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Comparing Alternative Landscapes: Power Negotiations in

Enslaved Communities in Louisiana and the Bahamas,

an Archaeological and Historical Perspective

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Comparing Alternative Landscapes: Power Negotiations

in Enslaved Communities in Louisiana and the Bahamas,

an Archaeological and Historical Perspective

by

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Comparing Alternative Landscapes: Power Negotiations

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This dissertation compares the lives of enslaved people of African descent living at Rosedown Plantation in Louisiana with the lives of enslaved people of African descent living at several plantations in the Bahamas. This comparison explores how people living in these oppressive contexts negotiated power over their own lives according to local circumstances and contexts.

Archaeological and historical data provide the basis for this study. Through an analysis of material culture recovered from the location of some of the slave quarters at Rosedown, basic assemblage attributes are established for comparison with the published descriptions of material culture recovered from enslaved living contexts at Oakley Plantation in Louisiana and several plantations in the Bahamas. This analysis, complemented by the historical record in both Louisiana and the Bahamas, uncovers several themes occurring throughout the data. These themes include levels of control,

levels of surveillance, resistance, medicine, spirituality, and informal law, and are all

aspects of the negotiation of power between slaveowners and enslaved people.

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Chapter 1: Introduction and Project Overview

In studies of the African Diaspora, scholars have continually sought information about how enslaved people coped with the horrors of slavery and the physical, mental, and emotional oppression of daily life under these conditions. Beginning with the Herskovits (1941) and Frazier (1948) debates, enslaved people and their descendants have been scrutinized for evidence of African influenced behavior, European influenced behavior, or a blending of the two (e.g. Armstrong 1990; Ferguson 1992; Upton 1996).

These investigations of enslaved African culture are partially a result of the dearth of information available about the lives of enslaved Africans. With very few exceptions (e.g. Douglass 1960; Equiano 1996), the information that is available about the period of African enslavement was written primarily by those who participated in enslaving other people. Slaveowners rarely took an active interest in how their slaves were coping with a forced migration and continued oppression throughout the generations; unless slave behavior was perceived to be a problem for the slaveowner, it was rarely mentioned in the historical record.

Archaeology has been a great contributor to recovering undocumented information about the lives of enslaved people. Over the last 30 years, African-American archaeology has become increasingly visible in a variety of contexts (e.g. Fairbanks 1974; Mullins 1999; Singleton 1985). Yet there is much that remains unknown, and new research and perspectives present information that helps critically evaluate biases that have persisted within such studies (e.g. Epperson 2004).

As Franklin and McKee note, the archaeology of the African Diaspora has expanded beyond the experience of enslaved people in the United States to a more representative global perspective that includes North, Central, and South America, the Caribbean, and Africa (2004: 2). This expansion has not only encouraged archaeologists to view the African Diaspora from a variety of perspectives, it has also provided an opening for archaeologists to gather more information from a variety of contexts.

As a continuation of this expansion of our knowledge about people of the African Diaspora, this dissertation compares the lives of enslaved people living in two different regions, the Lower Mississippi Valley area of Louisiana and the island archipelago of the Bahamas. This comparison provides a synthesis of new and existing information and contributes to a body of knowledge that has grown to include studies from many different regions but which contains very little comparative information about how enslaved people in different regions coped with their situations. The comparison in this study is a starting point for learning how groups and individuals may have negotiated contextually according to the circumstances under which they were living.

Louisiana and the Bahamas

Although historically Louisiana and the Bahamas seem very different in geography, size, economics, and general history, there are significant similarities between the two places that suggest a comparison of enslaved African history would be useful. In the antebellum period, both regions were dependent on a chattel slavery-based agricultural economy. Although different areas of Louisiana grew crops such as rice,

tobacco, and sugar, the area in this study was dependent on cotton culture, which was also the primary economic crop of the Bahamas. A focus on cotton cultivation led many planters who were already experienced with growing cotton to settle in certain areas of Louisiana or in the Bahamas.

In West Feliciana Parish, Louisiana, the area of focus for this research, planters were of Spanish, French, British, and American descent due to rather frequent changes in government. In the Bahamas, planters were primarily British, but because the Bahamas was located strategically at the entrance to the Caribbean, planters from all nations freely stopped in the Bahamas on their way to other destinations. In both places, these planters were accompanied by enslaved people from different places in Africa. Although enslaved people in the two regions came from a variety of places, there were people coming from the same groups to both Louisiana and the Bahamas. While people from similar backgrounds and experiences were moving through both places, planters were competing for access to the same markets (both cotton and humans) while enslaved people were trying to cope with their desperate new situation. Yet despite similar groups (and in some cases, the same groups) of people moving through both areas, Louisiana and the Bahamas have become very different socially. A comparison of how people with similar backgrounds and experiences negotiated their experiences differently in these two places provides insight into why they are different today.

Louisiana and the Bahamas share aspects of history that extensively affected people living in both places. Both were occupied by the British (although in Louisiana this brief occupation was in a very specific area), and more significantly, both were areas

where wealthy whites established plantations supported by the labor of enslaved Africans and their descendants. For the community that has descended from these slaves, history has only recently begun to include their ancestors' stories.

As these stories are reconstructed through historical and archaeological research, patterns have begun to emerge. The comparisons made in this dissertation have not been made to argue that enslaved people living in one region had harsher lives than those living in another region, because under the system of slavery, every slave lived a life of oppression. Enslaved people were not only treated as property, they *were* property according to law. No matter how well slaveowners treated slaves, enslaved people lived in a state of forced subjugation, and most whites considered them possessions rather than persons.

Instead, this comparison shows that within these systems of oppression, several themes have emerged that demonstrate how enslaved people actively negotiated with slaveowners for power over their own lives. In Louisiana and the Bahamas, this resistance has been expressed through material culture that relates to the themes of medicine and spirituality.

At the same time, slaveowners asserted their own power over enslaved people through not only physical, emotional, and mental abuse, but also through more subtle means such as organization of the plantation landscape and different levels of surveillance of enslaved people. The material culture associated with both slave resistance and planter power provides tangible evidence of the tensions involved in daily negotiation of power between the two groups.

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Plantations

Although this study compares two plantations in Louisiana with five plantations in the Bahamas, the focus of this comparison is the archaeological, archival, and oral history fieldwork I conducted at Rosedown Plantation in St. Francisville, Louisiana in 2002. This site, 16WF156, is owned by the State of Louisiana and is part of their state park system. The great house, nine support structures, and the gardens are listed in the National Register of Historic Places under Criterion C.

Rosedown is located in West Feliciana Parish, Louisiana. West Feliciana Parish was a very lucrative area for cotton production, and several large plantation houses and grounds remain in the area to attest to this wealth. Approximately 3.5 miles to the east is Oakley Plantation, which was owned by the Bowman family that married into the Turnbull family that owned Rosedown. I used published archaeological data from Oakley (Wilkie 1995, 1996b, 1997, 2000b) to provide a Louisiana comparison for the Rosedown data.

The Bahamas data is also a combination of data that I collected as well as published data from others. During the course of this dissertation research, I collected archival and oral history data from various islands in the Bahamas. This information supplemented the data I collected for my Master's Thesis on Clifton Plantation in 1996. In addition to using the data I collected during dissertation research and the data I published in my Master's Thesis, I also used published archaeological data from excavations at five different plantations on several islands in the Bahamas (Farnsworth

1993, 1994, 1996, 1999; Wilkie 1996a, 1999, 2000a, 2001; Wilkie and Farnsworth 1995, 1996, 1999). Like Rosedown and Oakley, cotton was the primary cash crop grown at these plantations.

Slavery

Although this discussion centers on the issue of slavery in Louisiana and the Bahamas, slavery was slightly different in each place simply due to laws and histories of the nation controlling the regions discussed. Louisiana began its history of slavery under both Spanish and French control. The British also briefly had control over the Florida parishes, eight parishes that were known as West Florida along with sections of what is now Mississippi and Alabama, (Hyde 1996: 18) before the entire region reverted back to the Spanish. The Spanish ceded everything to the French in 1800, and the French sold the area to America in 1803 (Davis 1960: 20).

This frequent shift in nationality created a region where the cultural pattern of slavery and its laws changed with successive governments. By 1803, chattel slavery was firmly entrenched in the New World. However, since Louisiana became a state at this time, enslaved people living in this region were to endure slavery for another 62 years before the Civil War ended and Emancipation was legally in place. During these 62 years, various laws were passed in an attempt to restrict the international and, to some extent, the domestic slave trade. However, the states' different laws and close proximity to one another made illegal trafficking easier.

Although the Bahamas was briefly under American and Spanish control during the American Revolution (Craton and Saunders 1992: 157), the Bahamas was a British colony before and after these brief occupations until its independence in 1973. This longstanding history of British influence shaped the Bahamas' history of enslavement, which began with the arrival of British Loyalists fleeing America in 1783. This was the second migration for many of these Loyalists who had already relocated after the American Revolution (Craton and Saunders 1992: 189). As North American land continued to change hands between nations after the war, most Loyalists left the United States. Approximately 1600 whites and 5700 enslaved and free people of African descent ultimately settled in the Bahamas (Craton and Saunders 1992: 179).

The arrival of these British Loyalists created tension among the people already living in the Bahamas (Craton and Saunders 1992: 196). However, with the 1791 Haitian Revolution and the Loyalists' increased political influence, the colony's focus shifted to control over enslaved Africans (Craton and Saunders 1992: 208). The laws passed to enact this control were derived from British authority, and remained relatively constant, unlike Louisiana where laws changed according to which country was in possession of the land. As a result, laws governing slavery in the Bahamas were different than those in Louisiana. The British were among the first nations to abolish the slave trade, which they did in all their colonies and possessions in 1807 (Craton and Saunders 1992: 217). Unlike Louisiana, the Bahamas had no immediate neighbors with whom they could conduct illicit trade, although it undoubtedly occurred in many of the Out Islands when foreign vessels stopped to unload or purchase supplies.

British Emancipation was formalized in 1834. Former slaves were required to be apprenticed to their former owners, although newly freed people largely rejected this system (Dessens 2003: 132). After Emancipation, most former slaves in the Bahamas entered into a sharecropper situation much like that found throughout the American South after the Civil War (Johnson 1996: 84). However, at this time, most other countries were still participating in slavery. France and Denmark abolished slavery in 1848, as did the Netherlands on the island of St. Martin. The Netherlands abolished slavery elsewhere in 1855. The United States abolished slavery in 1865. Spain was one of the last nations to abolish slavery, doing so in 1876. Cuba, which had become an independent nation, did not see a formal declaration of emancipation until 1880 (Dessens 2003: 130-134). The last country in the Americas to emancipate its slaves was Brazil in 1888 (Wade 1997: 120).

The significance of the Bahamas' emancipation being earlier than surrounding areas is that throughout the period of Britain's ban on the slave trade and even two years after British Emancipation, other countries' slave ships were being captured or wrecked in British waters near the Bahamas (Johnson 1996: 77). The African people on board those ships were brought to the Bahamas as free people, and many were established in liberated African villages on the island of New Providence (Saunders 1985: 194). Thus the interactions between formerly enslaved people and newly arrived Africans continued to occur in the Bahamas while the international slave trade had shut down in the United States.

Geography

Louisiana and the Bahamas are two regions that seem to share no particular physical characteristics beyond southern latitude. Both are located in areas that are near but not necessarily considered part of the Caribbean. Louisiana's position along the shoreline of the United States' coast of the Gulf of Mexico places it unequivocally in United States waters. However, the port of New Orleans has long been a center of international trade (Wall 1984: 141). The Bahamas, located east and south of Florida, east of Cuba, and north of Haiti and the Dominican Republic, also remain somewhat outside the Caribbean as a gateway to the many islands in this region. Nassau has historically been an important international port for this reason.

The study areas for this dissertation are West Feliciana Parish (one of the Florida parishes in Louisiana), and several islands (New Providence, Crooked Island, and North Caicos Island) in the Bahamas archipelago. Geographically, these regions are very specific within the state of Louisiana and within the island chain of the Bahamas, although North Caicos Island is now part of the independent Turks and Caicos Islands. The geographies of each of these regions are discussed below.

Louisiana

Louisiana is located along the Southeastern gulf coastal plain between Texas and Mississippi. The Mississippi River is one of the main waterways in the state and is the southern boundary of West Feliciana Parish, the location for this study. Although much

of the southern portion of the state is swampy with elevations at or below sea level (Wall 1984: 4), some of the parishes are on higher ground with very fertile soil (Hyde 1996: 5).

In south Louisiana, some of the parishes with higher elevations are part of the Florida parishes, which include: East Baton Rouge, Livingston, St. Helena, St. Tammany, Tangipahoa, East Feliciana, and West Feliciana (Figure 1.1). West Feliciana Parish is in the upper southern part of the state, located approximately 28 miles north-northwest of Baton Rouge and 23 miles south of the state of Mississippi. As mentioned above, the Mississippi River forms the southern boundary of the parish, dividing it from Pointe Coupee Parish (Figure 1.2). West Feliciana Parish is approximately 100 miles west-northwest of New Orleans. West Feliciana Parish soils have historically been very fertile; between 1850 and 1860, this parish was the leader in the state for cotton production (Hyde 1996: 26).

Bahamas

The Bahamas are an archipelago of islands in the Gulf Atlantic situated east of Florida and Cuba and north of Haiti and the Dominican Republic (Figure 1.3). New Providence and islands north of it are part of a moist, subtropical area that at times experiences weather below 45 degrees. Centrally located islands, including Long Island, Crooked Island, and Acklins Island, are in a moist tropical zone that does not drop below 45 degrees. The southernmost islands include Mayaguana and those islands south of it, including the Turks and Caicos. These islands are in a dry, tropical area that has very arid seasons (Craton and Saunders 1992: 10-13).

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Mississippi River (Approx.)

1   West Feliciana
2   East Feliciana
3   East Baton Rouge
4   St. Helena
5   Livingston
6   Tangipahoa
7   Washington
8   St. Tammany

Figure 1.1 The Florida Parishes

Mississippi River

West Feliciana
Parish

Pointe Coupee
Parish

**Figure 1.2 West Feliciana and Pointe Coupee
Parishes**

Figure 1.3 The Bahamas

After Directorate of Overseas Surveys Map, 1963

The northernmost island, Grand Bahama, is located approximately 75 miles off the east coast of Florida. The capital of the Bahamas is Nassau, which is located on New Providence Island. The other islands that are located some distance from Nassau are called the "Out Islands" or the "Family Islands." Most of these islands have historically been, and continue to be relatively sparsely populated compared to Nassau.

Comparison

All the factors discussed above provide a rich contextual background against which comparisons may be made. These two regions have not yet been formally compared, although slavery in Louisiana has been compared to slavery in Jamaica (McDonald 1993). However, that comparison focused on aspects of sugar production and plantations involved in the sugar-making process rather than on cotton production and power relationships on the plantation.

The similarities and differences between Louisiana and the Bahamas are not the focus of this discussion; instead the focus will be on how, in comparable and differing ways, enslaved people living in both regions coped with the harsh circumstances of their plantation experiences. As such, the discussion to some extent is contextually specific even though it is a general comparison of material culture.

The material culture at Rosedown provides a basis for the comparison and discussion of these two regions. An analysis of Rosedown's artifact assemblage establishes the foundation for which aspects of enslaved African-American life at Rosedown are readily comparable to published archaeological investigations of aspects of

enslaved African-American life at Oakley and enslaved African-Bahamian life at the plantations in the Bahamas. Archival research and oral histories from each region help to enrich the resulting analysis.

Organization of this Dissertation

This dissertation begins with a contextual overview of the history of enslavement in the regions of Louisiana and the Bahamas. This overview introduces the dissertation's focus on Rosedown Plantation in West Feliciana Parish, Louisiana and proposes a comparative framework between this plantation and others in Louisiana and the Bahamas to understand how enslaved people living under the same oppressive system in different geographical regions coped with the harsh realities of being enslaved. This first chapter begins to situate the following study within the larger framework of African Diaspora studies.

In Chapter 2, this framework becomes more specific. This chapter is organized according to themes that are found within the literature of the African Diaspora with a focus on archaeological research. Discussions of hegemony, power, and agency, race and ethnicity, creolization, spatial organization, spirituality, health and medicine, and resistance provide a background for the issues presented in this research. In addition, brief overviews of the archaeological work of enslaved African life in both Louisiana and the Bahamas further contextualize this dissertation research.

This review of the archaeological literature is followed by a chapter that presents historical information about both Louisiana and the Bahamas. This information is

arranged to introduce regional histories, plantation histories, enslaved African histories, slave legislation, and slave resistance in each area. The histories in this chapter complement the archaeological data in the next chapter.

Chapter 4 presents the archaeological data from this research. Although methodology and fieldwork are addressed, the primary focus of this chapter is the presentation of the data recovered archaeologically from Rosedown Plantation. Different aspects of the archaeological assemblage at Rosedown, including items such as ceramics, glass, bone, pipes, and beads are compared with the published data from other plantations in Louisiana and the Bahamas. This comparison creates a sense of how people in these areas may have been acting and reacting within their respective plantation environments.

The comparisons are drawn out into thematic discussions in the final chapter of this dissertation. Issues of hegemony, power relationships, race, ethnicity, creolization, spatial organization, spirituality, health and medicine, and resistance inform this study. As the analysis unfolds within these contexts, several themes emerge: levels of control, levels of surveillance, resistance, medicine, spirituality, and informal law. These themes are intricately interconnected, and surface often throughout the analysis and contextual background. The final chapter organizes the information presented in the preceding chapters into a discussion centered on these themes, ultimately concluding that although there is plenty of information available through this study, more archaeological, archival, and oral history information can contribute to and enhance this initial effort.

"In history, power begins at the source." Michel-Rolph Trouillot,
Silences of the Past: Power and the Production of History.

Chapter 2: Theory and Literature Review

Slave studies are necessarily grounded within a context of unequal power

relations, both in the past, when events occurred, and in the present as free people of

different colors, genders, sexualities, ages, and economic classes reconstruct slave

history. Michel Rolph-Trouillot reminds us that "the past does not exist independently

from the present," and that certain versions of history are privileged as the concept of

legitimacy shifts (1995: 16-22).

Just as our current biases influence our interpretations of the past, biases inherent

in source material informs how these narratives are constructed (Trouillot 1995: 51). In

choosing what to record, the author of the source necessarily leaves out some events,

creating silences in the record. This process of silencing continues to be replicated as the

researcher constructs a narrative by choosing which events or pieces to include. As more

narratives build upon previous work, more silences are produced (Trouillot 1995: 53-56).

Silencing of the past is clearly abundant in researching slave life. Often the only

written sources available are those produced by wealthy, literate whites who viewed

enslaved people as property and were uninterested in recording many aspects of slave

behavior or daily life. As a result, many researchers have looked to archaeology to

provide this information. Yet the archaeological record holds silences as well; artifacts

that remain in the ground after the inhabitants have left are the items people chose to

throw away or that were unintentionally lost or forgotten. People kept important or

valuable items. Soils with high acid content may destroy some materials as well, leaving

archaeologists to recover only those items that preserve within the soil. Also, just as in

history, archaeologists bring along their own biases in recording, interpreting, and

creating the past.

