James

Deetz (1967) was one of the earliest pioneers to apply linguistics to archaeological research by applying structural linguistic models to archaeological data. These models were influenced by Saussure (1966) as a means to view material culture as being created by human action in a similar fashion to how words are created, associating words, and materials as cultural production. However, archaeologists have rarely engaged with centuries old narratives to better understand ideology from an earlier time period. This form of textual analysis may better aid archaeologists in understanding the cultural significance of a site during a specific period of time as understood by those who occupied the past.

A semiotic examination of landscape attempts to take language and combine it with additional discursive modalities including, "visual images, nonverbal communication, architecture and the built environment" (Jaworski and Thurlow 2009: 2). Jaworski and Thurlow (2009) consider all landscapes to be semiotic; by this they mean that the interpretations of landscapes are socio-cultural in context. Archaeologists can use semiotics to understand the socio-cultural landscapes that an environment is comprised.

Mark Leone's (1984) work with the Paca Garden in Annapolis, Maryland is considered a landmark piece that offers a representation of eighteenth century ideology imposed on the landscape. Leone analyzes the garden to demonstrate how the elite in Colonial America tried to impose control over the natural environment. In the eighteenth century William Byrd II provided one of the earliest written accounts of the Great Dismal Swamp in his diary discussing the surveying of the Virginia and North Carolina state lines. This discourse represents an early document from Colonial America and an exceptionally early primary source document on the Great Dismal Swamp. Byrd briefly mentions runaway slaves living deep within the swamp, escaping from the ideologies of Colonial America. In addition, his description of the landscape

offers insights into the ideologies of the early eighteenth century. The aim of this chapter will be to analyze specific excerpts from William Byrd's II *Histories of the Dividing Line Betwixt Virginia and North Carolina* to identify ideology in the eighteenth century in the treatment of the landscape and runaway slaves. The discussion will focus around the discourse he uses in describing the landscape and the inhabitants that live deep within this environment. The aim is to gain a better anthropological understanding of the Great Dismal Swamp by analyzing what the Great Dismal Swamp meant and represented to individuals in 1728.

A discussion identifying eighteenth century ideology will be provided. This is necessary to provide a framework for understanding the structure William Byrd II negotiated. In addition, a biography for Byrd II will also be provided to situate him within the structure and understand his place within society. Byrd II is recognized as an early American literary figure so a variety of sources have been written about him e.g., (Byrd 1967; Grant 2010; Lockridge 1987).

Discussion of Ideology

Louis Althusser (1971) transforms Marx's concept of ideology as an idea of false consciousness to a lived relationship between individuals and communities and their world. He discusses the influence ideology has on the recreation of structure and believes that ideology can be found in the immediate moments that strongly tie individuals to their conditions of material existence (Althusser 1971). Althusser proposes that ideology is grounded in the ideological state apparatus, which he refers to as the ISA. Although Althusser discusses state ideology in the modern and late modern periods I believe this concept can be applied to earlier periods. The reproduction of ideology could have taken place in the structure of Colonial America despite differences to the late modern state. These ideologies are those of the ruling class or elite. Althusser (1971: 146) states, "If the ISAs 'function' massively and predominately by ideology,

what unifies their diversity is precisely the functioning, insofar as the ideology by which they function is always in fact unified, despite its diversity and contradictions, *beneath the ruling ideology*, which is the ideology of 'the ruling class'." This suggests that agents will act within the boundaries of the ruling ideology allowing the structure to be reproduced. William Byrd II was part of the ruling class, he was a Virginian aristocrat who was educated in England and therefore his actions should be viewed in a manner that is seen as reproducing the ruling class ideology. His narratives or language should embody the ideologies of the English elite from the eighteenth century.

Mark Leone (1984; 1987) has relied on the use of ideology in his approach to critical archaeology and the interpretation of the Paca Gardens in Annapolis, Maryland. In reference to ideology being employed by archaeology, Leone (1987: 284) states, " We use it as it has been employed by Althusser (1971) and introduced into anthropology by Barnett and Silverman (1979). Ideology in this sense comprises the givens of everyday life, unnoticed taken for granted, and activated and reproduced in use." Leone (1987: 284) argues that ideology can help us better understand past societies by helping to explore stratification and power relations. By examining ideology in past societies archaeologists may be able to better understand the structure that people resisted or in which they participated and reproduced.

Leone (1984; 1987) uses the concept of ideology to understand an eighteenth century landscape in Colonial America that was heavily influenced by the Georgian style. The Georgian style offers an example of the reproduction of English elite ideology and control over the means of production through a variety of ways including architecture, etiquette, privatization and the establishing of order (Leone 1984: 27). This ideology extends into the control and manipulation of the natural world, both for economic exploitation and also to impose order on the natural

world. Leone (1984: 29) suggests the fine lines and divisions represented in the Paca Garden of the Annapolis House are representations of ideology imposed on the landscape. Leone (1984: 26) cites Rhys Isaac's use of the Georgian Order, "…as an attempt at creating a set controlled, rational-appearing, and unemotional mentality…" that allowed people societal control. In this sense it can be argued that people were trying to control the natural world around them. The Georgian Order appears to create an ideological need for those in power to control the natural world or at least provide the appearance that the natural world can be controlled. This is supported by Leone's (1984: 26) statement that ideology must mask the "arbitrariness of the social order…and it reproduces rather than transforms society." The ruling elite must appear to have control over the environment and social order so that the ideology may continually be reproduced in a manner that allows them to remain in a position of privilege and prestige.

Leone's use of the Georgian Order is focused between 1740 and the Revolutionary War but I think it can be applied to Byrd's narratives because they were written in 1730-1735 and 1744 based on his notes from 1728. In addition, nascent capitalism had begun to emerge in Europe in the sixteenth century and this form of ideology in which people were marginalized by creating conditions of unequal access to resources was also influencing Colonial America (Johnson 1996). The enslaved workers of Colonial America were participating in an emerging semi-capitalist structure (Johnson 1996).

Although the Georgian style has frequently been used by archaeologists to explain architecture and the surrounding landscape, Alan Gowans (1964: 116-117) discusses the larger implications of the Georgian Order when he states, "This design is informed by very different convictions: that the world has a basic immutable order; that men by powers of reason can discover what that order is; and that, discovering it, they can control the environment as they

will." Gowans' work supports the notion that the ideology of the Georgian Order influenced people in the eighteenth century to impose control over the world around them. The ability to impose control over the natural world was believed by the elite in colonial America who were strongly influenced by the Georgian Order. This is supported by James Deetz (1977: 62) who suggests that the colonial Americans in the eighteenth century began to re-embrace English ideologies. Deetz suggests that Colonial America was more English in the period leading up to the American Revolution than they had been in the previous century (Deetz 1977: 61-62). This is important for understanding and contextualizing the structure in which Byrd negotiated and reproduced.

People were legally enslaved during this preindustrial period to help with the production of goods. Nascent capitalism helped to establish the elite by those who had access to resources and those who did not. Byrd engaged in the trading of slaves, tobacco and rum so he very much participated in this new emerging system. This contributed to his elite status in England and why he was considered a Virginia aristocrat. A biographical discussion of William Byrd II will help to situate his position of power during the eighteenth century.

Biography of William Byrd II

The following will situate the background of who William Byrd II was during the eighteenth century and the status he maintained in the structure of that time period. This brief discussion will provide insights into understanding William Byrd's II ideology and how he viewed people and the environment around him. Byrd II, henceforth Byrd, was an aristocrat in Colonial Virginia. His father, William Byrd I, had inherited a fortune from his uncle who was involved with a trading business that exchanged tobacco, slaves and rum. This permitted Byrd to receive a prestigious education in England. Byrd was still living in England at the time of his

father's death and he was torn between his position of stature in England and having to return as a colonist to run the family plantation in Westover Virginia (Lockridge 1987). Byrd struggled with this identity conflict, between being an Englishman and a colonist, his entire life (Lockridge 1987: 102). Byrd very much viewed himself as part of the elite English class and when he was identified as a Virginia aristocrat it was a position that he considered to be of less stature.

Byrd was a prolific journal writer for the time period and he is considered to be one of the three or four best American authors in pre-Revolutionary America (Adams 1967). Byrd owned a plantation and slaves that he inherited from his father. He married Lucy Parke in 1706 and took over his father-in-law's, Colonel Daniel Parke, debt when he was killed in an uprising. This put some financial pressure on Byrd (Adams 1967).

Byrd was appointed to several prestigious positions that included being a member of the House of Burgesses and as one of the twelve members of the Upper House in the Virginia Assembly. In addition, he was appointed Receiver-General for the Crown in Virginia. In 1715 he returned to England on business and to represent the Virginia colony. He stayed in England for the better part of the next ten years meeting influential people. When Byrd's first wife Lucy Parke arrived in England in 1716 she died of smallpox. Byrd eventually remarried Marty Smith in 1724 and returned to Virginia in 1726 (Adams 1967). In 1728 Byrd II was hired to survey the dividing line between Virginia and North Carolina. This included difficult task of establishing the state's line through the Great Dismal Swamp. This difficult task and how impenetrable the landscape was is described in detail by Byrd in his diary.

Byrd was a pervasive writer, publishing pieces in the early eighteenth century with some works remaining unpublished for many decades. There are two versions of the history of the dividing line. The first is *The Secret History*, in which Byrd used fictional names for himself and

his companions during the survey. This version of the story is humorous and discusses their drunken sexual escapades. Byrd used fictitious names to protect the surveyors from being identified. Although *The Secret History* was written between 1730-1735, based on the journal he wrote during the expedition, it was not published until 1929 because of the gossipy nature of the narrative. The *History of the Dividing Line,* published in 1744, is a more straightforward narrative using the actual participants names and it discussed the events during the surveying expedition. This audience would have been aristocratic colonial Americans, elites that were being influenced by the reproduction of English ideology. Byrd's background demonstrates his elite position in Colonial America. He spent significant time in England and was influenced by the emerging Georgian Order. His narratives about the expedition to survey the Virginia and North Carolina state line represents aspects of the dominant ideology of the time.

Background for Byrd's Narrative

Byrd's *History of the Dividing Line* appears on the even numbered pages of the text and corresponds to the appropriate sections of *The Secret History*, which appear on the odd numbered papers. This textual and discourse analysis represents those passages and page numbers as they appear in *William Byrd's Histories of the Dividing Line Betwixt Virginia and North Carolina*. The text that will be analyzed includes one line that was taken from *The Secret History,* two passages that were taken from the *History of the Dividing Line* and one passage that was taken from *The Secret History.* Some of the linguistic topics are noticeable in comparison to the different narratives. The genre of his narrative is situated in the language of eighteenth century England and Colonial America. This genre represents the Georgian Order and an emerging capitalist system. The genre of this narrative also established Byrd as an individual in a

position of power who lived in an increasingly stratified society that legally practiced the enslavement of people.

Byrd's voice system is quite different between *The Secret History* and the *History of the Dividing Line.* This supports Jane Hill's (1995) claim that different voices and language are used in different situations. Byrd's narrative farther supports Hill's claims that different language is used and based on different social relations. *The Secret History* represents Byrd's attempt at a humorous and somewhat scandalous account of the events during the survey. He changes the participant's names to protect them because they engaged in heavy drinking and infidelity. The voice system used by Byrd in *The Secret History* is less representative of an English Gentleman and Virginian aristocrat. This also supports Hill's claim that moral implications are behind choices in the use of language. The use of language by Byrd is influenced by who he is, what he encounters and whom he interacts with (Hill 1995). In contrast, the voice system used by Byrd in the *History of the Dividing Line* represents someone who is part of the elite in England and Colonial Virginia. His descriptions are more thorough, detailed, focused and lack the humorous undertones found in *The Secret History*. *The History of the Dividing Line* contains more description and is meat to be read by the elite and aristocracy. Arguably these two overlapping narratives represent the conflict that Byrd had with his identity. He longs to be back in England but at the same time is now part of the aristocratic class in Virginia, which is not as prominent in his view as being an elite in England.

Byrd's agency also had a significant influence on what accounts he decided to document and how he changed the names to protect people in *The Secret History.* Laura Ahearn (2001: 110-111) states that language is social action and that the use of language is intertwined with power. She believes that the language has meaning in terms of an individual's actions. Anthony

Giddens (1979) argues that agency is shaped by the structure and Byrd's narrative will be representative of the structure(s) he negotiates. The humorous and lighthearted *The Secret History* could be interpreted as his views in a colonial setting as opposed to the more formal narrative *The History of the Dividing Line*, which could be argued as being more representative of the English elite. This is an identity conflict that Byrd continually dealt with, being torn between an elite in England and having to negotiate the role of being a Virginian aristocrat. *The Secret History* might represent this lower position of stature through its humor and monikers, where as the *History of the Dividing Line* could represent the more English elite ideology with its focus on the natural world. The structure could have influenced the language he used depending on how he wanted to represent himself and who he considered to be his audience. In this context, his two narratives represent linguistic agency.

Byrd's narrative is filled with evaluation in the context that much of what Byrd has written is expressive of his opinion and will represent the Georgian Order of the eighteenth century (Thompson and Hunston 2000). In addition, Byrd wrote this with the intention of sharing it with friends and other elite in Colonial America as well as England (Thompson and Hunston 2000). This allows the reader to be involved with the events that Byrd experienced and the people who he encountered and interacted with during the survey project. In addition, William Leap stated that the gentleman geographer narratives are filled with evaluation because it involves life stories of the speaker (class lecture, February 22, 2010). Byrd's narratives are based off of his diaries, which are his views of his life and his direct understanding and interpretation of his actions within the ideological structure.

Metaphor can also be utilized in understanding Byrd's view of the Great Dismal Swamp. He uses language that is common and familiar in the eighteenth century to describe the

unfamiliar. Metaphor can become metonymy that creates a close association between the familiar and unfamiliar where it begins to fuse the two (Semino 2008). An interesting use of linguistic metaphor is Byrd's use of the term "Desart" to refer to the Great Dismal Swamp. Metaphor in this context is used to describe the unfamiliar and untamable landscape of the swamp.

Narrative: The Great Dismal Swamp as a "Desart"

On page 81 of *The Secret History* Byrd refers to the Great Dismal Swamp as a "Desart" in reference to the surveyors returning from deep within the swamp where they only marked 10 miles of the 15 that they had traversed. Byrd also stated that the surveyors had returned in a famished state but their bodily conditions will be left out of this analysis. The line reads, "It seems the Distance thro' the Desart where they past it was 15 miles" (Byrd 1967: 81). This is an interesting use of metaphor by Byrd because the term "Desart" in the eighteenth century was used to describe anything that was considerer to be a wasteland (Sayers 2008a). Sayers claims that many coastal swamp areas were often viewed at this time as deserts because of their inaccessibility (discussion with author, April 8, 2010). The use of the term desert was very much situated in the Georgian Order, which was an attempt by the elite to impose control over the natural environment, because it referenced an area that was beyond human control (Sayers 2008a). Byrd's use of the "Desart" metaphor suggests that this land was wild and untamable. This is not surprising because it represented such a vast nearly inaccessible landscape. In addition, it would have required a monumental labor effort to transform the swamp landscape into a controllable and productive environment.

Figure 5: The “Desart.”

This photo was taken hiking to the mesic island in 2012 and is representative of the wild landscape that Byrd refers to. Image courtesy of the GDSLS.

The metaphor for using the term desert is also discussed in several more recent publications. Bland Simpson (1990: 61) in his Carolinian memoir used the term to refer to the swamp when he was growing up. In addition, he references other uses of the metaphorical term by people including Byrd in 1728, Benjamin Latrobe an engineer in 1799, and Thomas Kearney a botanist in 1901 (Simpson 1990: 61). Although more recent contexts may not carry the same connotation as the eighteenth century, it is interesting to see the metaphorical term in continuous use for several centuries as people continued to view the swamp as a wasteland or untamable landscape in certain contexts.

This sentence also represents Byrd’s use of evaluation. Byrd’s evaluation of the swamp as a “Desart” is consistent with the ideology of the time that this type of wilderness was a wasteland. Although Byrd’s use of “Desart” is representative of the ideology at this time he discusses in the *History of the Dividing Line* that the swamp may serve some economic value if it

is drained or a canal is put through it. This is representative of the emerging Georgian Order in which people could impose control and order of the wilderness. Byrd's narrative represents an interesting contradiction in that he refers to the landscape as a "Desart" but later discusses how to impose order and make it the landscaped profitable.

Narrative: Imposing Control Over the Landscape

It has been previously discussed that a component of the Georgian Order represents an ideology of the English elite that attempts to exert control over the natural world. Leone (1984) demonstrates how this ideology has been represented in the landscape of the Paca Gardens. Byrd's narrative on pages 84 and 86 also represent this ideology in his discussion of the swamp's landscape. The following passages represent the Georgian Order (Byrd 1967: 84 and 86):

> It wou'd require a great Sum of Money to drain it, but the Publick Treasure cou'd not be better bestow'd than to preserve the Lives of his Majesty's Liege People, and at the same time render so great a Tract of Swamp very Profitable, besides the advantage of making a Channel to transport by water-carriage goods from Albemarle sound into Nansimond and Elizabeth Rivers, in Virginia.

There are multiple representations of ideology in Byrd's statement and this passage represents his interest in altering the landscape in regards to draining the swamp so that it would no longer be a wasteland. This is consistent with the Georgian Order in which control could be imposed over the natural world and landscape by the English elite and he does not specify why or what use this would serve but views the landscape as something that humans can control. He might be speculating that there are economic resources that could be extracted from the landscape. Byrd suggests that installing a canal through the swamp would speed up the transportation of commodities through part of Virginia. The view that the swamp could be a profitable resource is also representative of nascent capitalism.

This passage represents an interesting contradiction to Byrd's earlier statement that the swamp was a "desart." The "desart" statement was present in *The Secret History* where his statement regarding the swamp being controllable appears in the *History of the Dividing Line.* It was established earlier that the *History of the Dividing Line* is a more formal narrative that was more than likely written with an elite audience in mind. Canals were eventually constructed in the swamp for loggers to exploit the trees. So Byrd's evaluation of the economic viability of the swamp was eventually realized, although it would be decades later.

Narrative: The Acknowledgement of Runaway Slaves Living in the Swamp

Byrd provides the earliest written account of runaway slaves living in the swamp, which is a form of evaluation. The following lines were taken from pages 56 and 58 in the *History of the Dividing Line* (Byrd 1967: 56 and 58)*:*

> We had encampt so early, that we found time in the Evening to walk near half a Mile into the Woods. There we came upon of a Family of Mulattoes, that call'd themselves free, tho' by the Shyness of the Master of the House, who took care to keep least in Sight, their Freedom seem'd a little Doubtful. It is certain that many Slaves Shelter themselves in the Obscure Part of the World, nor will any of their righteous Neighbours discover them. On the Contrary, they find their Account in Settling such Fugitives on some out-of-the-way-corner of their Land, to raise Stocks for a mean inconsiderable Share, well know their Conditions makes it necessary for them to Submit to any Terms.

Wanda Elaine-Hunt McLean (2005) believes that Byrd's use of the term "Mulattoes" was representative of these people having been slaves that had runaway and were living in the swamp. Byrd's evaluative use of language suggests that these people were free although he inserts a doubtful opinion because of the "shyness" of the "master of the house." If these were runaway slaves that were now living freely their timidness could be explained by encountering a group of white colonial Europeans. Byrd goes onto state that there are numerous runaway slaves living deep within the swamp.

Byrd contradicts this earlier statement on page 84 of *The Secret History* when he states (Byrd 1967: 84):

> It is remarkable that towards the middle of the Dismal no Beast or Bird or even Reptile can live, not only because of the softness of the Ground, but likewise because it so overgrown with Thickets, that the Genial Beams of the Sun can never penetrate them. Indeed on the Skirts of it Cattle & Hogs will venture for the Sake of the Reeds, & Roots, with which the will keep themselves fat all the winter. This is a great Advantage to the Bordering Inhabitants in that particular, tho' they pay dear for it by the Agues & other distemper occasion'd by the Noxious Vapours the rise perpetually from that vast Extent of Mire and Nastiness. And a vast Extent it is, being computer at a Medium 10 Miles Broad, & 30 Miles long, tho' where the Line past it, 'twas completely 15 Miles broad. However this dirty Dismal is in many parts of it very pleasant to the Eye, tho' disagreeable to the other Sences, because there is an everlasting Verdure, which makes every Season look like the Spring. The way the Men took to Secure their Bedding here from moisture, was, by laying Cypress bark under their blankets, etc which made their Lodging hard but much more wholesome.

In these passages Byrd claims, "no Beast or Bird or even Reptile can live" deep in the middle of the swamp. This contradicts an earlier statement in which Byrd recognizes that runaway slaves were living deep within the swamp. Byrd's statement regarding the swamp not being suitable for most creatures did appear in *The Secret History* so he may have embellished his story to add drama to the more humorous narrative. The runaway slaves are discussed in the more serious and formal *History of the Dividing Line.* This claim could suggest that slaves were considered below "beast" or "reptile," echoing the origins of the term Maroon from *Cimarron.* Europe and Colonial America had become very racialized with the legal owning of slaves. However, the real reasons for these different claims may never be known but they do present contradictions in Byrd's evaluation in different voice systems.

Since the use of the term "desart" was common to refer to swamps because it implied that they were wastelands it is not surprising that runaway slaves would inhabit these out of the way places. It seems that the depths of these "desarts" were just too far out of the reach to be manipulated by the Georgian Order and nascent capitalism as Maroons formed communities.

Byrd's discussion of this landscape represents some struggles and contradictions in terms of his ideological view. He recognizes the untamable wilderness and the treacherous terrain of the swamp but he also discusses the economic potential that exists there. In addition, he realizes runaway slaves have figured out how to negotiate this "desart" landscape despite Colonial America and English ideology having a hard time grappling with the terrain.

Byrd uses metaphor and evaluation in comparing the policies of North Carolina regarding runaway slaves to ancient Rome. This is an interesting comparison and the following lines of text occur shortly after Byrd identified the "Mulattoes" on the edge of the swamp and he then claim's that there are numerous runaway slaves living in the swamp. These passages were taken from pages 56 and 58 from the *History of the Dividing Line* (Byrd 1967: 56 and 58)*:*

> Nor were these worthy Borderers content to Shelter Runaway Slaves, but Debtors and Criminals have often met with the like Indulgence. But if the Government of North Carolina has encourag'd this unneighbourly Policy in order to increase their People, it is no more than what Ancient Rome did before them which was made a City of Refuge for all Debtors and Fugitives, and from that wretched Beginning grew up in time to be Mistress of a great Part of the World.

Byrd appears to criticize North Carolina's policies for allowing known runaway slaves to live freely in the deep recesses of the swamp but then quickly backtracks in reference to the foundation of Rome and how it rose to prominence as an Empire of the World. These passages also represent an interesting contradiction in the context that North Carolina should not be permitting these runaway slaves to live in the swamp but he cites Rome as a place founded in a similar fashion. McLean (2005) claims that slave hunters would use dogs to go into the swamps to try and capture the runaway slaves. This was being practiced by the end of the eighteenth century but it is uncertain whether any attempt was being made in 1728 to capture those slaves living freely in the swamp. Byrd's narratives represent eighteenth ideology and the contradictions in his narratives, or the different voices that he uses, may be a representation of

his identity conflict. Necropolitics is a recent theoretical model that might provide additional insights into Byrd's narrative and life in the eighteenth century.

A Necropolitical Discussion

Achille Mbembe (2003) develops the idea of necropolitics in relation to sovereignty in the post-colonial world in the context of power over life and death residing in society. This is in contrast to the state having possessed the power to decide who lives or dies. In addition, Mbembe (2003: 24) discusses the colony and the roll of the sovereign person and how colonizers view native people and the colonized. Mbembe expanded on ideas that were developed by Giorgio Agamben's (1998) discussion of *Homo sacer.* These recent social theorists will offer some additional late modern understandings to the condition of the runaway slaves living in the swamp. John McLeod (1997: 171) states, "Drawing on the work of Giorgio Agamben and Michel Foucault, Mbembe contends that the regime of biopolitical control operating in European bourgeois civil society does not hold in the European colony; instead biopolitical control is replaced with necropolitical control, or the threat of violence and ultimately death by the colonial ruler." Mbembe's discussion of power offers additional insights to why the enslaved people would live out of sight from colonial rule in the Great Dismal Swamp. Mbembe argues that the colonial structure would impose violence over those who have been colonized or even enslaved.

The notion of violence as a means of control in a colonial system raises some interesting insights. The Georgian Order and the idea that European elites could impose order over the natural world or wilderness may be expanded to include imposing order over marginalized and alienated individuals. It is well documented that slave masters used violence to control enslaved people and this echoes the propositions of Mbembe and McLeod. Violence and the threat of death as a means of imposing order and control over people is consistent with other aspects of

the Georgian Order. Although taking place in the eighteenth century, violence against enslaved people could be viewed in terms of necropolitics. It supports the idea that the enslaved would have sought refuge in a landscape that was untamable as a last resort to escape the violence and labor of Colonial America.

Mbembe goes into detail regarding power and death in a colonial realm when he (1997: 25) states, "… the sovereign right to kill is not subject to any rule in the colonies. In the colonies, the sovereign might kill at any time or in any manner." This continuously remained a threat for enslaved people in everyday life. The colonial masters threatened the enslaved with violence and death. Enslaved people fleeing into the swamp can be seen as a form of agency to resist the violent and laborious structure that they inhabited. McLean (2005) suggests that slave hunts in the swamp were taking place with terrifying dogs imported from Cuba that were specifically bred to be violent and to hunt runaway slaves. This claim supports Mbembe's statements regarding colonial power and necropolitics.

In addition, Mbembe (2003) utilizes ideas about power and death by Foucault (1997) when viewing death as a form of agency. Death as a form of agency stems from Foucault's (1997) notion that racism is used to regulate death (McLeod 1997: 171). McLeod (1997: 171) states "…Mbembe argues that it is the right to violence and killing that defines relations of power in the European colony." The concept of death presents an interesting form of agency in the context of enslaved people in the eighteenth century. It seems that the enslaved or colonized had several options or forms of agency. The Great Dismal Swamp provided refuge to thousands of runaway enslaved people, Native Americans and disenfranchised Europeans for several centuries. The landscape of the swamp and the prevailing view that it was a wasteland provided the perfect refuge for people to escape from colonial practices. How were enslaved people

hearing about the swamp and other wastelands that began to become a free landscape in Colonial America? McLean (2005) believes the swamp was part of the Underground Railroad. This suggests that enslaved people were able to communicate these refuges to one another and presents an interesting question regarding the agency of enslaved and colonized people. At what point would a person sacrifice himself or herself by death as a form of agency in the context of resistance? When would death be a better option than trying to escape and to live freely on the fringes of Colonial America? Death has been documented and discussed as a form of agency on slave ships but there was no chance of freedom on the landscape of a slave shape (McGhee 2007; Rediker 2007; Webster 2008a, 2008b). The swamp presents a dangerous landscape but it also presents one in which freedom can be achieved. Should archaeologists view death in attempting to reach a free landscape as a form agency? These questions represent interesting points of discussion but they also help to contextualize how oppressive and terrifying the structural ideology in Colonial America was.

Mbembe also provides a unique perspective of the colonizer and how they view native populations. Mbembe (2003: 24) states, "In the eyes of the conqueror, *savage life* is just another form of *animal life*, a horrifying experience, something alien beyond imagination or comprehension." Mbembe's statement is relevant to Byrd having identified the swamp as a landscape that provided refuge to runaway enslaved people but then later claims that the swamp, "It is remarkable that towards the middle of the Dismal no Beast or Bird or even Reptile can live," (Byrd 1967:18). In the context that Mbembe presents how the colonizers view life does suggest that enslaved people were viewed as savages and that were considered one of the lowest forms of animal life. It appears that Byrd, the "exceptional" has dismissed the exceptions, who were the runaway enslaved people. Mbembe's statement also connects with the origins of the

term Maroon from the Spanish word *cimarron* as a reference to wild and feral animals (Arrom and García-Arèvalo 1986; Covington 1993; Fairbanks 1978; Weik 2002: 6). What must be considered is that these enslaved people were able to thrive in the swamp; this directly contradicts the ideologies of the eighteenth century. Although necropolitics and Mbembe's discussion is situated in the late modern period they have provided some interesting insights and points of analysis for colonialism in the eighteenth century.