Despite these silences, however, archaeology and history together have an

opportunity to provide new information about the past. This information may allow some

silences to be named and explored while at the same time creating new silences.   Yet it is

through these continual attempts to find silences that different viewpoints will emerge

and power relations will shift so that we can produce a more complete, dynamic view of

the past with many layers of complexity.

Silences in this Research

These ideas can be applied specifically to Rosedown Plantation, where silences

were physically created when the slave quarters were bulldozed in the process of clearing

and renovation in the 1950s. This silencing of this source was so effective that when I

initiated research in 2002, the former location of the slave quarters was no longer known

to anyone outside a few members of the descendant community. People within the St.

Francisville community knew that the cabins had been occupied until the 1950s;

however, only a few people still remembered where they had been located on the

plantation, and there was some disagreement about the exact locations. This was one of

the silences I attempted to uncover through archaeological excavation.

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In addition to this silencing within the source material, I also acknowledge that I have created silences in pursuit of this research. For example, in the Louisiana research, I collected only one oral history due to scheduling problems. One oral history does not constitute a good sampling of the descendant community's knowledge of life at Rosedown. This silence is in part being addressed through the St. Francisville African-American Task Force's efforts in collecting oral histories to further develop the African-American history in the area. However, I have not met the challenge of integrating this data into my analysis; in focusing on enslaved Africans and their daily lives, I analyze a small, discrete period of time. Like other archaeologists, I have had difficulty combining the small-scale processes revealed through history with the longer-term, more generalized processes reflected in the archaeological record (Wilson 1993: 22-23).

Silences also appear in the Bahamas material. In relying on published archaeological data, I have absorbed any biases present in its presentation and have access only to the data that was chosen for publication. As such, I am building on silences inherent in the source material.

Although I am creating silences through this research, I am also uncovering other aspects of history that previously have been silenced. Before I undertook this research, the location of the slave quarters at Rosedown was virtually unknown. However, archaeological investigation now suggests the probable location of some of them. On a larger scale, no one has yet compared how enslaved people living in Louisiana and the Bahamas, places that were both under British rule (briefly in Louisiana's case) coped

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with their oppression. The comparison in this dissertation has raised a number of

thematic issues that I will discuss below.

Hegemony/Power/Agency

Just as Trouillot's concept of power in naming and silencing the past has

informed this research, Raymond Williams' Gramscian-influenced concept of hegemony

has influenced my interpretation of the past at Rosedown. According to Williams, in a

class society the dominant ideology belongs to those in power. He refers to this ideology,

as well as its accompanying processes (including all aspects of daily life), as hegemony.

Williams defines hegemony as a continuous process, "a realized complex of experiences,

relationships, and activities, with specific and changing pressures and limits" (1977: 112).

Yet hegemony is not static, "it has continually to be renewed, recreated, defended,

and modified. It is also continually resisted, limited altered, challenged by pressures not

at all its own. We have then to add to the concept hegemony the concepts of counter-

hegemony and alternative hegemony…" (1977: pp. 112-113). These alternative

hegemonies are not necessarily outside dominant hegemonic limits, but may instead be

produced and controlled by the hegemonic (Williams 1977: 114). In Trouillot's terms,

the power inherent in the dominant class' social order produces its own resistance

through its silencing of the possibilities of alternative ways of thinking. Yet at the same

time, these counter-hegemonies also allow room for a breaking point where new ideas

outside the hegemonic can begin to emerge. Ultimately, different groups continue to

negotiate and shift power between themselves. These negotiations can lead to the creation of a new hegemony, which will itself continue to be transformed and recreated.

This idea is easily applicable to antebellum society throughout the Caribbean and the Americas. The shift from the hegemonic system of plantation slavery to apprenticeship or tenancy was significant in that whites were beginning to reconceptualize people of African descent as people instead of objects. As such, this change also produced a minor shift in the hegemonic ideas of racism. Whites and African-Americans have continued to negotiate the hegemonic based on race, gender, and socioeconomic status. As this negotiation has continued over time, we continue to produce new narratives that uncover some of the silences that were created in earlier versions of the hegemonic system. It is these negotiations of the hegemonic that have continued to allow archaeologists and historians to construct histories for people who previously were silenced.

Race and Ethnicity

In antebellum society, wealthy white slaveowners used a variety of means to express their views. Their wealth provided them with the opportunity and influence to create social distinctions between themselves and others. Some of these expressions of power are discussed below in a review of the archaeological literature, but as Terrence Epperson argues, law has been fundamental in the social construction of racial difference (2004: 101). White slaveowners used law as one of the most effective means in creating racial distinction. By the early 18th century, all the Southern states decided that only

people with some black heritage (i.e. "blood") could be slaves (Fisher 1997: 43). In establishing laws that defined race, white slaveowners ensured their own legal power over people of color. Black women faced further discrimination as slave or free status was determined through the mother's status (Fisher 1997: 93), which not only legally gave white men control over enslaved black women's bodies, but also allowed them to produce heirs they were not responsible for beyond basic needs because those heirs were not considered free.

In legally defining race in association with slavery, wealthy whites were establishing a link between race and status. This became explicit in laws that further defined slaves as property that could be bought, sold, abused, and in some cases, destroyed. Violence, or the threat of violence, was used to ensure slave compliance and to establish the status quo (Farnsworth 2000).

The power whites expressed in creating race denied self-identification through other means, such as ethnicity. Mullins, in his discussion of African-American consumer culture, notes that "all American consumers were racial subjects defined by their distance from, and reproduction of, the ideal, tacitly White consumer, regardless of whether they articulated their identity in purely racial terms" (1999: 4). A primary reliance on phenotypical expression ignored ethnicity, gender, age, and class, and became so ingrained in American thought processes that the conflation of race and ethnicity persists to the present day.

In this dissertation, I suggest racial identity was defined by the dominant class, in this case wealthy white slaveowners, primarily on the basis of skin color. This contrasts

with ethnic identity, which was defined primarily by enslaved people through shared traditions, experiences, and behaviors. These concepts exist within a larger context of power and domination that contains communities with differential access to power (for further discussion of race and ethnicity, see Brah 1996, Gilroy 1993, Gordon 1998, Omi and Winant 1986, Wade 1997). In using these definitions, I do not mean to suggest that these concepts cannot be defined in other ways or by other groups; for example, ethnicity can be imposed on a group of people just as I am suggesting race is. Walker also points out that behaviors can have a plurality of meanings when they are interpreted by different people (2001: 8), and I realize that my interpretations of these concepts differ from other interpretations. However, within the specific context of plantation slavery, I have chosen to use these concepts as I have defined them above because historical records have shown that whites were not concerned with ethnicity in the same way they were concerned with race, whereas slaves arriving in the New World seemed to have self-identified via ethnicity. The concept of race, as I have suggested above, was introduced by whites during this time.

Although I do define ethnicity as a way that enslaved people arriving from Africa identified themselves, I also recognize that people of different ethnicities were sold to different plantations regardless of ethnic or familial associations. People living on the same plantation did not necessarily speak the same languages and may have been forced to live amongst people from other ethnic groups that had previously been considered enemies. The forced interaction on the plantation coupled with the proximity necessitated by living and working with one another required enslaved people to learn to

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communicate with one another just to survive. At the same time, it led them to establish

a new sense of identity.

Creolization

The genesis of African-American and African-Caribbean identities has been

addressed by many archaeologists through discussions of creolization (e.g. Edwards-

Ingram and Brown 1998; Ferguson 1992; Franklin 1998; Mouer 1993). Rather than

searching for essentialized "Africanisms" to define slave culture, archaeologists have

been able to focus on enslaved people as active agents in creating a new culture blended

from different elements of African and European societies. Most of these discussions

focus on the creation of new group identities within a context of unequal power. As

Edwards-Ingram and Brown state:

> Unlike the acculturation model, creolization does not assume
>
> assimilation and in fact, emphasizes both the creative power
>
> of culture and the potential role of individual agency. Thus it
>
> can be construed as an ideal approach for recognizing the
>
> contributions of pre-existing cultural traditions to entirely new
>
> cultural formations brought about by the conditions of
>
> domination.
>
> (Edwards-Ingram and Brown 1998: 2)

In using the idea of creolization in African Diaspora studies, archaeologists have recognized that creating a new culture is more complex than blending European culture with African culture. "European" and "African" refer to continents that contain many different ethnic groups with diverse languages, behaviors, and values rather than one general continental culture. At times, this has resulted in studies that discuss identity without necessarily defining whether that identity is ethnic, racial, or regional but focus on some aspect of creolized identity (Farnsworth 1999; Wilkie 1999, Hauser and Armstrong 1999; Stine, Cabak, and Groover 1996). Other studies have focused specifically on ethnicity (McKee 1987; Hoffman 1997; Williams 1992; DeCourse 1989) or race (Garman 1994; Orser 2001; Epperson 1990) to understand how different groups are interacting with one another.

Materially, this has been a difficult concept to present without resorting to discussing artifacts that are essentially representative of a specific group such as African or European. However, some archaeologists have explored the idea that different cultural groups may have shared some similarities in behavior or beliefs that would have easily overlapped or melded together in the material record (Kimmel 1993; Davidson 2004; Wilkie 1995, 1996a, 1996b, 2000a). Others have suggested that in recognizing that different groups may have assigned different meanings to the same material objects, contextual interpretations can help to understand differences between cultural groups without essentializing (e.g. Beaudry et al. 1991; Richardson 1987).

Hegemony and Spatial Organization

In addition to material culture analysis, spatial analysis provides insight into power relations on the plantation. On the plantation, space was usually organized according to the planter's needs for ostentation and control over his slaves; through the spatial design of the plantation, the planter attempted to emphasize his superior status (see Epperson 1990, Leone et al. 1989, Upton 1988). The goal was to impress the visitor with a massive scale of architecture which reflected the power and control the planter exercised to produce this landscape. The planter further emphasized his superior status to his peers via "threshold devices" (gates, driveways, doors, stairs, passageways) by allowing persons with higher status further into his personal space (Vlach 1993: 8). At the same time, he attempted to control his slaves via:

> an architecture that is no longer built simply to be seen…or to
> observe the external space…but to permit an internal, articulated
> and detailed control – to render visible those who are inside it; in
> more general terms, an architecture that would operate to transform
> individuals: to act on those it shelters, to provide a hold on their
> conduct, to carry the effects of power right to them, to make it
> possible to know them, to alter them.
>
> (Foucault 1977: 172)

Historical archaeologist Mark Leone has used Foucault's perceptions of space in his archaeological work in Maryland (Leone et al. 1989, Leone 1995) to argue that in addition to the power relationships embedded in spatial organization, everyday material objects found in areas of surveillance were an attempt by those in power to reproduce their ideals among the oppressed. These items were intended to provide an example of what was "normal" and "acceptable" behavior (Leone 1995). This viewpoint emphasized the dominance of the whites in power as, "Behavior not fitting a Eurocentric model has tended to be interpreted, more or less subtly, as somehow pathological, rather than as logical and legitimate products of radically different histories and experiences" (Walker 2001: 7).

Yet paradoxically, in attempting to provide visible reminders of their status, planters produced an environment where enslaved people moved relatively freely. Not only did some slaves have access to the most intimate areas of the planter's house, the slave quarters were usually located at a distance from the main house, with the doors and windows in the quarters facing away from the main house (Anthony 1976: 13). This afforded enslaved people some measure of privacy from the slaveowner, and gave them some autonomy in organizing their own social space. Organization of personal space and communal space was a method through which enslaved Africans could assert power over landscape and ownership despite the laws denying them ownership of real estate and material goods.

The social construction of space is an important indication of both power relations and identity. Historical archaeologists Kent Lightfoot, Antoinette Martinez, and Ann

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Schiff argue that spatial organization and daily activities including domestic tasks such as food preparation, mending, and socialization reflect cultural identity (Lightfoot et al. 1998, Lightfoot and Martinez 1995, Lightfoot 1995). In their work at Fort Ross in California, these archaeologists have demonstrated the possibilities involved in exploring the material remains of identity formation through a focus on domestic areas (Lightfoot et al. 1998, Lightfoot and Martinez 1995, Lightfoot 1995). Many archaeologists have begun to study household space and its relationship to different aspects of identity and power (e.g. Barile and Brandon 2004; Ashmore and Wilk 1988; Wilk and Netting 1984).

In the Caribbean and parts of the American South, this unit of household space is known as the houseyard. This space has been the subject of study for many scholars in the African Diaspora in an attempt to learn more about how people organized their everyday behaviors (Westmacott 1992; Wilkie 1996a; Pulsipher 1990, 1993a, 1993b; Anderson 1998; Abraham 2001; Duplantis 1999; Heath and Bennett 2000). The houseyard consists of a house and its associated yard, including outbuildings and outdoor activity areas. The yard area is an extension of the house, where daily activities such as cooking, cleaning, and socialization occur. More importantly, it is a nexus of cultural interaction; as Sidney Mintz notes, "Together the house and yard form a nucleus within which the culture expresses itself, is perpetuated, changed, and reintegrated" (1974: 232).

The spatial layout of the houseyard may vary in detail, but is generally the same throughout the Caribbean and the Southern United States. Fruit trees, medicinal plants, and sometimes small vegetable gardens are dispersed throughout the yard area (Pulsipher 1993a: 50, Pulsipher 1993b: 110, Anderson 1998: 56, Wilkie 1996a: 35). The yard may

contain several structures, such as kitchens, ovens, shade structures, ramadas, storage/tool sheds, animal pens, and privies (Pulsipher 1993a: 50, Pulsipher 1993b: 111, Anderson 1998: 61, Wilkie 1996a: 35), and is the site of activities such as food preparation, laundering, and yard sweeping (Pulsipher 1993a: 58, Pulsipher 1993b: 112, Anderson 1998: 61, Wilkie 1996a: 35). In addition, the houseyard is an area where animals are kept in pens or butchered, trash burned, and people sit to work or relax (Westmacott 1992: 34). The house itself is mainly used for sleeping and shelter (Mintz 1974: 243, Pulsipher 1993a: 51, Pulsipher 1993b: 110, Craton and Saunders 1992: 306).

This arrangement is similar to yard spaces described in travel journals from the 18th and 19th centuries, which primarily describe yard spaces in Sierra Leone and along the Gambia river (Westmacott 1992: 9). The house, with its associated plants and trees, was enclosed within a compound. Livestock was also kept within the compound (Westmacott 1992: 9). Vlach further argues that in Central and West Africa, the houses are small and primarily used for sleep and shelter (1993: 165). This rough description resembles the houseyards described in the West Indies and the American South during and after the era of slavery. Although planters may have been intentionally attempting to emphasize their slaves' nearly non-existent status in society, it may be that such small residential areas actually enabled enslaved Africans to transform the new environment into something that was culturally familiar (Vlach 1993: 166).

In the Caribbean, studies have been done that show the houseyard was geographically distinct from provision grounds where enslaved people grew surplus food to supplement plantation issued rations (Mintz 1974, Pulsipher 1990, Wilkie 1996a,

Anderson 1998). Again, this situation is similar to that in West Africa, where historical

accounts indicate there was a physical separation between agricultural crops and those

trees and plants cultivated near the house (Westmacott 1992). The planter, donating

undesirable areas for cash crop cultivations, may have unknowingly been encouraging

enslaved people to recreate a practice familiar to them.

Much of the literature on houseyard studies discusses this space as gendered

(Pulsipher 1993a, 1993b, Wilkie 1996a, Anderson 1998, Wilhelm 1975). Although both

men and women may perform activities within this space, the houseyard is specifically

associated with women, whereas provision grounds are worked by both genders (Wilkie

1996a: 36). Children begin to be socialized differently within this space as they grow

older according to these gender roles (Pulsipher 1993a: 57, 1993b: 112). As these studies

are ethnographic rather than archaeological, they raise questions about whether gender

roles would have been enacted similarly during the period of enslavement, or whether

they were recreated over time as part of a larger American view that women are equated

with the household while men are associated with working in public areas.

Spirituality

Spiritual Associations of the Houseyard

In addition to the secular activities that take place within the houseyard, some

evidence exists that suggests the houseyard is associated with spirituality. Most of this

evidence concerns the ritual surrounding childbirth and the use of "bush medicine,"

which is a form of herbal or homeopathic medicine involving the use of locally available

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plants, many of which are cultivated in the houseyard. Childbirth is also associated with the use of bush medicine.

During interviews for my MA thesis research, I asked my informants in the Bahamas what childbirth was like when they and their mothers were having children. After childbirth, the mother was confined to the house for nine days. During this time, she would drink a glass of bitters every morning for nine days to clean out the afterbirth and toxins (Miss Smith 7/10/96). Either "Madeira Bark" or "Granny Bush" (Croton Linearis) helped a woman pass the afterbirth after delivering a child (Miss Smith 7/10/96, John and Eramiah Rolle 7/5/96). These medicines were among the plants that were often cultivated in the houseyard.

The umbilical cord was not removed until the child was nine days old (Miss Heiler 7/12/96). After the umbilical cord, or navel string, was removed, it was buried in the yard (Miss Heiler 6/22/96, Miss Smith 7/10/96, John and Eramiah Rolle 7/5/96, and Mr. Dean 6/22/96). Mintz observed this practice in Jamaica, where the umbilical cord was buried under a fruit tree, and the placenta was buried underneath the door step (1974: 246). Miss Heiler noted that the navel string would be buried in a special place in the yard (although she didn't specify what a special place was) (6/22/96), and Mr. Dean specifically stated that a beautiful tree would be picked for the navel tree (6/22/96). Miss Smith was the only informant that mentioned the afterbirth could be buried with the navel string or might be thrown away (7/10/96).

Mintz suggests the practice of burying the umbilical cord under a fruit tree represents the continuity of the kin group, serving as a link between the newborn child

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and deceased ancestors (1974: 247). McCartney suggests this practice gives the child a strong home base (1976: 156). Although his meaning is unclear, perhaps he is suggesting that the soul of the child is firmly anchored to the houseyard. Regardless of the exact intention of this ritual, it seems that the burial of a newborn's umbilical cord after the waiting period somehow links the child to the houseyard. This practice suggests that children are somehow tied to the home, and may suggest links to ancestors if they are buried within the yard.

Although these behaviors and beliefs are associated with the houseyard space, there is little to suggest that their material correlates would survive in the archaeological record. However, archaeologists have recovered material objects that have been interpreted as being associated with spirituality. These items include objects that have been specifically associated with African derived practices such as Obeah or other spiritual beliefs (Brown and Cooper 1990; Ferguson 1992; Franklin 1997; Leone and Fry 1999; McKee 1991; Orser 1994; Wilkie 1995) as well as with syncretic belief systems (Davidson 2004; Fennell 2000).

Health and Medicine

One of the most commonly mentioned spiritual belief systems mentioned in the literature dealing with the American southeast and the British Caribbean is "obeah" or "conjure." This belief system is often associated with witchcraft or harmful magic, but as Handler and Bilby point out, it is also a concept associated with healing (Handler and Bilby 2001: 87). The idea of healers suggests that obeah may have been used in

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conjunction with specialized knowledge of plants and perhaps associated material items such as animal teeth or bones, iron pots, or other items that have been mentioned as part of charm bags.

On the plantation, it was the slaveowner's role to provide medical care for his slaves. Laws throughout the Southeastern United States and the Caribbean (Craton and Saunders 1992: 209-211; Pulsipher 1994: 205; Tushnet 1981: 170) mandated the planter was responsible for slave health. Undoubtedly planters varied in their adherence to this law, as other laws also made provisions for physically punishing slaves in a variety of cruel ways (e.g. Craton and Saunders 1992: 153; Stroud 1988: 189). Interpretations of health were interpreted in a variety of ways. For example, interviews with people who had been enslaved in Louisiana revealed that it was a common practice to whip pregnant women. In order to "protect" the unborn child, slaveowners and overseers dug a hole in which the woman would place her stomach while lying on the ground (Clayton 1990). This "protection" allowed planters to ensure their economic investment in the woman and her child was maintained.

Fontenot writes that plantation owners and overseers were often the people who administered medicine to sick slaves (1994:29). Rebecca Fletcher, who was born in 1842, remembered the slaveowner's wife providing blue mass pills as medicine (Clayton 1990: 67). Whites probably used these pills for their own ailments as well, but were doing more harm than good considering they consisted of powdered mercury (Clayton 1990: 224). When white medical doctors were consulted, they usually bled and purged

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enslaved people as means of a cure. Doctors rationalized employing this painful process

through the racist notion that blacks had a higher tolerance for pain (Fontenot 1994: 30).

However, in addition to plantation supplied medicine, enslaved people used their

own knowledge to treat illness. Healers, or "secret doctors," provided remedies such as

herbal medications and amulets (Fontenot 1994: 30). Herbs can be consumed to treat a

variety of illnesses. Interviews with formerly enslaved people living in Louisiana

revealed that there were many different herbal remedies for illness. Ellen Broomfield

mentioned that sulphur and molasses was taken in the spring to purify blood (Clayton

1990: 32), and Verice Brown noted that taking a bath with elder bush helped break a

fever (Clayton 1990: 37). Lizzie Chandler recommended drying swamp lily and using it

for teething a child (Clayton 1990: 43). Herbs could also be incorporated into amulets.

Amulets might be other ordinary objects such as string or coins (Fontenot 1994: 118).

Regardless of what secret doctors, healers, or others used in treating illness, the

behaviors of enslaved people treating their own maladies, or protecting themselves

through amulets or bush medicine, is a form of resistance. The very term "secret doctor"

suggests that this knowledge was not widely publicized outside of the slave community.

Through the use of medicine or other means, enslaved people could act as agents in

maintaining their own health.

Such acts of resistance might be seen through using herbs to make one sick

enough to get out of work or even using medicine to induce abortion or commit suicide.

For example, Bush suggests that mothers may have been deliberately "encouraging" their

infants to die in order to spare them the trauma of slavery. She cites Genovese's

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argument that intentional deaths could have been indistinguishable from natural deaths (see Genovese 1972) to suggest that such a practice could account for the "unusually high death rate within the first week" (Bush 1996: 208). This use of medical knowledge was a valuable means of asserting control within the hegemonic system.

Resistance

As discussed above, law was one of the most effective tools in constructing race. Some scholars have analyzed how law maintains order within a society (von-Benda Beckmann 1986; Roberts, 1979), while others have defined law as an unequal balance of power (Starr and Collier 1989; Merry 1994). Regardless of subtle differences, all definitions of law are based on the idea that law is a form of social control, a way to enforce normative rules (von Benda Beckman 1986: 92).

These unequal power relationships raise questions of legitimacy. If law is created by a group in power, how is belief in order maintained among all elements of society? As Starr and Collier point out, there is some debate over whether order derives from "mutually understood rules" or through "the exercise of force" (1989: 11). In the plantation setting, the formal state legal system was designed primarily to protect the interests of slaveowners, with little regard for slave rights.

The hegemonic legal system ostensibly provided protection for the individual slave. However, slaves were alternately treated as possessions and persons (Fisher 1997: 45). It depended on the legal context; if they were being punished, they were usually

held responsible for their own actions, but if they had been harmed, they were usually considered property.

Yet because slaves were rarely recognized as active agents except in instances where they were accused of perpetrating a major crime against whites, they could also resist in various ways without being legally responsible. Daily resistance, or what Garman calls "resistant accommodation," was one of the ways slaves resisted within the larger framework of white society (1998: 151).

The idea of daily resistance can be distinguished from organized rebellion and revolution in that it can be an individual or group act, and does not have to be planned or organized. Scott distinguishes between overt resistance (revolts, strikes, etc.) and covert resistance (foot-dragging, everyday resistance), but notes both are expressions of counter-hegemony (1990: 198). According to Scott, slaves used strategies such as "theft, pilfering, feigned ignorance, shirking or careless labor, foot-dragging, secret trade and production for sale, sabotage of crops, livestock and machinery, arson, flight, and so on" (1990: 188) to slow down production on the plantation. Feigning illness was also a popular method of everyday resistance; slaveowners didn't want to risk losing a valuable labor source by forcing sick people to work, but they lost production for every day a slave was ill.

Although these forms of resistance may appear ineffectual, the aggregation of such behaviors has a cumulative effect that can ensure the failure of an economic enterprise such as the plantation (Scott 1990: 192). Actions such as theft, which would

be punishable with legalized brutality, became an expression of individual agency where a slave reaped the benefits of one's own labor (Scott 1990: 188).

Scott notes that the performative behavior of slaves may have been effective in not only resisting the hegemonic, but also in negotiating a new boundary. He notes, "The slaves who artfully reinforced their master's stereotyped view of them as shiftless and unproductive may well have thereby lowered the work norms expected of them" (1990: 34). Garman agrees, noting "the most common types of covert resistance – foot-dragging, feigning illness, and other forms of goldbricking – were so subtle and prevalent that racist EuroAmericans misconstrued them as inherent characteristic of African Americans" (1998: 143).

Sidbury also explains these acts of daily resistance were a means of forging a collective identity (1997: 24). Even though daily resistance was often an individual act, the more individuals that used this method of resistance, the more cohesive their actions became. Yet this individual choice also affected group efforts at resistance as individuals weighed their options before participating in an organized revolt. Informers that provided information about planned slave uprisings to whites were making a choice to resist against their peers in order to gain personal security or freedom instead of attempting to secure freedom for the entire group (Sidbury 1997: 95). Regardless of individual choice, however, enslaved people actively resisted through negotiating their positions within both the slave and free communities (Sidbury 1997: 187).

Artifacts as elements of resistance

In addition to the spatial element of resistance, material remains have been recovered that indicate resistance to the hegemony of the slaveowner. For example, at the Levi Jordan plantation in Texas, used chalk, bird skulls, medicine bottles, nails, spikes, spoons, knives, etc., were recovered from one of the slave cabins. Similar materials have historically been associated with divination throughout West Africa, the Caribbean, and the American South (Brown and Cooper 1990: 17). These artifacts reflect a spiritual belief system among slaves that was contrary to the Christianity of the dominant class.

Other evidence of an alternative spiritual belief system has been discovered at several sites associated with people of African descent. Orser specifically points to the examples of Leland Ferguson's discovery of colonoware with potential Bakongo cosmogram marks as well as figas (fist charms used for good luck) at the Hermitage plantation in Tennessee (1994: 39). He also notes that archaeologists have interpreted items such as beads and drilled coins as amulets of protection (Orser 1994: 40). Both blue beads and drilled coins have been associated with alternative spiritual beliefs held by people of African descent (e.g. Stine et al. 1996; Wilkie 1995; Young 1997). More recently, these objects and other items have been interpreted as reflecting both an alternate belief system among enslaved Africans as well as a more mainstream belief system for people of European descent (Davidson 2004; Denbow 1999; Fennell 2000, Wilkie 2000a). As such, they may be seen as material remains that may have indicated

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resistance, or they may have been coping mechanisms enslaved people used to mentally deal with being enslaved.

Plantation Archaeology

Archaeology of the African Diaspora includes the thematic areas listed above as well as other themes such as socio-economic status (e.g. Moore 1985; Otto 1977, 1984; Orser 1988) and marronage (Agorsah 1992, 1993, 1994). Geographically, this research has been concentrated in the Caribbean (e.g. Haviser 1999; Schroedl and Ahlman 2002; Singleton 2001; Clement 1995) and the American Southeast (e.g. Deetz 1993; Fairbanks 1984; Samford 1996; Singleton 1999), but also includes other areas of the United States (e.g. Blakey 2001; Brown 1994; Mullins 1999), Africa (DeCourse 1989, 2001; Denbow 1990, 1999; Schrire 1992) and Latin America (Funari 1995; Orser 1996). This research has dealt with enslaved people, free people, Africans, African Caribbean people, and African-Americans. As this field has continued to expand and diversify, little work comparing different regions has been done. Such comparisons would provide an information base to learn how enslaved people in geographically different areas of the world strategized and coped within the Atlantic world of slavery. I hope to contribute to this relatively unexplored area through this dissertation.

Archaeology in plantation settings has been one of the main subsets of historical archaeology for the last 30 years. The desire to learn more about enslaved Africans has fueled most of this research, since so little has been known about this group historically.

This body of research has only continued to grow (for a complete bibliography of work before 1995, see Singleton and Bograd 1995).

Several themes of research have emerged from this growing body of literature, and as more research occurs, it is certain that new avenues of inquiry will open to fill silences that are being created now. This is not to suggest current themes are not applicable to this dissertation or to African Diaspora research in general, but rather to acknowledge that in creating this literature review, I am creating silences in selecting themes to discuss that are relevant to this dissertation.

Brief Overview of Caribbean Archaeology

The Caribbean area has a growing body of literature that focuses on enslaved and free people of African descent. One of the earliest studies was Handler and Lange's (1978) work at Newton Plantation in Barbados. Their work provided many details about the conditions of slavery and its physical effects on enslaved Africans (Handler and Lange 1978, 1979; Handler and Corruccini 1983, 1986; Handler, Corruccini, and Mutaw 1982; Handler et al. 1986; Corruccini et al. 1987; Jacobi et al. 1992).

Additional work has been done elsewhere in the Caribbean that explores issues of assimilation and resistance (e.g. Armstrong 1983, 1985, 1990; Agorsah 1992, 1993. 1994), identity (e.g. Goucher 1999; Hauser and Armstrong 1999; Magana 1999; Schroedl and Ahlman 2002), and internal production and consumption on the plantation (e.g. Goodwin 1982, 1987; Howson 1995; Pulsipher and Goodwin 1982).

Archaeology in the Bahamas

Initially, plantation archaeology in the Bahamas consisted of exploratory reconnaissance rather than specific investigations into the lives of enslaved Africans (Gerace 1982, Farnsworth 1993, Wilkie and Farnsworth 1995, 1996). The purpose of these early studies was to gather information about plantation layout and whether there were intact deposits associated with the period of enslavement. However, more recently, work has begun to focus specifically on the lives of enslaved Africans, and some of the earlier work has been reanalyzed.

One of the themes found in this work is the issue of trade and its influence on plantation populations. Excavations at Wade's Green on North Caicos Island produced material that demonstrated the impact of a limited market system on both the planter and slave artifact assemblages. Farnsworth argues that the plantation's geographical distance from the capital of New Providence (and the only custom house in the Bahamas) restricted the planter's access to material items and emphasized his control over enslaved Africans' access to these items (1996: 1). Wilkie and Farnsworth extend this argument to include Great Hope and Marine Farm plantations on Crooked Island and Clifton Plantation on New Providence, arguing that market access was a limiting factor in ethnic consumer preferences (Wilkie and Farnsworth 1999). They also explore how market access limited how both planters and slaves were able to express different aspects of social status. They maintain that these limitations affected planters' choices concerning elaborate social displays of wealth for themselves and for their slaves, and that this was

also a factor in slaves' access to market and subsequent expression of identity through material culture.

These discussions of trade and market access point to the emerging theme of African Bahamian identity. Although historians have addressed this issue (Craton and Saunders 1992, Johnson 1991, Craton 1986, Albury 1975), archaeologists have just begun to address different aspects of this identity. Anderson (1998) and Wilkie (1996a) have addressed how spatial organization is tied to enslaved African identity, while Wilkie has explored African continuities within African-Bahamian culture (1999) as well as creolization (2000a).

Many of the above studies are comparative examples, but focus mostly on comparisons within the Bahamas. Although there is some informal comparison with data from the American South (Farnsworth 1996, 1999), the primary discussions remain centered on plantations within the Bahamas.

Brief Overview of American South Research

In the American South, there is an extensive body of literature focusing on enslaved Africans in plantation contexts. Early studies sought to provide general information about enslaved African assemblages (e.g. Ascher and Fairbanks 1971, Fairbanks 1974, Kelso 1986). Later studies sought to enrich this knowledge by contributing information about slave diet (Crader 1990, Reitz 1987, 1994, Reitz et al 1985, Gibbs et al. 1980), relative socioeconomic status (Otto 1984, Orser 1988), and material culture (e.g. Emerson 1999; Ferguson 1992; Mitchell 1983).

Louisiana

In Louisiana, most plantation archaeology has occurred as part of cultural resource management projects or student theses and dissertations. Cultural resources surveys have investigated plantations in several parishes throughout the state (e.g. Burden and Gagliano 1977; Markell et al. 1999; Pearson et al. 1979; Pearson et al. 1989; Yakubik et al. 1994). Studies in West Feliciana parish include Coastal Environments' work at Butler-Greenwood Plantation and Star Hill Plantation (Hahn et al. 1997, 2003; Ryan et al. 2003), Shuman and Orser's work at Magnolia Plantation (1984), Owsley et al.'s work at Port Hudson (1988), Holland and Orser's work at Oakley Plantation (1984), Duplantis' MA thesis at Oakley Plantation (1999), Laurie Wilkie's work at Oakley Plantation (1995, 1996b, 1997, 2000b), and investigations at Oakley Plantation, Bush Hill Plantation and Rosedown Plantation by southeast Regional Archaeologist Rob Mann (2003).

Unfortunately, the Butler-Greenwood investigations did not identify any cultural features, and the Star Hill excavations did not deal with the slave quarters, but were concentrated on the planter house. Likewise, Mann's work at Bush Hill was reconnaissance survey, and identified components associated with enslaved Africans, but did not involve testing. Shuman and Orser only dealt with survey of the plantation sugar mill at Magnolia. Owsley et al's work focused on the Confederate Cemetery at Port Hudson. Holland and Orser's work at Oakley was also a preliminary investigation (1984), while Mann monitored construction impacts to archaeological deposits unassociated with enslaved people (2003). However, Wilkie's work at Oakley deals

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specifically with occupations that include enslaved Africans, tenant farmers, and the descendant community through 1950. Much of this data is associated with the tenant occupation, but through a comparison of different recovered assemblages, Wilkie is able to provide a diachronic analysis of how these different groups of people modified their behaviors over time.

Investigations at Rosedown Plantation consisted of exploratory testing of a midden feature associated with a tenant occupation at Rosedown. This feature may possibly be a privy pit, but has not been extensively tested and further investigation was recommended (Mann 2003). No other archaeological work has been done at Rosedown.

> *"Rosedown represents the pinnacle, the ideal, and by no means the common reality of plantation homes."*
> Eugene Genovese**, Roll Jordan Roll: the World the Slaves Made.**

Chapter 3: Historical Context

History of West Feliciana Parish, Louisiana

West Feliciana Parish was originally part of West Florida, colonized by the French. However, at the end of the French and Indian War in 1763, the British took possession of this portion of what is now Louisiana. Land grants were offered to retired British soldiers, and Loyalists also fled to this area during the American Revolution (Hyde 1996: 18). This created tension between West Florida and the rest of Spanish controlled Louisiana (Davis 1960: 32). The Spanish managed to seize the Floridas during the course of the American Revolution, capturing the area in 1779. British settlers were allowed to remain in the area providing they swore allegiance to Spain, but Spain did not closely govern the area (Hyde 1996: 19).

Although Spain ceded Louisiana back to France in 1800, West Florida was not included in this transaction. As a result, when Napoleon sold the territory of Louisiana to the United States, the Florida Parishes were not included (Davis 1960: 20). Loyalties within the Florida parishes were divided, and a weak attempt at rebellion was quickly squashed in 1804. This is not to say the Spanish government was controlling the region effectively; rather, the inhabitants of West Florida were inclined to support their own interests instead of uniting under one common interest (Hyde 1996: 20). It wasn't until 1810 that residents of West Florida united to rebel against the Spanish in the West Florida Rebellion of 1810. The Republic of West Florida existed for a few weeks until

the United States took control of the territory (Davis 1959: 146). The area was finally admitted as part of the state of Louisiana in 1812, four months after the rest of the Louisiana territory became a state (Hyde 1996: 22).

As the political climate of West Florida changed, the established system of slavery in Louisiana began to flourish. By 1820, the slave population outnumbered the white population throughout most of West Florida. The increased success of cotton in the area caused planters to expand their plantations to create more wealth (Hyde 1996: 32). Although some planters began to grow sugar cane by 1850, cotton remained the predominant crop (Davis 1943: 6). In particular, West Feliciana Parish was very prosperous, and became one of the richest economic sections in the southern United States (Davis 1943: 9). In the neighboring East Feliciana Parish, slaves were 80% of the collateral in mortgages (Johnson 1999: 26).

River and bayou travel was the predominant method of transportation for crops and for people in early Louisiana. Steamboats were gradually adopted for personal travel. Although water was the primary means of transportation, railroads arrived in the 1830s. In West Feliciana, the West Feliciana Railroad Company constructed a line from St. Francisville to Woodville, Mississippi. Nearby in East Feliciana Parish, a line was constructed from Clinton to the Mississippi River. These avenues of transportation provided another option for planters shipping their crops to the market in New Orleans (Davis 1960: 206).

Louisiana seceded from the Union in 1861, but did not immediately join the Confederacy. After two months as an independent nation, Louisiana joined the

Confederacy and prepared for war (Davis 1959: 202). Quickly, however, Union troops secured victories in different parts of the state and many slaves left plantations to camp under their protection (Taylor 1974: 32). Soon, Federal forces enlisted the help of free black men who had served in the Louisiana militia (Hollandsworth 1995: 15). Despite Federal claims that these new soldiers were all free men, historians estimate that up to half were fugitive slaves. The Union army was more concerned with increasing its numbers, however, than with the status of the people volunteering to help (Hollandsworth 1995: 18).

This is not to suggest that there was no racial prejudice among Union forces. On the contrary, Taylor argues that blacks living in Louisiana were keenly aware that opposition to slavery did not mean whites thought of blacks as equals (1974: 33). Despite such racism, however, these black troops, Louisiana's Native Guard, fought with Union forces at Port Hudson, one of the last Confederate strongholds along the Mississippi River in Louisiana. These combined forces managed to siege Port Hudson in 1863, and the Confederates surrendered (Hewitt 1987: 148). After this victory, Louisiana's Native Guard drew National attention to African-Americans' value as soldiers. As a result, the Federal Army increased their recruiting efforts among African-Americans (Hollandsworth 1995: 66; Hewitt 1987: 177).