Discussion

Utilizing a semiotic lens and discursive modalities it becomes apparent that the swamp was a favorable destination for enslaved, marginalized and alienated agents. The practices and agency of Maroons allowed them to transform the swamp, a landscape viewed and thought of as a desolate "*desart"* by the dominant ideology in the late eighteenth century, into a landscape of resistance and freedom. This transformation, while taking place during the colonial periods and emerging capitalist systems offers insight to the landscapes of individuals. The Maroon community models established by Sayers (2008; 2014) continue to support the practices and agentive actions of these individuals on a landscape. By the end of the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century the outside world would begin to penetrate the deep interior of the swamp as canal laborers and lumbers exploited the available resources.

It has been demonstrated that ideology and recent linguistic models of analysis, such as metaphor and evaluation, can be applied to eighteenth century texts. It is necessary to contextualize the ideology of different time periods, including the Georgian Order and nascent capitalism, that both provide structures to understand what was happening in Colonial America. Textual analysis can help reveal the oppressive ideologies that were in place and help archaeologists negotiate landscapes by attempting to contextualize them in a specific century.

The swamp represents a place where marginalized and alienated people sought refuge. It is interesting that we find landscapes that are viewed as less valuable being home to people who lack cultural freedoms. The swamp represents an early episode in American history of alienated people seeking out undesirable places to live and to engage in cultural activities. This supports the necropolitical notion that the exceptional allows the exception to be pushed aside. Those who are marginalized or alienated must seek out remote and less desirable geographic locations. Throughout much of the history in the United States and Colonial America the exceptions have continuously been pushed aside.

Byrd's narrative was filled with evaluation, metaphor and even contradictions. *The Secret History* and *History of the Dividing Line* both provide unique but complimentary perspectives on how Byrd viewed the natural world. The Georgian Order was present in his discussion of the geography in eighteenth century Colonial America. In addition, there were hints of exploiting natural resources as nascent capitalism started to emerge. Textual analysis of period documents may yield future and interesting insights into the dominant ideology of the period. Necropolitics might offer a lens of analysis for archaeologists to better understand the context of past structures.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH, FIELDWORK AND PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE GREAT DISMAL SWAMP LANDSCAPE STUDY

The following provides a history about the GDSLS archaeological fieldwork and community outreach that has taken place. For the better part of a decade and a half, excavations have taken place on a mesic island, referred to by the toponym "nameless site," deep in the interior of the Great Dismal Swamp. The excavations that took place at the nameless site examined the remains of individuals and families that comprised a scission mode of communitization Maroon community. As stated earlier, this mode of communitization would have resisted contact and materials from the world outside of the Great Dismal Swamp.

Self-emancipated individuals looking to live freely away from the clutches of chattel slavery would have braved treacherous terrain on their trek through the Great Dismal Swamp. Much of the morass is covered with vines and thorns, wading through black water up to their knees or waist attempting to dodge sinkholes. The threat of poisonous snakes and bears also would have complicated their hike through the swamp. Each day the archaeologists of the GDSLS had to take a shorter version of this trek that was only about a quarter of a mile through the morass to reach the nameless site. The Great Dismal Swamp is peppered with islands rising out of the black waters. These mesic islands would have provided dry terrain for the Maroons to build and establish their communities. Once an island was found new Maroons may have been introduced to a community that was already established.

Figure 6: A Canebrake Rattlesnake at the nameless site.

This photo represents one of the many dangers that threatened Maroons living in the Great Dismal Swamp. Image courtesy of the GDSLS.

There were plenty of swamp available resources that the Maroons could have utilized. The consumption of wild pigs, squirrel, rabbits, birds, turtles, fish and other inhabitants could have provided the Maroons with some of their subsistence. In addition, Maroons could have cultivated small garden beds and acquired or brought domesticated animals in addition to the natural fauna of the swamp. Pots and baskets could have been carved out of wood or woven from reeds. At the time of contact the Great Dismal Swamp was home to primarily cedar and cypress trees. These trees could have been used to construct cabins, tools and weapons. Unfortunately these types of artifacts would not survive in the archaeological record due to the conditions of the swamp. Reusing and reworking Native American lithic tools and ceramics was of critical

importance as there is no natural source of stone in the swamp so any lithic recovered during excavations was kept as an artifact.

Figure 7: Reworked Morrow Mountain Point from the Grotto of the nameless site.

Image courtesy of the GDSLS.

The nameless site is approximately 20 acres in size and is one island in a chain. The topography of the island is comprised of several elevated flat areas that are similar to plateaus. These elevated plateau-like areas provided the flat terrain for communities to develop. There are several areas that archaeological excavations have concentrated; they include the Grotto, the Crest and the North Plateau. Survey of the island took place using shovel test pits and tree root mat surveys before larger units were opened.

Phase I of the GDSLS was conducted by Daniel Sayers (2008a, 2012b, 2014) and included excavations on an area of the island referred to as the Grotto. The work by the GDSLS uncovered substantial architectural footprints and landscape features. In addition, a variety of artifacts combined with OSL samples suggest occupation on this part of the island dates between 1600 and 1800 but failed to support a nineteenth century occupation period (Sayers 2008a, 2014). Phase II of the GDSLS took place from 2009-2013 and was directed by Sayers and incorporated the American University Archaeological Field School. Excavations moved to the highest part of the island, called the Crest, in an attempt to find nineteenth century occupation and to understand cultural transformations that were taking place. In addition, excavations took place on the North Plateau during Phase II. The following discussion will focus on the excavations that took place at the Grotto and the North Plateau. The reason for this discussion is to demonstrate how different the architecture is on the Crest. The architecture of the Grotto and North Plateau are consistent with rectilinear cabins. The excavations that took place on the Crest are discussed in detail in Chapter 5 and will argue that a new architectural form was present by the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century. Finally, a discussion about public archaeology and community outreach and engagement will be provided in this chapter.

The Grotto

The Grotto was the area of the nameless site that Sayers (2008a, 2014) concentrated his doctoral fieldwork and dissertation. It is approximately 1.5 acres in size and is characterized by the thinning of trees and underbrush that dominate the eastern part of the island (Sayers 2008a, 2014). The cultural features that have been located on the Grotto have been found in Stratum I, between 5cm and 12 cm and are associated with the historical period (Sayers 2008, 2014). Optically stimulated luminescence (OSL), a laboratory dating method, combined with diagnostic

artifacts date the occupation for this part of the nameless site to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Sayers 2008a, 2014). These architectural features are characterized as rectilinear in nature and the footprints of cabins.

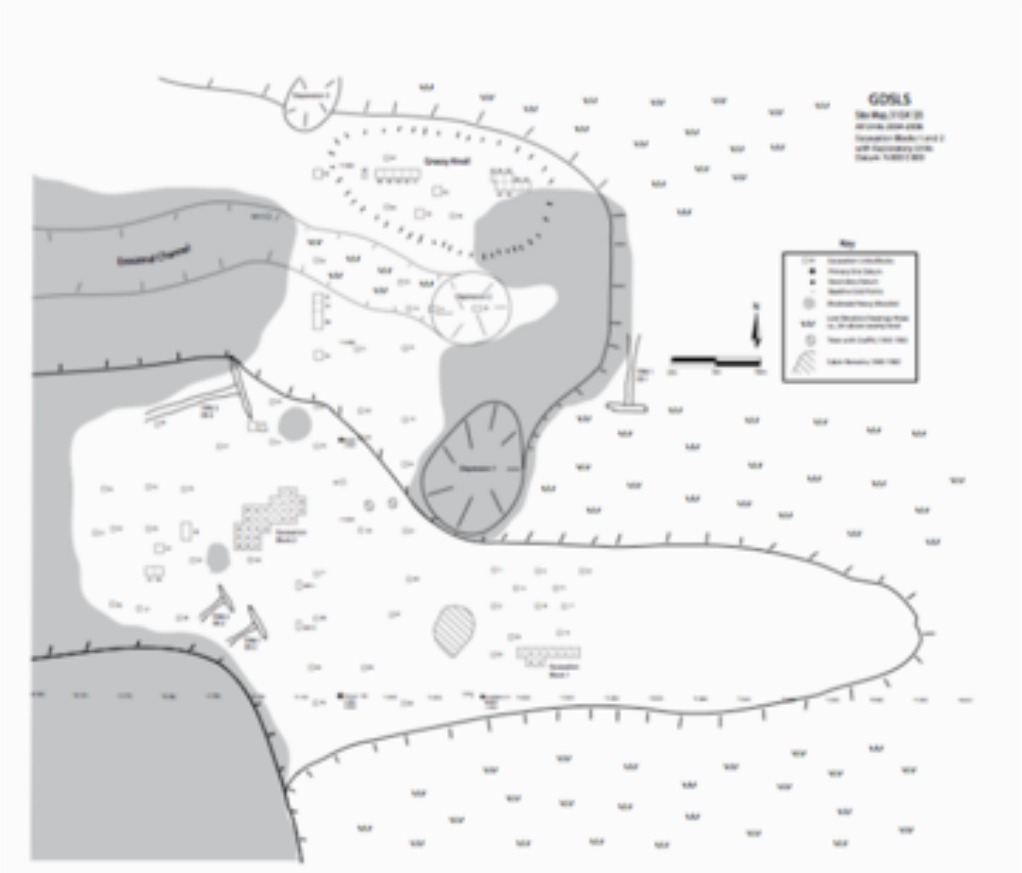

Figure 8: Map of the Grotto with Excavation Block 1 and 2.

Map drawn for GDSLS by Graham Callaway. Image courtesy of the GDSLS.

Excavations revealed hundreds of cultural features; some of the more prominent and relevant features include evidence for the type of rectilinear architecture that could have been utilized by a scission community. The following will discuss some of the more relevant features that were excavated by the GDSLS during Phase I.

Feature 79 does not appear to be part of a cabin; instead it appears to be the remains of a fence with its linear and angled structure. This feature consists of dark soil stains in a line with

postholes in it. The OSL dates for this feature are 1737 (+/- 50). Lead shot was recovered in association with it (Sayers 2008; 2014).

Feature 81 was interpreted as a clear example of a "rectilinear post in ground structure" (Sayers 2008a: 152). The cultural features representing post molds for this structure exhibit a grid like pattern with dark soil stains running between them suggesting that logs or timbers ran horizontally between them (Sayers 2014: 123). The OSL date for this feature was 1640 (+/-90). The rectilinear nature of this feature is similar to Structure I on the North Plateau (Riccio 2012; Sayers 2008a, 2014).

Feature 91 represents an outer wall trench structure. The OSL dates for this feature are 1617 (+/- 55), however the soils may have been disturbed as some of the artifacts recovered suggest a more recent date. A projectile point that was recovered dates to 1750-1800 and lead shot and two conical bullets date to 1850 and later. The downward slope in the area of Feature 91 supports the idea that the soils could have been disturbed after the artifacts were deposited (Sayers 2008a, 2014).

Feature 99 has an OSL date of 1769 (+/- 34) and represents the most recent architectural feature. No mass produced artifacts were recovered from this feature. Feature 99 is located approximately four meters west from Feature 101 (Sayers 2008a, 2014).

Feature 101 has a very early OSL date of 1495 (+/- 80), which is far too early for the Maroon community. However, it has a similar rectilinear shape and footprint similar to other features found at the nameless site. In addition, it is similar to known historical structures. The lead shot found in association with this feature also suggests a historical occupation. Feature 101 also shares part of its construction, an outer wall trench with Feature 79, Feature 91, discussed above and Feature 111, discussed below. Those features also yielded historical OSL dates.

Sayers was comfortable in concluding that the soils were probably disturbed giving it such an early OSL date (Sayers 2008a; 2014).

Feature 111 has an OSL date of 1721 (+/-61). This feature represents an outer wall trench of a structure. Artifacts recovered include lead shot and possible iron fragments (Sayers 2008; 2014).

The rectilinear architecture associated with some with these features is consistent with known cabins constructed by enslaved individuals on plantations (Ellis and Ginsburg 2010; Vlach 1993). Sayers proposes that five different cabin footprints may have been found on the Grotto between the 1607-1800 eras. However, these cabins were not fully excavated. These structures were often single room cabins constructed of logs. The abundance of cedar and cypress timber in the swamp would have been a readily available resource for Maroons to construct cabins. This architectural style is also consistent with the modes of communization that would be expected with a scission community (Sayers 2008a, 2012, 2014).

The scission community acquired many of the artifacts that were recovered from swamp-based resources by reusing Native American lithics and ceramics that were already present on the island. Those artifacts that were constructed out of the flora that was indigenous to the swamp no longer exist in the archaeological record. Very few artifacts were mass produced items found from the outside world. The excavations of five cabins at a plantation or town outside of the swamp from the historical period would often yield thousands of mass produced items, which is not the case with the scission community. This supports Sayers' model that this community resisted contact with and items from the outside world (Sayers 2008a, 2012, 2014).

The North Plateau

The North Plateau is located to the north of the Crest across a ravine on the nameless site. Seven-shovel test pits (STPs) were excavated along a single transect on the North Plateau during the 2010 Field Season. These STPs led to the excavation of several units. The excavations of EU 4 eventually produced Feature 507, which is a posthole that had been lined with sherds. Feature 508 appeared to be a trench like feature that ran through EU 4. The remainder of the excavations during the 2010 Field Season on the North Plateau focused on removing the sherds.

The examination of the architectural features became the focus for the Masters Thesis of Jordan Riccio (2012) and part of the fieldwork for the 2011 Field Season. Riccio was a graduate student and Teacher's Assistant during the 2009-2011 field seasons, although excavations on the North Plateau were the focus of two field seasons in 2010 and 2011.

In 2010 a trench revealed a ceramic lined posthole that is part of Structure 1. These sherds were arguably used to stabilize the post of a structure that was rectilinear in nature. Many of the sherds that were found in association with the structure and ceramic lined posthole were precontact in nature. There were 19 sherds found that were identified as Croaker Landing Ware, dating to 1200-800 BCE and two sherds belonging to the New River series, dating to 1750-400 BCE. The reuse of Native American materials supports the model that Maroons were readily using materials that were already left in the swamp and resisting outside wares suggesting that Structure 1 was occupied during the historical period. OSL dates also support this with a sample taken outside of the ceramic-lined post-mold that provided a date of 1730 (+/- 70) (Sayers 2014: 145). It is most likely that the North Plateau was occupied between 1660 and 1740 (Riccio 2012: 67). In addition, white clay pipe fragments had been found that had 6/64-inch bores that correspond to the dates of 1680-1720, combined with the OSL date further supports a historical occupation (Sayers 2014; Shott 2012).

Figure 9: Structure 1 on the North Plateau.

Image courtesy of the GDSLS.

The architectural footprint of Structure 1 was partially uncovered in Features 507 and 508 in EU 4 on the North Plateau. Lance Greene and Jordan Riccio set up a 2m x 3m EU over what had been EU 4. This larger unit was designated EU 8. EU 4 sat diagonally in the larger EU 8 and two ceramic sherds were left in place around the posthole of Feature 508.

Additional units were opened and excavated on the North Plateau. Students excavated these units during the 2011 Field Season as they rotated between the Crest, the North Plateau, and learning other archaeological methods such as Tree Root Mass (TRM) surveys. These included EU 9, a 1m x 1m unit, to the east of EU 8E and EU 10, a 1m x 2m unit, to the north of

EU 8C. In addition, excavations were started for EU 11, a 1m x 1m unit, located to the west of EU 8C; EU 12, a 1m x 1m unit, located to the north of EU 9. These units were opened to better understand the structural footprint that began to be revealed in in Stratum I_2 of EU 8. However, some of these excavations revealed previous survey attempts by Sayers, including a metal spike in EU 10 and a soil stain from an STP in EU 11. The cleaning of EU's 8 and 10 revealed a possible pit feature and several soil probes were taken (Riccio 2012).

Another expansion took place on the North Plateau with the opening and excavations of EU 14, a 1m x 1m unit to the north of EU 12; EU 15, a 1m x 2m unit to the east of EU 9 and EU 16, a 1m x 1m unit to the west of EU 8B. A final unit was opened in 2011, EU 17 a 1m x 1m unit, was located to the south of EU 8. EU 17 was excavated to better define Feature 508 and to possibly catch a corner of the structure (Riccio 2012).

The artifacts recovered from the excavations on the North Plateau continue to support the scission model. Reused Native American ceramics lining possible postholes as well as quartz flakes suggest a resistance to outside mass produced commodities. White clay pipe fragments were found just outside of the structure in what could have been a porch (Sayers 2014: 146-147). See Table 1 for a list of artifacts associated with Structure I (Riccio 2012).

Table 1. Artifacts Associated with Structure I on the North Plateau. Table reproduced by Karl Austin (Riccio 2012: 71).

Type	Quantity	Diagnostic Information
Ceramics: Croaker Landing Ware	19	1200-800 BCE
Ceramics: New River Series	2	1750-400 BCE
Tobacco Pipe Fragments	49	
Tobacco Pipe Stem Fragments	2	Bore Diameter 6/64" 1680-1720 CE
Burnt Clay	62	
Lithic Flakes	61	
Metal Fragments	17	
Glass	2	

Towards the end of the season the pit feature found in EU's 8 and 10 turned out to be a series of postholes. These new postholes combined with the other data collected and the rectilinear soil stains allowed the designation of Structure 1 (St. 1). Three features were excavated in the last week of the 2011 Field Season. They include ST1-A, a circular posthole in

EU 8B, ST1-B a circular posthole located in EU 10A and Feature 507. A ceramic sherd was recovered from the bisection of ST1-A, no artifacts were recovered from ST1-B and a tobacco pipe fragment was found in the bisection of Feature 507 (Riccio 2012).

The architectural footprint of Structure 1 has been interpreted as a western influenced structure within the post contact era. Most likely resembling a folk house that consisted of a single room and constructed from indigenous trees, arguably cypress or cedar. Wood was a readily available resource in the swamp and a single room would have provided the most efficient means for heating the structure. This interpretation was based on the partial uncovering of a segment from Structure 1 and the proximity of the postholes (Riccio 2012).

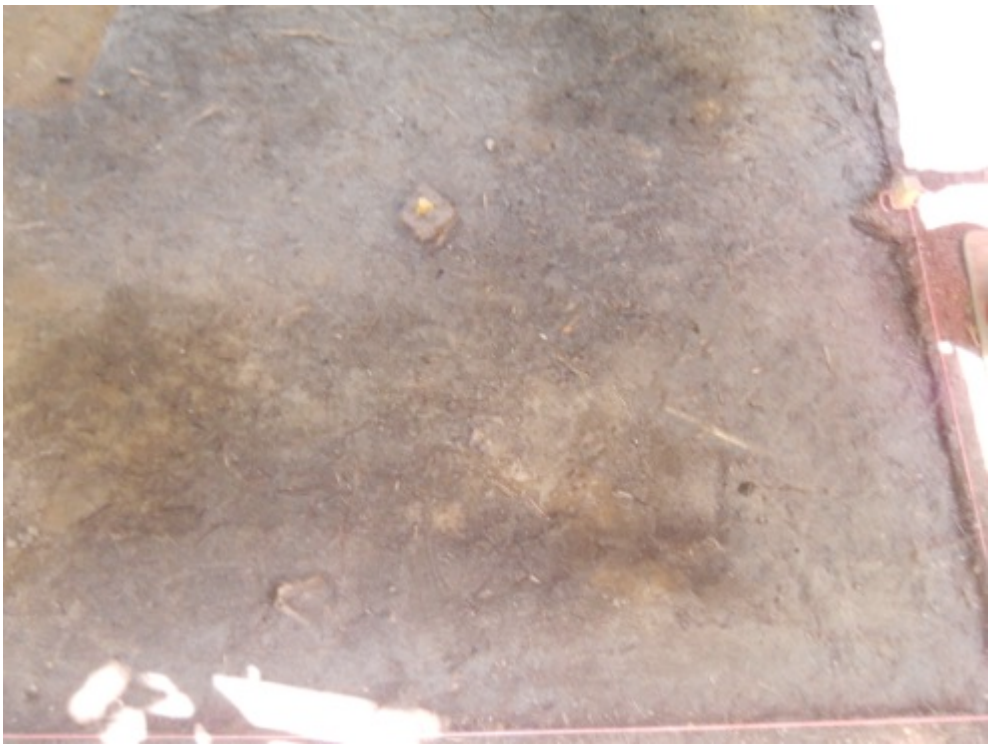

Figure 10: Rectilinear Feature of Structure 1.

Image courtesy of the GDSLS.

The excavations that took place on the North Plateau continue to support the occupation of a scission Maroon community on the nameless site. Cultural features and artifacts that are associated with those features continued to be located in Stratum I, dating to the historical period. The rectilinear footprint suggests that the Maroons were constructing cabins that had western influence and arguably were similar to folk houses our slave quarters on plantations. Cabins that were constructed for enslaved laborers working in the field were frequently one-room structures constructed of logs (Ellis and Ginsburg 2010, Vlach 1993: 155). Some of the minimalist documented slave cabins were only 10-12 square feet; a single room constructed of logs, with no windows, a single fireplace, and a dirt floor (Vlach 1993: 156). It is easy to imagine cabins on the mesic island being of minimalist construction and providing basic protection from the elements.

The Crest

Chapter 5 provides a significant explanation of the excavations that have taken place on the Crest during the 2009-2013 field seasons. It is hypothesized that a decrease in the size of the community took place as Maroons developed work relationships with the enslaved canal company laborers and lumberers, choosing this option over the isolation of participating in a scission community deep in the interior of the swamp (Sayers 2014). Thus, the remaining scission community, as it shrank, may have abandoned lower plateaus on the island in favor of establishing their community on the Crest, the highest and most defensible part of the island. This may have led the community to take a more defensive approach to daily life with new architectural signatures.

Public Archaeology

Public archaeology has been characterized as an archaeology that involves stakeholders. Paul Shackel (2005: 24) believes that public places are prime venues for involving people. Shackel argues that archaeology can be a tool that can connect people to heritage, specifically archaeology as a tool to connect minorities with archaeological sites. The involved stakeholders may be direct descendants of a site or may consist of the modern local community that does not have direct familial ties to the site but is geographically connected to the earlier community. The concept of involving all the stakeholders is a type of applied or public archaeology; bringing the community into direct contact with the work that is being done. Michael Lucas (2004: 121) interprets applied archaeology as making the past relevant to the present through a number of issues that include gender, class, ethnicity, race and diversity. Engaging the community has become an increasingly important aspect of archaeology. Archaeologists have rightfully begun to speak and work with stakeholders, often empowering those who have had little voice in history. African Americans were intentionally left out of American history for decades (Shackle 2004). The empowerment of subordinated groups in history can be achieved through public archaeology and discourse, one that allows those who have not had a voice to speak about their heritage. Archaeologists can better understand the past by listening to descendants and the surrounding community

Joan Gero (2004) believes that archaeology must promote multivocality when interpreting the past. The World Archaeology Congress has rejected a single interpretive ideology and embraced multiple voices and the incorporation of stakeholders in the interpretation of the past. Gero (2004: 293) states, “Honoring some heritages over others and managing the terms in which heritage will be honored in the end perpetuates an unequal access to the past, as well as an unequal awareness of, and control over, one’s heritage.” Archaeology must place

equal value on heritage by empowering subordinated groups that history has ignored. Inclusion of ancestral groups provides a manner in which multivocality can be achieved and insuring that ancestral groups have some control over their history.

Public archaeology that engages the community, providing a voice that empowers subordinated groups, is a form of praxis. Randall McGuire's (2008) form of praxis is collective agency that brings about positive social change, which can include illuminating the history of marginalized groups. Praxis requires collective action and sacrifice to bring about transformation. He views archaeology as a form of praxis in the context that it can bring about positive social change, including the representation of people who have been left out of history. McGuire recognizes that archaeologists cannot live in the past and can only understand what is found. The archaeologist can then transmit what is found and this is a form of praxis. Archaeology as praxis is the idea that it can transform history in a positive manner (McGuire 2008).

The GDSLS and Public Archaeology and Community Outreach

In addition to the students and volunteers who have worked on the site, a few academics, journalists and documentary filmmakers have made the trek to the island. However, due to the remote location of the mesic island, that requires a quarter mile hike through the morass, it is difficult for a large number of individuals to visit the site. Reaching out to descendant communities and having them participate in the excavations is not realistic at this point. However, the GDSLS has reached out to stakeholders in a variety of ways. Interviews have taken place with individuals who live around the swamp and who possess oral histories of the swamp as being part of their ancestry.

Nina Shapiro-Perl (2014) produced a 20-minute documentary film that contains interviews with individuals that live around the swamp as well as academics who have participated as part of GDSLS. This movie was produced with some of the money awarded to the GDSLS by the National Endowment for the Humanities through the "We the People" collaborative grant (RZ-51219-10). The film stresses the importance of sharing the story of these Maroons because in addition to representing Black History it is also a part of American History.

Carolyn Finney is a Cultural Geographer who was brought onto the project through the National Endowment of the Humanities grant. Finney (2014) discusses the underrepresentation of African Americans in nature and outdoor recreation. Her goal is to try to find the neglected voices of Black individuals in the landscape. One of Finney's discussions revolves around the Great Dismal Swamp and Maroon communities that lived there. Finney (2014: 121-122) cites Rebecca Ginsburg's (2010) concept of a "Black Landscape" and recognizes that parts of the swamp are representative of this "Black Landscape." Ginsburg (2010: 54) defines this concept as, a "system of paths, places and rhythms that a community of enslaved people created as an alternative, often as a refuge, to the landscape systems of planters and other whites." The concept of "Black Landscape," as defined by Ginsburg and used by Finney, applies to the Maroon communities of the Great Dismal Swamp.

The USFWS installed an Underground Railroad Pavilion close to their visitor's center discussing the Maroon communities that made the swamp a "Black Landscape," and as part of the UGRR. Maroons not only used the swamp as a passage in the UGRR but also as a destination. Finney (2014) believes that the National Park Service and other government agencies have under represented African American culture in their literature and their role in helping to build, shape, and live on the landscape. The pavilion has established a space where

lectures can be given. The pavilion also contains pictures and part of the story of the Maroons who lived in the Great Dismal Swamp. The UGRR Pavilion is easily accessible to visitors at the wildlife refuge.

Figure 11: Photo of the Underground Railroad Pavilion.

Image courtesy of the GDSLS.

Figure 12: Information About the Maroon Communities in the UGRR pavilion.

Photo courtesy of the GDSLS.

The GDSLS has also employed social media to share some of the work that has been completed as well as to share upcoming events, film showings, public lectures and talks. The GDSLS has a community page through Facebook. As of April 2017 the community page has 305 followers and can be found here:

https://www.facebook.com/GDSLS?fref=ts

In addition, Teaching Assistants Jordan Riccio (2009) and Justin Uehlein (2013) wrote blogs about the field schools. Becca Peixotto (2016) who has made the swamp the focus of both her thesis (2013) and dissertation (2017) has also offered a blog that she calls Swampscapes, which covers her dissertation fieldwork and other swamp happenings.