After the war, several parishes in Louisiana began to pass restrictions for newly free African-Americans. These restrictions were aimed at reinstating slave laws that had been in place before the war. In 1865, the Louisiana legislature adopted the Black Code, which several southern states had put into place to restrict the rights of blacks (Taylor

1974: 99). Carefully gauging northern reaction to other southern states' black codes, Louisiana endeavored to remove language specifically pointing to people of color, but targeted them nonetheless (Taylor 1974: 101).

Another problem facing Louisiana and the rest of the southern states was how to recover from the economic destruction of the war. Former slaves had to find employment, and many former slaveowners needed to find a way to farm their land. The result was a sharecropping system, in which former slaves and poor whites farmed sections of former slaveowners' plantations. In exchange for the worker's labor, the landlord would take most of the crop, leaving the worker with a portion of it to sell on his own. Unfortunately, cotton prices were extremely variable, which meant the workers, who had to buy clothing, food, and sometimes tools, out of this money, could end up owing the landowner more than they made. This unfair cycle of debt was often perpetuated for years (Wall 1984: 194).

Rosedown Plantation History

Rosedown Plantation is located along the current LA 10 highway, approximately a half mile northeast of the intersection of LA 10 and US 61. Now owned by the state of Louisiana, the Rosedown Property consists of 374 acres, substantially reduced in size from its peak at 3,455 acres (National Register Nomination, 2001).

The size of this plantation provides an indication of the wealth of its owners. Both Daniel and Martha (Barrow) Turnbull were members of the affluent planter society prior to their marriage. This wealth continued to grow after their marriage, and before

the Civil War, Daniel was considered one of the richest men in the American southeast (Rosedown Plantation homepage, 2004).

Daniel and Martha Turnbull began to create the landscape for Rosedown Plantation through a series of land purchases made from the 1820s through the 1840s. The first purchase of what was to become Rosedown property is recorded in 1829, when Daniel bought a tract of land from his sister-in-law Ann Benoist. This purchase included all the buildings already on the property, farming implements, and seventy-four slaves (West Feliciana Parish Notary Records [WFPNR], 1829:Book [B] C:168-172). This indicates there was already at least a small-scale plantation operating on this land. The presence of an existing plantation complex, however small it may have been, allowed the Turnbulls to live on the property and collect revenue from their crops while they were building their own grandiose home. Construction on the planter's house began in 1834 and was completed in 1835. Formal gardens also began to be landscaped at this time. Over time, these gardens reached approximately 28 acres in size (Rosedown Plantation homepage, 2004) and rivaled Monticello and Mount Vernon in splendor (National Register Nomination, 2001).

Eventually, the Turnbulls' wealth began to recede. Daniel Turnbull's death and the Civil War were the primary contributors to a decline in prosperity for Rosedown. The war brought changes to the landscape of the plantation, as Federal occupation brought the loss of food and supplies (Rosedown Plantation homepage, 2004). Federal troops also provided enslaved people with an opportunity to leave the plantation – Martha's journal notes that at some point during the war, 129 slaves left to join the "Yankees" and four left

to join the Confederates (Martha Turnbull's garden journal, no date: 30). After the war was over, the Turnbull family, which had become affiliated through marriage with the neighboring Bowman family who owned Oakley Plantation, leased the land to sharecroppers, some who were formerly enslaved at Rosedown (Rosedown Plantation homepage, 2004). Financial records among the Turnbull-Bowman family papers and lease agreements in the notary records at the West Feliciana Parish Clerk's office indicate that these sharecropping arrangements persisted until at least 1950.

Upon Martha's death in 1896, her four unmarried granddaughters took possession of the property. The boll weevil infestation destroyed most of the cotton crop in the 1920s, and the granddaughters survived with their sharecropping profits and by selling eggs and cuttings from the minimally maintained garden. By the 1930s, they opened the bottom floor of the house to tourists, and managed to keep the plantation relatively intact with no outstanding liens against the property at the time of the last granddaughter's death in 1955. The Bowman sisters' heirs sold the plantation in 1956 to Catherine Fondren Underwood, who restored the planter house and formal gardens, and established a cattle ranch on the property (Rosedown Plantation homepage, 2004). Unfortunately, she seems to have also been responsible for bulldozing the slave cabins to create better pasture land. The property was further subdivided and sold, and the part with the main house and gardens was purchased by a private owner in the 1990s and then the state of Louisiana in 2000 (National Register Nomination, 2001).

Enslaved Africans

These extensive grounds and gardens were visible symbols of the Turnbulls' wealth, as were the number of enslaved Africans necessary to maintain them. When cotton production was at its height, approximately 450 slaves were working at Rosedown (Rosedown Plantation homepage, 2004). This is perhaps one of the largest groups of slave labor found working at one plantation throughout the American South and the Caribbean. Yet little is known about enslaved people living at Rosedown; even the location of the slave quarters. Most of the information we know about the enslaved people at Rosedown has been gleaned from brief mentions of individuals or references to the group in Martha's garden journal, in Daniel's financial papers, or through records of purchase or sale of people.

These archival sources provide limited data about the enslaved people at Rosedown. Records document the purchase or sale of slaves, medical attention enslaved people received, or perhaps who was working where on the plantation. In many examples, enslaved people are not even mentioned by name, and details of age, race, or gender are not included.

Some of the most useful information from Rosedown's archival history is the succession lists from John and Daniel Turnbull's deaths. John Turnbull was Daniel's father, and a wealthy planter within West Feliciana Parish. At the time of John's death in 1800, his widow Catherine claims 54 slaves. However, records indicate that these 54 people come out of a much larger group of at least 141 slaves that John Turnbull held

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with his partner John Joyce (Table 3.1). Some of these slaves were sold, and presumably

Joyce's widow Constance claimed the other slaves from this group. Catherine's claim

with John's succession provides insight into where slaves on John's plantations may have

been coming from, as in addition to age, gender, and name, this list includes race and

origin. The list of 54 enslaved people include one person from Georgia, two from

Louisiana, two from Jamaica, three from Carolina, and thirteen from the Coast of Guinea.

Fifteen people were classified as creole, seven as black, and one as griffe or mulatto.

Table 3.1   Slaves owned by John Turnbull and John Joyce

Name	Gender	Race	Origin	Age	Spouse	Children	Notes	Claimed by Catherine Turnbull
Jenny	F	Unknown	Unknown	40	Will			
Will	M	Black	Unknown	50	Jenny		Sawyer	
Colin	M	Black	Unknown	15	Sally			
Sally	F	Unknown	Unknown; Islamic	40	Colin			
Grog	M	Black	Unknown	60	Mariana		Infirm	
Mariana	F	Unknown	Unknown	70	Grog			
John	M	Black	Unknown	36				
Macks	M	Black	Unknown	55				
Charlie	M	Black	Unknown	22				
Hannibal	M	Black	Unknown	25				
Guy	M	Black	Unknown	45				
Cesar	M	Black	Unknown	25				
George	M	Black	Unknown	18				
Grace	F	Black	Unknown	35				
Hannah	F	Black	Unknown	20		Philip, Clarissa		
Philip	M	Unknown	Unknown	3				
Clarissa	F	Unknown	Unknown	1				
Kitty	F	Mulatto	Unknown	16				
Harry	M	Black	Unknown	45			Sawyer	X; listed as Lucy's husband
Hector	M	Black	Unknown	45			Sawyer	X; listed as Rose's husband
Gale	M	Black	Unknown	50			Joiner	
Cusinier Cook	M	Black	Unknown	38			Joiner	

Name	Gender	Race	Origin	Age	Spouse	Children	Notes	Claimed by Catherine Turnbull
Antony	M	Black	Unknown	30			Blacksmith	
Will	M	Black	Unknown	40				
Tom	M	Black	Unknown	30				
Nancy	F	Black	Unknown	16				
Jenny	F	Black	Unknown	35		Lucy, Baptiste		
Lucy	F	Black	Unknown	12				
Baptiste	M	Black	Unknown	2				
Charles	M	Black	Unknown	18				
Catherine	F	Black	Unknown	15				
Sam	M	Mulatto	Unknown	35			Carpenter, Rope Maker	
Luisa	F	Black	Africa	36		George, Sophia, Beldath		Sold to Alexander Stirling
George	M	Unknown	Louisiana	4				Sold to Alexander Stirling
Sophia	F	Unknown	Louisiana	2				Sold to Alexander Stirling
Beldath	M	Unknown	Louisiana	6 months				Sold to Alexander Stirling
Pinder	F	Black	Unknown	30	Prince	Mary, Isaac		X
Prince	M	Black	Carolinas	30	Pinder	Mary, Isaac		X
Mary	F	Black	Louisiana	7				X
Isaac	M	Black	Louisiana	3				X
Bess	F	Black	Guinea	45	Cato			
Cato	M	Black	Jamaica	40	Bess		Good carpenter	
Belle	F	Black	Guinea	45	Sam			
Sam	M	Black	Guinea	45	Belle			
Phanta	M	Black	Unknown	30			Blind	X
Banjicha	M	Black	Unknown	60			1 leg amputated	
Celia	F	Black	Guinea	35	Douglas	Hannah		
Douglas	M	Black	Guinea	35	Celia	Hannah		
Hannah	F	Black	Louisiana	1				
Abba	F	Black	Guinea	35	Abraham	Sampson, Adam		X
Abraham	M	Black	Guinea	40	Abba	Sampson, Adam		X
Sampson	M	Black	Louisiana	Baby				X
Adam	M	Black	Louisiana	8				X

Name	Gender	Race	Origin	Age	Spouse	Children	Notes	Claimed by Catherine Turnbull
American Will	M	Mulatto	Guinea	36	Minta	Tom, Catiche, Poll, Alexis		
Minta	F	Black	Louisiana	35	American Will	Tom, Catiche, Poll, Alexis		
Tom	M	Black	Louisiana	10				
Catiche	F	Black	Louisiana	8				
Poll	F	Black	Louisiana	6				
Alexis	M	Black	Louisiana	2				
Basheba	F	Black	Louisiana	20				
Jenny	F	Black	Louisiana	16				
Primus	M	Black	Louisiana	12				
Bungey	M	Black	Louisiana	20				
Lucy	F	Black	Georgia	35		Pussy, Aimee, Dick		X, sold to stepson
Pussy	F	Black	Unknown	13				X, sold to stepson
Aimee (Emea)	F	Black	Unknown	7				X, sold to stepson
Dick	M	Mulatto	Louisiana	18				X, sold to stepson
Nat	M	Black	Carolinas	40	Joan			
Joan	F	Black	Carolinas	35	Nat			
Jenny	F	Black	Carolinas	45	Cesar	Adam, Eve, Binah, Sam		X
Cesar	M	Black	Louisiana	30	Jenny	Adam, Eve, Binah, Sam	Carpenter	X
Adam	M	Black	Louisiana	1				X
Eve	F	Black	Louisiana	1				X
Binah	F	Black	Louisiana	13				X
Sam	M	Black	Louisiana	10				X
Jack	M	Black	Carolinas	40				
Jude	F	Black	Carolinas	25		Chloe, Esom, Hetty, Billy		
Chloe	F	Black	Unknown	8				
Esom	M	Black	Louisiana	Baby				
Hetty	F	Black	Unknown	5				

Name	Gender	Race	Origin	Age	Spouse	Children	Notes	Claimed by Catherine Turnbull
Billy	M	Black	Unknown	2				
Prudence	F	Black	Jamaica	30	Tom Fuller			X
Tom Fuller	M	Black	Guinea	45	Prudence			X
Celia	F	Black	Jamaica	35		Jacob?		
Jacob	M	Black	Louisiana	6				
Billy	M	Mulatto	Jamaica	50	Nanny			X
Nanny	F	Black	Guinea	45	Billy			X
Sally	F	Black	Guinea, Islamic	30		Charlotte, Madeline?		
Charlotte	F	Black	Louisiana	8				
Madeline	F	Black	Unknown	2				
Abram	M	Black	Guinea	50	Fanny	Clarisa, Harry, Dick?		
Fanny	F	Black	Guinea	40	Abram	Clarisa, Harry, Dick?		
Clarisa	F	Black	Louisiana	1				
Harry	M	Black	Louisiana	9				
Dick	M	Black	Louisiana	9				
Rose	F	Black	Guinea	35		Barille, Renty, Peggy, Michael		X; also claims Stepney and Dick as Rose's sons
Barille	M	Black	Unknown	7				X
Renty	F	Mulatto	Louisiana	13				X
Peggy	F	Black	Louisiana	10				X
Michael	M	Black	Unknown	3				X
Tony	M	Black	Guinea	55	Cumba?	Toba?		
Cumba	F	Black	Guinea	40	Tony?	Toba?		
Toba	M	Black	Louisiana	13				
Charlotte	F	Black	Guinea	60		Linder, Judith, Lad, Arthee		X
Linder	F	Black	Louisiana	18		Aimee		X
Aimee	F	Black	Louisiana	1				X
Judith	F	Black	Louisiana	14				X
Lad	M	Black	Louisiana	11				X
Arthee	F	Black	Louisiana	8				X
Quashee	M	Black	Guinea	60	Kate	Juba, Venus		
Kate	F	Black	Guinea	50	Quashee	Juba,		

Name	Gender	Race	Origin	Age	Spouse	Children	Notes	Claimed by Catherine Turnbull
						Venus		
Juba	F	Black	Unknown	16				
Venus	F	Black	Unknown	8				
Matilla	F	Black	Guinea	55				X
Sampson	M	Black	Guinea	35				
Murray	M	Black	Guinea	55	Murrah			X
Murrah	F	Black	Guinea	50	Murray			X
John	M	Black	Guinea	35				
Lydia	F	Black	Guinea	45				X
Boyer	M	Black	Guinea	45				
Mahomet	M	Black	Guinea Islamic	30				
Mirah	F	Black	Guinea	50				
Sally	F	Black	Guinea Islamic	30			sick with costiveness "obstructions"	
Peggy	F	Black	Guinea	45				
John	M	Black	Guinea	30	Bess	Nancy, Joe, Juba		X
Bess	F	Black	Guinea	30	John	Nancy, Joe, Juba		X
Nancy	F	Black	Louisiana	8				X
Joe	M	Black	Louisiana	5				X
Juba	F	Black	Louisiana	2				X
Sambo	M	Black	Guinea	28				
Botswain	M	Black	Guinea	40	Harriet			
Harriet	F	Black	Guinea	35	Botswain			
Bonner	M	Black	Guinea	50	Banna			X
Banna	F	Black	Guinea	45	Bonner			X
Lucy	F	Black	Guinea	50		Simon		
Simon	M	Black	Louisiana	7				
Nancy	F	Black	Guinea	70				
Jim	M	Black	Unknown	12				
Hannah	F	Black	Unknown	10				
Clarind	F	Black	Unknown	1				
Rinah	F	Black	Unknown	11				X
Patty	F	Black	Unknown	3				
Jack	M	Black	Carolina	20	Lydia			X; not listed on main inventory

The above breakdown is interesting in that it seems the elder Turnbulls were

acquiring their slaves from a variety of sources, including directly from Africa.

Although it is possible that some of these enslaved people ultimately ended up with the Turnbull children, it is more interesting to wonder whether the same patterns of slave acquisition can be found among their children.

Daniel's succession in 1862 provides a breakdown of the slaves he owned himself, the slaves he owned jointly with Martha, and the slaves she owned herself. This list includes only those slaves living at Rosedown, and unfortunately does not provide information about origin, just gender, name, race, age, and price (see Table 3.2). However, several receipts show that Daniel tended to buy and sell his slaves within the West Feliciana community, including within his family.

Table 3.2 Slaves listed in Daniel Turnbull's Succession, 1862

Name	Gender	Race	Age	Children	Skills	Illness	Price	Owner
Henny	F	Unknown	42	Natty, Saheda, Cat, Edwin, Cynthia Ann			$400.00	Daniel
Natty	Unknown	Unknown	1				$60.00	Daniel
Saheda	F	Unknown	19				$700.00	Daniel
Cat	F	Unknown	17				$700.00	Daniel
Edwin	M	Unknown	10				$450.00	Daniel
Cynthia Ann	F	Unknown	7				$300.00	Daniel
Dolly	F	Unknown	4				$200.00	Daniel
Elvira	F	Yellow	27	Denan, Julia Ann			$800.00	Daniel
Denan	M	Unknown	4				$225.00	Daniel
Julia Ann	F	Unknown	2				$150.00	Daniel
Phoebe	F	Yellow	65	Luke			$100.00	Daniel
Luke	M	Yellow	21				$1000.00	Daniel
Handy	M	Black	13				$700.00	Daniel
Murray	M	Black	12				$700.00	Daniel
Rosette	F	Black	6				$650.00	Daniel
Victoria	F	Black	11				$650.00	Daniel
Louisa	F	Black	45	Augusta, Amos, Silas, Stepney, Cornelius,			$200.00	Daniel

Name	Gender	Race	Age	Children	Skills	Illness	Price	Owner
				Leland, Hattie				
Augusta	M	Unknown	16				$900.00	Daniel
Amos	M	Black	21				$900.00	Daniel
Silas	M	Black	19				$700.00	Daniel
Stepney	M	Black	11				$675.00	Daniel
Cornelius	M	Black	10				$625.00	Daniel
Leland	M	Black	9				$475.00	Daniel
Hattie	F	Black	12				$150.00	Daniel
Jack	M	Black	63				$300.00	Daniel
Bob	M	Black	36				$450.00	Daniel
Dave	M	Black	17				$550.00	Daniel
Joe	M	Black	13				$700.00	Daniel
Old Mary	F	Black	65				--------	Daniel
Hannah	F	Black	41	Elizabeth, Oscar		Diseased	$400.00	Daniel
Elizabeth	F	Black	12				$650.00	Daniel
Oscar	M	Black	10				$625.00	Daniel
Becky	F	Yellow	55				$200.00	Daniel
Dick	M	Yellow	29				$1000.00	Daniel
Skipper Luez	F	Unknown	10				$500.00	Daniel
Will	M	Unknown	5				$250.00	Daniel
Old Will	M	Unknown	70				---------	Daniel
Catharine	F	Black	24	Jacob			$800.00	Daniel
Jacob	M	Black	2 months				$50.00	Daniel
Old Jim	M	Unknown	65		Carpenter		$500.00	Daniel
Old Adam	M	Unknown	65		Driver		$400.00	Daniel
Primus	M	Yellow	28				$1200.00	Daniel
Inbur	M	Yellow	66				$200.00	Daniel
Ann	F	Yellow	35			Diseased	----------	Daniel
Victoria	F	Griffe	17				$400.00	Daniel
Robin	M	Griffe	17			Ruptured	$750.00	Daniel
Lucinda	F	Griffe	16				$800.00	Daniel
Isetta	F	Griffe	16				$600.00	Daniel
Caswell	M	Griffe	10				$625.00	Daniel
Kelly	M	Griffe	9				$350.00	Daniel
Leanna	F	Griffe	8				$350.00	Daniel
Old Simon	M	Unknown	68			Blind	----------	Daniel
Comfort	F	Black	40	Bazel, Gabriel, Sophia			$400.00	Daniel
Bazel	M	Black	8				$450.00	Daniel
Gabriel	M	Black	7				$350.00	Daniel
Sophia	F	Black	1				$75.00	Daniel
Henry	M	Mulatto	28				$1000.00	Daniel
Ben Ramsey	M	Mulatto	30				$1000.00	Daniel
Simon	M	Black	25				$1200.00	Daniel &

Name	Gender	Race	Age	Children	Skills	Illness	Price	Owner
								Martha
Anna	F	Black	28				$700.00	Daniel & Martha
Virginia	F	Griffe	12				$600.00	Daniel & Martha
Levy	M	Black	17			Crippled	$750.00	Daniel & Martha
Marshall	M	Black	35			Subject to fits	$600.00	Daniel & Martha
Harry Berry	M	Black	50				$500.00	Daniel & Martha
Prudy	F	Black	28	Penas, Harrius			$800.00	Daniel & Martha
Penas	Unknown	Griffe	2				$200.00	Daniel & Martha
Harrius	Unknown	Griffe	6 months				$50.00	Daniel & Martha
John	M	Griffe	55		Blacksmith		$800.00	Daniel & Martha
Grace	F	Black	50		Cook		$400.00	Daniel & Martha
Jonaky	M	Black	48				$800.00	Daniel & Martha
Little Grace	F	Black	65				$50.00	Daniel & Martha
Nelson	M	Griffe	11			Crippled	$300.00	Daniel & Martha
Thomas	M	Black	43			Consumption	---------	Daniel & Martha
Ben	M	Griffe	46			Diseased	$500.00	Daniel & Martha
Esther	F	Griffe	34			Rheumatism	$500.00	Daniel & Martha
Joan	F	Black	52				$150.00	Daniel &

Name	Gender	Race	Age	Children	Skills	Illness	Price	Owner
								Martha
Noah	M	Black	49			Unhealthy	$600.00	Daniel & Martha
Catisse	F	Black	8				$350.00	Daniel & Martha
Archy	M	Griffe	50			Sore eyes	$100.00	Daniel & Martha
Fanny	F	Griffe	36	Winny, Arginni, Angalee, Cynthia			$650.00	Daniel & Martha
Winny	Unknown	Unknown	3 months				$50.00	Daniel & Martha
Arginni	F	Griffe	5				$250.00	Daniel & Martha
Angalee	F	Unknown	3				$100.00	Daniel & Martha
Cynthia	F	Black	7				$300.00	Daniel & Martha
Lavinia	F	Griffe	14				$700.00	Daniel & Martha
Robert	M	Black	48		Carriage driver		$800.00	Daniel & Martha
Louisa	F	Griffe	47			Asthma	$300.00	Daniel & Martha
Washington	M	Black	14				$700.00	Daniel & Martha
Adelle	F	Griffe	16				$650.00	Daniel & Martha
Cassy	F	Black	11				$600.00	Daniel & Martha
Randolph	M	Black	15				$250.00	Daniel & Martha
Serena	F	Griffe	1				$100.00	Daniel & Martha
Old Lizzy	F	Black	65				-----------	Daniel

Name	Gender	Race	Age	Children	Skills	Illness	Price	Owner
								& Martha
Margaret	F	Black	40			Sickly	$400.00	Daniel & Martha
Jane	F	Mulatto	31			Sickly	$650.00	Daniel & Martha
Mary Ann	F	Mulatto	35			Very sickly	$400.00	Daniel & Martha
Unnamed	M	Unknown	40		Carpenter		$1500.00	Daniel & Martha
Cele	F	Black	60				----------	Daniel & Martha
York	M	Black	30			Crazy	$350.00	Daniel & Martha
Rathalina	Unknown	Black	11				$450.00	Daniel & Martha
Old Harriet	F	Unknown	70			Dropsy	----------	Daniel & Martha
Old Nat	M	Griffe	70				-----------	Daniel & Martha
Old Mitchell	M	Black	70				-----------	Daniel & Martha
Insie	F	Griffe	38				$600.00	Daniel & Martha
Patience	F	Black	15				$500.00	Daniel & Martha
Harper	M	Black	6				$300.00	Daniel & Martha
Parine	F	Black	13				$500.00	Daniel & Martha
Frank	M	Mulatto	38				$1200.00	Daniel & Martha
Joanna	F	Mulatto	18			Hereditary insanity	$500.00	Daniel & Martha
Virginia	F	Mulatto	13				$650.00	Daniel

Name	Gender	Race	Age	Children	Skills	Illness	Price	Owner
								& Martha
Richmond	M	Griffe	11		House servant		$650.00	Daniel & Martha
Amelia	F	Griffe	9			Scrofulus	$250.00	Daniel & Martha
Rachel	F	Griffe	6				$250.00	Daniel & Martha
Wilkinson	M	Griffe	40		Cook		$1200.00	Daniel & Martha
Dorcas	F	Black	55				----------	Daniel & Martha
Albert	M	Mulatto	5				$250.00	Daniel & Martha
Aggy	F	Black	44		Washer woman	Sickly	700.00	Daniel & Martha
Rebecca	F	Griffe	10				$450.00	Daniel & Martha
Annette	F	Griffe	8				$400.00	Daniel & Martha
Melinda	F	Black	21				$1000.00	Daniel & Martha
York	M	Black	18 months				$125.00	Daniel & Martha
Fanny Miles	F	Griffe	Unknown				$650.00	Daniel & Martha
Irene	F	Griffe	10				$500.00	Daniel & Martha
Clansia	F	Griffe	3				$200.00	Daniel & Martha
Old Clara	F	Black	70			Diseased	----------	Martha
Miles	M	Black	40			Delicate	$450.00	Martha
Wilson	M	Griffe	37			Sickly	$450.00	Martha
Kitty	F	Griffe	45				$350.00	Martha
Old Jim	M	Black	66				----------	Martha
Simon	M	Black	60			Deaf	$100.00	Martha
Julia	F	Black	59				----------	Martha

Name	Gender	Race	Age	Children	Skills	Illness	Price	Owner
Hampton	M	Black	38			Blind in one eye	$600.00	Martha
Alex	M	Black	38			Simpleton	$250.00	Martha
Arington	M	Black	5				$200.00	Martha
Titia	F	Black	60				-----------	Martha
Jane	F	Black	28			Scrofulus	-----------	Martha
Ada	F	Black	10				$450.00	Martha
Unnamed	F	Black	30			Consumptive	$300.00	Martha
Morris	M	Black	18				$700.00	Martha
Leander	M	Black	18				$1000.00	Martha
Violet	F	Black	40	Pomp(fr)ey, Adonas, Peggy, Ambrosia, Jacksonia			$600.00	Martha
Pomp(fr)ey	M	Black	7				$800.00	Martha
Adonas	F	Black	10				$450.00	Martha
Peggy	F	Black	7				$100.00	Martha
Ambrosia	F	Black	4				$250.00	Martha
Jacksonia	F	Black	1				$75.00	Martha
Mack	M	Black	48			Rheumatic	$200.00	Martha
Big Ben	M	Black	40				$450.00	Martha
Eveline	F	Black	38	Nelly, Hardy, Littleton, Sally		Infirm		Martha
Nelly	F	Black	21				$800.00	Martha
Hardy	M	Black	17				$950.00	Martha
Littleton	M	Black	10				$350.00	Martha
Sally	F	Black	5				$250.00	Martha
Marinette	F	Unknown	60				$100.00	Martha
Maria	F	Black	32	Luther, Lovengo, Pleasant, Africa		Diseased	$400.00	Martha
Luther	M	Black	10				$550.00	Martha
Lovengo	M	Black	3				$175.00	Martha
Pleasant	M	Black	5				$250.00	Martha
Africa	M	Black	9				$400.00	Martha
Luez	F	Black	28	Mathew			$800.00	Martha
Mathew	M	Unknown	4 months				$50.00	Martha
Betsy	F	Black	38				$600.00	Martha
Caroline	F	Griffe	30				$500.00	Martha
Ailsy	F	Black	Unknown				$100.00	Martha

In 1824, Daniel bought four slaves from John Bradford at a Sheriff's sale

(WFPNR, 1824:BAA:43). Daniel bought 74 slaves from his sister-in-law Ann Benoist in

1829 – this is the tract of land that later became Rosedown (WFPNR, 1829:BC:168-172, 177-178).   He then sold 23 people, many of whom he had bought from Ann Benoist a few months earlier, to John Lobdell later the same year (WFPNR, 1829:BC:207-209). In 1833, Daniel made a transaction with another sister-in-law, Matilda Turnbull. In this case, he sold four enslaved people, William, Hannah, Lucinda, and Judy. William and Hannah were married, and Lucinda and Judy are listed as Hannah's children – regardless of whether William was their father, this listing emphasizes the children's slave status since slave or free status was determined through the mother. This emphasis was likely intentional, as another slave is conveyed to Matilda. However, this girl is not sold, but rather placed:

> under the Guardianship, and in the Possession of the Said Mrs. Matilda
> Anderson Turnbull, and her Said Husband Walter Turnbull, for the said
> Term of Eleven Years, from the passing of this act; -- They are to enjoy
> the Services of the Said Girl "Margaret" for the Said term of Eleven
> Years; at which time She is to be Set free; and to enjoy forever Afterwards
> her Freedom; And in the event of her not being freed persuant to this act,
> at the End of Said Eleven Years, Then, and in that event She reverts back to
> the Said Daniel Turnbull and becomes his property if he Should be alive;
> But in the event of his Death, during that time; Then the Heirs, Executors,
> administrators &c. of the Said Daniel Turnbull, are bound by this act to
> Obtain the freedom of the Said Girl "Margaret" and to See that She is put

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into full possession of her Liberty, and Freedom; And then Mrs. Matilda

Anderson Turnbull, and Walter Turnbull accept Said Girl "Margaret" On

the above Conditions.

<div align="right">(WFPNR, 1833:BE:137-138)</div>

Obviously, this transaction was more personal for Daniel Turnbull. He has taken extreme

precautions in securing freedom for Margaret regardless of whether he is alive at the

time. As Margaret is described as a mulatto child, it seems that Daniel is probably her

father. It is likely that Daniel and his son may have fathered other slave children,

although I have not yet found records to indicate this. Although there are records of

Daniels's illegitimate mulatto sister, Sylvia acquiring slaves of her own, there is no

record of whether Margaret was actually freed or whether she also acquired slaves of her

own.

Another of Daniel Turnbull's recorded purchases of enslaved people occurred in

1847, when he bought four slaves from a merchant in New Orleans. Their origin is not

noted, but one man is listed as a carpenter, which indicates that there was labor

specialization among Turnbull's slaves. Other evidence points to labor specialists at

Rosedown as well. Daniel's succession list notes that Rosedown had at least two

carpenters, two cooks, one driver, one blacksmith, one carriage driver, one washer

woman, and one house servant (Succession, 1862). Martha's garden journal indicates

some slaves were designated to work in her formal gardens as well. Twenty eight acres

of formal gardens would have necessitated several full-time workers.

Since much of Daniels' slave buying and selling occurred within his family, it is worth noting that at least two of Daniel's brothers also owned plantations and slaves. At the time of Daniel's brother John's death in 1858, a succession record containing information about the slaves he owned was published in the West Feliciana newspaper (The Phoenix Ledger, 1/16/1858). The account describes an upcoming sale of some of Turnbull's property in West Feliciana parish. This property includes a plantation, livestock, equipment, and a list of 122 slaves, including names and ages (see Appendix A).

Walter Turnbull, another of Daniel's brothers, also owned at least one plantation, and it seems his wife, Matilda, was also involved in slave transactions. As described above, Daniel sells four slaves to Matilda (and makes her guardian of the woman mentioned above) in 1833. In 1835, Matilda buys a plantation and its slaves, but apparently without Walter's public permission. He has to swear that he supports her purchase and will bear joint responsibility for the payments (WFPNR, 1833:BE:362-363). However, he also officially makes her owner of a share of his estate inheritance from his mother, including a number of enslaved people (see Appendix B). This occurs in 1833 (WFPNR, 1833:BE:3).

Matilda also bought what seems to be the plantation at which they were living after the Sheriff seized it from Walter (WFPNR, 1833:BE:61). Walter and Matilda subsequently sell this property, which was part of Catherine's estate, that same year (WFPNR, 1833:BE:64). Catherine filed a will in 1831, the year before her death, which divided her estate into six equal shares to be divided among her children and

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grandchildren. Daniel was named an executor of this will. The property described in this will is Inheritance Plantation, where Catherine was ultimately buried. The plantation seems to have remained within the family, as there is a record of Sarah Bowman (Daniel and Martha's daughter) purchasing it in 1871 (WFPNR, 1871:BQ:213-215).

Although only a few records indicate where slaves are originally from, which in turn suggests potential ethnic affiliation, their classification into different racial categories provides insight into where these people may have been born, or their cultural associations. Daniel's 1862 succession indicates that the majority of his slaves listed in the succession were classified as "black" (approximately 89), followed by 35 people classified as "griffe," a person of Native American and Black ancestry (Hall 1992: 171), nine as "mulatto" and eight as "yellow." This breakdown is interesting, because although it does not provide information about whether some slaves were African-born or Caribbean-born, it does provide information that Native Americans were interacting with these slaves at some point. This interaction could have taken place elsewhere before the Turnbulls bought these people. However, it is also possible that Native Americans may have been living in the area and interacting with enslaved people. Hall notes that in colonial Louisiana, some American Indians were enslaved along with Africans on many plantations (1992: 240), but that when Louisiana transferred to the Spanish, enslaving Indians became illegal. In listing a slave as Indian or griffe, the planter acknowledged these people may have been technically free, so planters rapidly dropped these designations from their inventories (Hall 1992: 262).

There were no records of whether there were American Indians present in the area among the Turnbull-Bowman papers, but there is a reference to Walter and John Turnbull selling something to "Joseph the Indian" in 1873. Likewise, rental records in these papers document the presence of "White Cloud and Ann" as tenant farmers, and implies they were living together (Turnbull-Bowman family papers, 1872, 1873). It is certainly possible that White Cloud could have been someone of African-American descent, but it is possible this represents a Native American presence. Davis notes that although the vast majority of American Indians living in Louisiana were killed by disease or forced to move elsewhere much like the other Indian groups in the southeast, some stayed in Louisiana and intermarried with whites or blacks (Davis 1960: 24).

In compiling the data for the slave and tenant farmer inventories, it was often difficult to know if more than one person by the same name was present, primarily because age and race were not listed in nearly all the records. The data was compiled from a variety of sources, such as Martha Turnbull's journal, the Turnbull-Bowman family papers, and West Feliciana Parish Notary Records. These sources overlap in years, so often there were multiple references for the same name. As they were from different sources but the same year, or consecutive years, I counted them as one person. However, if there were two of the same first names with no last name in the same source for the same year, I counted them as two different people.

Some of the tenants may have been whites; this was common throughout the south after the Civil War. Although the majority of tenant farmers or sharecroppers were black, the devastated southern economy also significantly affected poor whites. As a

result, in many cases both poor whites and blacks sought to earn a living through tenant farming. Among the tenant records, there are six names that stand out as different from the others: Mr. Bowman, Mr. Courtney, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Logarty, Mr. Torres, and Mr. Wilcox. These names are obviously different from the rest of the names recorded because they contain the title, "Mr." With the exception of Mr. Torres, who is referenced in 1871, all these men appear on the records in 1872. Martha had 54 tenants (that we know of) in 1872, so the fact that these five were singled out with titles suggests they may have been white. The Civil War had only been over for seven years, and racial divides were still extremely strong. Despite their similar economic situations, the newly freed African-Americans and the poor whites still were treated differently on the basis of race, which could account for the title "Mr." being recorded.

The number of tenants per year is interesting data, but unfortunately, biased due to the recorder, the data source, and my attempts to figure out whether the references to the same names in different sources were the same person. I used several sources to compile this table, including lists of tenants for the years 1867, 1872, and 1873 (Table 3.3), which happen to be the years with the most people recorded as living at Rosedown. For other years, I used Martha's garden journal, which often recorded only people that had offended her in some way, had helped her in her garden, or had died. I chose to include only those people who were definitely mentioned after the Civil War.