The GDSLS has also used more traditional means to share the work that has been completed or is on-going. Sayers organized a symposium titled “Reflections on the Material

World of Maroon Communities: The Findings and Contemporary Political Significance of the Great Dismal Swamp Landscape Study, 2001-2011" during the 2012 45th Annual Society for Historical Archaeology Conference in Baltimore, MD in which students and other participants of the GDSLS presented papers (Goode and Sayers 2012; Greene and Plane 2012; Konz et al 2012; Lynch 2012; Riccio and Greene 2012; Sayers 2012a). I presented a paper at the 48th Annual Society for Historical Archaeology about the UGRR and Great Dismal Swamp (Austin 2015). Articles have been published in academic journals (Sayers 2004, 2006a, 2007a, 2012b). Field Reports have been submitted to the USFWS (Sayers 2006b, 2008b, 2010, 2011a, 2012c, 2013). The project of the swamp has been the focus of several theses, dissertations and a book (Austin 2017; Goode In production; Peixotto 2013, 2017; Riccio 2012; Sayers 2008a, 2014). On December 28, 2014 Sayers was featured on National Public Radio (NPR) discussing Maroons, http://www.npr.org/2014/12/28/373519521/fleeing-to-dismal-swamp-slaves-and-outcasts-found-freedom. Sayers and other contributors to the GDSLS have made numerous public presentations in the Tidewater Area and at American University about the project.

Several magazine articles have also been published. As the Chair of the Middle School Science Department at the Stone Ridge School of the Sacred Heart in Bethesda, MD, I was asked to write a short article about the work I have completed with the GDSLS for the Stone Ridge Magazine (Austin 2011). The Stone Ridge School wanted me to share my summer work and continuing education with constituents of the community. This publication is sent to all the families who have students enrolled in the school and to all of the alumnae. The American University Field School was also featured in Archaeology Magazine. Marion Blackburn (2011) made the trek and spent the day observing and interviewing the archaeologists at the nameless site. That article promoted the work of the GDSLS as well as advertised the field school.

Archaeology Magazine is carried on the magazine racks of many major bookstores allowing it to be purchased by large audiences.

The recently opened National Museum of African American History and Culture, NMAAHC, discusses Maroon communities in the western hemisphere throughout the early history of enslavement and up through emancipation. The museum also features a collection of artifacts that were excavated from the nameless site and donated by the GDSLS. In a larger context, the NMAAHC is dedicated to representing African culture and history including archaeological artifacts. The institution receives federal funding and support and appeals to both national and international visitors, which is an important component to African archaeology being represented and presented to the public (Kusimba 1996).

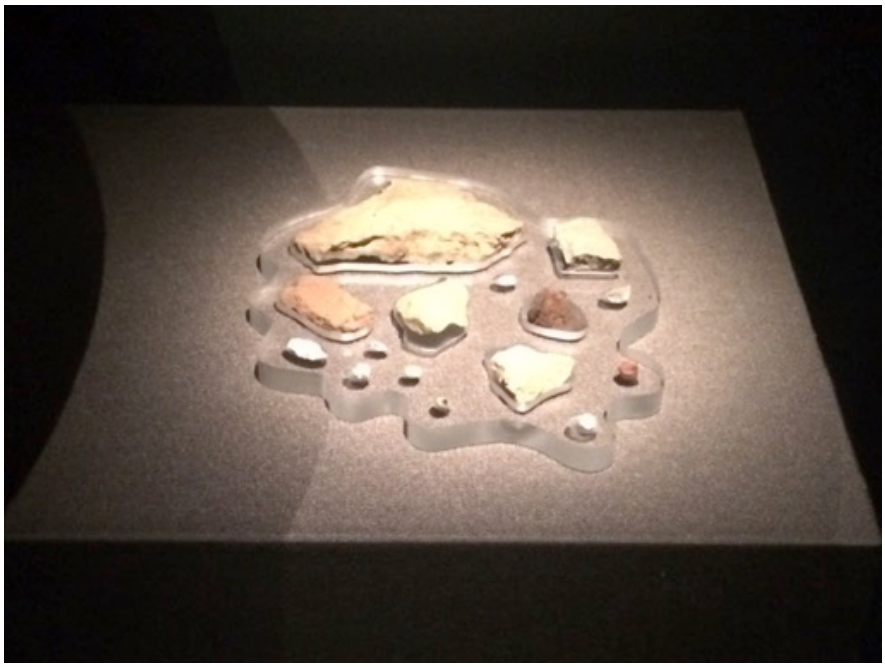

Figure 13: Artifacts donated to the NMAAHC by the GDSLS.

These artifacts represent reworked Native American tools and few massed produced objects. They are consistent the meager material remains left by Maroons in the Great Dismal Swamp. Photo courtesy of the GDSLS. Photo taken by Karl Austin. ©nmaahc.

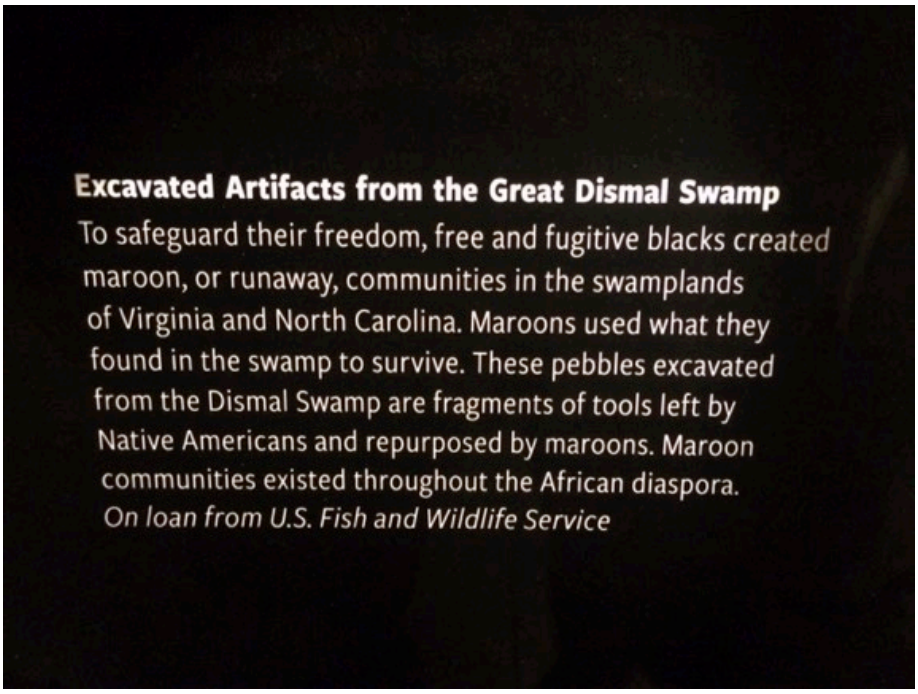

Figure 14: The Information Plate for the Artifacts Donated by the GDSLS at the NMAAHC.

Image courtesy of the GDSLS and NMAAHC. Photo taken by Karl Austin. ©nmaahc.

Previous archaeologists and the other members of the GDSLS have shared their work through many public outreach programs and through academia. Although it is difficult to bring stakeholders and other individuals to the nameless site a significant attempt has been made to engage the public with discourse. The story of the Maroons who called the Great Dismal Swamp their home is being shared and discussed in the public sphere and archaeological circles.

Discussion

The following chapter has reviewed archaeological excavations in two different areas on the nameless site. The GDSLS excavations established a Maroon presence at the Grotto and the North Plateau and identified these communities as scission communities. The artifacts and features at these sites are consistent with the scission mode of communitization. Scission communities are defined as those that are resistant in nature to contact with the outside world and characterized by few mass-produced objects. They would have been reliant on swamp-based

resources including indigenous trees, plants and animals. These communities would have had animal pens and gardens but also would have consumed animals that were indigenous to the swamp. Both sites established the presence of rectilinear structures similar to western influenced cabins on plantations. The data establishes the occupation of these sites during the 1700's.

In addition, a discussion was provided about the public archaeology aspects of the GDSLS. Given the remote location and hazardous terrain to reach the nameless site, the GDSLS has sought out other avenues for community engagement with educational exhibits in the wildlife refuge, documentary videos, interviews, the publication of academic manuscripts, public reports, and presentations both to the public and at professional conferences. Numerous visitors to the recently constructed National Museum of African American History and Culture will see the inclusion of artifacts from the nameless site on display as part of an exhibit dealing with the African Diaspora.

CHAPTER 5

ARCAHEOLOGICAL FIELDWORK AND INTERPRETATION ON THE CREST

This chapter contains a discussion of five field seasons (2009-2013) representing approximately six months of fieldwork performed by the author and the American University Field School under the guidance and ARPA permit of Daniel Sayers. These excavations took place at the nameless site, 31GA120, and concentrated on the Crest of a mesic island in the Great Dismal Swamp National Wildlife Refuge located in Virginia and North Carolina. An explanation of methods and archaeological findings will be provided.

A larger discussion of all of the work on the Crest is provided to help contextualize the landscape and cultural activities that were taking place. Although some of the fieldwork does not directly apply to my research question it is relevant in establishing the occupation by individuals on the Crest leading up to the nineteenth century. The significant difference in artifact assemblages found between the units will also strengthen the argument that Excavation Block 1 represents a cultural and architectural area that was used for defense. In addition, I have contributed work to many of the other excavation units on the Crest. The following data from the excavation units has been taken from the field notes of the 2009-2013 seasons as well as the reports prepared for the United States Fish and Wildlife Services (USFWS) by Sayers (2010, 2011, 2012, 2013) the series editor and contributing author as well as chapters prepared by students and other project contributors (Sayers, Reitz, Riccio 2010; Sayers, Riccio, Greene 2011; Kimmock, Pappas, Peixotto and Goode 2012; Sayers, Goode, Riccio 2013).

After discussing the general fieldwork results on the Crest, I will make the argument that a cultural transformation took place at the turn of the nineteenth century within the community in response to canal labor companies and lumberers penetrating the interior of the swamp. The

cultural transformation that took place within the scission community will be one to defense. As the swamp became viewed as an exploitable resource the outside world began to penetrate the depths of the swamp. These isolated communities, felt threatened by contact with canal labor companies and lumberers, and needed to respond appropriately by moving to the highest and most defensible part of the island as well as constructing a platform, scaffold or palisade type defensive architectural structure. This argument will be supported through the use of archaeological evidence in the way of features and artifacts.

A brief comparison will be made to excavations that date to earlier sites at the nameless site on the North Plateau and the Grotto to argue that a new architectural style, defensive in nature, was constructed at the turn of the nineteenth century. This will connect with the larger discussion of the other sites and work completed on the mesic island found in Chapter 4. When appropriate, a discussion of the agentive actions of individuals in the material culture, architecture, and landscape will be used to help interpret the archaeological data.

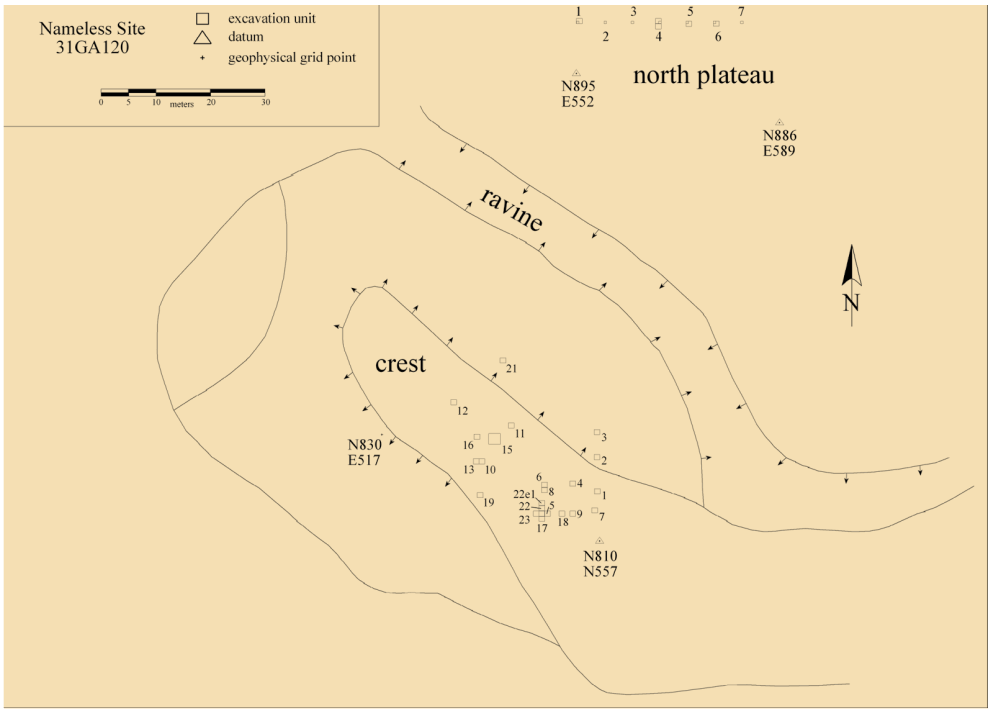

Figure 15: Map of the Crest, Ravine and North Plateau.

Image courtesy of the GDSLS.

Archaeological Fieldwork, Great Dismal Swamp, National Wildlife Refuge 2009-2013

One of the challenges that archaeological sites face over the course of multiple field seasons is the multivocality nature of field notes and reports. Each season saw a variety of different individuals participate in excavations. There were a few individuals that participated during each season, myself included, but as a field school there was a new batch of students each year. The completion of field forms was a standardized practice and different individuals took notes on them in varying degrees. Some field forms contained in depth details and supplemental notes while other forms contained the basic excavation data. In addition, different authors wrote the reports prepared for the United States Fish and Wildlife Services. The multivocality nature of

the GDSLS project became apparent when examining the field notes and reports. It is apparent that different individuals wrote the field notes and that different individuals were responsible for writing the different units in the chapters of the reports.

The 2009-2013 field seasons saw the excavations of 1m x 1m units on the Crest. Most of these units were placed in the north, west and northwestern quadrant of the Crest of unit datum 2 located at N810 and E557. These will be discussed in more detail as background is provided about each field season on the Crest. Excavations of a unit usually took place by removing the root cap with a shovel, which was screened for artifacts. The 2009 field season utilized a ¼ inch screen but the 2010-2013 field seasons used a 1/16-inch screen. Excavations through Stratum I were completed using a trowel and usually removed soil in 1cm – 2cm increments and occasionally 1cm - 5cm increments. Excavations were completed using arbitrary levels.

The Root Cap represented the first Stratum I_1 and often went to a depth of around 5cm below datum (bd). Strata I_2, I_3 and occasionally I_4 were arbitrarily excavated using a trowel by removing an additional 2cm-3cm of soil per Stratum, respectively. Previous work by Sayers (2008a, 2014) for the GDSLS established that Stratum I was generally 8-12cm in thickness and represents most of the historical period. Stratum I/II represents very early prehistoric and Late-Woodland soils. Historical features, frequently classified as 10 YR 2/1 to ¾ dark brown become clear when they are contrasted with lighter 10YR 4/6 brown loamy sand Stratum I/II soils (Sayers, Riccio, Greene 2011: 85). Unfortunately, due to the loose nature of the soil and excessive amounts of roots it was often difficult to maintain even plan depths. Excavations were usually halted at the Stratum I/II level although additional troweling took place to establish or clarify boundaries of features. Stratum II represents the pre-historic period and at this point is not a focus of the GDSLS. Excavations concentrated on Stratum I, and occasionally I/II, because this

represents the time period that Maroon communities were expected to inhabit the Great Dismal Swamp during the historic period.

The Root Mat is frequently 2-5 cm thick and represents a range of dates from the present to approximately 1940. The next 2-4cm approximately represents the 1860-1940 timeframe. The lower 2-5cm of Stratum I represent 1600-1860. Stratum I varies in depth, 6 to 14 cm, these two measurements represent the atypical extreme. Typically, excavations are concerned with depths, 8 to 12 cm (Sayers, Goode, Riccio 2013).

Features were assigned numbers based on when they were chronologically identified. Students were simultaneously excavating multiple units so as features were uncovered they were assigned a number. Thus, the assignment of feature numbers represents a point when it was identified in a particular unit. Features are discussed and identified in the write-up of excavation units. Finally, some features were bisected depending on the field season and their identified nature, pit, post-mold, etc. When appropriate, a discussion of the bisection of features will take place.

The following summary is not meant to provide a complete explanation of the arbitrary removal of each sub-Strat in every unit during the 5 field seasons that American University spent in the Great Dismal Swamp. All seasons are discussed to help provide context for Maroon occupation and material culture that has been found on the Crest. Part of the defensive structure was found as early as the 2010 field season. Reviewing what was found during earlier seasons will also demonstrate how different in nature the defensive structure was both architecturally, in terms of features, and in terms of material culture and the artifacts that were excavated in association with it.

Archaeological Survey and Excavation
2009: First American University Field Season

The first season of excavation on the Crest started in May of 2009 and it was also the first season of the American University Archaeological Field School. Students completed surveying the Crest with shovel test pits and Dan Lynch completed geological surveys that established concentrations of artifacts, features and geophysical anomalies. This first season concentrated on the Crest of the nameless site, which is the highest point of the mesic island. These investigations hypothesized that as the population of the scission community decreased they would have moved to the highest point of the island (Sayers 2014: 33-34, 201). The goal of excavating the Crest was to understand the response of the scission community members to the penetration of the canal labor companies into the interior of the swamp.

A datum was established in the center of the Crest that would enable researchers to divide the Crest into four 20m x 20m quadrants. The datum was recorded using GPS and given the location 10m North, 25m West of N800 and E800 so it was given the location number N810 E775. This allowed the creation of a 40m x 40m area where all excavations and geophysical survey were performed. The northwest quadrant would become an area of focus for future seasons. The southwest, southeast and northwest quadrants are on relatively flat land. The northeast quadrant slopes downs towards a ravine that offers somewhat of a natural boundary between the Crest and the North Plateau. This sloping quadrant was probably not inhabited (Sayers, Reitz, Riccio 2010).

During the 2009 season there were 13 excavations units placed in the active grid. The excavation units (EU's) were assigned the numbers 1-13. Four of the 13 units were used for training students, consisting of .5m x .5m units in size, that were located in the sloping northeastern quadrant. Nine larger 1m x 1m units were placed on various locations on the flat

parts of the Crest. The 1m x 1m units have their own datum, usually established in the southwest corner so that line level measurements can be taken (Sayers, Reitz, Riccio 2010).

Excavations usually stopped at the base of Stratum I or to a reasonable level to expose cultural features. After the root cap was removed excavations took place at 1-2cm increments and students, including myself, were trained to carefully examine changes in soil color as well as to screen for artifacts. Changes in soil can be indicators of cultural features that can include, but are not limited to, post-holes, hearths, pits, or the outer walls of structures. Since excavations rarely proceeded beyond Stratum I/II, only limited amounts of precontact soils/strata were examined. Soils were screened through a ¼ inch screen to acquire artifacts (Sayers, Reitz, Riccio 2010).

Eleven (11) definite historical features were exposed during excavations and all of these features were located in Stratum I. Dan Lynch's geophysical survey helped to identify several of the features that were located during this season. Features that were identified during this season were not excavated for several reasons including time constraints; the lack of horizontal exposure of the features and the project prehistorian was unable to attend the last week of excavations when these features could be excavated (Sayers, Reitz, Riccio 2010). A brief explanation of Lynch's Geophysical data is provided in the following before discussing the excavation units from the season.

Geophysical Data Collected During the 2009 Field Season

A variety of geophysical investigation methods were used in addition to more traditional excavation methods. These geophysical methods of survey included magnetic susceptibility, magnetic viscosity and electrical resistance. During the 2009 season geophysical survey was limited to the central area of the Crest (Lynch and Reitz 2010).

Magnetic susceptibility allows for the identification of areas where domestic activity took place and areas of settlement. Areas that demonstrate increased levels of magnetic susceptibility, compared to natural soils, include hearths, burnt soils and heavy cultural activity areas. Burning is the primary cause for magnetic susceptibility and it becomes an excellent tool for identifying areas with high concentrations of domestic activity (Lynch and Reitz 2010).

Electrical Resistance passes small electrical currents through soils. Clays show low resistance to electrical currents while sands show a high resistance. This is due to clays being relatively good conductors of electricity while sands are poor conductors of electricity. Well-drained soils also represent areas of high electrical resistance. Regarding a community living on an island in a swamp, it could be argued that they were looking to establish structures on well-drained soils (Lynch and Reitz 2010).

Magnetic viscosity is an excellent tool for identifying hearths. Soils can lose their magnetism when heated during burning and can regain a significant magnetism after the fire is extinguished. Magnetic viscosity will be apparent because as soils are re-oxidized following burning it allows for an increase in magnetism (Lynch and Reitz 2010).

Areas of abnormal levels of these magnetic susceptibility, electrical resistance and magnetic viscosity are referred to as anomalies. The data collected between these three different surveys demonstrate similarities in terms of activity areas on the Crest. This data will help to guide the excavations during future field seasons (Lynch and Reitz 2010).

Excavation Unit #'s 1-4 and 7

These units did not produce any features. Excavation Units 1-3 were located in an area that sloped towards the eastern and northeastern part of the quadrant, so it should not be a surprise that they lacked features. Excavation Unit 4 was located more on the central part of the

Crest, and did produce two small handthrown ceramic sherds. However, a definitive feature could not be identified. Excavation Unit 7 produced a few small iron fragments and a piece of burnt clay. As with EU 4, EU 7 did not produce a definitive feature.

These units represent a small percentage of the overall excavations that would end up taking place over the five field seasons. Despite not producing features EU 4 and EU 7 may have been located in a cultural activity area given the nature of the artifacts that were excavated. In addition, the geophysical data suggests that these EU's were located in an activity area. This small percentage of units that lacked features and artifacts supports the idea that the Crest was an area of heavy cultural activity (Sayers, Reitz, Riccio 2010).

Excavation Unit # 5

Excavations in this unit started as an exploratory .5m x .5m unit in the northwest quadrant. This unit is found in a central area of the Crest that is relatively flat. A darker semiovate stain in the soils began to appear on the edge of Stratum I/II. This stain continued into the eastern edge of the unit and unexcavated soils, it was designated Feature 251. At approximately 8-9 cm bd a grey/tan chert tool was found. Although located outside of the Feature 251 it was located in close proximity. Given the nature of Feature 251 and the chert tool, it was decided to expand the unit to 1m x 1m.

Expanding this unit picked up what appeared to be a continuation of Feature 251 around 5-6 cm bd. A moderate amount of charcoal was found in Stratum I_1. Feature 251 remained obscured due to loose soils from bioturbation at a depth of 10-20cm. Feature soils were then excavated separated from the bioturbated soils. Two small pieces of iron were found in the soils that were excavated from Feature 251. These excavations also revealed Feature 251 to be more

of an “L-shape” and possibly architectural in nature. The surrounding soils produced large amounts of burnt clay.

A very interesting artifact was excavated from Feature 521 at 9.5 cm bd. It is a tiny piece of iron and copper (or brass) that is scalloped shape. It could be a biconal bead and it also appears to be hollow and not very utilitarian but possibly ornamental in nature. The only other potential ornamental object that has been found is a piece of lead shot that may have been intentionally grooved (Sayers, Reitz, Riccio 2010: 37).

Figure 16: Possible Biconal Ornamental Bead.

Image courtesy of GDSLS.

Excavation Unit #’s 6 and 8

EU 6 began as a .5m x .5m exploratory unit located in the central Crest area. Following the removal of Stratum I_1, an amorphous dark brown sandy loam stain appeared. It was decided to expand EU 6 1m to the south making a 1.5m x .5 unit to better contextualize the feature. With the extended excavations it was revealed that Feature 250 occupied the northern half of the unit and Feature 253 occupied the southern half. EU 8 was excavated immediately to the east of EU 6 to better clarify the feature complex. Despite using separate unit designations, EU 6 and EU 8 would make a 1.5m x 1m block.

As EU 8 was excavated and Stratum I was removed it became apparent that the feature complex continued from EU 6 into this unit. These excavations also exposed Feature 255, which ran from the southeast to northwest in this unit. Within Feature 255 there was an ovate stain at a depth of 8 cm bd, designated as Feature 252. Feature 252 is being interpreted as a postmold. In addition, Feature 253, a circular stain that begins at a depth of 9 cm bd and cuts into the southern edge of Feature 255.

Feature 253 was also discovered to the south of Feature 255 and partially cut into Feature 255. Finally, Feature 254 is an ovate stain that is larger then Features 252 and 253. It extends to the edge of Feature 255 and into unexcavated soils. Feature 254 is surrounded by mottled soils and is being interpreted as a postmold but very well could be a pit. A number of artifacts were found in association with Feature 254 and the Feature 250 complex, including several iron nodules and two conjoinable pieces of a machine cut nail (Sayers, Reitz, Riccio 2010: 40-43).

Excavation Unit #9

This is a 1m x 1m unit in the southeast quadrant of the excavation area. At the base of Stratum I, approximately 11-12cm bd, a quarter of a large circular shape appeared in the northeast part of the unit. The circular shape is projected to have a width and length between 102 and 104 cm. This was designated Feature 256 and may represent an architectural feature similar to those found in Feature 81 of the N800 E800 Datum from the Grotto, that is to the east. As excavations continued Feature 256 became noticeably smaller in size, similar to the post-in-ground structure of Feature 81 that was excavated in the Grotto. Feature 256 could represent a pit or part of a post-in-ground structure.

The artifacts recovered in association with Feature 256 were limited to a piece of burnt clay. At this point Feature 256 is thought to predate the Civil War because there was no twentieth

century artifacts associated with logging found in proximity to it (Sayers, Reitz, Riccio 2010: 43-45).

Excavation Unit #'s 10 and 13

These units were excavated due to an anomaly that was detected by Dan Lynch utilizing geophysical survey. The geophysical signature that was detected was suggestive of a fire pit. The excavation of Stratum I in EU 10 was completed in three arbitrary levels to make sure that this anomaly did not originate in the upper soil levels. Two dark semicircular stains began to appear around 13 cm bd, approximately at the transition of Stratum I/II. These were designated Features 257 and 258.

Feature 257 is a semicircular stain that was located on the western side of EU 10. Only the eastern half of Feature 257 was exposed. This semicircular stain was located 13 cm bd. Feature 258 is possibly an ovate feature or a quarter of a rectangular and is clearly defined 14 cm bd. Artifacts that were excavated in association with these features include 1 fire cracked rock fragment, 1 lithic flake and 1 rim sherd from a handthrown vessel.

EU 13 was excavated directly to the west to better define the edges of Feature 257. Excavations revealed the continuation of Feature 257 at a depth of 9 cm bd. The entire feature was exposed and when viewed in the context of the geophysical data is considered to be a fire pit. The interpretation of Feature 258 is that it is a post mold, although a shallow pit cannot be ruled out (Sayers, Reitz, Riccio 2010: 45-47).

Excavation Unit # 11

EU 11 was also excavated due to an anomaly detected by geophysical survey. In Stratum I_2 at 11 cm bd a circular feature became apparent and was designated Feature 260. The function of this feature is being considered a post-mold. The artifacts that were recovered included, 1

piece of burnt clay that was excavated from the root cap and 1 lithic flake was excavated in Stratum I_2 (Sayers, Reitz, Riccio 2010: 47-48).

Excavation Unit #12

Excavations revealed a semicircular stain in Stratum I_1. Excavations proceeded to the transition of Stratum I/II, 11 cm bd, and the stain was still present and designated Feature 259. A possible small shard of glass and a ceramic sherd were excavated from this unit (Sayers, Reitz, Riccio 2010: 48-49).

Discussion 2009 Field Season on the Crest

The 2009 Field Season established a presence of individuals inhabiting this part of the Crest during the historical period. This is supported by the identification of eleven (11) features and variety of artifacts including lithics, sherds of handtossed ceramic, small pieces of iron, a machine cut nail, a possible glass shard, and burnt clay. Very few mass produced items were found, a single machine cut nail and a piece of glass. The lack of mass produced items coincides with the GDSLS model that the scission community would have been resisting contact with the world outside of the swamp. The few mass produced items may have been acquired from canal labor companies that were laboring in the swamp from 1800-1860 (Sayers, Reitz, Riccio 2010). Instead of mass produced objects, the Maroons relied on Native American materials and materials from the natural landscape. The lithic flakes suggest that stone tools were being made or previous stone tools were being reworked.