Table 3.3 Tenants at Rosedown

Name	Year	Status/Property	Cost
Abram Mathers	1867		
Allick	1867		
Anthony	1867		
Bill Gaspar	1867		

Name	Year	Status/Property	Cost
Bob	1867		
Dave Pomp	1867		
Dick	1867		
Edmund	1867		
Eli	1867		
Ephram	1867		
George	1867		
Hampton	1867		
Handy	1867		
Henry Crawford	1867		
Jackson	1867		
Joe	1867		
John	1867		
Josh	1867		
Levi	1867		
Lewis	1867		
Marry	1867		
Martin	1867		
Miles	1867		
Old Adam	1867		
Old Harry	1867		
Old Juba	1867		
Ragan	1867		
Robert Colbert	1867		
Silas	1867		
William Helsh?	1867		
Ben	1869		
Bick	1869		
Big Ben	1869		
Bob	1869		
Cele	1869		
Darling	1869		
Francis	1869		
James	1869		
John	1869		
John Prenter	1869		
Julia	1869		
Kelly	1869		
Lancaster	1869		
Levi	1869		
Linda	1869		
Littleton	1869		
Lucy	1869		
Margaret	1869		
Paty	1869		
Patience	1869		
Penny	1869		
Wilson	1869		

Name	Year	Status/Property	Cost
Ben	1870		
Betsy	1870		
Comfort	1870		
Dicy	1870		
Ferry	1870		
James	1870		
Jim	1870		
John	1870		
Lucy	1870		
Sarah	1870		
William	1870		
Ame Leren	1871		
Augustus	1871		
Ben	1871		
Ben Hunter	1871		
Elgine	1871		
Jim Bartley	1871		
John	1871		
Kitty	1871		
Leddy	1871		
Milley Wilson	1871		
Mr. Torras	1871		
Sampson Berry	1871		
Sol Smith	1871		
Abram	1872	Mule	50
Amanda	1872		
Ann	1872		
Augustus	1872		
Ben	1872		
Bets	1872		
Brown	1872		
Charles	1872	Mule	50
Charles Barrion	1872		50
Charles Washington	1872		
Clarissa	1872		
Cornelius	1872		
Courtney	1872		39
Dave	1872		
Dick	1872	Mule & House	100
Dixon	1872		
Dr	1872		248-52, 998-52
Elry	1872		
Frand	1872		
Francis	1872		
Fred	1872		
Frederick	1872		

Name	Year	Status/Property	Cost
Hampton	1872		
Hardy	1872		
Henry	1872		
Jackson	1872		
Jacob	1872		20
Jacob	1872		19
Jason	1872		
Joe	1872		
John	1872		
John Bradford	1872	Mule	50
John Lyde?	1872		
Lancaster	1872		
Leland	1872		
Martha	1872		
Mary	1872		
Martin	1872		
? Mathers	1872		
Mike	1872		
Mr. Bowman	1872		
Mr. Courtney	1872		39
Mr. Hamilton	1872		750
Mr. Logaty?	1872		196
Mr. Wilcox	1872		
Pain	1872		
Phil	1872		
Queen	1872		
Ruffin	1872		
Sampson	1872		150, 72
Smut	1872		
Sara	1872		
Terry	1872		
Tom	1872		
White Cloud	1872		
Abram Mathers	1873		1500
Abrams	1873		
Alfred	1873	4 beds	
Amanda	1873		7 with Brown
Ann	1873		45 with White Cloud
Anthony	1873		6000s 4 bales
Augustus	1873		
Barrister	1873		
B. Ben	1873		
Ben Pool	1873		
Bob Johns	1873		700
Brown	1873		7 with Amanda
Charles	1873		
Dave Pomp	1873		
Daniel Lea	1873		1500 with John

Name	Year	Status/Property	Cost
Dick Grant	1873		1500
Dr	1873		14 with Phil
Edmund	1873		1500
Ellick	1873		1500
Ephram	1873		
George	1873		
Grace	1873		2200 lbs with Hendeson
Hampton	1873		1500
Handy	1873		1500 with Harry
Harry	1873		1500 with Handy
Harry Wade	1873		2200
Hendeson	1873		2200 lbs with Grace
Henry	1873		
Henry Crawford	1873		
Hetty	1873		1500 with Tom
Hogan	1873		1500
Jack	1873		
Jackson	1873		
James	1873		1500
Jim Campbel?	1873		
Jim Rucker	1873		
John Bradford	1873		
Joe Biff Son	1873		
Joe Harris	1873		1500
Joe Jackson	1873		
John	1873		
John	1873		1500 with Daniel Lea
Josh Grant	1873		48
Kate	1873		
Lancaster	1873		
Levi	1873		1500
Lewis	1873		
Martha	1873		
Martin	1873		
Mary	1873		
Miles	1873		1500
Miron	1873		
Miron Chillis?	1873		
Nelson	1873		1500
Phil	1873		14 with Dr
Ragan	1873		
Richard	1873		
Sarch?	1873		
Sephlodrus?	1873	4 beds	
Silas	1873	Cabin	$15
Simmlar Lewis	1873		
Smat	1873		

Name	Year	Status/Property	Cost
Son-in-law	1873		1500
Stranger - Jim	1873		1500
Stranger	1873		
Thomas	1873		1500
Tom	1873		1500 with Hetty
Tom Glazer	1873		1500
Washington	1873		
White Cloud	1873		45 with Ann
William Harvey	1873		
William Pain?	1873		
Augustus	1874		garden for rent
Ben Pool	1874		no rent
Bicks	1874		
Biff	1874		no rent
Bob	1874		no rent, $50 for house
Edmond	1874		
Elizabeth	1874		
Harry	1874		no rent
Hempton	1874		pay nothing
Henry	1874		
Henry Crawford	1874		
James	1874		
Jane	1874		
Jane Grant	1874		
Jimbo	1874		pay nothing
Joe Williams	1874		
John	1874		no rent
John C	1874		
Lancaster	1874		
Margaret	1874		
Old Frank	1874		
Old Joe	1874		
Elizabeth	1875		
Ellick Tingle	1875		
Frank	1875		
Hardy	1875		
Harry	1875		
Harry Wade	1875		
Henry	1875		
Jim Higgins?	1875		
John	1875		
Margaret	1875		
Old Frank	1875		
William Edwards?	1875		
Amos	1876		
Augustus	1876		

Name	Year	Status/Property	Cost
Ball?	1876		
Celia	1876		
Cole	1876		
Diley	1876		
Georgianna	1876		
John	1876		
Old Terry	1876		
Teddy	1876		
Terry	1876		
Thronton	1876		
Walter?	1876		
Amny	1877		
Augustus	1877		
Betsy	1877		
Charles	1877		
Diley	1877		
Harriet	1877		
Henry	1877		
John	1877		
Augustus	1879		
Fanny	1879		
Anna?	1887		
Augustus	1887		Works for $10 per month
Pet?	1887		
Augustus	1888		
Jimmie	1888		
Mary	1888		
Moses	1888		
Albert	1889		
Augustus	1889		
Dick	1889		
Lawrence	1889		
Mary	1889		
Moses	1889		
Ned	1889		
Pet	1889		
Silas	1889		
Albert	1890		
Bella?	1890		
Butler	1890		
Dick	1890		
Diley	1890		
Diley's husband	1890		

Name	Year	Status/Property	Cost
Ellick	1890		
Fred	1890		
Hannah	1890		
Jacob	1890		
John	1890		
Julia	1890		
Mary	1890		
Moses	1890		
Pet	1890		
Silas	1890		
William	1890		
Albert	1891		
Corrie	1891		
Harry	1891		
Mamie	1891		
Moses	1891		
Nina?	1891		
Pet	1891		
Dick	1892		
Harry	1892		
Pet	1892		
Dick	1893		
Frank	1893		
Harry	1893		
Henry Crawford?	1893		
Leon	1893		
Mamie	1893		
Pet	1893		
Silas	1893		
Tom	1893		
Dick	1894		
Emma	1894		
Harry	1894		
Mamie	1894		
Miler	1894		
Paris	1894		
Pet	1894		
Rachel	1894		
Old William	1894		garden 1 day per week for house
Tom Allen	1918		
Geo Berry Jr.	1918		
Geo Berry Sr.	1918		
Hank Berry	1918		
Harry Berry	1918		

Name	Year	Status/Property	Cost
Jackson Berry	1918		
Julen Bradford	1918		
Clay Carneice?	1918		
Joe Carter	1918		
J.S. Dawson	1918		
Larry Dawson	1918		
Jake Grant	1918		
Richard Haile	1918		
Alex Harris	1918		
Matt Jones	1918		
Ph? Jones	1918		
Anderson Miller	1918		
Anthony Nelson	1918		
Mark Raye	1918		
Jason Rucker	1918		
Ellen Schafer	1918		
Ed Sears	1918		
Sam Sheet	1918		
Charley Tanner	1918		
Alex Thompson	1918		
Billy Thompson	1918		
Henry Thompson	1918		
Ruffin Twine?	1918		
D? L W	1918		
Isaac Walker	1918		
Ed Whitaker	1918		
Elsey Whitaker	1918		
Alex Williams	1918		
Joe Williams	1918		
Mark Williams	1918		
Rosie Williams	1918		
Jake Woods	1918		
Lucious Z?	1918		
Tome Allen	1919	Share Houses	
Geo Berry Jr.	1919	Wage? Houses	
Geo Berry Jr.	1919	Tenant	
Harry Berry	1919	Wage? Houses	
Jackson Berry	1919	Wage? Houses	
W Berry	1919	Tenant	
Clay Car?	1919	Tenant	
Ellen Carter	1919	Share Houses	
Joe Carter	1919	Share Houses	
Larry Dawson	1919	Tenant	
Jake Grant	1919	Tenant	
Richard Haile	1919	Share Houses	
Alex Harris	1919	Share Houses	
? Jones	1919	Tenant	
Ph? Jones	1919	Tenant	

Name	Year	Status/Property	Cost
J L	1919	Tenant	
Anderson Miller	1919	Wage? Houses	
Anthony Nelson	1919	Tenant	
Mark Raye	1919	Share Houses	
Sam Sheet	1919	Share Houses	
J.S. Tan	1919	Tenant	
Charley Tanner	1919	Share Houses	
Alex Thompson	1919	Tenant	
Bailey Thompson	1919	Tenant	
Henry Thompson	1919	Tenant	
Ruffin Twine	1919	Share Houses	
D? L.W.	1919	Tenant	
Isaac Walker	1919	Tenant	
Ed Whitaker	1919	Tenant	
Elsey Whitaker	1919	Tenant	
Alex Williams	1919	Tenant	
? Berry Williams	1919	Tenant	
Hank Williams	1919	Share Houses	
Jas. Williams	1919	Tenant	
Jake Woods	1919	Share Houses	
Lucious Z?	1919	Tenant	

Louisiana Slave Population

Due to Louisiana's changes in government, it is difficult to form an accurate

interpretation of where enslaved people were arriving from. Curtin reports that few

records are available, but that French records indicate 7,000 slaves were imported

between 1718 and 1735. However, only 3,400 are reported by 1735. Between 1735 -

1784, records are less reliable, partially due to "Louisiana's nineteenth-century reputation

for bad health conditions" (Curtin 1969: 83). As a result, the estimated total slave trade

at 28,300 by 1803 is rather loosely based (Curtin 1969: 83).

Between 1771 and 1780, slave importation into Louisiana was encouraged by the

Spanish government through tariff reductions. By 1782, slaves were duty free (LaChance

1989: 165). Yet in 1786, the governor instituted a ban on the trade with the exception of

skilled creole slaves. In 1790, a royal order expressly instructed Governor Miro to

"exclude or expel all Blacks, slave or free, from the French colonies" (LaChance 1989:

165). The 1791 slave rebellion in Haiti caused Louisianans to demand additional

safeguards from the succeeding governor, who created more restrictive penalties to those

caught importing slaves from Cap Francais (LaChance 1989: 165). Although there was a

brief period in 1795 when importation was legalized, by 1796, the international trade had

been completely banned (LaChance 1989: 166).

Despite the ban on international slave trade in Louisiana in 1796, some smuggling

persisted. The bayous of Louisiana offered some protection for smugglers evading law

enforcement. However, as the ban had been requested by planters rather than by the

government, this smuggling activity was not widespread (LaChance 1989: 166-167). In

1800, the slave trade ban was lifted, in part to satisfy growing economic needs (LaChance

1989: 177). France openly supported the slave trade when Louisiana passed back into

their hands, and they had an interest in keeping trade going to satisfy the Americans, who

were negotiating for the purchase of Louisiana (LaChance 1989: 169). In 1804, a year

after the Louisiana Purchase, the international slave trade was once again banned. In

addition, interstate trade could only occur for slaves that had been imported before 1798

or who had been born in the United States. Yet because the upper portion of Louisiana

had a government modeled after that of Mississippi, a loophole allowed slaves imported

into other states to be brought to Louisiana (LaChance 1989: 180). U.S. citizens that

intended to settle in Louisiana could bring slaves into the state (Gudmestad 2003: 52).

Regardless of the state's 1804 ban on slave importation, Louisiana residents were

facing a permanent ban on international trade as a result of becoming a state. The United

States Constitution contained a specific provision that banned the slave trade after 1808 (Johnson 1999: 4). However, smuggling international slaves continued on a small scale. Taylor notes that Galveston became a home base for raiding Spanish ships during the Mexican Revolution in 1808, and that captured human cargo could easily be smuggled into Louisiana via swamps and bayous (1989: 384).

After the ban on the international slave trade, the domestic slave trade became an important means to acquire additional people. In fact, the domestic slave trade was a significant part of South's economy between 1820 and 1860. Industries grew around the necessity of transporting, feeding, clothing, insuring, taxing slave sales (Johnson 1999: 6). Interstate firms usually had someone buying and transporting slaves in the upper south and someone else selling these slaves in the lower south. For example, the Taylor family of Faquier County, Virginia established a permanent depot for boarding and selling slaves in Clinton, Louisiana (Johnson 1999: 48).

It was also common for planters to travel to other states to purchase slaves rather than to purchase them from a speculator (Gudmestad 2003: 12). However, after purchase, enslaved people had to be transported back to the buyer's state. For slaveowners in Louisiana, one of the most expedient routes was via river travel; New Orleans was a convenient port to access. Both ocean and river travel was also preferred to land routes because then enslaved people could "rest" before resuming their grueling workloads (Gudmestad 2003: 23-24). By the mid-1820s, New Orleans had become a major destination for the interstate slave trade. Skilled artisans and domestics could be found only in cities or urban centers such as New Orleans (Johnson 1999: 7).

The interstate trade was governed by state rules; the Louisiana Code Noire, for example, prohibited selling children under 10 away from their mothers, and in 1829 the law had expanded to forbid the importation of slaves that had been subject to being separated this way (Johnson 1999: 122). However, despite this rule, Johnson notes:

> Of the two thirds of a million interstate sales made by the
>
> traders in the decades before the Civil War, twenty-five
>
> percent involved the destruction of a first marriage and fifty
>
> percent destroyed a nuclear family – many of these
>
> separating children under the age of thirteen from their
>
> parents.
>
> (1999: 19)

This was one way planters maintained control over enslaved people; the threat of sale was a threat of social death (disappearance of a family member, friend, etc.) and in many cases, physical death. Louisiana in particular had a reputation for working its slaves to death within a few years of purchase (Johnson 1999:23). There was also a real threat to free people of color; records document kidnappings that occurred within many of the states. In Pointe Coupee Parish, Louisiana (across the river from West Feliciana Parish), a free woman named Eulalie, her 6 children, and 10 grandchildren were taken forcibly from her home and sold into slavery (Johnson 1999: 128).

There were other rules governing this trade as well. Slaves being bought were

examined for scars from whipping, which was taken to be a sign of a rebellious slave; in 1828, Louisiana required all slaves over 12 to be accompanied with a certificate of good character if being imported from another state (Johnson 1999: 145). The law made a provision for buyers to sue sellers if they felt the slave they bought had some sort of physical or mental flaw "vices" of body or character (Johnson 1999: 12).

The Nat Turner rebellion in 1831 caused Louisiana to initiate a complete ban on the slave trade (Johnson 1999: 24). Rumors that some of the rebellious slaves would be pardoned with the condition they were to be removed from Virginia caused people to become nervous that these rebellious slaves would be imported to Louisiana and of course, start another uprising (Gudmestad 2003: 103-104).

Yet people in Louisiana continued to find loopholes in this law by hiring out slaves for a term of "80 to 90 years," or even by openly defying the law, showing that enforcement was not strict (Gudmestad 2003: 109). In order to further avoid producing the certificate of good character, people brought in slaves that had been "pardoned" elsewhere on the condition of removal from the state that recognized them as troublesome, or simply forged the certificates (Gudmestad 2003: 109-110).

Ethnicity of slaves in Louisiana

In the 19th century, most enslaved people living in Louisiana were coming from other states (with the exception of smuggled slaves). Many slaves arriving in New Orleans in the early 19th century seem to be from Maryland and Virginia (Gudmestad 2003: 12, 26). The majority of these people were likely creole American-born slaves, as

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the 1808 ban was national. However, prior to this date, it is difficult to determine where enslaved people are coming from.

During France's initial colonization of Louisiana, Hall reports that approximately two-thirds of enslaved people were taken from the region of Africa known as Senegambia. Located between the Senegal and the Gambia rivers, this area consisted of many different ethnic groups that spoke similar languages (Hall 1992: 29). The French had a monopoly on the trade in both Senegal and Louisiana, which allowed them to continue to import people from this region throughout the 18th century while other countries moved to exploit other areas (Hall 1992: 31).

Within this region, Hall notes that the powerful Fulbe and Mandinga kingdoms initially did not allow their own people to be sold into slavery, but did allow other groups such as Bambara to be taken. Some of this willingness may have stemmed from religious differences, as the Mandinga were Islamic, and the Bambara fought against those religious ideals (Hall 1992: 41). Hall argues that "there is little doubt that the Bambara brought to Louisiana were truly ethnic Bambara," based on these differences and evidence for a huge Bambara language community in Louisiana (Hall 1992: 42).

However, Caron argues that although most of the enslaved people coming into Louisiana in the early 18th century are listed as "Bambara" in ethnic origin, it is unlikely that all these people labeled Bamabara were actually from the region of the Niger bend where this ethnic group was primarily located. He acknowledges that it is possible that people were being captured and transported from this region to the Senegambia coast, but cautions against the biases inherent in recording such information (Caron 1997: 98-99).

He notes that not only did Europeans use the word Bambara as a synonym for black in many cases, but that European ignorance of African geography also contributed to mislabeling enslaved Africans' ethnic identities (Caron 1997: 103-105). Even in those cases where a region is listed, it is difficult to know how European biases may have affected what was written.

Further complicating the issue is the way people from this region may have self-identified. During the early 18th century, religious affiliation (primarily Muslim and non-Muslim) created unrest between the hundreds of ethnic groups living in the Senegambia region. These groups included, but were probably not limited to: Mande, Jallonke Fulbe, Sissibe, Mane Juula (Jaxanke), Timbo, Soso, Sereer, Malinke, Bobo, Fulbe, Kasanga, Papel, Beafada, Bijago, Nala, and Balante (Caron 1997: 110). Regardless of our inability to isolate where people were coming from in Africa, Caron notes, "many Senegambians – ethnically, religiously, and perhaps, linguistically heterogeneous – either identified themselves or were identified by others as belonging to a group collectively known as Bambaras" (1997: 115-116).

Louisiana's history is more complex still because the Florida parishes were British for several years, and the entire territory switched possession between Spain and France more than once. When Louisiana transferred back to the Spanish, Morgan claims that there was a larger influx of Africans (1997: 139). Hall further notes that the ethnic and geographical origins of these African people has not yet been studied (1992: 279), but that Spain brought Africans from Senegambia, the Bight of Benin, the Bight of Biafra, and Central Africa (1992: 284-286). Morgan offers an alternative in that perhaps

instead of focusing on specific ethnicities, we could emphasize the contributions each group made to create a new African-American culture: "The Congo influence in folklore and magic, the Fon role in voodoo, the Yoruba origins of shotgun houses, and the many African religious traditions (from Islam to Congo-Christianity to non-universal variants) that infused Louisiana religion must all be recognized" (1997: 139).

Slave Legislation in Louisiana

By the early 18th century, all the Southern states decided that status was determined through the mother, and that only people with some black heritage (i.e. "blood") could be slaves (Fisher 1997: 43). This allowed free white men to have sexual relationships (whether they were consensual or not) with enslaved women without being responsible for raising the child as an heir. It also denied the existence of different ethnic groups within slave and free black society, racializing everyone with "one drop" of black blood.

Yet in Louisiana, enslaved people could earn money and buy their own freedom. They were also given the right to petition for removal from a cruel master. These rights changed with the American purchase of this territory, and laws became much harsher. A new "Black Code" was passed in 1806 that greatly restricted these rights. Self-purchase was no longer an option without the owner's permission, and abusive slaveowners had to be convicted of cruelty to their slaves by a jury before an abused slave could be sold (Schafer 1997: 241). However, forced sale was at the judge's discretion (Schafer 1997: 242).

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The Black Code also forbade mutilation, extreme cruelty, and killing of a slave. If there were no witnesses (since slaves could not testify, witnesses means whites), the owner or overseer would be prosecuted for cruelty. Unfortunately, a loophole in the law allowed slaveowners to clear themselves by swearing an oath to their own innocence. This ultimately rendered the law ineffective, as slave testimony against whites was inadmissible (Schafer 1997: 243). Also, excessive violence did not include flogging or whipping with "a whip, leather thong, switch or small stick," nor did it include putting a slave in confinement (Schafer 1997: 242).

Despite this loophole, the first recorded appeal for conviction of cruelty to a slave in Louisiana occurred in 1850. Schafer notes that in this case, State vs. Morris, the owner was accused of beating his slave to death, and gouging a dollar sized hole in the slave's stomach which ultimately was the cause of death (1997: 244). The state supreme court upheld the conviction, but Schafer notes that this is "one of only a handful of cases in the appellate court records of the American South in which a state supreme court upheld the conviction of a slaveholder for cruelty to his slave" (1997: 245). Unfortunately, most of the cases heard in Louisiana for cruelty to a slave were a result of a slaveowner suing another slaveowner for damaging his property (Schafer 1997: 262).

Louisiana had other laws that were universally held throughout the southern United States. These laws prohibited slaves from entering into legal contracts, from suing or be sued, from owning property (this often extended into the arena of purchasing freedom), from legally marrying, and from providing testimony against whites (Fisher

1997: 43). All of these rights would have required slaves to be legally recognized as people rather than as property.

The Black Code provided for little in the humane treatment of slaves. Slaveowners were required to provide medical care and religious care to sick slaves, and were required to provide food to slaves even if they allowed their slaves to be hired out to others (Louisiana Constitutional and Anti-Fanatical Society 1988: 47). Food allowances in 1806 were a quart of corn per day or one barrel of Indian corn or the equivalent in rice, beans, or another grain plus a pint of salt per month. Clothing consisted of one summer pants and shirt, and one winter shirt, pants, and coat per year (Stroud 1988: 187). However, anyone caught teaching a slave to read or write would serve a jail time of one month to a year in prison (Louisiana Constitutional and Anti-Fanatical Society 1988: 68).

Slaves were not allowed to carry arms, even with permission (Louisiana Constitutional and Anti-Fanatical Society 1988: 48). Slaves who struck any member of his master's family, killed someone, or promoted an insurrection, was condemned to death. Exceptions were made for slaves who were acting in their owner's defense (Louisiana Constitutional and Anti-Fanatical Society 1988: 49). Poisoning and arson were punished with being "imprisoned in irons and at hard labour for life" (Louisiana Constitutional and Anti-Fanatical Society 1988: 59). Also, slaves legally could not own anything unless their owner agreed they could (Stroud 1988: 204).   Slaveowners were not to allow dancing among his slaves (Louisiana Constitutional and Anti-Fanatical Society 1988: 56).

Slave Resistance

Louisiana was the site of several attempts at overt rebellion. In 1791, a slave plot was uncovered in Pointe Coupee Parish (across the river from West Feliciana Parish), and quickly suppressed (Bell 1997: 24; La Chance 1989: 244). Hall reports the conspiracy was organized by enslaved people of Mina descent, and that enslaved people from another ethnic group informed whites of the plot (1992: 320). The trial and punishment dragged on for a few years in New Orleans, where the conspirators worked with others from many different convict laborers and soldiers, expanding their network of contacts. This network would play an important role in another Pointe Coupee rebellion in 1795. However, the owners of the Mina people did not seem to fear more revolution, but rather attempted to reclaim their services as soon as possible (Hall 1992: 333).

The next serious attempt at rebellion occurred again in Pointe Coupee Parish in 1795. In this case, slaves living at Julian Poydras' plantation planned to set their owner's home on fire and then kill the plantation owners who rushed to help put out the flames. Enslaved people living at several different plantations in the parish and in other parishes were involved (Hall 1992: 344). Under the belief they were free and the French were about to invade Louisiana to enforce this legislation, enslaved people organized to revolt (Hall 1992: 350). Investigation of the incident alleged that several "outside agitators" had attempted to incite this behavior with "propaganda from France and Saint Domingue" (Bell 1997: 28), but the people involved in the plan included enslaved African and creole people, free people of African descent, and poor whites (Hall 1992: 373). The result of this revolt was that two white men were deported to Havana for six

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years in prison, and one white man, two Haitian free blacks, and one slave were required to leave Louisiana. However, slave unrest continued in this parish (Bell 1997: 28).

In 1811, another slave revolt occurred, this time in St. John Parish. In this instance, slaves were led by a Haitian, and over three hundred slaves were involved (Bell 1997: 46). They armed themselves with farm implements and organized into two groups. The military was called in to quell the uprising, and prepared a three sided attack. At least 16 slave leaders were executed, and reportedly "their heads [were] displayed on stakes along the banks of the Mississippi" (Taylor 1979: 200).

One of the last major slave revolts occurred in 1829 when slaves forty miles north of New Orleans rebelled (Bell 1997: 78). Unfortunately, no further information about this revolt is provided in the sources. We do know that Louisiana began to tighten security among the free black population, but not how this affected enslaved people (Bell 1997: 78).

Several other smaller plots are mentioned in the literature, but details are rarely given. A revolt in Rapides Parish led to the hanging of nine slaves and three free people of color. Additionally, 30 slaves were jailed. White abolitionists attempted to incite a revolt in 1840 in Lafayette and St. Landry parishes, but the plot was discovered, three slaves hanged, and the abolitionists banned from the state. Davis also notes that there were slave plots uncovered in 1842 in the parishes of Concordia, Madison, and Carroll. Also, in 1853 a schoolteacher for free boys of color attempted to promote a rebellion (Davis 1960: 199).

Although Louisiana had a number of slave rebellions, more often, slaves subverted their oppression through everyday resistance or what Garman calls "resistant accommodation" in which slaves resisted within the larger framework of white society (1998: 151). This resistance includes both individual and collective acts; individuals may have prompted a group response so that the effect was a constant struggle against working at the planter's desired rate of speed or effectiveness (Sidbury 1997: 24). Actions such as breaking tools, carelessness, pilfering, or faking illness were small actions that demonstrated opposition to the hegemony (Scott 1990: 188, 198). Every individual who practiced such a strategy effectively expressed resistance by slowing the rate of production.

As more individuals chose to participate in daily resistance, their cumulative efforts continually caused problems in the rate of production (Scott 1990: 192). These individuals also began to develop a group identity as they participated in achieving a unified goal of resisting their positions within society (Sidbury 1997: 24). Small victories led to a stronger sense of group solidarity; enslaved people openly or violently resisted when they perceived a compromise was being breached. In Virginia, there are records of enslaved people violently beating a new overseer who was attempting to enforce the slaveowner's wishes that his slaves should be treated more strictly (Sidbury 1997: 25-26).

Although daily resistance was covert, slaveowners may have noticed the behavior. Yet rather than recognizing this behavior as resistant, or perhaps despite recognizing it as resistant, they continued to negotiate the hegemonic boundary with the slaves. On some unconscious level, slaveowners must have known that it was impossible to completely

control other human beings, and that there would be transgressions. Indeed, this continual testing makes it more important for the dominant to publicly punish transgressors to preempt future challenges (Scott 1990: 197), which they often did via informal (e.g. whipping, physical punishment) and formal (e.g. courts) means. The physical and symbolic reminders of the dominant ideology were meant to restate the hegemonic view in the face of an expression of a counter-hegemony.

An important point that should be remembered is that there were probably hierarchical power relations existing within the slave community as well (Scott 1990: 26). As Scott notes, the person who is considered subordinate exists in a world of his peers and in the world of the master, and "both of these worlds have sanctioning power" (1990: 189). Although there was no formal law to settle disputes between slaves (since slaves were considered property), slaves had informal systems of control. Power centered on those members of the slave community who possessed specialized knowledge, such as religious knowledge. The use of obeah (a version of witchcraft developed on British influenced plantations), vodun, or Santeria has been documented as a form of social control among slaves (see McCartney 1976, Patterson 1967) and was sometimes recognized by the slaveowner as an informal system of social control. As such, the slaveowner often tried to suppress it, in part because many of these religious specialists had knowledge of plants or herbs that could be used to induce abortions among slaves or to poison the master.

Archaeology has also recovered material remains that hint that enslaved people may have been resisting the status quo by practicing their own spiritual beliefs. In

addition to the possible divination materials or conjurer's kit recovered from the Levi

Jordan plantation in Texas (Brown and Cooper 1990), other objects have been recovered

in contexts that archaeologists now recognize may reflect an African-influenced world

view. For example, at Oakley Plantation in West Feliciana Parish, Wilkie discovered

perforated coins she interpreted as charms of protection against supernatural elements

(Wilkie 1995: 144). This type of artifact has also been found at other sites in the

American South (e.g. Davidson 2004; McKee 1991; Young 1997). As researchers have

noted, it was common for a person to protect oneself from Obeah by wearing charms or

amulets (Bisnauth 1996: 89), or by hanging an Obeah bag in the house (Morrish 1982:

42). This hints at the presence of an informal justice system that may have existed

among the slaves.

Also, ordinary artifacts may take on new significance according to context. For

example, in my research in the Bahamas, artifacts recovered from excavation of an

enslaved African houseyard were not startling by themselves. Yet such the presence of

expensive ceramics, and ceramics decorated in a particular color scheme, suggested

slaves on Clifton Plantation were exercising choice by purchasing such materials

(Anderson 1998: 70). This choice in itself was an act of resistance against the planter

who tried to exercise total control over his slaves. Wilkie has elaborated on this idea in

her extensive research at Clifton (2000a).

At Rosedown, there is evidence of slave rebellion in a few contemporary

accounts. For example, in his journal, Daniel Turnbull's brother-in-law, Bartholomew

Barrow, notes that in 1837, three days after Christmas he had to send "3 of Mr. Turnbulls

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boys off. For smoking cegars in my front yard – with a note to him – and never to put their foot on the place again" (Davis 1943: 104). As slaves were usually given several days off after Christmas(Genovese 1972: 573), it is likely some of Turnbull's slaves were visiting over at Barrow's plantation. Since they were not required to work on that day, they may have been rebelling by simply doing something they knew would bother Barrow. Yet other reports are more obvious. In 1829, Rachel O'Connor, of nearby Evergreen Plantation, mentions that Daniel Turnbull "lost a gin house and seventy bales of cotton, which by some accident caught fire and burned down. The place where the house got burned is up in the Barrow settlement, one that belonged to his wife" (Webb 1983: 39). Although she seems to think this is some sort of accident, it may have been slaves sabotaging Turnbull's crops to resist. Evidence of outright resistance also occurred, this time in 1844. Again, Rachel O'Connor notes that in general, there have been a lot of runaways in West Feliciana Parish. Specifically, she notes that Daniel Turnbull had ten slaves run away at the same time (Webb 1983: 260).

Bahamas

During initial settlement in the Caribbean, Europeans ignored the Bahamas archipelago. The islands had little or nothing to offer in minerals such as gold, and were not rich in fresh water or foods (Craton and Saunders 1992: 63). With the exception of a brief Spanish exploration of Bimini in 1513 in an attempt to substantiate rumors of a fountain of youth, the islands remained unclaimed until the British granted them to Sir Robert Heath in 1629. However, still no one settled on the islands, and the French

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granted a portion of the archipelago to some of their subjects in 1633. The Bahamas were of such little consequence that no one ever contested these grants or made any attempt at settlement (Albury 1975: 38).

In 1644, however, a group of religious dissidents living in the British colony of Bermuda sent two ships to explore the Bahamas with the idea of establishing a settlement there. Although initial reports were rather dismal (Craton and Saunders 1992: 74), a group of settlers landed on Eleuthera in 1648 (Craton and Saunders 1992: 77). Within two years, many of these original settlers emigrated. During this time, Bermuda shipped their "undesirables" to the Bahamas, including unwed mothers and religious heretics. Even more interesting, however, is the report that Bermuda sent all free people of color to the Bahamas to prevent them from having contact with enslaved Africans (Craton and Saunders 1992: 78). Albury notes that Virginia may have used the Bahamas in the same way (1875: 45). In addition to these diverse groups of people, some of the whites living on Eleuthera may have had African and Native American slaves, the latter from Virginia (Craton and Saunders 1992: 71).

The diversity of the different populations settling among the Bahama islands did not include a large number of women, which led to competition among different classes of males. Wealthy white males more easily found wives of their social and racial group, but poor white men competed with enslaved black men for the attentions of enslaved black women. As a result, there was a greater tolerance among whites for children of mixed parentage (Craton and Saunders 1992: 90). However, we do not know how these children were viewed and treated by blacks. Since children inherited their mothers'

status, mulatto children born of free white men and enslaved black women would probably have been raised as slaves on the plantation by their mothers.

As people living in the Bahamas created their own set of social interactions, they also began to interact with the pirates that frequented the Bahamas. During the late 17th and early 18th centuries, privateering and piracy were common in the Bahamas. Privateering was a sort of legalized piracy sanctioned by the Crown. Privateers carried official letters that legitimized their actions in capturing ships, saving them from facing the death penalties to which pirates were subject (Albury 1975: 57). By this time, the slave trade had begun, and Craton and Saunders note that "Captured cargoes of slaves were generally treated – or maltreated – simply as commercial plunder" (1992: 111). Both privateers and pirates would have had access to enslaved people although pirates would have had to find somewhere to illegally sell such a cargo. It may have been less trouble for pirates to release Africans from enslavement. Historical information may support this idea, for it seems pirates recruited people of color from different vessels, and that even though the majority of pirates were British white males, there are records of white female pirates and pirates of color (Craton and Saunders 1992: 111). This seems to indicate that pirates *may* have had a different attitude toward people of color, which would have influenced the social relationships between lower-class whites and people of color.

The pirates were eventually expelled, and the Bahamas began to try to build a more "respectable" image (Craton and Saunders 1992: 118), which apparently included owning more people, as white residents of the Bahamas began to buy more enslaved

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Africans. In 1721, 295 enslaved Africans from Guinea were brought into the Bahamas. This importation seems to have started a minor trend, as during the next decade, the black population, which was mostly enslaved, increased by 60% with little natural increase (Craton and Saunders 1992: 119).

Enslaved Africans arrived from a variety of places during the 1730s and 1740s. British wars with the French and Spanish caused the Royal Navy to capture ships containing Spanish and French Creole slaves that were brought to the Bahamas. However, many white Bahamians preferred to buy African slaves because they were supposed to be easier to control (Craton and Saunders 1992: 151). Also, by 1741, the Bahamas had imposed a heavy duty on slaves from Spanish or French colonies (Craton and Saunders 1992: 151).

The Loyalist Influence

Large numbers of enslaved Africans did not start arriving until Loyalists fleeing the United States began to arrive in the Bahamas with their slaves in 1783 (Craton and Saunders 1992: 183). Not all of these immigrants were planters; others were white families without slaves or free blacks. Although many of these first immigrants were leaving New York to settle in Abaco (Craton and Saunders 1992: 183), most Loyalists and slaves came from East Florida to New Providence. Not all of these people stayed on New Providence, but more than half of the three hundred white families and one third of the slaves settled on this island (Craton and Saunders 1992: 188).

The availability of land grants prompted a surge of Loyalist immigration and Loyalists began to establish cotton plantations on several islands. By 1788, 128 plantations with 10 or more slaves had been established (Albury 1975: 115). The total immigration from the United States reached 1600 whites and 5700 enslaved and free blacks (Craton and Saunders 1992: 179). This population influx created social tension between whites and free blacks. In 1784, the Bahamas Assembly passed a law declaring that all free black men from ages 15-60 were required to serve in the militia. This branch of the military was designated the "Free Company", and members of this company had the responsibility of capturing runaway slaves. Members of the Free Company had to wear badges that declared their name or militia number and their free status (Craton and Saunders 1992: 190). Although the white slaveowners probably intended for this law to promote distrust between enslaved and free Africans in order to facilitate efforts to suppress rebellion, there is no mention of penalty if a member of the Free Company failed to capture a runaway slave. It is possible this law may have facilitated contact between the two groups by allowing free Africans to patrol plantations where they would come into contact with enslaved people on a regular basis.

Most of the plantations in the Bahamas grew cotton, which suffered severe losses in 1788 due to the introduction of the chenille bug, (which, like the boll weevil, feeds on cotton) and the sparse Bahamian soil that eroded extensively (Craton and Saunders 1992: 196). Although high wartime cotton prices kept the plantations going for a short time (Craton and Saunders 1992: 197), planters were eventually forced to resort to subsistence farming to avoid bankruptcy (Saunders 1983: 41). Some planters also began producing

salt, but this option was only available to those who owned salt ponds and could afford

the hefty export duty imposed on salt when salt-raking became regulated by law in 1789

(Saunders 1983: 42).

The failure of the cotton crop in the Bahamas created an economic disaster for

many planters, but socially created an even more difficult situation. Faced with the loss

of their major cash crop, most planters had far too many slaves to work on crops that

needed less maintenance. Some planters shipped their slaves to plantations they owned

on other British Caribbean islands, but not everyone had that resource. The planters'

solution was to allow their slaves to have some time off in order to work on their own

provision grounds. By doing this, the planters had less of an economic burden of feeding

their slaves, and also eased their minds that enslaved people would be too busy with their

own crops to plan organized resistance.

Enslaved Africans

Enslaved Africans arrived in the Bahamas with their owners, who themselves

came from several different places. After the evacuation of Charleston and Savannah,

some Loyalists first migrated to Canada, and then later, to the Bahamas (Riley 1983: 24).

Others resettled once in East Florida after fleeing the Carolinas and Georgia. When the

British ceded East Florida to Spain, they once again had to relocate. Others left New

York, as the peace treaty only allowed Britain to hold it until 1783 (Craton and Saunders

1992: 182). Collinwood claims that the Bahamas had close ties with South Carolina,

New York, Rhode Island, Connecticut and Philadelphia (1989: 7). The enslaved Africans

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accompanying these people may have also been from a variety of places; some from Africa or the Caribbean, and others who had been born in the United States.

Once plantations in the Bahamas were established, more enslaved Africans began to arrive from different areas. Ships of varying nationalities brought their slave cargoes through the Bahamas. Spanish ships regularly passed through the Bahamas on their trade routes as early as the 16th century (Williams 1971: 50). Many ships en route to Havana first stopped in the Bahamas, allowing planters there to purchase some enslaved Africans directly off the ship (Saunders 1991: 26). Presumably some of these purchases were illicit, because unless the ships went directly into Nassau, these slaves would not have gone through the formal auctioning process (with accompanying taxes) at the Vendue House. This type of purchasing might have been very common, especially on strategically situated islands such as Turks or Exuma. Turks island is located at the Windward Passage between Cuba and Hispaniola (Williams 1971: 90), while Exuma's Elizabeth Harbor was good enough to be considered building a capital city around. It later became an important port for exporting cotton directly to England and other areas (James 1988: 26).

One of the most difficult tasks facing historians investigating the Atlantic slave trade is determining where in Africa people came from. A part of the problem is that slavers did not necessarily designate a specific area from which they were taking people, but rather a general region, such as Senegambia (Curtin 1969: 127). Ethnicity was only important in the context of selecting certain groups of people who were preferred in different areas of the New World (Curtin 1969: 130). Through studies of ship returns, we

know that the British were taking the majority of enslaved Africans from the Bight of Biafra, the Gold Coast, and Central Africa (Curtin 1969: 129). These regions each have a number of different ethnic groups, such as Chamba and Popo from the Bight of Biafra, and Kongo in Central Africa (Higman 1984: 128). However, finding out where specific cargoes were unloaded becomes difficult, and it is likely some Bahamians were engaging in illicit trade with the Spanish and Portuguese.