The machine cut nail could have been used to fasten architectural parts, given that was excavated from the Feature 250 complex were potential post molds were uncovered. However, nails could have also been fastened to the end of sticks to produce a hunting or defensive weapon. Machine cut nails were predominately manufactured during the late eighteenth century

and nineteenth century (Adams 2002: 66; Wells 1998: 83; Sayers 2010: 109). Sayers (2010: 109) explains that wrought iron nails tend to produce a billowy type of rust, while machine cut nails tend to produce flakier rust after being left in the ground. This nail exhibits a flakey type of rust and was most likely machine manufactured post-1790 (Sayers 2010:109). The other iron fragments are unidentifiable. The scalloped ornamental shell may connect with the spirituality of Maroons and African American traditions.

The material culture that was recovered demonstrates agency in the choice of materials and how those materials were being utilized. The scission community resisted most mass-produced objects from the outside world and the structures and ideologies of enslavement that are associated with mass produced objects. The reworking of Native American tools also demonstrates the action of individuals (Delle 1998; Ferguson 1992; Knappett and Malafouris 2008b).

Although the excavations revealed the presence of individuals occupying this part of the mesic island, a variety of questions remain. These questions include, at what dates did individuals occupy this part of the mesic island? What type of individuals comprised the Maroon community, runaway slaves, disenfranchised Europeans, Native Americans or a mixture of these groups? Future field seasons should help to reveal answers to these questions.

2010: Second American University Field Season

The 2010 Field Season worked on expanding the excavations that were completed during the 2009 season on the Crest. This season opened EU's 14-23 for excavation on the Crest and EU's 1-7 were opened for excavation on the North Plateau. The following discussion will examine the continuing excavations of EU's on the Crest that started in 2009 and the new EU's opened in 2010. Excavations continued in a similar fashion to 2009 season. One notable change

was the use of 1/16-inch screen inserts to obtain smaller artifacts. The 2009 season had used ¼ inch screens so this represents a significant change in the collection of artifacts.

Excavation Unit #'s 10 and 13

One of the first areas to be reexamined was the hearth or fire pit, Feature 257, which was found in EU's 10 and 13 during the 2009 field season. Upon examination, Feature 257 was no longer as distinctive as it had been during the 2009 season. Over the course of the next few days Feature 257 continued to change and morph in appearance due to changing sunlight, even with the use of tarps and sheets to provide shade (Sayers, Riccio, and Greene 2011: 76-81).

An OSL sample was taken from the southern profile of the feature that was taken at 25 cm below the datum. However, as established by previous work, most of the historical remains are found in Stratum I that extends to a depth of approximately 8-12cm (Sayers 2008a, 2014). The fire pit had been bisected in the northern ½ to examine the depth at which the feature extended. To accommodate the OSL a ¼ of Feature 527 was excavated another 14 cm to a central depth of 37 cm (Sayers, Riccio and Greene 2011: 76-81). This is well below Stratum I and the context of historical remains. The 25cm depth from which the OSL sample was taken is below the depth at which most historical remains are located. The dates for this OSL sample came in at 1620 (+/- 80) (Sayers 2014: 135).

Excavation Unit # 15

This EU measured 2m x 2m and was opened to the northeast of EU's 10 and 13 to examine a possible cultural activity area near the fire pit. This larger unit, given its 2m x 2m measurements, yielded a number of features that included a possible storage pit (Feature 511), possible postmolds (Features 513, 514 and 515) and possible additional architectural feature (Feature 512). Feature 512 was "L"-shaped and this is why it was designated as potentially being

architectural in nature. In addition, a lithic flake was found in association with this feature. The number of features suggests that this was a significant cultural activity area during the historic period. These features were also found in Stratum I/II that further supports use and occupation during the historic period. A Morrow Mountain II point (Middle Archaic, 6000-3000 BC), which had been reworked on one side, was also excavated from this unit (Sayers, Riccio, Greene 2011: 81-84).

Examining the reworked projectile point from a material agential perspective offers clues to the community that lived on the Crest. Given the stratum that it was excavated it most likely was reworked during the historic period. In addition, it probably suggests that Maroons continued to resist materials from the outside world and did not want to risk being recaptured, instead opting to reuse resources that were available in the swamp. This allows the projectile point to embody agentive action from the individual who reworked it into a tool that they needed (Delle 1998; Knappett and Malafouris 2008a, 2008b; Sinclair 2000). The modified Morrow Mountain II point is a significant artifact for individuals who continued to maintain a scission form of lifestyle.

Excavation Unit # 16

This unit was excavated as a 1 x 1m unit and was located several meters north of EU's 10 and 13 to better contextualize the possible fire pit. The unit was excavated with arbitrary levels in approximately four (4) 5cm strata (Strata I_1, I_2, I_3 and I_4). The stratigraphy of this unit appeared thicker then other units possibly due to natural and cultural activities. A vaguely defined light grey circle appeared around Stratum I_2 at a depth of approximately 15 cm. Stratum I_3 was identified at approximately 17cm bd and the grey circle was designated Feature 521. At

the top of Stratum I/II Feature 521 appeared as a well-defined oval and measuring 37cm in width and 50cm in length.

Feature 521 was identified as a possible posthole and was bisected to a depth of 40cm. The aim of this was to better define the profile of the postmold soils. At a depth of 27cm a quartz crystal was excavated out of Feature 521 that was probably intentionally placed because the significant utility and rarity of such an item in the swamp. The quartz crystal measured approximately 2.5cm in length, 2cm wide and 1cm thick (Sayers, Riccio, Greene 2011: 84-89).

Placing quartz crystals under brick or wood floors is a documented practice by African Americans (Fennell 2003; Ferguson 1992). The use of quartz and other items potentially served as a private symbolic expression and the blending of religious practices over time (Fennell 2003). The private uses of symbolic practices often attempted to invoke spiritual practices of self-protection and the curing or avoidance of illnesses (Fennell 2003). This ties into the agentive actions of individuals and arguably necessary in the environment of the swamp even though it has been documented in slave quarters. Symbolic expression has been imbued onto the physical material as well as the deliberate and symbolic action in creating the postmold (Knappett and Malafouris 2008a, 2008b; Pauketat and Alt 2005).

Excavation Unit # 17

EU 17 is a 1m x 1m unit and was placed diagonally to the southwest of EU 5 that was excavated in 2009 and revealed an “L” shaped feature. Stratum I was excavated in four arbitrary levels. This exposed Feature 517 at Stratum I/II that was 20cm bd. Feature 517 appeared to have a rounded “L” shape. However, it is located at a different depth, several centimeters above, from the “L” shaped Feature found in EU 5 during the 2009 field season (Sayers, Riccio, Greene 2011: 89-91).

This excavation unit comparatively yielded a high concentration of artifacts including nine (9) pieces of burnt clay, thirteen (13) lithic flakes, two (2) bone fragments, and three (3) iron artifacts. These artifacts mostly came out of Stratum I, approximately 16-21 cm bd. EU 17 had a similar stratigraphic nature to EU 16 and is described as a high cultural activity area based on the number of artifacts that were recovered (Sayers, Riccio, Greene 2011: 89-91).

Excavation Unit # 18

EU 18 is a 1m x 1m unit, located 2.5m to the east of EU 5 and was not characterized by significantly disturbed soils; such was the case in EU's 16 and 17. Feature 509 was uncovered in this unit at a depth of 12cm bd in Stratum I_2. This feature was linear in nature but also contained a circular stain that might be a postmold. The unit was excavated to a depth of 17cm bd and the stains persisted in a similar manner. However, no artifacts were excavated from this unit and excavations stopped at 17 cm bd (Sayers, Riccio, Greene 2011: 91-92).

Excavation Unit # 19

EU 19 is a 1m x 1m unit that was placed to the south of EU's 10 and 13 where the fire pit was located in an attempt to better establish the activities that were taking place on the landscape. Stratum I was excavated in three arbitrary levels to a maximum depth of 15 cm bd. At the base of Stratum I_2, which was 11.5 cm bd, a stain began to appear in the soils suggesting a possible feature. However, at the base of Stratum I_3 the stain was difficult to discern. Interestingly, a large lithic artifact was found on the edge of the stain and it was left in–situ. In addition, a variety of other artifacts were recovered from Strata I_2 and I_3. Artifacts recovered included, 1 lithic flake found in Stratum I_2 and 1 lithic flake and 7 pieces of burnt clay in Stratum I_3. The possible feature was too difficult to discern so excavations ceased during this season. During the 2010 field season it was thought that this unit might be revisited during future field

seasons. However, no further excavations have taken place to date (Sayers, Riccio, Greene 2011: 93-94).

Excavation Unit # 20

This unit is a 1m x 1m unit and was the first unit that was located in the northeastern quadrant of the Crest. This unit was excavated in three arbitrary levels. After the removal of the Root Cap, Stratum I_1, several possible feature stains were observed. A handthrown ceramic sherd was recovered in Stratum I_1 at 7cm bd. A piece of burnt clay was excavated from Stratum I_2 and a piece of fire-cracked rock was uncovered in Stratum I_3. The soil stains were indistinctive but somewhat appeared to take a trench-like shape. However, this stain disappeared as Stratum I_2 was excavated and may have been attributed to bioturbation. The ceramic sherd in Stratum I_1 may have also been moved due to animals because the unit appears to be located on a natural trail. No definitive features were located in this EU (Sayers, Riccio, Greene 2011: 94-95).

Excavation Unit # 21

This is a 1m x 1m unit that was placed on a relatively flat area where the Crest slowly sloped down towards the ravine. Stratum I was excavated in three arbitrary levels and extended to a depth of 20 cm bd. As Stratum I_3 was excavated a distinct semicircular feature appeared and was designated Feature 510. A handthrown ceramic sherd that was identified as the Mount Pleasant series or type was found just outside of Feature 510. Sherds of the Mount Pleasant type date to (CE 200-900) and are characterized by a sandy and gritty temper. This particular sherd appears to be heavily burned.

Feature 510 was bisected to establish an east-west axis across the feature. The southern half was carefully excavated using a trowel and scraping. The circular nature of the feature became more apparent after removing several cm of soil during the bisection. The circular stain

that comprised Feature 510 was 28 cm wide (east-west) and 38 cm long. Feature 510 was determined to be a post mold. Feature 508 was designated following the revised bisection. Feature 501 was assigned specifically to define the east bisect and west profile where bioturbation had taken place in Stratum II (Sayers, Riccio, Greene 2011: 95-98).

Excavation Unit # 22

The unit began as an exploratory 1m x 1m unit. A number of artifacts were found in arbitrary Strata I_1 and I_2. Artifacts excavated from Stratum I_1 include a piece of burnt clay and curved piece from a possible pipe bowl. Artifacts that were excavated from Stratum I_2 included additional burnt clay, lithic flakes and a piece of lead shot. Due to the nature of the artifacts and soil color EU 22 was expanded to the north into a 1m x 2m unit. This expanded unit was designated EU22-E1.

EU22-E1 was excavated in the arbitrary levels (I_1, I_2, I_3). A lithic flake was recovered from Stratum I_1. Burnt clay, lithic flakes and FCR were recovered from Stratum I_2. Feature 516 was revealed in the northern half of the unit. Artifacts that were recovered from Stratum I_3 revealed lithic flakes and burnt clay. In addition, Features 516, 522, 523 and 524. This series of features were designated the Feature 524 complex. The Feature 524 complex was feature fill that contained three circular Features 516, 522 and 523. These three features were all identified as possible postholes. Feature 523 was bisected well into Stratum II and was defined as a large architectural postmold (Sayers, Riccio, Greene 2011: 98-101).

Excavation Unit # 23

EU 23 is a 1m x 1m exploratory unit that was excavated in three arbitrary levels (Strata I_1, I_2, and I_3). Artifacts recovered from Stratum I_2 include burnt clay and lithic flakes. Artifacts recovered from Stratum I_3 include burnt clay, FCR and a lithic tool. At 15 cm bd Feature 525

was identified and appears an L-shape. It may be architectural in nature and may also be associated with the Feature 524 complex found in EU 22 and EU22-E1. Excavations were halted due to the end of the field season (Sayers, Riccio, Greene 2011: 101-102).

Excavation Unit # 24

Is a 1m x 1m exploratory unit that was excavated adjacent to EU 10 and EU 13 that contained a possible fire pit. EU 24 does not appear on the maps for the site. It was excavated in three arbitrary levels (Strata I_1, I_2, and I_3). A large amount of charcoal was excavated from Strata I_1 and I_2, but none of it was retained. Feature 520 was identified in Stratum I_3 so excavations continued to a depth of 20 cm bd and the transition of Stratum I/II. Feature 520 appears to have an L shape. Artifacts that were recovered included large amounts of burnt clay, one lithic flake and a possible pipe bowl fragment. Excavations were halted due to the end of the field season (Sayers, Riccio, Greene 2011:102-104).

Discussion 2010 Field Season on the Crest

The excavations during this season continued to reveal many features and artifacts, which continue to support the idea that the Crest was an area that supported a lot of cultural activity during the historic period. Excavations for the 2009 and 2010 seasons provide a palimpsest feature signature (Sayers 2010). This suggests that the Crest was occupied continually and used in different ways over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In addition, the recovery of pieces of ceramic pipes also supports the idea that this is a historic site that dates between 1600-1860 and not strictly a prehistoric site despite the number of Native American Materials that have been excavated. The artifact signatures continue to point to a scission community that was resistant to use of outside materials before canal labor companies penetrated the site. It stays consistent with the proposed GDSLS model that scission

communities would have been self-reliant by using resources from the swamp environment around them and reusing Native American materials (Sayers 2008a, 2014). The features that were excavated continue to point to rectilinear or cabin like structures that had been previously identified in the Grotto and had also been identified on the North Plateau.

2011: Third American University Field Season

The excavations that took place during the 2011 field season continued to build off excavations that took place during the 2009-2010 field seasons in Block A of the Crest. Many of the American University students focused their work on the Crest, however, excavations did continue on the North Plateau (Riccio 2012). A number of units were excavated in proximity to the southern baseline of Block A. In addition, a few units were excavated in the central part of Block A. The continued use of a 1/16-inch screen helped to recover substantial amounts of artifacts. In addition, a magnet was used to recover iron artifacts recovered from materials in the screen after sifting (Kimmock, Papas, Peixotto and Goode 2012).

The use of the 1/16-inch screen and magnet allowed for the collection of significant microartifacts. The large number of microartifacts continues to support the idea that materials were scarce and were regularly being reworked and reused. The following will summarize the units, artifacts and features that were excavated during the 2011 field season (Kimmock, Pappas, Peixotto and Goode 2012).

Excavation Unit # 9

The excavations in EU 9 date back to the 2009 season, with the datum being located in the southwest quadrant of this unit. This unit was redesignated EU9A in 2011 and was expanded with three new quadrants (EU 9B, EU 9C and EU 9D). These three new quadrants were excavated down to within 3cm of the depth of EU 9A.They were excavated in three arbitrary

levels at approximately 3 cm increments. This would allow Feature 542 (previously Feature 256) to be bisected.

No artifacts were recovered from Stratum I_1 that extended to a depth of 2 cm. Stratum I_2 produced 36 artifacts, mostly lithic in nature including, 1 tertiary quartzite flake found in situ, 2 tertiary rhyolite flakes, 2 unidentified lithic shatters, 26 pieces of hematite and several quartz pebbles. Stratum I_3 produced six artifacts including 1 non-glazed piece of handmade brick, 1 tertiary quartz pebble, 1 piece of charcoal, 1 piece of burnt sand and 2 pieces of hematite. Feature 542 produced five artifacts at this level, including 2 pieces of melted lead shot, 1 fragment of a quartz flake, 1 fragment of a quartzite flake and 1 piece of floral material.

The south side of Feature 542 was bisected and excavations extended from 9cm to 22cm bd. The 10YR 5/6 strong brown sand that was mottled with 10YR 4/6 brown sand might represent the interior of a structure. In addition, there might be a possible posthole in the southwest quadrant of the feature. Sixty artifacts were recovered from Feature 542 with fifty-one of these artifacts coming form the bisection. Artifacts recovered included 2 lead shot, 11 pieces of burnt clay, 6 quartz pebbles, 2 brick fragments, 2 pieces of charcoal, 1 tiny piece of handmade ceramic, 2 tertiary rhyolite flakes, 24 four pieces of hematite and one piece of red ochre (Kimmock, Pappas, Peixotto and Goode 2012: 69-73).

Excavation Unit # 25

EU 25 is a 1m x 1m unit and located along the baseline, six meters from the site datum. Stratum I_1 extended to a depth from 5cm to 9cm bd and no cultural artifacts were recovered. Stratum I_2 extended approximately from 9cm to 14cm bd. Twenty-one artifacts were recovered from this stratum including, 1 burnt clay, 1 lead shot, 2 quartzite pebbles, 7 quartzite flakes, 3 rhyolite flakes and 3 hematite fragments (Kimmock, Pappas, Peixotto and Goode 2011 73-74).

Excavation Unit # 26

EU 26 is a 1m x 1m unit that is located along the baseline. Stratum I_1 extends to a depth between 5cm to 6 cm bd and no artifacts were recovered. Stratum I_2 extended to a depth of 9cm bd with 1 piece of lithic being recovered and 1 faunal bone fragment. Stratum I_3 was excavated to approximately 13cm bd. The artifacts that were recovered included 1 faunal bone fragment, 2 quartzite tertiary flakes, 1 chert tertiary flake, 3 unidentified lithic flakes, and 1 quartz pebble.

Feature Complex 530 was located at the base of Stratum I_3 and was comprised of possibly four different features. Two artifacts were recovered as the floor of the Feature Complex 530 was scraped; they included 1 burnt piece of clay and 1 piece of red ochre. The function of Feature Complex 530 is undetermined but it contained Features 531, 532 and 533 within its boundaries. It was speculated during the 2011 field season that the feature complex might be architectural in nature, with Feature 533 possibly representing a posthole, but excavations ceased leaving work for future field seasons (Kimmock, Pappas, Peixotto and Goode 2012: 74-76).

Excavation Unit #27

EU 27 is a 1m x 1m unit that is located along the southern baseline. Strata I_1 and I_2 contained no artifacts. Ten artifacts were recovered from Stratum I_3 that included 1 lead shot, 6 pieces of burnt clay, 1 quartz pebble, 1 quartz tertiary flake and 1 chert tertiary flake. Stratum I_4 included a darker patch of soil but it was not excavated as a feature. Five artifacts were recovered from Stratum I_4; they included 1 chert pebble, 2 unidentified lithic fragments, 1 unidentified tertiary flake fragment and 1 rhyolite tertiary flake fragment (Kimmock, Pappas, Peixotto and Goode 2012: 76-77).

Excavation Unit #28

EU 28 is a 1m x 1m unit located along the southern baseline. The unit was excavated in arbitrary levels. No artifacts were recovered from Strata I_1 and I_2. Eight artifacts were recovered from Stratum I_3; they include 1 sandstone pebble, 5 pieces of burnt clay and 1 tertiary rhyolite flake. No features were uncovered (Kimmock, Pappas, Peixotto and Goode 2012: 77-78).

Excavation Unit #29

EU 29 is a 1m x 1m unit that was excavated in arbitrary levels. Strata I_1 and I_2 contained no artifacts. Ten artifacts were recovered from Stratum I_3; these included 2 chert lithic flakes, 1 hornfels lithic flake, 1 quartzite lithic flake, 1 quartz lithic flake, 1 quartz pebble, 1 burnt clay and 1 unidentified artifact (natural resin concretion).

EU 29 was located 1m to the south of EU 35. Feature 535 was initially identified as a posthole. However, Feature 535 is located under a root making excavations difficult due to the root and loose soil EU 29 Feature 535 that was uncovered in both EU 41, directly to the north, and EU 35 (Kimmock, Pappas, Peixotto and Goode 2012: 78-81). A lengthier discussion of Feature 535 and the artifacts that were recovered both associated and not associated with feature soil is provided in the write-up of EU 35.

Excavation Unit #30

EU 30 was a 1m x 1m unit, located along the southern baseline and approximately 6-8 m south of EU 9, which contained a large feature complex. The unit was excavated in arbitrary levels. Stratum I_1 contained no artifacts. Stratum I_2 had been recently disturbed by bioturbation. Artifacts recovered from this stratum included 1 quartzite tertiary flake, 3 quartz pebbles, 1 hematite fragment and 1 clay ceramic pipe fragment. Feature 534 was identified as in L-shape in

the southern side of the unit that could be architectural in nature. Stratum I_3 contained a possible feature but it was unexcavated (Kimmock, Pappas, Peixotto and Goode 2012: 81-82).

Excavation Unit #31

EU 31 was a 1m x 1m unit and located along the baseline. Stratum I_1 contained a moderate amount of charcoal but no artifacts were recovered. Stratum I_2 contained some bioturbation from a mole or rodent that impacted excavations overnight. Eighteen artifacts were recovered from this stratum including 3 unidentified faunal bones, 4 pieces of burnt clay, 1 quartz pebble, 1 unidentified pebble, 3 quartz pebbles, 3 pieces of burnt clay, one piece of burnt sand and on piece of burnt clay. There were no identifiable features in this unit (Kimmock, Pappas, Peixotto and Goode 2012: 82-83).

Excavation Unit #32

EU 32 was a 1m x 1m unit that was located one meter north of the southern baseline and is adjacent to EU 28 and 31. Stratum I_1 contained some pieces of charcoal but did not yield any artifacts. Stratum I_2 contained nine artifacts including 1 crystal quartz pebble, 1 quartz pebble, 2 pieces of burnt clay, 1 whole chert tertiary flake, 1 whole quartzite tertiary flake, two rhyolite tertiary flakes and 1 unidentified flake. There were no definitive features located in this unit so excavations stopped (Kimmock, Pappas, Peixotto and Goode 2012: 83).

Excavation Unit #33

EU 33 was a 1m x 1m unit. Stratum I_1 did not contain any artifacts but a large amount of charcoal was noted. Stratum I_2 contained 1 quartzite lithic flake and 1 tiny shard of glass. Stratum I_3 was excavated and the recovered artifacts included 9 pieces of burnt clay and 1 hematite lithic. It was concluded that Feature 534 was not cultural in origin but likely caused by a tree burn (Kimmock, Pappas, Peixotto and Goode 2012: 84).

Excavation Unit #34

EU 34 was a 1m x 1m unit and was excavated using an arbitrary level. Due to bioturbation only Stratum I_1 was excavated but it extended to 19 cm bd. The bioturbation ran through the center at an east-west axis. This soil was screened separately; burnt clay, 1 pebble and 1 bone were recovered. Most units used several arbitrary levels to reach that depth. The rest of the unit contained nine artifacts, including 2 pieces of faunal bone, 5 pieces of burnt clay, 1 pebble and 1 incomplete tertiary rhyolite flake. A possible feature was located in the southern half but it was not designated a number (Kimmock, Pappas, Peixotto and Goode 2012: 84-85).

Excavation Unit #35

EU 35 was a 1m x 1m unit that was excavated directly to the north of EU's 29 and 41. It was excavated using arbitrary levels. Stratum I_1 contained a large fire cracked rock that measure 4cm in length and 2cm in width, one of the larger artifacts found at the site. Artifacts recovered from Stratum I_2 included 14 pieces of metal, 2 pieces of clay pipe (one might be a possible ceramic), and 8 lithic flakes. Feature 535 was uncovered in this stratum. Artifacts recovered from Stratum I_3 included 5 reduction flakes, 4 pieces of iron/metal, and 2 unknown lithics. The completion of this unit created a 3m x 1m trench that comprised Excavation Units 29, 41 and 35.

The following discussion is about Feature 535 that was initially uncovered in EU 35. It was later discovered to extend into EU 41 directly to the south of EU 35 and EU 29 2m to the south. Feature 535 also appeared to continue in to EU 29 that was previously excavated to the south of EU 41. Feature 535 was identified in Stratum I_2 of EU 41 and Stratum I_2 of EU 29. Feature 535 connects EU's 29, 35 and 41 in what appears to form a long dark patch of soil with a right angle in the center. As discussed in EU 29, excavations continued and it appears that

Feature 535B might be a posthole in that unit as the stain becomes circular in nature and is part of the large Feature 535 complex.

EU's 29, 35 and 41 are all discussed here because they were excavated in relation to Feature 535. Some conclusions were drawn in the USFWS 2011 Report (Sayers 2012; Kimmock, Pappas, Peixotto and Goode 2012) that if Feature 535B is a posthole then non-feature soil from EU 35 would be outside the structure while non-feature soil in EU's 29 ad 41 would be inside the structure. Soils from Feature 535 were screened separately from those that were not part of the feature.

In EU 29, the recovered artifacts were separated by the soils from which they were screened. The artifacts that were recovered from non-feature soils associated with EU 29 include 1 unifacially retouched quartzite flake tool (found in situ), 1 piece of chert, 9 rhyolite flakes, 11 quartz flakes, 2 quartzite flakes, 4 pieces of burnt clay, 1 lead shot, 5 unidentified lithics, 1 hematite fragment, 2 quartz pebbles, 6 faunal bone fragments and 1 unidentified floral object. In EU 35, non-feature associated soils were screened separately. The artifacts that were recovered from the floor scrape of Stratum I_3 included 2 iron nail fragments, 4 quartz flakes, 1 quartz pebble, and 1 iron fragment. In EU 41 non-feature associated soils were screened separately. The artifacts that were recovered included 1 quartz pebble, 2 hematite fragments, 1 piece of burnt clay and 1 cut nail fragment (Kimmock, Pappas, Peixotto and Goode 2012: 85-88).

In EU 29, Feature 535 was bisected in the southern half and these soils were screened separately. The artifacts that were recovered included 1 turtle shell fragment, 1 hematite fragment, 1 quartz flake, 2 quartzite flakes, 4 rhyolite flakes, and 1 piece of burnt clay. The north/west bisection of Feature 535 had the following artifacts recovered, 2 quartzite flakes, 1 quartz flake, 1 rhyolite flake, 2 quartz pebbles and 1 natural concretion. The wall scrape of this

feature included 1 quartz flake and 1 natural concretion. The floor scrape included 1 quartz flake. The soils from the southern bisection of Feature 535 in EU 35 and EU 41 were screened separately. The artifacts recovered included 1 rhyolite flake, 5 quartz pebbles, 2 quartz shatters, 1 crystal quartz flake, 3 quartz flakes, 1 quartzite flake, 2 chert flakes, 2 iron fragments, 1 burnt clay, 1 hematite fragment and 1 faunal bone fragment (Kimmock, Pappas, Peixotto and Goode 2012).

Excavation Unit #36

EU 36 was 1m x 1m unit located a meter north of the southern base line. Three artifacts were recovered from Stratum I_1 including 1 incomplete quartz secondary flake and 2 incomplete quartzite tertiary flakes. Three artifacts were recovered from Stratum I_2 including 1 incomplete quartz tertiary flake and 2 pieces of hematite. Seven artifacts were recovered from Stratum I_3 including 1 incomplete weathered rhyolite tertiary flake, 3 magnetized pieces of red ochre, 1 quartz pebble and 2 whole quartzite tertiary flakes. There were no discernible features identified (Kimmock, Pappas, Peixotto and Goode 2012: 88-89).

Excavation Unit # 37

EU 37 was a 1m x 1m unit that was located somewhat in the center part of the quadrant on the Crest. There was a thick root cap and tree in the southeast corner of the unit. This caused Stratum I_1 to be excavated arbitrarily to a much deeper level then most units. Artifacts recovered from Stratum I_1 included 2 pieces of hematite. Thirty-nine artifacts were recovered from Stratum I_2 that included 14 pieces of burnt clay, 15 unidentified natural resin concretions, 3 incomplete tertiary quart flakes, 1 piece of hematite, 3 unidentified lithic fragments, 1 unidentified pebble and 2 quartz pebbles. There were no discernible features identified (Kimmock, Pappas, Peixotto and Goode 2012: 89-90).

EU 38F	EU 38B	EU 38A	EU 38E
		EU 38C	EU 38D

North

Figure 17: Orientation of EU's 38A to 38F.

Figure 18: Photograph of EU 38A to 38F.

Image courtesy of the GDSLS.

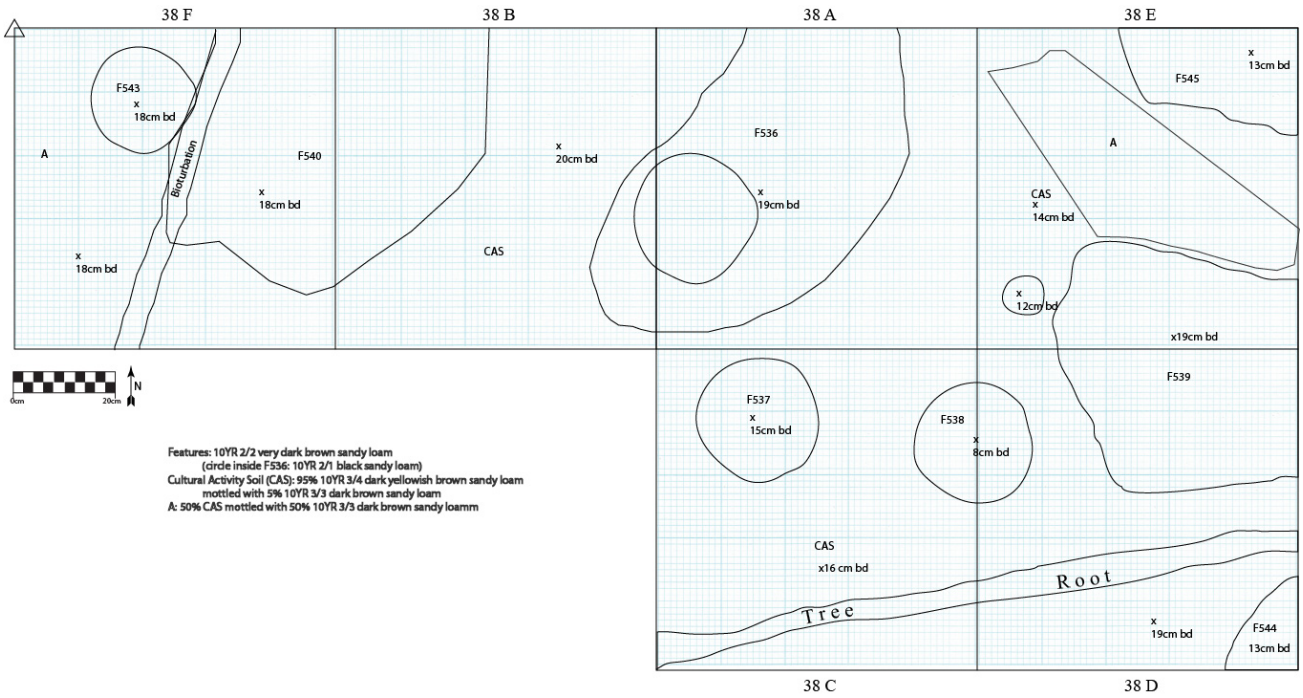

Figure 19: Feature Complex in EU 38A-38F.

Image courtesy of the GDSLS.

Excavation Unit #38

EU 38A was a 1m x 1m unit. Six artifacts were recovered from Stratum I_1 that included 3 burnt pieces of burnt clay, 2 incomplete tertiary rhyolite fragments, and 1 tertiary quartz flake. Forty-five artifacts were recovered from Stratum I_2 that included 1 piece of gray English gunflint, 1 large and 1 small weathered pieces of lead shot, 1 tertiary flake, 1 rhyolite flake, 1 unidentified piece of red ochre, 23 pieces of burnt clay, 2 tertiary quartzite flakes, 1 heated tertiary quartzite flake, 5 quartz pebbles, 7 tertiary quartz flake fragments, 1 unidentified flake, 6 magnetized hematite fragments, and 1 unidentified lithic. The floor scrape of Stratum I_2 produced twenty–three artifacts, that included 16 pieces of burnt clay, 1 handmade sand-tempered ceramic sherd with unidentified surface treatment, 1 magnetized hematite fragment, 1 unidentified lithic fragment, 1 quartz pebble, 2 tertiary quartz flake fragments, and 1 tiny unidentified glass shard. Thirty-three artifacts were recovered from Stratum I_3 that included 11

pieces of burnt clay, 4 unidentified lithic fragments, 7 magnetized hematite fragments, 1 tertiary quartz flake, 3 tertiary quartzite flakes, 1 unidentified tertiary flake, 4 tertiary quartz incomplete flakes, and 2 quartzite fragments (Kimmock, Pappas, Peixotto and Goode 2012: 90-92).

Feature 536 was identified in this unit and is characterized as oval in shape and may represent a pit or a large post mold. The feature was bisected diagonally in the southeastern half. This feature yielded a large number of artifacts, 144 total and included 2 small red ochre fragments, 7 unidentified shatter fragments, 5 unidentified tertiary flakes, 2 tertiary quartz flake fragments, 1 larger lead shot, 2 smaller lead shots, 2 partially melted lead shots, 21 body sherds of handmade ceramics with unidentified temper and unidentified surface treatment, 89 tiny crumbs of handmade ceramic with unidentified temper and unidentified surface treatment, 1 fragment of handmade ceramic with unidentified temper and unidentified surface treatment which possibly contains a punctuate, 1 body sherd of sand tempered handmade ceramic with unidentified surface treatment, 1 tertiary quartz flake fragment, 6 tertiary quartzite flake fragments, and four quartz pebbles (Kimmock, Pappas, Peixotto and Goode 2012: 90-92).

Excavation Unit # 38B

EU 38B was a 1m x 1m unit located directly to the west of EU 38A. Stratum I_1 produced three artifacts that include 1 hematite fragment and 2 tertiary quartzite flakes. Feature 540 was identified in Stratum I_2 and extended into the adjacent Excavation Unit 38F but this could have been caused by bioturbation due to a rodent borrow. This feature was excavated at different depths between the two units. This will be noted, when applicable, to clarify what artifacts were excavated from each level. The western half of Feature 540 was bisected. This produced a large piece of burnt clay at a depth of 18 cm bd in the EU 38B portion of the feature (Kimmock, Pappas, Peixotto and Goode 2012: 92-95).

Figure 20: Photography of Feature 540.

Image courtesy of the GDSLS.

The excavation of Feature 540 also included part of EU 38F. The artifacts recovered from EU 38F at a depth of 16cm included 1 tertiary quartzite flake, 2 tertiary quartz flakes, 3 hematite fragments, 7 burnt clay fragments, 4 unidentified iron, and 1 Rose Head cut nail with concreted object. Excavations of Feature 540 continued for an additional 1.5cm to 17.5 cm and produced 3 quartz pebbles, 1 tertiary rhyolite flake and 1 tertiary quartzite flake. Excavations of Feature 540 continued another 9cm to a depth of 26.5cm and produced 1 handmade ceramic with sand temper and 1 quartzite lithic shatter (Kimmock, Pappas, Peixotto and Goode 2012: 92-95).

The western bisection of Feature 540 in EU 38F also produced a variety of artifacts. One artifact was recovered at a depth of 19cm, which was 1 sand tempered handmade ceramic. The

feature was cleaned, taking it down to 20cm where 6 hematite fragments and 2 unidentified handmade ceramics were recovered. Excavations continued to 23cm with 2 quartzite lithic flakes and 3 unidentified handmade ceramics being recovered. Several additional artifacts were recovered from floor and wall scrape including, 1 burnt sand, 1 unidentified handmade ceramic and 1 sand tempered ceramic (Kimmock, Pappas, Peixotto and Goode 2012: 92-95).

Excavation Unit # 38C

EU 38C was a 1m x 1m unit located directly to the south of EU 38A. Artifacts that were recovered from Stratum I_1 included 15 pieces of burnt clay, 1 sand tempered handmade ceramic, 2 pieces of charcoal, 6 hematite fragments, 5 quartz flakes, 3 quartzite flakes, 2 quartz pebbles, 2 pieces of mica and 4 unidentified lithics. Feature 537 was located at the base of this level in the northwest corner of this level. Excavations continued into Stratum I_2 and the artifacts recovered from Stratum I_2 included 1 honey-colored gunflint or striking flint flake, 22 burnt clay pieces, 2 charcoal pieces, 4 quartz flakes and 2 quartzite flakes. A dark soil stain at the base of this level was assigned Feature 538. Artifacts from the scrape of the base at this level included 2 quartzite flakes. The walls of EU 38C and 38A were scraped and 1 quartzite flake was recovered. Feature 537 was identified and bisected to a depth of 40cm but no artifacts were recovered. It was determined that Feature 537 was cause by a cluster of roots that were circular in nature. Feature 538 was not excavated (Kimmock, Pappas, Peixotto and Goode 2012: 95-97).

Excavation Unit # 38D

EU 38D was a 1m x 1m unit and it was located directly to the east of EU 38C. Artifacts that were recovered from Stratum I_1 included 5 quartz flakes, 1 quartzite flake, 1 quartz shatter, 2 rhyolite flakes, 15 pieces of burnt clay, 2 metal fragments and 2 pieces of a Rosehead cut nail or a machine cut nail with hand wrought head. A possible feature stain was found in the northwest

corner and may connect or be associated with Feature 538. No artifacts were recovered from Stratum I_2 but Feature 538 remained visible. In addition, two other possible features were identified and designated Feature 539 and Feature 544. Artifacts recovered from Stratum I_3 included 2 weathered crumbs of handmade ceramics, 15 pieces of burnt clay, 6 rhyolite flakes, 3 quartz flakes, 1 chert flake, 1 unidentified flake, 1 hematite fragment, and 1 quartz pebble (Kimmock, Pappas, Peixotto and Goode 2012: 97-99).

Figure 21: Fragments of Rosehead Cut Nail or Machine Cut Nail with Hand Wrought Head.
Image courtesy of the GDSLS.

Feature 539 was located in the South wall of EU 38E and the North Wall of EU 38D, straddling the two units. Feature 539 was bisected and the South Wall of EU 38E and EU 38D were used as the bisection line. The bisection of this feature revealed two possible postholes. There were 48 artifacts recovered from the bisection of Feature 539, they included, 1 fire cracked rock, 1 incomplete quartz tertiary flake, 1 incomplete quartzite tertiary flake, 1 body sherd, 40 tiny crumbs of handmade ceramic of unidentified temper and surface wear, 2 larger pieces of sand tempered handmade ceramics with unidentified surface wear and 2 pieces of burnt clay.

One of the ceramic sherds is thick and may represent a possible base with possible punctate and organic material in the clay matrix. The other ceramic sherd is a possible body sherd with a series of potential indents. Feature 538 and Feature 544 were not excavated (Kimmock, Pappas, Peixotto and Goode 2012: 97-99).

Figure 22: Feature 539, Possible Post Molds.

Image courtesy of the GDSLS.

Excavation Unit # 38E

EU 38E was 1m x 1m unit located directly to the north of EU 38D and to the east of EU 38A. Artifacts recovered from Stratum I_1 included 3 pieces of charcoal, 1 iron fragment, 1 unidentified lithic, 3 quartz pebbles, 3 quartzite flakes, 8 quartz flakes, 8 pieces of burnt clay, 4 sand tempered handmade ceramic sherds and 1 curved clear glass shard. Artifacts recovered Stratum I_2 included 4 quartz shatters, 1 quartzite shatter, 1 magnetized hematite bit, 1 piece of burnt sand and 1 weathered crumb of sand tempered handmade ceramic with unidentified surface. There were 58 artifacts recovered from Stratum I_3 that included 7 whole tertiary flakes,

11 whole tertiary quartzite flakes, 1 whole quartzite secondary flake, 5 quartz pebbles, 10 pieces of magnetized hematite, 1 piece of burnt sand, 6 weathered body sherds of sand tempered handmade ceramics with unidentified surface, 15 crumbs of similar material, 1 ceramic pipe bowl fragment of non-ball clay that is blackened on the inside of the bowl, and 1 small oblong, oval shaped lead shot. A description of Feature 539 and its bisection is provided in the description of EU 38D. Feature 545 is a possible pit feature and was not excavated. Feature 546 is a possible post-hole and was not excavated. (Kimmock, Pappas, Peixotto and Goode 2012: 99-100).

Excavation Unit # 38F

EU 38F was a 1m x 1m unit located directly to the west of EU 38B. The artifacts recovered from Stratum I_1 included 1 shaft of a cut nail, 1 whole tertiary quartz flake, 4 unidentified iron fragments, and 1 highly corroded iron ornament that has a possible biconal shape with a possible seam. The artifacts recovered from Stratum I_2 included 2 pieces of red ochre, 2 quartz pebbles, 2 tertiary quartz flakes, 1 whole tertiary rhyolite flake. The artifacts recovered from Stratum I_3 included 2 unidentified iron fragments, 1 oblong rhyolite pebble, 1 tertiary quartz incomplete flake, 2 weathered body sherds of sand tempered handmade ceramic with unidentified surface. Three artifacts were recovered from the floor scrape that included 1 whole tertiary flake, 1 piece of burnt clay and 1 quartz pebble. See EU 38B for a description of Feature 540 a possible pit feature. Feature 543, a small circular stain in the northwest corner and a possible posthole, was not excavated (Kimmock, Pappas, Peixotto and Goode 2012: 100-103).

Figure 23: EU 38 A-F.

These units will become the focus and future excavations will build in these units in coming seasons. Image courtesy of the GDSLS.

Excavation Unit #'s 39A and 39B

EU 39A started as 1m x 1m unit until Feature 541 was identified at Stratum I_6. At this point the unit was extended with Excavation Unit 39B to a 1m x 2m unit. Feature 541 extended into EU 39B at Stratum I_3. The levels between the units did not align because they were located on a partial slope. In addition, EU 39B was opened to explore Feature 541 so there were only

two arbitrary levels that were excavated to reach that depth (Kimmock, Pappas, Peixotto and Goode 2012: 103-107).

In EU 39A, Stratum I_1 did not produce any artifacts. There were twenty-five artifacts were recovered from Stratum I_2, they included, 3 unidentified lithic fragments, 1 piece of red ochre, 1 unidentified pebble, 5 whole tertiary quartz flakes, 1 whole quartz secondary flake, 1 piece of heated quartzite and 13 crumbs of handmade ceramic. Nineteen artifacts were recovered from Stratum I_3; they included 9 pieces of burnt clay, 3 pieces of hematite, 1 whole tertiary quartz flake, 2 incomplete tertiary quartz flakes, 1 weathered whole tertiary rhyolite flake and 2 quartz pebbles. No paper work was written for Stratum I_4, it was only 1 cm. However, nine artifacts were recovered from this level, they included, 2 fragments of tertiary quartz flakes, 1 whole tertiary quartz flake, 1 piece of hematite, 1 piece of red ochre, 1 quartz pebble and 3 pieces of burnt clay. Eight artifacts were recovered from Stratum I_5, they included, 2 pieces of burnt clay, 2 quartz pebbles, 1 magnetized piece of hematite, 1 incomplete tertiary quartz flake, 1 whole tertiary quartz flake and 1 unidentified, incomplete quartz flake. Fifteen artifacts were recovered from Stratum I_6; they included 9 pieces of burnt clay, 1 tiny flat glass shard, and 3 fragmentary tertiary quartz flakes. Feature 541 appeared in Stratum I_6 (Kimmock, Pappas, Peixotto and Goode 2012: 103-107).

In EU 39B, there were seven artifacts recovered from Stratum I_1, they included 2 pieces of burnt wood, 2 sherds of shell tempered ceramic, 1 ceramic crumb, and 1 piece of burnt sand and 1 piece of burnt clay. Fifteen artifacts were recovered from Stratum I_2, they included, 2 quartz pebbles, 2 pieces of magnetized hematite, 1 piece of burnt clay, 1 piece of burnt sand, 4 whole tertiary quartzite flakes, 4 whole tertiary quartz flakes (one from the wall scrape), and 1 whole tertiary rhyolite flake. Twenty-one artifacts were recovered from Stratum I_3, they

included, 1 tiny faceted lead shot, 1 handmade shell-tempered ceramic body fragment, 1 each quartzite and quartz shatters, 1 quartz pebble, 6 pieces of handmade ceramic with unidentified temper, 2 pieces of burnt clay, 2 pieces of hematite, 1 tertiary flake fragment of quartz and 1 tertiary flake fragment of rhyolite. Feature 541 was identified in Stratum I_3 (Kimmock, Pappas, Peixotto and Goode 2012: 103-107).

Stratum I_4 in EU 39B was taken down with Stratum I_7 in EU 39A so that Feature 541 could be understood and excavated in the two units. Separate artifact bags were kept for the two units. As the two units were excavated and Feature 541 was explored, the feature disappeared after 2cm of excavations (Kimmock, Pappas, Peixotto and Goode 2012: 103-107).

In EU 39A, there were one hundred artifacts recovered from Stratum I_7 as it was excavated and Stratum II began to appear at the base of this level and at depth of 21cm. The artifacts that were recovered included, 22 pieces of burnt clay, 1 piece of faunal bone, 1 large sand tempered handmade ceramic body sherd, 12 tertiary quartz flakes, 1 whole tertiary rhyolite flake, 3 pieces of magnetized hematite, 1 quartzite shatter, and 1 unidentified whole tertiary flake. Stratum I_8 was excavated to take the unit down to Stratum II, five artifacts were recovered, they included, 1 quartz pebble, 2 pieces of burnt clay and 2 weathered crumbs of handmade ceramic with unidentified temper and surface. The following artifacts were recovered from the walls of the unit; 1 quartz shatter was recovered from the north wall, 3quartz shatters and 1 whole tertiary quartzite flake were recovered from the south wall (Kimmock, Pappas, Peixotto and Goode 2012: 103-107).

In EU 39B, Forty-three artifacts were recovered from Stratum I_4, they included, 26 pieces of burnt clay, 2 pieces of handmade ceramic with unidentified surface and temper, 1 piece of hematite, 4 unidentified flakes, 2 clear crystal tertiary quartz flake fragments, 2 quartz pebbles, 1

unidentified natural resin concretion, 1 unidentified floral seed, 3 quartzite tertiary flakes. The floor scrape of Stratum I_4 included 2 tertiary flake fragments of quartzite and 2 pieces of burnt clay were recovered from the wall scrape (Kimmock, Pappas, Peixotto and Goode 2012: 103-107).

Excavation Unit # 40

EU 40 was a 1m x 1m unit. One artifact was recovered from Stratum I_1; it was a piece of burnt clay. No artifacts were recovered from Stratum I_2 (Kimmock, Pappas, Peixotto and Goode 2012: 107).

Excavation Unit # 41

EU 41 was a 1m X 1m unit. The artifacts recovered from EU 41 included 3 magnetized hematite lithics. Nine artifacts were recovered from Stratum I_2, they included 1 lead shot, 1 ball clay ceramic pipe fragment, 2 magnetized hematite lithics, 1 quartzite lithic flake, 1 quartz lithic flake, 1 piece of burnt clay, 1 floral seed and 1 calcined faunal bone. Eight artifacts were recovered from Stratum I_3, they included 1 quartz pebble, 1 jasper lithic shatter, 2 magnetized hematite lithics, 1 chert lithic flake, 2 rhyolite lithic flakes and, 1 quartz lithic flake. Feature 535 was identified in this level and may represent a possible posthole. Feature 535 was not excavated, see the write up for EU 29 and EU 35 regarding Feature 535 because EU 41 was located directly to the north of EU 29 and directly to the south of EU 35 (Kimmock, Pappas, Peixotto and Goode 2012: 107-108).

Excavation Unit # 42

EU 42 was a 1m x 1m unit that was located directly to the south of EU 37. EU 42 was opened to investigate a geophysical anomaly identified with magnetic viscosity. No artifacts were recovered from Stratum I_1. Forty-two artifacts were recovered from this level, they

included 1 whole quartz secondary flake, 4 incomplete tertiary quartz flakes, 15 pieces of charcoal, 5 quartz pebbles, 4 pieces of magnetized hematite, 1 flat iron fragment, 5 unidentified floral seeds, 1 larger faceted lead shot, 1 piece of burnt sand, and one unidentified lithic. Seventeen artifacts recovered from Stratum I_3, they included 14 non-human tooth fragments, and 3 incomplete tertiary quartzite flakes. There was compacted soil in the northwest part of the unit, combined with the charcoal recovered and the magnetic viscosity anomaly; this unit may have caught the edge of a fire pit (Kimmock, Pappas, Peixotto and Goode 2012: 108-110).

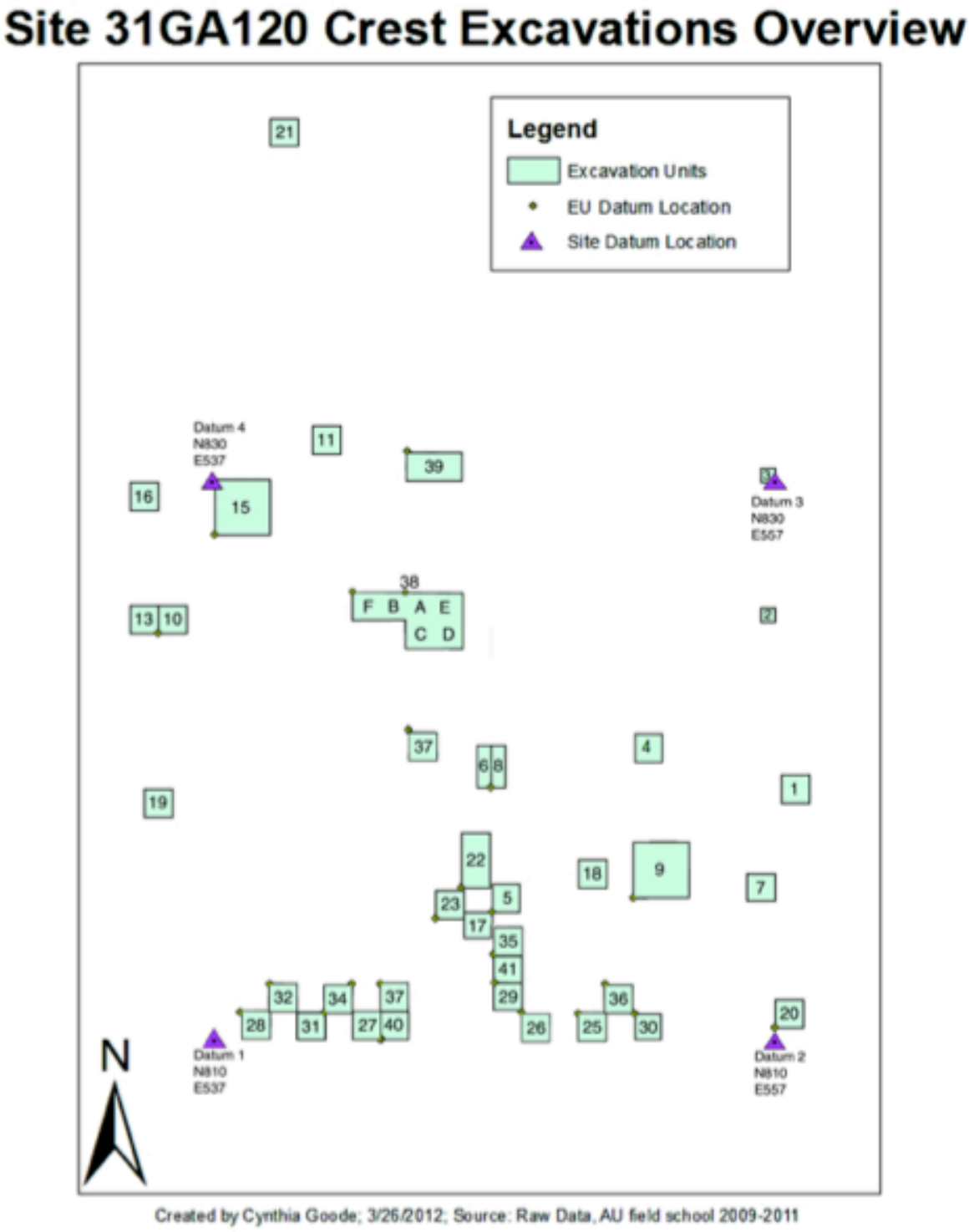

Figure 24: Map of the Excavation Units 2009-2011.

Map created by Cyndi Goode. Image courtesy of the GDSLS.

The 2011 Field Season saw a dramatic increase in the number of units that were being excavated and the number of artifacts recovered. The British gunflint chips, the Rosehead nails or machine cut nails with hand wrought heads dating from 1790-1860 as well as the brick fragments demonstrate the acquisition of mass produced items, in limited quantities, from outside of the swamp. The artifacts continue to support the idea that the Crest of the mesic island was occupied during the nineteenth century.

Figure 25: Gunflints and Lead Shot from the Crest.

Image courtesy of the GDSLS.

In addition, the 2011 Field Season saw excavations commence on the EU 38 complex that will become the focus of future field seasons and this dissertation. The number of artifacts that were recovered from the EU 38 complex is substantially more than other units excavated on the Crest to this date.

At the end of the season it was speculated that the EU 38 complex represented a late eighteenth century or antebellum nineteenth century structure. It is interesting to consider that these mass produced artifacts from outside the swamp could have been used, although not limited to, defensive purposes. The nails could have been used in Maroon architecture. However,

nails are usually found in far greater quantities when used in architectural designs. Since only a few nails were found in these units it may have been used at the end of the pole as a weapon. The use of poles as weapons by Maroons is known from primary source documents (Crow 1989; Watson 1856). The use of guns and manufactured weapons, poles with nails, could be used for defensive purposes but they also could have been used in subsistence practices.

2012: Fourth American University Field Season

The 2012 field season continued to build on work from previous seasons on the Crest of the nameless site. Excavations continued to search for a nineteenth century occupation. The 2012 field season saw a dramatic change in how excavations were being approached. There was a large concentration of artifacts that had been recovered and a large number of features that were identified during the 2011 field season in EU 38. The GDSLS archaeologists decided to open up a large excavation block, Excavation Block 1 (EB 1), which significantly expanded on EU 38A-38F. The dimensions of EB 1 were 6m running east to west and 5.5m running north to south. This large excavation block was divided into 1m x 1m areas except the northern most row, which was .5m x 1m. This means that EB 1 consisted of six rows of six areas. These areas were then assigned letters and were excavated in a similar manner to how EU's were excavated during previous seasons. Areas A through F represent the row that was .5m x 1m. Areas G through DD were 1m x 1m units. EU's 38A-F maintained their original 2011 designation (Sayers, Goode, Riccio 2013).

A	B	C	D	E	F
G	H	I	J	K	L
M	N	O	P	Q	R
S	T	U	V	W	X
Y	38F (2011)	38B (2011)	38A (2011)	38E (2011)	Z
AA	BB	CC	38C (2011)	38D (2011)	DD

↑ North

Figure 26: Overview to Visualize Excavation Block 1 (EB1).

Layout created by Karl Austin.

EB 1 was located in the Northwest quadrant of Grid Block A. The units surrounding EB 1 had proven to be archaeologically rich. In addition, EU 38 within EB 1had produced many artifacts and features in the previous seasons. The expansion into a large block seemed like a logical conclusion based on what previous units had yielded. The areas around EB 1 have produced features and artifacts, dating to 1600-1860. In particular machine cut nails that have been recovered suggest a nineteenth century occupation (Sayers, Goode and Riccio 2013).

Stratum I of EB 1 was excavated in 2cm arbitrary levels, which proved challenging given all the roots. Strata will be presented in the discussion of EB 1 and sections divided by cardinal direction given the large size and quantity of artifacts and features that were excavated. EB 1 yielded 2,407 artifacts during the 2012 field season. Many of these artifacts were very small and were caught using a 1/16-inch screen. Perhaps only 100 artifacts would have been recovered if a ¼ inch screen were used. The artifacts that were recovered can be classified into two main groups. The first include mass produced artifacts that originated outside of the swamp and include gunflints, ammunition/lead shot, ball clay pipes and glass. The second category includes swamp available artifacts that came from natural resources in the swamp and include lithics, charcoal, burnt clay and sand, and floral and faunal remains. Previously deposited material culture, lithic tools, handmade ceramics, also fall into the swamp available materials (Sayers, Goode and Riccio 2013).

The following table provides a list of artifacts that were excavated from Stratum I by arbitrary 2cm levels. The table was provided courtesy of Daniel Sayers, Cynthia Goode and Jordan Riccio as it appears in Chapter 3 of the 2012 United States Fish and Wildlife Services report (Sayers, Goode and Riccio 2013).

Table 2: Artifacts recovered from EB 1 during the 2012 field season. Table replicated by Karl Austin as data appeared in Sayers, Goode, and Riccio (2013: 39).

	I-1	**I-2**	**I-3**	**I-4**	**I-5**	**II-1**	**Other**	**Total**
Burnt Clay/Sand	6	82	102	422	776	1		1392
Ball Clay Pipe Ceramic			1	1			2	4
Ceramic, Handmade		1	4	10	11		2	28
Charcoal		7	5	13	18			43
Faunal bone				7	5			12
FCR				1				1
Floral		4	59	5	3		3	74
Glass			2	5	4			11
Glass/Clear			3	15	14		2	34
Gun Flint			1		3			4
Iron		32	52	59	70		20	233
Lead Shot		1	2	6	2		1	12
Lithic Flake	1	26	99	270	240	2	21	659
Lithic Other							14	14
Lithic Shatter			3	8	9			20
Lithic tool					1			1
Lead				1	1			2
Metal, Nail		1			1			2
Metal unidentified		3		1				4
Natural		6		6	3		6	21
Pebble		3	43	97	97		2	242
Shotgun shell			1					1
Steatite					1			1
Unidentified					2			2
TOTAL	**7**	**166**	**377**	**927**	**1,261**	**3**	**73**	**2,816**

Stratum I_1 Excavation Block 1

Stratum I_1 was consistent through out the entire block and it ranged from 2-4 cm in thickness. Very few artifacts were recovered from this level, seven total. Once the Root Cap was removed the soil appeared mottled, which is not uncommon given the number of trees and the

movement of soil by animals. In addition, soils could have been moved or disturbed by hunters or early 20th century lumbermen (Sayers, Goode and Riccio 2013: 39).

Stratum I_2 Excavation Block 1

Stratum I_2 produced a significantly larger quantity of artifacts compared to Stratum I_1 (I_1 = 7 compared to I_2= 166). However, many of these artifacts may have been deposited post 1860 and 22% of them represent mass produced artifacts from the outside world. These artifacts could have been deposited or kicked around, as well as soils, after the scission community left the Crest (Sayers, Goode and Riccio 2013: 40).

Stratum I_3 Excavation Block 1

Stratum I_3 continued the pattern of containing a larger quantity of artifacts then the previous levels (I_1= 7; I_2=166 and I_3=377). As with the previous level, Stratum I_2, 22% of the artifacts recovered came from the outside world. No features were observed at this level (Sayers, Goode and Riccio 2013: 40).

Stratum I_4 Excavation Block 1

Stratum I_4 continued to see an increase in the number of artifacts with a total of 927. An increase in lead shot, hand thrown ceramics, and burnt clay. However there was a decrease in the number of outside world artifacts to 9.5%. The soil appeared mottled with a number of dark stains that may be representative of feature complex (Sayers, Goode and Riccio 2013: 40-41).

Stratum I_5 Excavation Block 1

Stratum I_5 represents the level with the most discernable features. A total of 11 new features were identified and the largest concentration of artifacts was recovered from this level with 1,261. The amount of outside world materials dropped to 7.5%. The newly identified features include possible architectural postmolds, pits and undefined architectural or landscape

features. Features 549-555 represent possible postmolds, Features 547, 548, and 556 represent potential pits, Feature 537, found during the 2011 season in EU 38C and now part of EB 1, is a large ambiguous circle and Feature 557 is a “larger architectural or landscape” feature (Sayers, Goode and Riccio 2013: 42-43).

Figure 27: Feature 537 an ambiguous circle that may represent a pit or multiple post molds.

Image courtesy of the GDSLS.

Discussion Excavation Block 1

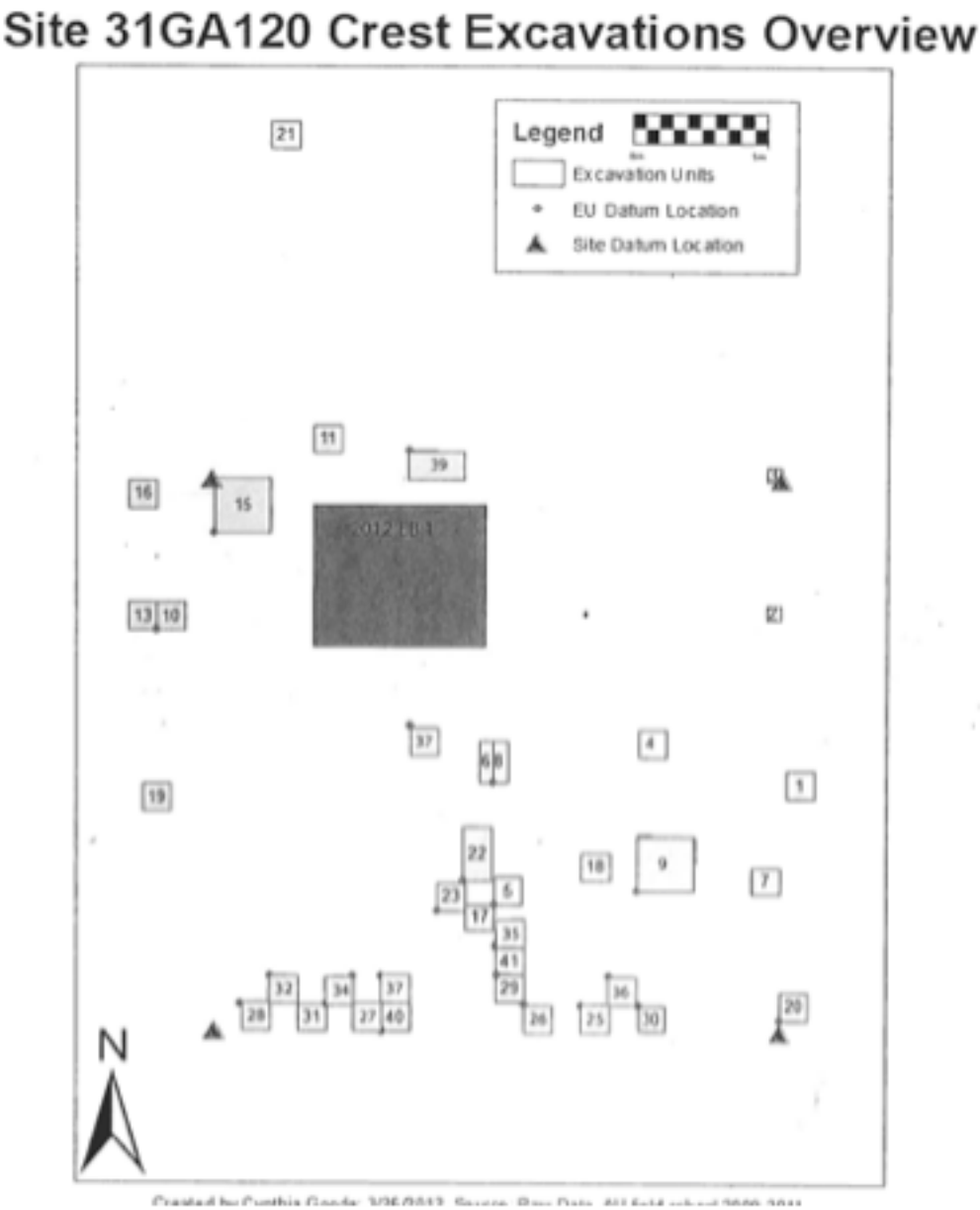

Figure 28: 2012 Overview of Excavation Units and Excavation Block 1.

Map created by Cyndi Goode. Image courtesy of the GDSLS.

One of the challenges that occurred, and this is not uncommon for many archaeological sites that are excavated over multiple seasons, is that different parts of EB 1 were excavated during different field seasons. Specifically those units that comprised EU's 38A - 38F were

excavated in 2011 while units A-DD, that represent the bulk of EB 1, were excavated during the 2012 season. This also led to the reinterpretation of some of the features that were originally identified in EU 38 during 2011 and how they were reinterpreted in 2012. For example, Feature 539 was interpreted in 2011 as possibly being two post molds but in 2012 was reinterpreted as a "large architectural or landscape" feature. Feature 543 was identified as a posthole in 2011 but is not mentioned in the USFWS report for 2012.

A larger number of mass produced artifacts were excavated from EB 1 than from other parts of the nameless site. In addition, a larger quantity of artifacts associated with defense were found in EB 1 then other structures found in the Grotto, the North Plateau and even other parts of the Crest. The agentive choice in acquiring and using specific mass produced objects is interesting. Many of the mass produced objects were associated with guns, although some clay pipe fragments were found too. This provides an example of material agency in the actions of Maroons (Delle 1998, Ferguson 1992; Knappett and Malafouris 2008b). It is also interesting to note that pebbles, swamp available resources, can also be used in place of lead shot (Price 1996). The artifact assemblage found in EB 1 and EU's 38A-38F are different from the rest of the artifacts recovered on the mesic island in the context of the shear quantities of munitions and the possibility that nails could have been affixed to staffs or poles as opposed to being used in architecture.

2012 Field Season Conclusions

When examining the entirety of EB 1, including what was excavated from EU's 38A - 38F, it becomes apparent that the artifact assemblages are quite different from the rest of the Crest and very different from the Grotto and the North Plateau. A larger quantity of lead shot and

gunflints suggest that this may have been a cultural activity area that held ammunitions and materials for defense.

As stated earlier, the small quantity of nails suggests that these may have been attached to poles or staffs of wood to fashion a spear like weapon. Primary source documents point to Maroons using poles and staffs as a means for defense; this will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6 (Crow 1989; Watson 1856). Nails used to construct an architectural structure would have been found in far greater quantities. The small amounts found in and around the structure of EB 1 suggest the nails were being used for other purposes.

The numerous features and their layout do not coincide with identified and known rectilinear or cabin like structures found at the North Plateau, the Grotto and other parts of the Crest. These cabin like structures, that had a western influence coincide, with similar one room structures constructed by the enslaved at plantations (Ellis and Ginsburg 2010; Vlach 1993). Instead, the features suggest a possible platform or scaffold or palisade. In a primary source letter from Roderick McIntosh to Isaac Young, November 18, 1765, a defensive platform or scaffold was identified in a Savannah River Maroon community in South Carolina (Morgan 1998:150).

The account in McIntosh's letter from 1765 in the Savannah River area discussed the following, after pursuing fleeing Maroons into a swamp the expedition group came upon a Maroon settlement where two Maroons were beating drums as a warning signal on a defensive structure. This warning allowed Maroons to flee from the slave hunters. The Maroons in the scaffolding fired their guns before fleeing themselves. The abandoned town consisted of this platform style structure along with four houses approximately 17 feet long and 14 feet wide. The Maroons had fled minutes before the arrival of the slave hunters as kettles were still boiling with

rice over fires (Morgan 1998). This defensive structure or watchtower allowed Maroons to know when outsiders were approaching and to sound an alarm allowing the members of the community to flee. The structure with the Maroons beating the drums is described as a "scaffold" (Morgan 1998: 150). It is likely that this type of platform or scaffolding gave the Maroon community a much a greater view of the surrounding landscape and approaching slave hunters or threats.

Utilizing Isbell's (2000) concept of the imagined community and combining it with the archaeological data from the Crest and with known primary source documents it allows us to interpret the agentive actions of Maroons occupying the Crest in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The potential threat of canal labor companies finding the Maroon community, that was occupying the mesic island, could have caused them to relocate and consolidate on the highest part of the island. In addition, the construction of a platform or scaffolding would have provided an elevated view of the surrounding environment and landscape, giving advance notice of approaching threats. This change in agency and habitus of day-to-day life would have been a direct response to outside world threats.

Continuing to use the Isbell's (2000) concept of the imagined community, combined with the archaeological data and known primary source documents, it becomes apparent that agentive actions can be found in the material culture that has been recovered. Maroons begin to import mass-produced items, many of which will aid in defense such as gunflints, lead shot and small quantities of nails, to protect the scission community. In addition, the reworking and reuse of Native American projectile points, swamp available, resources would continue. The 2013 field season and final season on the Crest to date for the GDSLS will continue to explore the surrounding landscape of EB 1 on the Crest.

2013: Fifth American University Field Season

The 2013 field season had students rotating between the Crest and Jericho Ditch. Teaching Assistant and Doctoral Candidate, Cyndi Goode, led excavations at Jericho Ditch, which was a camp for canal labor companies. This area is the focus of Goode's (In production) dissertation and it is located on the edge of the Great Dismal Swamp.

The 2013 field season also continued to expand on previous field seasons on the Crest. This season used trenches to explore three areas around EB 1. The trenches consisted of four 1m x 1m units giving each trench a 1m x 4m size. Trench I ran to the east off EB 1 (EU DD) and was 1m x 4m in size. Trench II ran to the north off of EB 1 (EU A). Trench III ran to the north of EB 1 (EU F). The excavations of these trenches were to try to define the architectural nature of the structure that occupied the area of EB 1 since it does not appear to represent the rectilinear and cabin like footprints that have been identified elsewhere in the Grotto, the Crest, and the North Plateau. The goal was to hopefully find a wall or boundary or architectural trench or footprint that was part of the structure located in part of EB 1.

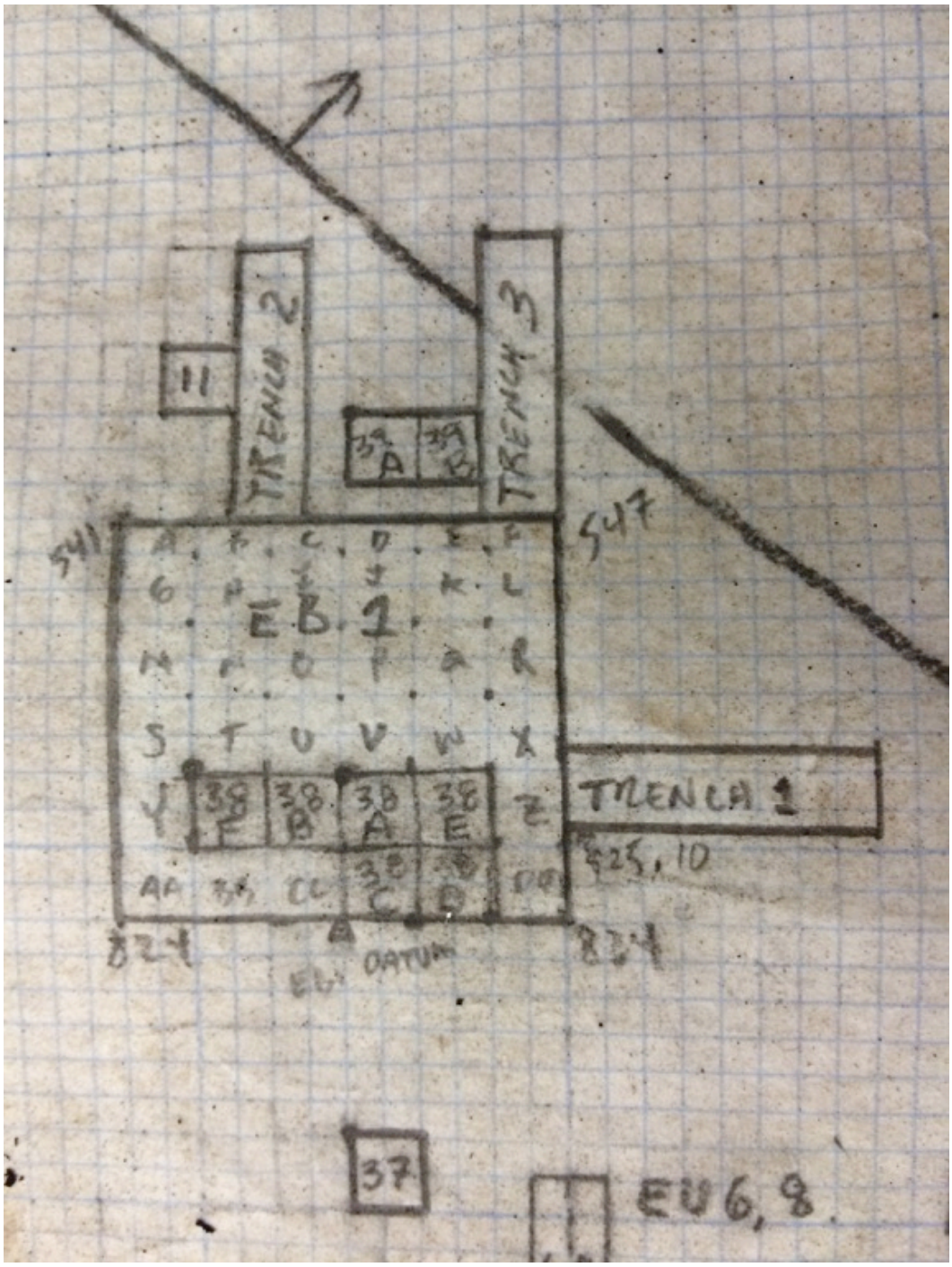

Figure 29: Hand Drawn Map of the Units Excavated on the Crest.

This image focuses specifically on Excavation Block 1 excavated during 2011to 2013 and the 3 Trenches excavated during 2013. Image courtesy of the GDSLS.

The excavations were handled in a similar manner to the previous seasons on the Crest but with slight modifications. The trenches have been assigned numbers TI, TII and TIII. Each

Trench was divided into four 1m x 1m excavation units that have been assigned letters (A-D). The excavation unit letter is then given a number to represent what trench it was part of, for example, Trench III C_3 (TIII C_3). Many EU's in the trenches were excavated separately but when Cultural Activity Soils (CAS) and Possible Features (PF) were identified their excavations were handled separately. The CAS and PF were also assigned numbers and the EU letter was ignored so that the entire CAS# or PF# could be excavated. The root cap was removed and Stratum I was excavated in arbitrary levels in approximately 2cm increments. Since there is a heavy concentration of roots throughout the Crest, some levels were excavated by more then 2cm. A 1/16-inch screen was again used this season. Citations are not provided because the following sections were written from the field notes for the 2013 field season. At this point the 2013 USFWS Report is being written the field notes will be included as an appendix in the final report.

A note should be made regarding the field notes for this season. Some of the notes lack details and only provide some basic information. As I wrote about the various units and excavations of the trenches some information was taken from field notes while other details had to be pulled from the artifact table for the 2013 field season. There are few feature forms for the trenches in the field notes. The field notes for Trench III are especially sparse and I had to rely on the artifact table to discuss the various excavations areas in this trench. The lack of detailed notes became more apparent as excavations in the trenches started to focus on features and cultural activity areas. The 2013 field season was the shortest excavation season, only lasting four weeks, and had a hurried conclusion. In addition, the lack of details in some of the field notes may have been a result of students and volunteers rotating between the Crest, deep in the

swamp, with Jericho Ditch, a site that is now on the edge of the swamp. The two sites also represented two different modes of communitization.

Trench I

Trench I A_1

Trench I A_1 (TI A_I) was a 1m x 1m unit located directly to the east of EU DD in EB 1. It was excavated through Stratum I_2. The artifacts recovered from Stratum I_2 included 1 piece of charcoal and 3 small pieces of metal. A possible feature was also identified in the western half of this unit that may represent an extension of Feature 537, which was identified during the 2011 season in EU 38C that would eventually become a significant part of EB 1 in 2012.

Trench I B_1

Trench I B_1 (TI B_1) is a 1m x 1m unit located directly to the east and connected to TI A_1. It was excavated through Stratum I_2. It was noted in the field notes that there was a large amount of charcoal in this unit. Artifacts recovered from this unit included, 3 fragments of burnt clay, 3 tertiary quartzite lithic flakes, 2 tertiary quartz lithic flakes, 2 pieces of hematite, 6 burnt clay fragments, and 1 quartzite project point (possibly Corapeake style). No features were identified or discussed in the field notes.

Trench I C_1

Trench I C_1 (TI C_1) is a 1m x 1m unit directly to the east of and connected to TI B_1. It was excavated through Stratum I_2. It was noted in the field notes that there was a substantial amount of charcoal in the unit. No artifacts are listed as being recovered and no features are identified or discussed in the field notes.

Trench I D_1

Trench I D_1 (TI D_1) is a 1m x 1m unit directly to the east of and connected to TI C_1. It was excavated through Stratum I_2. Artifacts recovered included, 4 pieces of hematite, 2 tertiary quartz flakes, 2 tertiary rhyolite flakes, 1 pebble and 10 fragments of burnt clay. No features were identified or discussed in the field notes.

Trench I A_1 to D_1

At this point in the excavations the entire trench had the floor of Stratum I_2 scraped and cleaned. The following artifacts were recovered, 1 piece of ceramic/daub possibly of grog temper, 3 tertiary quartz fragments, 3 hematite fragments, 2 pebbles, 1 piece of charcoal, 1 secondary quartzite flake and 1 unidentified calcined faunal bone fragment. Excavations were completed across the entire trench by identifying areas as Cultural Activity Soils (CAS) or Possible Features (PF).

Possible Feature 1

Possible Feature 1 (PF 1) is located in what was TI A_1 and may be an extension of Feature 537 that was identified in EB 1 (EU DD) during the 2011 field season. There are no field notes on PF1 and it is not listed in the artifact table for the 2013 field season. It appears in a different floor plan for TI that may have led PF 1 to be incorporated into CAS 1.

Possible Feature 2

Possible Feature 2 (PF 2) is located in the eastern part of unit TI B_1 and unit TI C_1. Artifacts recovered included 2 pieces of hematite, 1 pebble, 4 fragments of burnt clay and 1 tertiary quartz fragment. Possible Feature 3 (PF 3) is a circular stain in the middle of PF 2 that was drawn into one of the unit maps. There are no feature forms and it is not listed in the artifact table for 2013.

Cultural Activity Soils 1

Cultural Activity Soils 1 (CAS 1) was located in the eastern part of TI A_1 and TI B_1. Artifacts recovered included 10 fragments of burnt clay, 1 secondary chert flake, 3 pieces of hematite, and 1 pebble.

Cultural Activity Soils 2

Cultural Activity Soils 2 (CAS 2) was located in TI D_1 with a small part extending west into the eastern part of TI C_1. The artifacts recovered included 1 piece of ceramic/daub of possible Grog temper, 5 tertiary quartz flakes, 4 pieces of hematite and 2 pebbles. Possible Feature 4 (PF 4) is mapped into the floor plan for TI and located in the northeastern part of CAS 2 and TI D_1.

Figure 30: Trench I at 13cm bd.

Image courtesy of the GDSLS.

The entire trench was taken down to a depth between 10cm and 14cm. As stated earlier, due to the large numbers of roots it is difficult to excavate units to an even closing depth. The following artifacts were recovered from the floor scrape and the cleaning of the trench; 2 ceramic/daub fragments possibly Grog tempered, 93 pieces of burnt clay, 3 tertiary quartz fragments, 3 tertiary quartzite fragments, 3 tertiary rhyolite flakes, 1 unidentified tertiary flake, 1 piece of red ochre, 4 fragments of iron, 3 unidentified calcined faunal bone fragments, 5 pieces of burnt sand and 1 pebble.

Trench II

Trench II extended to the north from EU B in EB 1. The trench consisted of four 1m x 1m units that were designated Trench II A_2 (TII A_2), Trench II B_2 (TII B_2), Trench II C_2 (TII C_2) and Trench II D_2 (TII D_2). Excavations initially were conducted in a similar fashion to the rest of the site by removing the root cap and using arbitrary levels. However, adjustments were made as the end of the field season quickly approached. This led to Trench II being divided into Geophysical Anomaly 1 (GA 1), Geophysical Anomaly 2 (GA 2), Possible Feature 3 (PF 3), Possible Feature 4 (PF 4) and Cultural Activity Soil (CAS). Excavations used the above designations for the different activity areas. Below is a summary of those units, levels, various cultural activities areas and artifacts that were recovered.

Trench II A_2

Trench II A_2 (TII A_2) was a 1m x 1m unit that extended to the north of EU A in EB 1. Artifacts recovered from this unit included 20 large round pieces of burnt clay and 1 tertiary quartzite flake. The unit was characterized by a moderate amount of roots and a little amount of charcoal.

Trench II B_2

Trench II B_2 (TII B_2) was a 1m x 1m unit that was excavated and continued to the north of TII A_2. Artifacts recovered from this unit include 1 fragment of burnt clay and 1 grog-tempered piece of ceramic/daub. A possible feature was identified in the center of the east wall. The unit was characterized as having a large amount of roots and a little amount of charcoal.

Trench II C_2

Trench II C_2 (TII C_2) was a 1m x 1m unit that was excavated to the north of TII B_2. The artifact recovered was 1 fragment of burnt sand. A possible feature was identified in the south wall that continued into the center of the unit.

Trench II D_2

Trench II D_2 (TII D_2) was a 1m x 1m unit that was excavated to the north of TII C_2. The artifact recovered was 1 fragment of grog-tempered ceramic/daub.

Trench II A_2 and Trench II B_2

Excavations continued by combining TII A_2 and TII B_2, the area being excavated was designated Geophysical Anomaly 1 (GA 1), Geophysical Anomaly 2 (GA 2) and a possible feature (PF 4) were identified. An artifact recovered from GA 1 and PF 4 was 1 unidentified sand-tempered ceramic/daub. Artifacts recovered from GA 2 included 2 unidentified grog-tempered ceramic/daub fragments, 16 burnt clay fragments, 3 tertiary chert flake, 1 tertiary jasper flake, 5 burnt clay fragments, and 2 pebbles. Artifacts recovered from the combined excavations of GA 1 and GA 2 included 1 burnt clay fragment, and 1 tertiary-quartz flake.

The artifacts were recovered from GA 2and PF 4 in TII A_2 and TII B_2 included 1 tertiary quartz fragment and 3 hematite fragments. The artifacts recovered from GA 1 and GA 2 in TII A_2 and TII B_2 include, 24 burnt clay fragments, 2 tertiary quartzite flakes, and 3 hematite

fragments. The artifacts recovered from GA 1 and the bisection of GA 2 in TII A_2 and TII B_2 included 12 burnt clay fragments, and 1 tertiary quartzite flake. The excavations then transitioned to the northern units of TII.

Trench II B_2, C_2 and D_2

The excavations of TII continued north by excavating additional levels in units TII B_2, TII C_2 and TII D_2. Artifacts that were recovered were handled as a group for these three units and PF 3 that was located in these units. These excavations revealed a possible posthole in TII D_2, a possible trench running through TII C_2 and TII D_2 and a possible posthole in the east wall of TII C_2. The trench feature may represent the exterior wall of the structure with the postholes supporting it. This complex of features was designated PF 3.

The artifacts recovered from TII B_2, TII C_2, TII D_2 and PF 3 included 1 sand tempered ceramic/daub, 16 fragments of burnt clay, 3 tertiary quartz flakes, 2 tertiary quartzite flakes, 9 unidentified tertiary fragments and 2 pebbles. Excavations then focused on the west bisection of PF 3 in TII B_2, TII C_2, and TII D_2. The artifacts recovered from the west bisection of these units included 1 sand tempered ceramic/daub, 6 burnt sand fragments, and 1 pebble. Due to time constraints, two days left in the 2013 field season, excavations then focused on the east bisection of PF 3 in TII C_2, and TII D_2. The artifacts recovered from PF 3 in these units included, 8 fragments of burnt clay, 1 tertiary rhyolite flake, and 2 pebbles. The last part of this trench to be bisected was the west bisection of CAS in TII D_2. The artifacts recovered from the bisection of this CAS included 3 fragments of burnt clay.

Figure 31: Trench II with Noticeable Features.

Image courtesy of GDSLS.

Trench III

Trench III extended north from EU F in EB 1. The trench consisted of four 1m x 1m units that were designated Trench III A_3 (TIII A_3), Trench III B_3 (TIII B_3), Trench III C_3 (TIII C_3) and Trench III D_3 (TIII D_3). Trench III was excavated in an attempt to establish the boundaries of the structure that was previously excavated in EB 1. The excavations started with the removal of the root cap and the arbitrary excavations of levels in Stratum I. However, similar to how TII was excavated, this trench was also divided into Possible Feature 1 (PF 1), Possible Feature 2 (PF 2), Cultural Activity Soils 1 (CAS 1), Cultural Activity Soils 2 (CAS 2) and the Feature 557

complex were all identified in TIII. The following will summarize the excavations of Trench III; some of the information that is provided only comes from the artifact database. The locations for some of the possible features and cultural activity areas are incomplete; they show up in the artifact database but lack field notes or forms. These were some of the last excavations of the 2013 field season.

Trench III A_3

Trench III A_3 (TIII A_3) was a 1m x 1m unit located directly to the north of EU F in EB 1. It had a thick root cap but a possible post mold was found in the southeast corner. There was a darker soil and depression in the southwest corner of TIII A_3 that coincided with similar soils in the northeast corner of EU F in EB 1 from the 2012 field season. Some back fill soils from EB 1 during the 2012 were excavated with the root cap of TIII A_3. The artifacts recovered included, 2 pieces of charcoal, 2 tertiary quartz flakes, 1 tertiary quartzite flake, 1 tertiary chert flake, 1 tertiary rhyolite flake, 1 burnt clay fragment, 2 pieces of red ochre, and 1 pebble. Feature 559 was identified in Feature 557 complex in this unit. It was identified as a possible posthole.

Trench III B_3

Trench III B_3 was a 1m x 1m unit directly to the north of TIII A_3. The artifacts recovered included 3 tertiary quartz flakes and 1 pebble. There was some cultural activity soil that extended into this unit from TIII A_3.

Trench III C_3

Trench III C_3 (TIII C_3) was a 1m x 1m unit located directly to the north of TIII B_3. The only artifact that was recovered from this unit included 1 piece of burnt sand.

Trench III D_3

Trench III D_3 (TIII D3) was a 1m x 1m unit directly to the north of TIII C_3. There were no artifacts that were recovered in the initial excavations of this unit. A tree with a large concentration of roots was located in the southwest corner of the unit causing the excavations to be difficult. Feature 558 was identified within the Feature 557 complex and was identified as a possible posthole.

Cultural Activity Soils 1

Cultural Activity Soils 1 (CAS 1) was defined by the GDSLS archaeologists and located in TIII A_3. Artifacts recovered from CAS 1 included, 2 sand tempered ceramic/daub, 10 burnt clay fragments, 5 tertiary quartzite flakes, 3 pieces of hematite, 4 unidentified grog-tempered ceramic/daub fragments, and 18 burnt clay fragments.

Cultural Activity Soils 2

Cultural Activity Soils (CAS 2) produced two artifacts associated that could be associated with defense, they recovered included, 1 small lead shot and 1 pebble. This information is provided from the artifact table since there do not to appear to be field notes on file for CAS 2.

Possible Feature 1

Artifacts recovered from Possible Feature 1 (PF 1) included 10 fragments of burnt clay, 2 tertiary quartz flakes, 1 calcined faunal bone fragment, 4 pebbles, and 2 tertiary chert flakes.

Possible Feature 2

Possible Feature 2 was divided into Possible Feature 2A (PF 2A) and Possible Feature 2B (PF 2B). Artifacts recovered from PF 2A included, 5 tertiary quartz flakes, 6 pebbles, 6 tertiary quartzite fragments, 18 hematite fragments and 2 burnt clay fragments. Artifacts recovered from PF 2B included, 15 pieces of hematite, 2 tertiary quartz fragments, 1 tertiary chert flake, 2 pebbles and 2 natural seeds.

Trench III East Bisect

The floor was scraped and cleaned n preparation for bisecting the eastern half of this trench. Artifacts that were recovered from the floor scrape of TIII included 1 tertiary quartz flake, 2 grog tempered ceramic/daub fragments, 1 piece of hematite, and 1 pebble.

Figure 32: Trench III.

The features may represent the exterior of a defensive structure. Image courtesy of the GDSLS.

Discussion 2013 Field Season on the Crest

The trenches produced a variety of features and artifacts. The artifact assemblage, while consistent with the scission mode of communitization, was a little different from those found in the southern parts of EB 1. The features in the TII and TIII suggest that part of an outside wall of a structure was uncovered. There was a discussion in the field as to whether this may have been

part of a wall to a palisade. However, when all of the features of EB 1 are placed into context and examined collectively as well as compared with the features excavated in previous seasons on parts of the Crest, this structure is very different from the rectilinear structures that had been previously identified on the nameless site. The excavations of these trenches also show a decrease in munitions type artifacts (lead shot, pebbles, gun flints). The decrease in these artifacts suggests that the concentration of munitions were located more centrally in this structure or towards the southern part of EB 1 suggesting that these trenches may be extending to the exterior of the structure. The features in the trench suggest that this could have been the outside wall to a platform, lookout type of structure or palisade with the concentration of munitions located in the interior of the structure. In addition to excavating the trenches in 2013, some excavations returned to the features in EB 1.

Excavation Block 1

Revisiting units in EB 1 required parts of the block to be scraped and cleaned before attention could be focused on several promising features from the previous field season. The cleaning of EB 1 yielded a variety of artifacts. The features that would be revisited during the 2013 season included F 536, F 539 and F 540. The following will discuss the artifacts and excavations and cleanup of these areas in EB 1.

Floor scrape of EB 1

Several artifacts were recovered from the cleanup and floor scrape of EB 1 so that several features could be examined and bisected. Artifacts recovered included, 11 fragments of burnt clay, 1 grog-tempered handmade ceramic, 2 shell tempered handmade ceramic sherds, and 1 whole nail that was possibly machine cut. The nail suggests a nineteenth century occupation and

given the context of how few nails were found in this vicinity they could have been attached to poles to be used as defensive weapons as opposed to being used in an architectural structure.

Feature 536

The Feature 536 complex was revisited during the 2013 field season. This feature complex had yielded a variety of artifacts during the 2010 and 2011 seasons before EU 38A had been assimilated into EB 1. Several lead shot and a gunflint as well as other artifacts had been recovered in association with this feature during the excavations in the 2011 field season. Artifacts recovered from the cleanup and profile scrape on the east half of Feature 536 included, 3 ceramic/daub fragments, 14 burnt clay fragments, and 1 tertiary quartzite flake. Artifacts recovered from the cleanup and scrape of the west half included, 1 ceramic/daub fragments, 15 burnt clay fragments, 2 tertiary quartz flakes, 1 pebble, 3 cut nail fragments, and 2 unidentified nails fragments. The floor scrape of the entire feature yielded 4 burnt clay fragments.

Feature 539

The Feature 539 complex was revisited and bisected during the 2013 field season. This feature complex was originally identified in EU 38D during the 2011 season before it was assimilated into the EB 1 during the 2012 season. The west half of this feature complex was bisected. Artifacts recovered from the west half bisection included, 11 ceramic/daub fragments, 80 burnt clay fragments, 6 tertiary quartz flakes, 2 tertiary quartzite flakes, 2 tertiary rhyolite flakes, 1 pebble, 3 calcined faunal bone fragments, 1 large lead shot, and 5 pieces of charcoal. Artifacts recovered from the northwest bisection of this feature included, 14 burnt clay fragments, 5 ceramic/daub fragments, and 1 pebble.

Feature 561 was identified in the Feature 539 complex during the west bisection. Feature 561 was identified as a posthole and two other possible postholes were identified in association

with it. Feature 562 is one of the possible posthole features in association with the Feature 539 complex.

Feature 540

Feature 540 was revisited and cleaned during the 2013 field season and was initially identified in EU 38B and may have extended into EU 38F during the 2011 field season before being assimilated into EB 1 during the 2012 field season. Artifacts recovered from the floor scrape from this feature included, 2 burnt clay fragments, and 1 unidentified tertiary flake.

Discussion Excavation Block 1

Revisiting some of the features that were initially identified during the 2011 season continued to support the research questions that this structure was not representative of a rectilinear cabin that had been identified and excavated in other parts of the nameless site. A series of postholes and the excavation of artifacts and munitions associated with defense in the central and southern units of the structure that occupies EB 1 continue to support the idea that it was unique to the site and potentially a defensive structure.

Discussion of the Crest 2009-2013

The GDSLS uncovered a wealth of data during these five-field seasons on the Crest. In addition, it provided the opportunity for dozens of students to learn excavation methods and other archaeological practices. Teaching students to identify features and how to bisect them while excavating and identifying artifacts of miniscule size were important archaeological lessons. The regular completion of forms for different units and features also proved to be an important skill for archaeological excavations.

The excavations during these five seasons continued to support the idea that individuals from the scission form of communitization occupied the nameless site. The southern side of the

Crest modeled some of the rectilinear and cabin like architectural features found at the Grotto and the North Plateau. The artifact assemblages were consistent with other parts of the island and the scission mode of communitization. However, of significant importance is the identification of a few diagnostic nails that were machine cut suggesting that the Crest was a part of the island occupied during the nineteenth century. Very few of these nails were recovered, far fewer then would be necessary for architectural structures, suggesting that they may have other uses.

Figure 33: Nails Recovered from the Excavations on the Crest.

Image courtesy of the GDSLS.

In addition, starting in the 2011 field season, it appears that excavations revealed a new architectural motif. The postholes were not representative of a rectilinear structure. These excavations also revealed a cache of munitions with a large concentration of lead shot and pebbles. Gunflints found in close proximity to this cache also strengthen the argument that this cultural activity space could have been used for defense.

Figure 34: Lead shot recovered from excavations on the Crest.

Image courtesy of the GDSLS.

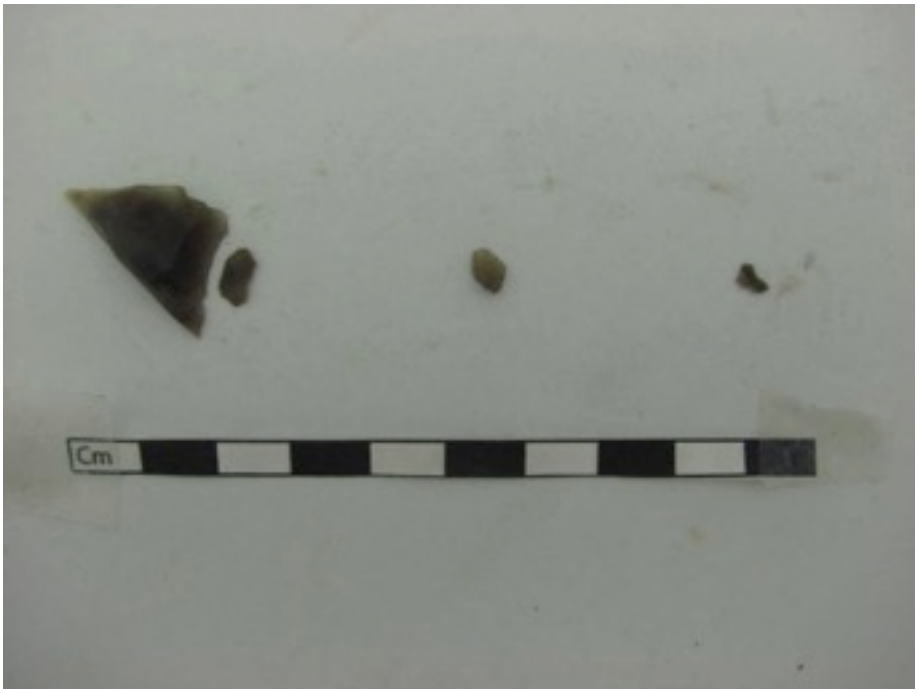

Figure 35: Gunflints recovered from excavations on the Crest.

Image courtesy of the GDSLS.

The 2012 and 2013 field seasons allowed for a much large area to be excavated. These excavations in EB 1 continued to produce an artifact assemblage consistent with what had been found during in EU's 38A – 38F during the 2011 season. The trenches that were excavated during the 2013 field season suggest that the edge of the platform or scaffolding or palisade had been caught as there was a significant decrease in the recovery of lead shot and only a few pebbles were identified. Chapter 6 will review Maroons during the African Diaspora and tie together the agentive actions of a scission community on the Crest in support of the argument that cultural changes to the daily practices of individuals in this community changed and a new mode of communitization emerged.

CHAPTER 6

DEVELOPING A FOURTH MODE OF COMMUNITIZATION

The following will connect the theoretical concepts discussed earlier with the archaeological data that was excavated as well as establishing connections with known primary source documents in regards to Maroons and ideological apparatuses towards the Great Dismal Swamp. These connections will demonstrate that as cultural and ideological changes took place in the outside world towards the Great Dismal Swamp it required Maroon communities in the swamp to also culturally transform. This adaptation by the Maroons in the swamp will result in the emergence of a fourth mode of communitization, a defensive mode of communitization. No longer were these Maroons safe to live freely in the heart of what the outside world considered to be a wild and untamable landscape. Instead they were threatened as the outside world attempted to exploit the resources in the swamp with enslaved canal labor companies and lumberers. This capitalist exploitation of the swamp began to encroach on the landscapes of the Maroons causing them to take a more defensive approach to daily life. Additionally, a discussion will be provided about the pedagogy of Maroon archaeology. This will provide a bridge to extend historical archaeology beyond capitalism and examine the cognitive necessities for Maroon groups to continue occupation on the Crest of the nameless site.

Figure 36: An Artists Rendering of a Horse Camp Deep in the Great Dismal Swamp and a Representation of the Outside World Penetrating the Deep Interior of the Swamp.

Image courtesy of the GDSLS.

African Diaspora, Maroons and the Great Dismal Swamp

The need for labor in colonial America and other parts of the New World led to the enslavement of Africans and created the forced migration of millions of individuals into bondage and chattel slavery. As discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, individuals began to self emancipate themselves from chattel slavery as soon as they arrived in the New World. This directly led to Maroon communities emerging in remote locations such as swamps and mountain ranges. These communities would have consisted of runaway slaves, disenfranchised Europeans and Native Americans who escaped or removed themselves through forced and unforced relocation from the

constraints of the emerging capitalist system, and chattel slavery to withdrawn landscapes (Greene 2009, 2010 2012; Greene and Plane 2010; Sayers 2006a, 2007a, 2008a, 2012b, 2014, 2015). These communities lived freely and began to create their own cultural practices. Despite the outside world viewing the swamp as a wasteland, these communities were able to domesticate and tame the landscape while thriving for several centuries and multiple generations.

In the Great Dismal Swamp several forms of Maroon communitization developed, these three communities consisted of semi-independent, scission and labor exploitation modes of communitization (Sayers 2008a: 120, 2012b, 2014; Sayers et al. 2006). These modes of communitization existed in the intralimital context of grand marronage. The Maroons that occupied the nameless site during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were identified as practicing the scission mode of communitization. This mode of communitization avoided contact with and material culture from the outside world. However, around the end of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries a cultural transformation began to take place. This resulted in the emergence of a fourth mode of communitization, a defensive mode. Excavations on the Crest identified and recovered mass-produced objects from the outside world, including those associated with munitions such as lead shot, gunflints and nails that could have been attached to poles and used as weapons. A new style of architecture was also identified that was different from the rectilinear, cabin type or cabin footprint style found in the Grotto and North Plateau. I think it is important to start this analysis with the above brief recap about Maroons in the African Diaspora and the changes that were identified in the artifact record around the nineteenth century to aid in the contextualization before proceeding with the rest of the data analysis.

Discussion of Primary Source Documents

William Byrd's (1967) account from the early eighteenth century both confirms how the Great Dismal Swamp was viewed as an untamable wasteland or "desart" by the outside world allowing it to become a sanctuary for the Maroons living in the swamp. The swamp environment provided a remote but resource abundant landscape for individuals who self emancipated themselves during the late seventeenth century through the nineteenth century. The islands deep in the swamp provided sanctuary from slave hunters and chattel slavery as well as a providing high and dry ground to establish communities.

Jeffrey Crow (1989) discusses the Maroon experience in the Great Dismal Swamp by citing a variety of primary sources that further supports the Great Dismal Swamp being a refuge for self emancipated individuals (Smyth 1784; Walker 1958; Watson 1856). Smyth (1784) describes the morass as a sanctuary for runaway slaves who subsisted on hogs, fowls, corn and the clearing of small fields (Crow 1989; Smyth 1784). Despite the outside world viewing the swamp as a wild landscape there were plenty of resources available in the swamp to allow communities to thrive for generations and the Maroons were able to domesticate parts of islands that rose out of the morass. These resources further support how a scission community could sustain and maintain a way of life in the deep interior of the swamp without requiring many mass-produced objects.

An additional relevant primary source to Maroon studies is Elkanah Watson's (1856) journal that records his travels during the American Revolution. Watson wrote about travellers who were attacked by a group of Maroons. This group of Maroons consisted of fourteen naked teens that were armed with poles as threatening weapons (Crow 1989; Watson 1856). This provides a primary source description of Maroons that were using poles or spears as weapons. It is possible that Maroons in the scission community of the nameless site also would have used

poles as weapons that were fashioned out of wood or saplings from the available cedar and cypress trees that were indigenous to the swamp. This is consistent with the idea that they resisted many materials from the outside world. These poles could have been outfitted from cedar or cypress tress with a few nails that had been acquired or sharpened as spears and used as weapons. The small number of nails found in EB 1 on the Crest does not suggest that they were being used for architecture because they would have been found in far greater quantities. This account of Maroons brandishing weapons fastened out of wooden poles, crafted from swamp based resources, will also be important for understanding the cultural transformations that took place as the scission community transformed into a defensive community. This community transformation will be discussed and explained in greater detail later in this chapter. Material artifacts and cultural features that were recovered from EB 1 will support the emergence of a defensive mode of communitization.

Watson's (1856) account also comes from the mid-to-late eighteenth century during the American Revolution when canal laborers and loggers were starting to exploit the resources in the Great Dismal Swamp. As these capitalists ventured deeper into the swamp they would have been a threat to members of the scission community living in the interior as they attempted to maintain their freedom and resist contact with the outside world. By the nineteenth century these labor companies would be working extensively throughout the swamp.

A Maroon community living in the Savannah River area is discussed in a primary source letter from Roderick McIntosh to Isaac Young, November 18, 1765. This account of a Maroon community is significant and relevant because it describes a defensive watchtower (Morgan 1998:150). The account of the slave hunters is provided in Chapter 5 but it is worth mentioning again. After pursuing fleeing Maroons into a swamp the expedition group came upon a Maroon

settlement where two Maroons were beating drums as a warning signal on a defensive structure. This warning allowed Maroons to flee from the slave hunters. The Maroons in the scaffolding fired their guns before fleeing themselves. The abandoned town consisted of this defensive structure in addition to four houses that were approximately 17 feet long and 14 feet wide. The Maroons had fled minutes before the arrival of the slave hunters, leaving behind boiling kettles of rice over fires (Morgan 1998). This defensive structure or watchtower allowed Maroons to know when outsiders were approaching and to sound an alarm allowing the members of the community to flee. The structure with the Maroons beating the drums is described as a "scaffold" (Morgan 1998: 150). It is likely that this type of platform or scaffolding gave the Maroon community a much a greater view of the surrounding landscape and approaching slave hunters or threats from the outside world. This account in Morgan's volume also discusses how the Maroons were using rice for subsistence. Rice could have also been used as subsistence for the Maroons in the Great Dismal Swamp since wild rice thrived in open stretches of swamps (Coulter 1914: 146).

These primary sources are valuable and relevant to understanding the Maroon communities that were living in the Great Dismal Swamp and along the East Coast. Smyth's and Byrd's accounts established Maroons in the swamp during the eighteenth century. Watson's account is important because it discusses Maroons of the Great Dismal Swamp utilizing swamp resources in the way of wooden poles as weapons for defense. Young's account is critically important because it provides an architectural description of the structures and layout of a Maroon community in South Carolina, complete with a defensive watchtower, scaffolding or platform. In addition, Young's account described a subsistence practice with the cooking of wild or cultivated rice by that Maroon community. These accounts help to imagine what existence

looked like for the scission community and the emergence of a defensive community in the Great Dismal Swamp.

Changes in Ideology

Mark Leone's ideological analysis of the Georgian Order in the eighteenth century is well documented (1984, 1988). The Georgian Order was characterized by the elite's control over the environment and attempt to impose order over the natural world during the eighteenth century. Althusser (1971) believes that ideology reproduces and reinforces the structure. Agency, the actions of individuals, can help reproduce the structure or create changes to the structure (Giddens 1979). It has been established that during the early and middle eighteenth century the Great Dismal Swamp was viewed as an untamable "desart" or wasteland by the outside world and was more or less left alone by the elites of Colonial America. This made the swamp a promising location for Maroon communities to establish themselves outside of the reach of the Georgian Order, chattel slavery, the emerging capitalist system and the relocation of Native Americans.

By 1763 the Dismal Swamp Company had been founded with the purpose of draining the swamp and exploiting the resources (Royster 1999). This marked a change in the previous ideology as the elites of the Georgian Order attempted to exploit the resources of the Great Dismal Swamp. This change in ideology would inevitably threaten the Maroon communities that had survived for multiple generations deep in the interior of the swamp over a couple of centuries without interference from the outside world.

Figure 37: Canal and Barge in the Great Dismal Swamp.

Image courtesy of the GDSLS.

Changes in ideology outside of the swamp caused changes in ideology inside the swamp. As the agentive actions of the outside world changed their views towards the swamp as it began to be viewed as an exploitable resource towards the end of the eighteenth century, this in turn caused the scission community to also change. As canal labor companies penetrated the interior of the swamp to exploit resources, the shrinking scission community had to respond to the threat and potential interaction with the outside world (Sayers 2014: 33-34, 201). Members of the community arguably could have become divided through their agency, some may have chosen to begin to work within the capitalist system by joining the labor companies, while others continued

to resist most or all contact with the outside world, and others may have fled to farther recesses of the swamp. Those that remained on the nameless site had to pass on their practices to future generations and the arrival of new community members, however few individuals that may have been. Loose exchange systems may have been established in which members of the scission community and emerging defensive community could have acquired some of the mass-produced items such as lead shot and gunflints allowing them to protect themselves from larger more disruptive interactions with the canal labor companies and lumberers. As we imagine the transformation of the shrinking scission community in the above scenarios they provide a brief glimpse into what life would have been like in response to the arrival of the outside world.

Landscape Transformations and Semiotic Interpretations

Denis Cosgrove (1984) argues that landscapes need to be examined as theorized environments that allow for the incorporation of individuals with the imaginative and creative aspects of the experiences of those individuals. This semiotic approach allows for the inclusion of agency in the community and landscape and creates a more meaningful connection between the concepts of agency, the imagined community and the landscape of the Great Dismal Swamp with the Maroons. The concern of landscape transformation and semiotic meaning in the capitalist system is a concentration in Jaworski's and Thurlow's (2009) volume. Although their focus is during the post-Industrial period, we can see profound ideological and cultural transformations taking place during the nascent capitalist period and Antebellum leading up to the Civil War and Industrial Revolution. These changes can be applied to the modes of communitization in the swamp.

Stephen Daniels and Denis Cosgrove (1993) view landscape as a dialectical struggle between different and hostile constructions of meaning. This can be applied to the scission

community in the context that their view of the mesic island was a landscape and environment that symbolized freedom and the canal labor companies viewed the lumber in the Great Dismal Swamp as an exploitable resource. This dialectical construction of the meaning of landscape, as Daniels and Cosgrove (1993) propose, offers insight into why the scission community had to transform into a defensive community in response to different and hostile constructions of landscape meaning.

The scission community chose to continue to utilize many swamp-based resources and resist contact with the outside world. This meant transforming part of their community and landscape to a defensive mode of communitization. The Maroons had to adapt and transform the landscape on the Crest, while maintaining structures similar to those found in the Grotto and the North Plateau, with the construction of a defensive platform, scaffold or palisade. This changed the appearance of the landscape on the Crest and arguably transformed the types and locations where cultural activities took place. The continued resistance and agentive actions to capitalism and enslavement meant that the community transformed. As the community transformed so did the architectural landscape and the material culture. These transformations all lead to the emergence of a fourth mode of communitization, a defensive mode. This new architectural structure would have given the community warning about approaching outsiders and the ability to flee or stand their ground.

Returning to Imagined Communities: A Fourth Mode of Communitization

Sayers (2008a, 2012, 2014) utilized three modes of communitization, as discussed in Chapter 2 that included the semi-independent, scission, and labor exploitation. As the community and landscape of the Great Dismal Swamp transformed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries I argue that a fourth mode of communitization emerged. This fourth

mode of communitization is a defensive mode and is characterized by those who continued to inhabit the Crest.

The concept of the imagined community was introduced in Chapter 1. Utilizing this model can help to better contextualize the Maroons living on the Crest. The imagined community allows us to examine the individuals through competing discourses that are dynamic as well as contingent and contradictory (Anderson 2006; Isbell 2000: 245). As I explained earlier following Isbell's (2000:249) argument, the natural community is characterized by stability and permanence while the imagined community is characterized by volatility and dynamism. Isbell (2000: 249) states, "The 'imagined community' is fluid and changing as actors select alternatives available, strive to create new ones and pursue the goals they perceive." Utilizing the model for the imagined community can provide understandings into how the scission Maroon community transformed between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries into a defensive mode of communitization.

The imagined community provides a framework for examining how the Maroon community's population decreased in response to the arrival of canal labor companies and lumberers. Several scenarios can explain the decrease in the Maroon population including, those who chose to seek work with the canal labor companies and lumberers, those who fled to farther recesses and islands in the swamp, maintaining a true scission mode of communitization as described earlier, and those who stayed but transformed to a defensive mode of communitization. These scenarios account for the fluid and volatile characteristics of the imagined community as the agents created and selected alternatives to daily life and their individual goals.

Despite the population size decreasing, new community members would have been born to the agents occupying the Crest and nameless site. New community members also would have arrived from the outside world through the UGRR or other parts of the swamp. The community would have been very dynamic as the labor exploitive mode of communitization encroached and may occasionally have encountered and interacted with those living on the Crest. This dynamic and volatile situation contributed to the emergence of the defensive mode of communitization.

Early testing at the forgotten site suggests it was a logging camp, and its proximity to the nameless site could suggest that some individuals who lived on the nameless site felt the need to flee to other parts of the swamp to maintain a more pure form of the scission mode of communization. However, dating has not been completed on the forgotten site and farther excavations are required to contextualize the forgotten site into the rich history of the Great Dismal Swamp

Individuals who remained on the Crest at the nameless site continued to resist most mass-produced objects except for munitions and other items associated with defense, representing a new artifact signature. The architectural features in EB 1 also represent cultural transformations. These are the agentive actions of the defensive community being identified both in material culture and architecture (Appadurai 1986; Dobres and Robb 2000; Knappett and Malafouris 2008a, 2008b; Pauketat and Alt 2005; Preucel 2006; Sinclair 2000).

Agency in Alienation

The following will provide a discussion of the agency and alienation of the Maroons living in the swamp. Although Maroons removed themselves from enslavement and the capitalist mode of production they were not able to escape alienation, this is due to every mode of production creating some form of alienation (Marx 1988; Sayers 2014). These forms of

alienation are created through the structure, material culture, and relationships within a community (Sayers 2014: 34). The material world and social relations of the scission community and eventual defensive community on the Crest were far different from other communities living in exterior parts of the swamp, as well as the communities and modes of production outside of the swamp. Sayers (2014: 28) uses alienation as a lens to understand the actions of individuals both in terms of their social lives as well as their material world. Marx views human history and human existence as one that occupies the condition of alienation (Sayers 2014; Singer 1980). Alienation as a means to understand the actions of individuals directly extends to their agency. As alienation impacts and influences the actions of individuals in regards to social relations and the material world it therefore influences their agency. Jerome Segal's (1991) volume specifically deals with agency and alienation demonstrating that a dialectical relationship can exist.

Enslavement produced a horrific level of alienation in the capitalist mode of production. Marx observed four dimensions of alienation in "1) nature, 2) self and creative activity, 3) species being and 4) other human beings" (Sayers 2014: 36). These four dimensions of alienation influenced the Maroons in the scission community differently than individuals who lived in other modes of communitization both in and outside of the swamp. Chattel slavery strips the four dimensions of alienation down to levels of marginalization that are not experienced by those who were not part of that structure. Alienation under chattel slavery removes the individual from any form of humanness and thus strips that individual of any level of connection with the four facets of alienation. Social relations and creative activity are controlled by a structure that by nature alienates the individual. The following will discuss how these dimensions of alienation impacted the Maroons and their defensive mode of communitization as they continued to occupy the Crest.

In the context of nature or human nature, those Maroons who inhabited the Crest were required to build new community structures and social relations in an environment that was naturally alienating. The mesic islands deep in the swamp interior forced individuals to live an exilic or estranged life from the rest of humanity. The swamp was and continues to be a landscape of alienation. This holds true as agents left the mesic island to form traditional scission communities elsewhere in the swamp, those individuals that left to join the canal labor companies and those individuals that comprised the defensive mode of communitization.

The agency in the alienation of Maroons who comprised the defensive mode of communitization can be found through their creativity by the choices of objects and material culture they created and utilized. The labor of the defensive mode of community is connected with their self and creative activity. This labor is not directly connected with aspects of the capitalist mode of production but is still influenced by it. The labor by the Maroons on the Crest provides the basics for human survival, food, shelter and other subsistence practices. They were able to thrive in these conditions while living freely. Their agentive actions in utilizing many swamp based resources allows them a degree of creative activity but at some point provides a dialectical relationship with the limited materials, wood, reeds, and bones that were available in the swamp to construct their tools and what archaeologists identify as their artifact assemblages. This creative activity with regards to labor allows them to own and use the materials of their creation. However, by resisting mass produced materials they remain connected to, although removed from, the capitalist mode of production in the context that some materials may allow for an easier mode of subsistence and communitization. These agentive choices are connected with and influenced by their alienation. In contrast, the choice by the defensive community to use

firearms, gunflints, lead shot and nails represents a dialectical relationship and contradiction to the previous scission mode of communitization.

The degree of alienation with Maroons in the contexts of species being and other human beings is also influenced by their agentive actions through their self-emancipation. Both the scission and defensive modes of communitization had caused Maroons to be alienated. Alienation occurred between Maroons and the outside world but also in the community as the population on the Crest decreased. Defensive community members continued to be alienated but now they were alienated from one another by those who left the Crest to continue the true scission mode or those who joined the labor exploitation mode. I will argue that despite being alienated in various degrees, the agency of individuals remained.

Agentive Choices of Maroons: A Defensive Mode of Communitization

The agentive choices of the Maroons that resisted contact with the outside world and assimilation into canal labor companies inform us about the individuality and identities of members of scission and defensive communities. These agentive actions continue to support the scission mode of communitization for individuals living deep in the swamp and their staunch resistance to material culture that was mass-produced from outside of the swamp. Agentive action can also account for the transformation from a scission mode to a defensive mode of communitization with the acquisition of munitions. This form of agency can extend to the creative nature and free will of humans.

Sayers (2014: 65-68) discusses agency as being too broad of a concept and one that has lost meaning in many archaeological studies as being descriptive and not telling of individuals and communities. Provided the multiscalar approaches to how agency theory has been used by archaeologists and the variety of scales it has been used in this dissertation may lend some

credence to Sayers' claim that it is a muddled concept due to its broad applications. However, utilizing the concept to recognize the actions of individuals through their creativity and free will allows for archaeologists to interpret meaning on multiple scales, both community and individual and in response to structure. Structures and ideologies significantly influence human action. I think that a variety of agency studies, while being vague, have failed to adequately address structural influences in the application of human action. This is arguably the case with agency studies that extend to material culture and landscape (Appadurai 1986: 3; Knappett and Malafouris 2008a, 2008b; Pauketat 2005; Sinclair 2000). These studies provide a description of how human action and choice can manifest itself in a variety of dimensions but fail to adequately situate the concept of agency into a structure or ideology.

I argue that the concept of agency is valuable to archaeological interpretation and analyses and should not as Sayers (2014) states be "jettisoned" and replaced with Elaine Pagels (1988: 74) *autexosia,* which is defined as "the power to constitute one's own being." Sayers (2014: 67) continues by differentiating between actual creative actors and potential creative action, however this fails to conceptualize actions within a structure or at least the capitalist structure. If agency is "jettisoned" then what is to become of structure? Sayers focuses on the structure and ideology of capitalism and *autexosia* may serve as one method for identifying and analyzing human creativity that exists within a Marxist interpretation. However, I argue that structure and agency theory can be used on multiscalar levels where as Sayers (2014) argues that *autexosia* accounts for life histories and experiences, which are certainly influenced by structure but fall short on describing the dialectical relationship of the two beyond capitalism. The capitalist mode of production alienates and constrains individuals, so while humans may creatively act and have the potential to creatively act, those structural ideologies or apparatuses

will significantly influence their actions or potential actions. I am not convinced that *autexosia* adequately accounts for the dialectical relationship that exists between action and structure. Although agency may have, on occasion become, a catchall term for human action, and its application to inanimate objects and landscape, it continues to remain a useful concept when appropriately contextualized in structures and ideologies. Or better yet, shouldn't a post-processualist approach accommodate both agency and *autexosia*?

Sayers' use of *autexosia* accounts for an individual's power and being and this does present an interesting perspective. Although I think agency, when appropriately contextualized accounts for an individual's power and being too. Jerome Segal's (1991:ix) work with alienation and agency examines agency as possessing "the presence of self in one's activity." I think this begins to bridge issues that Sayers may have with agency theory and its use or over use as a diluted and catchall theoretical perspective. Segal is suggesting that individuals can find and act out their "self" or identity in action even when that individual is alienated. This action carries meaning in identity and while the GDSLS and I have identified different forms of communitization, these individuals identified themselves differently then the titles that have been ascribed to them.

Landscapes carry memories and they also provide resources for individuals (Given 2004). Maroons and their resistance to swamp labor companies present an arena and a negotiation between the agents and the capitalist system that was penetrating the swamp (Given 2004). In addition, the defensive mode of communitization also provides a negotiation between the scission mode of communitization and the community transformations that took place during the end of the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries. The Maroons that chose to continue to inhabit the Crest at the start of the nineteenth century did so at great risk to their freedom and

approaches to daily life. Their choice to remain on the nameless site is a direct result of requiring a transformation to a defensive mode of communitization. Dean Saitta (2007: 22) refers to the ontological nature of agency as a framework for putting the individual and group back in history; this can be realized through the actions of individuals comprising the defensive community on the Crest.

On a variety of different scales, agency features prominently in Dean Saitta's (2007) archaeology of collective action. Saitta (2007: 35) justifies agency both through individual and collective action by slaves in their material culture and resistance. Saitta builds on the concept of Singleton's (1995) and Orser's (1998) work with Colonoware as an example of collective action in the form of agency. The material culture left behind by the Maroons on the Crest also demonstrates collective action in the form of agency. This will also offer evidence for what the archaeological record will look like for a defensive mode of communitization.

Material Culture

Henry Glassie (1999: 41) states that material culture is "the tangible of human conduct." As stated earlier, many of the artifacts created by Maroons practicing the scission mode of communitization were fashioned from swamp available materials and resources that are no longer available to be excavated in the archaeological record. Bowls, utensils and tools carved out of wood and bone, as well as baskets woven from reeds and grass have decomposed over the past century and a half. The artifact assemblage of the scission community is sparse, consisting of reworked Native American lithics, and ceramics and evidenced by the few mass-produced artifacts that were recovered from the outside world. This artifact assemblage is a direct result of human agency and conduct demonstrating a resistance to outside world objects and mass-produced goods. A semiotic perspective signifies that artifacts mean more than just themselves,

as they are an extension of the individual who created or used the objects (Preucel 2006). The community actively resisted materials that represented enslavement and capitalism. This represents an agentive choice on their part and the application of meaning and interpretation on the material culture that has been left in the archaeological record.

Limited exchange of materials and resources may have taken place between the scission community and semi-independent communities leading up to the arrival of the canal labor companies. However, eventually as the scission community size decreased and canal labor companies arrived in the swamp, some of these swamp-based resources could have been exchanged in greater amounts for select mass produced objects from outside of the swamp. Exchange taking place between the scission mode of communitization and the labor exploitation mode of communization could have allowed for the acquisition of these artifacts that are being associated with defense. The GDSLS proposes some exchange may have taken place between the scission mode and labor exploitation mode at the end of the eighteenth century as the scission mode of communitization decreased in population size (Sayers 2008a, 2014). As some community members left to join the canal labor companies ties through kinship or friendship may have remained allowing limited exchange to take place for select items.

Comparing the artifact assemblages from the Grotto, the Crest and the North Plateau supports the argument that excavations have revealed a defensive structure in EB 1 on the Crest. The large quantities of outside world artifacts, in the way of lead shot, gunflints, nails and reworked projectile points, associated with a defensive mode of communitization supports the conclusion that the area in EB 1 was used for defense. Other identified structures on the nameless site do not contain significant concentrations of those types of artifacts that are

associated with weapons, munitions or defense. This artifact assemblage is also indicative of the defensive mode of communitization.

The agentive actions of Maroons can be found throughout the nameless site. Members of the scission community chose to resist contact with the outside world by establishing sustainable communities deep in the swamp. For many years this provided the perfect environment to resist the ideologies of the Georgian Order, chattel slavery, plantation life and the emerging capitalist system that were built on the alienation and enslavement of Africans. Agency can also be found in the artifact record and the lack of significant quantities of mass-produced objects with the exception of a few items including gunflints, lead shot/ammunition, clay pipes, and glass (Knappett and Malafouris 2008a, 2008b). Material agency is also found by reworking Native American artifacts (Knappett and Malafouris 2008a, 2008b; Sinclair 2000). The cache of munitions, lead shot and pebbles, initially found during the 2011 field season in EU's 38A-38F has not been duplicated in other structures in the Grotto, the North Plateau or locations and structures on the Crest.

The excavations of the 2012 and 2013 seasons continued to support the idea that the structure that occupied EB 1 was a defensive scaffold, watchtower or platform. The recovered artifacts suggest that there was a central munitions cache in that structure. In addition, the artifact assemblage of EB 1 was very different from those recovered at the Grotto, the North Plateau and other parts of the Crest. The artifact data presented in Chapters 4 and 5 support the argument that the Maroons that occupied the Crest had transformed from a scission mode of communitization to a defensive mode of communitization. Structure I on the North Plateau did not have any artifacts associated defense or hunting.

The diagnostic artifacts, machine cut nails and cut nails with hand wrought heads, support a nineteenth century occupation. This supports the hypothesis that the scission community transformed into a defensive community by moving to the highest and most defensible part of the island in response to canal labor companies penetrating the interior of the swamp at the end of the eighteenth century. By the end of the eighteenth century and the start of the nineteenth century the evidence suggests that Maroons had left the surrounding lower lying areas of the nameless site.

Architecture

The identified architecture on much of the nameless site is consistent with western influenced, single room, rectilinear cabins (Clifton and Ginsburg 2010; Riccio 2012; Sayers 2008a, 2014; Vlach 1993). This was demonstrated with the excavations that were completed in the Grotto, the North Plateau and other parts of the Crest. Chapters 4 and 5 have discussed how different these cultural activity areas were compared to the structure that is situated in EB 1. These differences existed both in the artifact assemblages that were being recovered as well as the architecture.

Using Pauketat's and Alt's (2005) model that argues architecture represents agency through the digging and installation of postholes in a specific and intentional manner. The agency of the scission community and defensive community can be identified in how the landscape was constructed during different occupation periods on different locales throughout the mesic island. Specifically, the scission community's construction of rectilinear cabins found throughout the Grotto and the North Plateau can aid in identifying architectural agency. In addition, agency is also identified in the construction of the defensive structure in EB 1 and additional rectilinear structures for those Maroons who continued to occupy the mesic island as

the landscape transformed into a defensive mode of communitization. Using Pauketat's and Alt's (2005) concept that action can manifest itself in architecture allows archaeology to understand aspects of the agentive construction of landscape, the built environment, and community transformations. The Maroons were actively constructing their landscape on the island in a manner that formed part of their physical community in the natural environment of the swamp.

Examining the layout of the architectural features allows archaeology to better understand and interpret how the Maroon community transformed in response to the arrival of the canal labor companies. Munitions caches, pits, and posthole patterns that are not consistent with cabins or known rectilinear architectural features on the nameless site are suggestive and representative of cultural changes taking place in Maroon architecture. Pauketat and Alt (2005) argue that architecture can be used to understand how identities and social histories are produced and thus it can also be used to show how identities and histories have transformed. Cultures are produced through changes and transformations. These changes and transformations are a result of actions within structures. The architecture of EB1 represented through features suggests changes in action in response to changes in structure. The installation of this the new architectural feature tied directly to the semiotic landscape through language, spatial practices, and built environment in response to an invading capitalist structure and canal labor companies (Jaworski and Thurlow 2010). Through their agency, Maroons created and experienced cultural transformations that were taking place in their constructed and natural environments, leading to a transformation in the mode of communitization.

Pedagogy of Maroons

I reflected on the agentive analysis of the Great Dismal Swamp Maroon communities and this dissertation and what it meant to have agency and praxis as tools of analysis, I continued to

consider the multiscalar applications of praxis and agency. It was while reading Paulo Freire's (2005) "Pedagogy of the Oppressed" that I began to think about liberation from dominant ideologies and what a pedagogy of Maroons might look like as an education of freedom. Freire's work, influenced by Marx, is one that heavily focuses on liberation in how individuals are taught and learn. Freire (2005: 79) states, "Liberation is a praxis: the action and reflection of men and women upon their world in order to transform it." Freire's original manuscript was written in the spirit of educating marginalized and alienated communities that existed under the dominant and oppressive capitalist structure. I think historical archaeologists can utilize Freire's critique on how cognitive knowledge is transferred in the capitalist system. Traditionally, pedagogy deals with the methods and practices of teaching. I think another way to consider the framework of pedagogy is how knowledge is transferred. Teaching is the action of transferring knowledge; in a sense, teaching is the agency of knowledge. With regards to knowledge, Freire (2005: 72) states, "Knowledge emerges only through invention and re-invention, through the restless, impatient, continuing, hopeful inquiry human beings pursue in the world, with the world, and, with each other." This connects with human agency and the passing of knowledge through a variety of levels that have been discussed in this dissertation including, material culture (Knappett and Malafouris 2008a, 2008b and Sinclair 2000), architecture (Pauketat and Alt 2005) and the different modes of communitization (Sayers 2008a, 2014). Knowledge of the landscape, reliance on swamp based resources, the reworking of lithic tools, and how the communal landscape was constructed on the mesic island had to be passed down from one generation to another and to the arrival of new community members.

Segal (1991: 87) argues that an individual is an agent when performing an action. He continues to argue that agency is a web of relations and that the self can be directly or indirectly

present during the activity. In this context, teaching an individual constitutes agency, especially in the sense of what is being taught. The pedagogy of Maroons in different modes of communitization will be quite different. I consider this being applicable to the communities of Maroons because individuals did not always arrive to the different modes of communitization in the swamp equipped with the skills to immediately contribute to the community but at the same time each individual brought her or his own skill set to that community. New arrivals to the community had to be taught and learn how to survive in different parts of the swamp. This included what swamp based resources were edible, best used in the construction of tools, and construction of structures. In addition, Maroons who had adapted to one of the modes of communitization had to teach new community members and future generations how to survive and negotiate the landscape of the swamp. At the same time, new arrivals brought their own skill sets that could be shared with the established communities.

I also considered Freire's use of inclusive language in his analysis of the pedagogy of oppressed people. This inclusive language can be applied to the pedagogy of Maroons in the Great Dismal Swamp because Maroon communities were comprised of diverse individuals. As discussed earlier, the GDSLS's (Sayers 2008a, 2012b, 2014) modes of communitization, Maroon communities would have been comprised of runaway slaves, disenfranchised Europeans and Americans and Native Americans. The runaway slaves would also have been a very culturally diverse group. In this model, the scission community would have been quite inclusive with a diverse population. The inclusiveness of the scission community would have centered on the resistance to the outside world. In turn, this inclusive community would also influence how Maroons learned to survive in the Great Dismal Swamp. Knowledge had to be shared on how to utilize and survive with the natural resources of the tidewater area. In addition, the ability to

rework lithic tools and ceramics had to be shared between community members. Additionally, knowledge on how to construct dwellings and cabins and the maintenance of firearms all had to be shared and represents the inclusivity and diversity of the community that inhabited the nameless site. This interpretation allows for an inclusive transfer of knowledge connecting with Freire's use of inclusiveness.

The application of a Maroon pedagogy model deals with how Maroons integrated new members and the next generation of Maroons to living on a mesic island in the scission and defensive modes of communitization. This pedagogy required a significant transfer of knowledge and how survival could be achieved through the manufacture of tools and structures that relied on swamp available resources and resisted many mass-produced objects. This pedagogy connects previously with different forms of agency in the context of material agency and architecture. The reuse of lithic and ceramic materials through the reworking and manipulation of existing tools could not have been achieved without a Maroon pedagogy. This pedagogical model connects the concepts of material agency, as discussed in Chapter 2, with Sinclair's (2000) "constellation of knowledge" and Knappett's and Malafouris' (2008a and 2008b) non-anthropocentric model that include Maroon's agency in an alienated landscape, how they survived and the community transformations that took place in the face of ideological transformations outside of the swamp. It also connects with Freire's (2005: 79) pedagogy because a liberating education transcends transferals of information and relies on acts of cognition. Cognition is how Maroons survived and negotiated the swamp. Cognition permitted one generation to pass on their knowledge of surviving with swamp based resources in the scission community model. The agentive ability to survive on swamp-based resources was rooted in cognitive abilities and not solely transfers of information. At the end of the eighteenth century, the transfer of knowledge and cognitive

actions by Maroons on the Crest aided in the communal transformation from a scission mode of communitization to a defensive mode of communitization.

Imagining the Transformations of a Scission Community to a Defensive Community During the Antebellum

As the capitalist mode of production penetrated the interior of the swamp it transformed the agency of Maroons and their degrees of alienation. It is understood that the scission community population that occupied the nameless site decreased in numbers at the end of the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century (Sayers 2014: 131). There is evidence to suggest some Maroons joined the canal labor companies leaving the emerging defensive mode of communitization (Sayers 2008a, 2014). In addition, some Maroons may have fled the nameless site by relocating to other islands in the swamp and continuing their scission mode of communitization. This may have broken up families as some joined the capitalist mode of production while other family or community members continued their resistant way of life and others stayed on the Crest and embraced a defensive way of life. The agency of these Maroons varied significantly in the face of the arrival of capitalism into the interior of the Great Dismal Swamp.

Once the defensive mode of communitization took hold on the nameless site it can be argued that community members would have had contact with the canal labor companies. The complexities of these interactions are amplified considering the possibility that relatives or friends who had left the Crest went to labor with canal companies. The movement of individuals between communities could have established communication that allowed trade to have taken place as the defensive community acquired munitions from the outside world. The early nineteenth century was a very transformative period for Maroon communities, especially those on the nameless site, because they would have had so little contact with the outside world

leading up to the nineteenth century and were now increasingly faced with a variety of interactions on a semi-regular basis.

Archaeology cannot conclude that at the end of the Civil War the scission communities or defensive communities or other Maroon modes of communitization walked away from their life of resistance and emerged from the Great Dismal Swamp. Additionally, at present the GDSLS does not have evidence for the duration that the agents of the Crest continued to occupy the nameless site into the nineteenth century. That raises the question about what happened to this community as it transformed into a defensive mode of communitization?

Maroons arriving from other locales both inside and outside of the swamp could have passed on knowledge and cultural practices. Referring to the primary source documents it has been established that a Maroon community used platforms or scaffolding as defensive lookouts (Morgan 1998). The cognitive transfer of knowledge promoted cultural transformations. As the outside world exploited the resources of the swamp it would have caused the movement of individuals from and between the three modes of communitization as well as the emergence of new modes of communitization. In addition, the UGRR would have also allowed for the cognitive transfer of knowledge from other parts of the eastern seaboard. Despite shrinking in population size, those individuals who remained on the Crest would have had an influx of knowledge as contact and encounters with a variety of outsiders took place. This influx of knowledge contributed to the transformation and creation of a defensive mode of communitization.

Discussion

This chapter has tied together a variety of anthropological sources to support the conclusion that at the end of the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century a new mode of

communitization emerged in the Great Dismal Swamp. A new form of architecture that was defensive in nature is one piece of evidence that represents this defensive mode of communitization; this new style of architecture may have consisted of scaffolding, platform, watchtower or an observation platform. The artifact assemblage also changed with the arrival of larger quantities of mass-produced objects from outside of the swamp, such as lead shot, gunflints and nails. This expands on the model of the scission mode of communitization but incorporates architecture and materials that were used for defensive purposes. This interpretation is also supported by several primary source documents that deal with Maroon communities that were discussed and analyzed in conjunction with the archaeological data.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

The archaeology of Maroon settlements is beginning to shed insights into communities that resisted enslavement during the Antebellum. Archaeology is uncovering the history of diverse and resilient individuals that congregated in the Great Dismal Swamp to form dynamic communities that have been neglected by mainstream history in America. The remote landscape deep in the interior of the Great Dismal Swamp during the 1700's-1800's provided those who sought high ground a place of refuge away from the constraints and alienation of chattel slavery and capitalism. Finding high ground, in the way of mesic islands, rewarded those who braved and navigated the treacherous trek through the swamp. It allowed those agents to establish communities free from Colonial America and the creation of the United States of America. It was fitting that each morning we had to hike approximately a quarter of a mile through the morass to the nameless site. The brief experience of our daily trek only provided us with a glimpse into the arduous journey made by those seeking refuge in the swamp.

The GDSLS continues to work towards understanding the Maroons, Native Americans and disenfranchised Europeans that made the Great Dismal Swamp their home. The nearly two decades of work has started to answer a few questions about the various types of communities that were established. Building on the three modes of communization this dissertation has argued for the emergence of a fourth mode of communitization that appeared at the end of the eighteenth century and early nineteenth century. The excavations at the nameless site have provided unique archaeological signatures for both the scission mode of communitization and the defensive mode of communitization. However, there are still many questions to be answered and the archaeological and documentary records are far from complete.

The swamp based resources, various woods, reeds, other flora and fauna that the scission and defensive modes of communitization utilized as tools and architectural structures no longer remain in the archaeological record. Archaeology is left to interpret numerous cultural features, reworked lithics and ceramics that were brought into the swamp, and occasionally deposits of mass-produced objects from outside of the swamp. Interpreting this data is no easy task as insights and understandings are gained from the combination of fieldwork, discourse, and research. I have attempted to integrate what was previously established by the GDSLS and expand on it with documentary sources, theory, and the archaeological record that remains on the Crest. This permitted me to establish conclusions, as I understood them.

In Chapter 1 I laid out the research question and framework for this dissertation while introducing the reader to several key concepts that would be used in my analysis. Chapter 2 provided a literature review and background on various theoretical perspectives that I thought were relevant to Maroon communities and interpreting the archaeological data. The focus on diaspora, marronage, ideology, structure and agency all connect with previous research interests and graduate course work that I had completed. I find these perspectives illuminating although I realize there are multitudes of other perspectives that can be employed in the holistic approach anthropology utilizes in understanding culture and cultural transformations.

Chapter 3 provided an exercise in understanding how ideology and structure changed during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It examined how elite ideologies in the outside world changed towards the swamp from being an untamable landscape, "desart," to one that could be exploited. These changing attitudes towards the swamp, in my opinion, directly connect with the perspectives of structure and agency and how different individuals negotiated the dialectical relationships of landscape and freedom.

Chapter 4 reviewed the previous archaeological work on the Crest of the nameless site. It aids in establishing the presence of a scission community during the eighteenth century. Both the Grotto and the North Plateau demonstrate features and artifacts that one would expect to find and are consistent with the scission mode of communitization as established by the GDSLS model. In addition, some aspects of public archaeology, outreach, and engagement that the GDSLS has engaged with and committed to were provided.

Chapter 5 reviewed five years of excavations and the methodology used on the Crest. Those excavations continued to reveal features and artifacts that support the scission mode of communitization. However, these excavations also revealed a new form of architectural features as well as larger quantities of mass produced objects from the outside world, especially those that can be associated with a defensive way of life. This suggests that the community living on the nameless site were changing in response to the outside world penetrating the deep interior of the swamp as canal laborers and loggers began to exploit the swamp's resources.

Chapter 6 reviewed several key theoretical aspects of agency theory that can be used to interpret the archaeological record on the Crest. In addition, a review of key primary source documents was also provided. These were combined to support the conclusion that at the end of the eighteenth century and beginning of the nineteenth century a new mode of communization emerged in response to the outside world threatening the scission mode of communization. This new mode of communitization was one of defense.

I realize that my approach to understanding and interpreting the data at the nameless site may be quite different from the perspectives that other anthropologists and archaeologists might employ. My choice of expanding on the uses of agency theory in archaeology and using it to understand the communities of the Great Dismal Swamp is not how others may choose to

examine the data. There are limitations at this point to the analysis and conclusions that I have made. Only a small percentage of the entire nameless site on the mesic island has been excavated, including a small portion of the Crest. With all archaeological sites, additional excavations may yield additional or different results. I am limited to interpret the data as it is presented based on the five field seasons I participated in on the Crest as well as with the simultaneous work on the North Plateau and the prior work at the Grotto.

Future work on the nameless site will shed additional insights into the cultural transformations that took place in the Great Dismal Swamp. Specifically expanding EB 1 to the south might aid in understanding additional details regarding the scaffold or platform architectural structure that was identified during the 2013 season. The artifact concentrations and features decreased in the trenches that extended to the north. Also, further investigation of unexplored islands in proximity to the nameless site may shed insights into the cultural interactions that were taking place between different communities that labored or lived in the interior of the Great Dismal Swamp. The Forgotten site that was discovered by Lance Greene and Jordan Riccio has minimal surveying in the way of a few tree root mat surveys and a few shovel test pits. The GDSLS has demonstrated how dynamic the Maroon landscape of the Great Dismal Swamp was during the Antebellum. Different parts of the swamp were occupied with different modes of communitization and the different modes were not static. Additional work will continue to aid in our better understanding of the rich cultural history, transformations, and emergences of new modes of communitization in the Great Dismal Swamp.

The fieldwork and research by Cyndi Goode (In production) at Jericho Ditch and Becca Peixotto's (2017) work at the Williamson North, site 44SK0613, and Williamson South, site 44SK0614, will also provide insights into how the different modes of communitization lived and

interacted throughout a variety of locales and historic periods in the Great Dismal Swamp. Collaboration amongst those involved with the GDSLS and continued outreach with potential descendant communities will farther contribute to our understanding of alienated groups that established communities in the Great Dismal Swamp.

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