   In the Bahamas, enslaved Africans were brought not only from Africa, but also from North America and other areas of the West Indies (Collingwood 1989: 6, Craton and Saunders 1992: 51). Many of these slaves may have been later exported from the Bahamas, as Higman reports the Bahamas was a center for slave redistribution (1984: 78). Since cotton had failed to be a major cash crop, Bahamian planters were not interested in purchasing large quantities of slaves (Saunders 1983: 41). The Bahamas' population of enslaved peoples increased naturally until about 1820 (Higman 1984: 76). Therefore, the creole population increased while there was still a healthy influx of enslaved Africans from Africa and other areas of the Caribbean. Also, in the Out Islands where there was more of a chance for illicit trade, there may have been different social dynamics among the groups represented.

The British Abolish the Slave Trade

   In 1807, Britain outlawed the slave trade (Craton and Saunders 1992: 217). As a result, foreign ships carrying slaves had to covertly move their human cargoes through British waters. The distance between islands in the Bahamas archipelago made it an ideal

place for slavers to use as a hiding place on the way to Cuba (Dalleo 1984: 15). It is possible that this may have resulted in some illicit trade in the Out Islands. However, if the Royal Navy captured a ship carrying enslaved Africans, or if a ship carrying enslaved people wrecked in British waters, the Africans were taken to the nearest British port. The Bahamas' location just north of the Spanish colonies of Cuba and Santo Domingo, and independent Haiti was often the nearest British port. As the slave trade had been outlawed, these captives were considered free (Williams 1979: 2).

As the numbers of liberated Africans in the Bahamas increased, the white inhabitants became fearful that the increasing numbers of free blacks would upset the status quo. They petitioned the government about the situation as they "were especially concerned that the influx of Africans would increase Nassau's free non-white population, many of whom were unemployed and thus, they believed, likely to resort to criminal activities" (Johnson 1991: 32). Also, before any of the liberated Africans had even arrived on New Providence, the number of free blacks was competing with the number of whites (Johnson 1991: 33). As a result, the white inhabitants decided to establish settlements specifically for the Africans (Department of Archives 1991: 11). These settlements were initially situated away from Nassau and the white population (Williams 1979: 2) although once settled, liberated Africans became apprenticed to whites (Saunders 1985: 194) or enlisted in the militia (Department of Archives 1991: 15). From 1811 until 1860, 26 ships carrying newly liberated Africans arrived in the Bahamas (Dalleo 1984: 15).

Liberated Africans also seem to have settled on islands other than New

Providence. Dalleo writes that it was government policy to settle liberated Africans on

Out Islands. Yet he also mentions that some liberated Africans went to Out Islands

temporarily, and returned to Nassau (Dalleo 1984: 16). Government policy was changed

in the 1830s to minimize the expenses in settling free people of color, and so liberated

African villages were established on New Providence (Dalleo 1984: 16).

Liberated Africans were not isolated; they were often hired by slaveowners to

work on plantations, interacting with each other on a daily basis (Johnson 1991: 20).

Also, due to the preference for males in the slave trade, there were relatively few

available females (Dalleo 1984: 17, Johnson 1991: 38). This resulted in many sexual

liaisons between enslaved African women and liberated African men (Johnson 1991: 38).

This was significant enough for a group of liberated African men to refuse to work on

one of the Out Islands because there were no women, and that another group decided

against a contract offering jobs on the Out Islands for the same reason (Dalleo 1984: 18).

Liberated African ethnicity

More information is available about the ethnicity of liberated Africans than about

enslaved Africans in the Bahamas. Dalleo specifically provides an example of these

diverse groups:

The "Isabella" [Portuguese ship captured by the Royal Navy]

held the following: Mocco, Papir Mongola, Camaloo, and Ebo.

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Five years later the "Rosa" transported Congo, Crou, Kipee,

Ebo, Mocca, Mongola, and Mohambu peoples. In addition to the

already mentioned groups, the collector of customs listed the

following in his report: Benin, Bibe, Gamba, Gola, Hanga, Hausa,

Mondingo, and Koromantee. Many of the ships captured in the

1830s conveyed peoples from the Congo region.

(1984: 17)

Eneas provides additional information about Yoruba speaking peoples in the Bahamas.

In Bain Town, near Nassau, there was a strict spatial division between the Yoruba and the

Congo, with each group of people living in two sections: "Bain Town proper" and

"Contabutta." The Yorubas, who called themselves N'ongas, lived in "Bain Town

proper" (Eneas 1976: 28). The Congos lived in "Contabutta", which was south of Bain

Town (Eneas 1976: 35). This division is a result of the relationship between the two

groups, as the Yorubas considered the Congos to be socially and economically inferior to

themselves (Williams 1979: 9). Eneas notes that, "No N'ongo man would associate with

a Congo under any circumstance" and that "For a N'ong to be labeled a 'Congo man' was

as raw as epithet as could be imagined" (1976: 36).

Slave Resistance

Slave resistance in the Bahamas seldom occurred as a large-scale group rebellion. Three factors may have contributed to this lack of overt resistance: geography, absentee owners, and the threat of slave sale.

Saunders attributes the infrequent instances of overt resistance among Bahamian slaves to the "dispersed nature of the Bahama Islands," suggesting communication, and as a result, organization, was more difficult for the slaves (1984: 26). Regardless of whether the enslaved people on a single island worked together to resist, it was the slaveowners who had access to the means of communicating with other islands. If the slaves had held the Loyalists hostage or even had killed them, communications between islands would have been interrupted, and eventually the situation would have been discovered. As the planter class had access to weapons and the military, the standoff would have been brief and undoubtedly bloody.

The geography of the Bahamas also influenced the behavior of people living on the plantations. Most planters in the Bahamas were "absentee owners", who owned a plantation on one of the "Out Islands" while they themselves lived in Nassau or even England (Saunders 1983: 14). Thus these owners rarely or never came into contact with the slaves they owned, and did not directly observe how hard enslaved people worked. Rather, an overseer was the sole person responsible for enforcing slave behavior. Yet as the only person on the plantation in such a position, the overseer was obviously outnumbered should enslaved people choose to unite against him. In this position, the overseer, who in the Bahamas was often black, may have been more lenient in controlling

slave behavior. Although he observed the slaves, neither his behavior nor enslaved people's behavior was being observed by the slaveowner. Black overseers may have additionally recognized the irony of their situation and have had a degree of empathy toward slaves under their command.

Perhaps one of the most significant factor in the low incidence of overt slave resistance was the slaves' realization that despite their enslavement, their situation in another country could be a lot worse. If the slaveowner had problems with his slaves, he could sell them or move them to another plantation in Jamaica or another British colony where conditions were much harsher, and laws more strictly enforced. He could also split up families and social networks. In fact, the threat of sale is what caused one of the best known slave rebellions in the Bahamas.

In 1828, enslaved people living on the Rolle Plantation in Exuma learned their owner was planning to move them to Trinidad. Forty-five slaves stopped their plantation tasks, fired muskets, and confronted the overseer (Craton and Saunders 1992: 382). When the boat arrived to transport the slaves, two-thirds of them disappeared, while the other one-third informed the boat captain that they did not want to be relocated, and they had not received new clothes for a year and a half. They further explained that they would not continue to rebel if they were supplied with their allowances and were not removed. After Lord Rolle's agent in Nassau came and investigated the situation, he noted that the Rolle slaves would agree to be moved to another island in the Bahamas (Craton and Saunders 1992: 383.) However, when the time came, the 20 people

scheduled to be relocated fled and had to be forcefully removed by the military (Craton and Saunders 1992: 384).

This was not the only incident involving the Rolle slaves, 77 of whom were supposed to be moved to Cat Island in 1830. Learning they would be leaving in three days to be hired out to another planter illegally, most of these slaves followed Pompey, a 32 year old slave, into the bush to hide for five weeks. When their provisions ran out, they stole Lord Rolle's boat and sailed to Nassau in the hope of presenting their situation to the governor, who held antislavery viewpoints. However, they were captured and sentenced to work in the workhouse in Nassau, and several slaves were flogged (Craton and Saunders 1992: 384). Eventually, the governor learned of the proposed illegal transaction and returned the slaves to the Rolle Plantation on Exuma where their peers celebrated their return and refused to work. The military was again called in, and searched the slave houses for arms, recovering 25 muskets. Pompey took a short cut through the woods and warned people in the second slave village on the plantation, who subsequently hid themselves and their weapons in the bush. Pompey was returned to his village, where the other enslaved people still refused to work. Pompey was publicly whipped as incentive for the others to work, and they grudgingly returned to work, but only in the mornings until the military convinced them they were not to believe the rumor they were going to be freed (Craton and Saunders 1992: 385).

Other incidents of collective, overt resistance occurred on Eleuthera, where 75 slaves resisted due to a lack of receiving their rations of food and clothing, on Watlings Island, where 42 slaves protested the treatment of other slaves, and on New Providence in

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opposition to flogging female slaves. Seven slaves also protested after a slave was hung

on a plantation on Cat Island. These incidents all occurred in 1831 and 1832. The Rolle

slaves did not stop resisting either. In 1833 and three times in 1834, between 100 and

200 slaves protested when they were not given their full rations of food (Saunders 1985:

187).

These were not the only incidents of slave resistance; merely the largest.

Individuals resisted daily in the Bahamas through a variety of means – feigning illness,

suicide, inefficiency, and running away (Saunders 1985: 185). However, running away

was one of the best documented means of resistance; Craton and Saunders noted nearly

500 runaway advertisements in the Bahamian newspapers dating between 1784-1834

(1992: 359). These runaways often were suspected or known to be "harboured" by

relatives or friends living in the black suburbs of Nassau. Even slaves from the Out

Islands, such as Harry, who belonged to Wade Stubbs on Caicos Island, was thought to

be living among friends in Nassau (Craton and Saunders 1992: 365-366). Incidentally,

Harry was part of a group of fourteen slaves, the largest known runaway group in the

Bahamas, who ran away from Wade Stubbs in 1800 (Craton and Saunders 1992: 367).

In addition to these recognizable forms of resistance, enslaved people in the

Bahamas also resisted through the use of the belief system of Obeah. Obeah was a means

of controlling people – according to Patterson, Obeah was a form of social control

usually used by slaves to prevent, determine, or punish crime among themselves

(Patterson 1967: 190). Charms could be placed visibly to warn others against stealing by

showing a field or a tree was protected by a charm (McCartney 1976: 65). The idea was

that thieves would be deterred from stealing because the charm was a warning that something bad would happen to them if they did.

Yet Obeah was also a way for enslaved people to resist against the slaveowning population. By placing a fix or a set on someone, a slave could threaten the white slaveowner by showing a material symbol of a belief system that was totally separate from the belief system that planters arrogantly thought they could instill in slaves through persuasion or physical violence. Evidence of Obeah was a physical reminder of resistance without physical contact.

Planters perceived Obeah as a threat of rebellion, especially after an incident in 1760 in which an enslaved African named Tacky led a revolt in Jamaica. Tacky, who was African-born, (Burton 1997: 25), provided fellow slaves with a charm to protect them from the weapons of the whites. The slaves, thinking they were immune, created significant problems (Bisnauth 1989: 83). After this, white slaveowners became fearful of the use of Obeah to incite revolt, and outlawed the practice of Obeah in the West Indies. In Jamaica, the practice of Obeah was punishable by death, but in the Bahamas, practicing Obeah merely earned a person three months in prison (McCartney 1976: 72).

The laws against Obeah caused its practice to become covert. Yet it had to be somewhat observable for it to work. However, Obeah still has an air of secrecy, and many people find it strange if one asks questions about Obeah (Morrish 1982: 42), probably a continuing result of its illegal status.

As Tacky's rebellion suggests, many sources report that Obeah was a specialist's job (e.g. Patterson 1967, Bell 1970, McCartney 1976). According to Otterbein's study

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among adults in the Bahamas in the 1960s, however, most adults (non-specialists in Obeah) on Andros Island, knew how to set a field, or how to pretend to set their fields (Otterbein 1965). Possibly certain practices were known to everyone while more specific types of practices were under the control of specialists.

The Obeah specialist used material culture to create physical symbols of Obeah practice. Most Obeah work involves the use of charms and poisons. Charms are composed of natural and culturally produced substances, such as blood, feathers, broken bottles, grave dirt, rum, egg shells, animal teeth, and bird beaks (Patterson 1967: 190). Bell describes similar ingredients in his account of entering a dead Obeah man's house. He writes:

> In every corner were found the implements of his trade, rags, feathers, bones of cats, parrots' beaks, dogs' teeth, broken bottles, grave dirt, rum, and egg-shells. Examining further, we found under the bed a large conarie or earthen jar containing an immense number of round balls of earth or clay of various dimensions, large and small, whitened on the outside and fearfully and wonderfully compounded. Some seemed to contain hair and rags and were strongly bound round with twine; others were made with skulls of cats, stuck round with human or dogs' teeth and glass beads, there were also a lot of egg-shells and numbers of little bags filled with a farrago of rubbish. (Bell 1970: 16)

Some of these substances were probably ingredients in "setting a fix" or putting a spell on another person rather than charms. Also, some of these things, such as the clay or earthen balls Bell describes, may have been physical representations of "fixes." For example, McCartney mentions his visit to an Obeah woman who keeps representations like a picture with a wax seal on it which represents a fix on a particular person (1976: 82). Archaeologically, evidence of similar materials has been found at the Levi Jordan plantation in Texas (Brown and Cooper 1990).

Charms were also used to protect the user from Obeah or other types of harm. In order to protect oneself from Obeah, a person would wear charms or amulets (Bisnauth 1996: 89), or hang an Obeah bag in the house (Morrish 1982: 42). Bush medicine can also be used to reverse the effects of Obeah on a person (Hood 1990: 69).

In the Bahamas, plants are important in curing people who suffer from some sort of disease and are used as a form of medicine to cure people who may have been fixed. Rubenstein writes that Bahamian bush medicine is "a term used to describe a wide variety of curative and preventative uses for the roots, barks, and leaves of the native flora of the islands" (1978: 159). Bush medicine is usually used for sickness, such as fevers and colds, flus, pain, constipation, rashes, and cuts (Rubenstein 1978: 160). Plants generally have three curative parts: the leaves and stems, the bark, and the roots. The roots are the strongest in medicinal properties (Rubenstein 1978: 163).

Obeah practitioners used bush medicine for a variety of purposes. Many sources indicate the Obeah practitioner used bush medicine to poison people (Bisnauth 1989: 92, Williams 1970: 133, Hedrick and Stephens 1984: 11, McCartney 1976: 68). Poisons

were another tool of the Obeah practitioner; perhaps the most powerful tool. What better way to prove to nonbelievers that Obeah works, than through killing someone or threatening to kill someone through Obeah, surreptitiously using poison to achieve your ends?

Whether using bush medicine and Obeah to harm or heal, slaves could actively resist slaveowners' attempts to dominate their lives. Poison was an effective means of removing the slaveowner, but not effective for freeing slaves from bondage. In fact, it could serve to break up families or deteriorate living conditions if the master died and his slaves were sold. Yet charms and medicinal treatments were ways that enslaved people could assert their own beliefs in the face of oppression. By rejecting the slaveowner's European based medicine, and by wearing talismans or displaying charm bags, slaves were resisting Europeans' attempts at controlling all aspects of their lives.

Slave Legislation

Most islands in the Caribbean had legislation in place to provide boundaries between the enslaved and free populations. This legislation took a variety of forms, from simply accounting for the enslaved people living in the Bahamas to laws governing the humane treatment of slaves. No matter how "lenient" these laws appear, however, they were not necessarily enforced, and were ultimately designed to continue the disenfranchisement of blacks.

Early slave laws were passed long before the Loyalists arrived with large numbers of enslaved people. The very first law in 1723 included both black and American Indian

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(from the United States, as the Indians in the Bahamas had been killed off in the previous centuries), and required them to carry a pass from their owners when leaving their homes. They were allowed to be whipped, but not maimed, burned, or cut. Slave homes were to be searched every two weeks to find weapons or stolen items (Craton and Saunders 1992: 128). Additional "Slave Acts" were passed in 1729, 1734, 1748, and 1767, and grew more severe each time (Craton and Saunders 1992: 151). The 1767 act was particularly concerned with prohibiting runaways, however, continued to allow slaves to carry firearms with a permit from a free person (Craton and Saunders 1992: 154).

The Haitian Revolution prompted even more drastic laws in the Bahamas. By 1797, laws were passed that established slaveowner responsibility for providing a set amount of rations each week, additional land for slaves' personal provision grounds, holidays for Christmas, and clothing allowances for slaves. These laws also established limits on excessive punishments, which meant slaveowners could not maim, give a slave more than 20 lashes at once, use iron collars and chains, or maliciously kill a slave. The law made a provision for investigation into cruelty cases, which could result in a slave's mandatory manumission. However, restrictions on slave behavior became more intense. Slaves were required to carry permits with any sort of weapon, could be sentenced to death for hitting a white person or attempting to poison a white person, and were to be punished by whipping and a term in the workhouse for running away (Craton and Saunders 1992: 209-211).

Slave Registers

In November 1816, the Bahamas House of Assembly voted to reject legislation that would require slaveowners to register their slaves. The Assembly reasoned that it would cost too much for the registrar to visit all of the dispersed islands in the Bahamas. Unfortunately, this allowed slaveowners to smuggle slaves into the Bahamas more easily. However, in April 1821, the Triennial Registration Act was passed, requiring slaveowners to register their slaves (The Commonwealth of the Bahamas Archives Exhibition 1985: 15).

A registrar was supposed to report the returns of the slave populations for all the islands in the Bahamas (African Institution 1971: 12). However, instead of appointing a registrar, the Bahamas simply assigned the duties to the Secretary of the Islands without additional compensation (African Institution 1971: 18). This information renders the information contained in slave registers suspect, as the registrar had no incentive to collect a large amount of data. The suspicion increases with the knowledge that the Bahamas didn't require slaves to be registered by name, but only required numbers. This may have made it easier to hide illicitly acquired slaves – by substituting a new, illegally acquired slave for a slave who had died. This was an easy way to hide black apprentices who had been captured and enslaved (African Institution 1971: 37).

Other legislation in the Bahamas regulated the humane treatment of enslaved people. The Bahamas, like many other nations participating in the system of slavery, passed laws stipulating minimum amounts of food planters were required to provide for their slaves. The law stipulated that planters in the Bahamas had to provide their slaves

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with a dietary supplement of 8 quarts of corn per week (CO 23/67 1815). As discussed in the section on slave resistance (see discussion of the Rolle slaves), many times this rule was not enforced, and slaves received inadequate rations. However, one case of inadequate rationing was brought to trial in Nassau.

In this case, a slave named Paul complained to a police clerk that his owner, James Moss, failed to provide him with this weekly allowance, instead giving rations of only 5 quarts per week. Four other slaves owned by Moss agreed with Paul's statement, and testified their agreement to the police clerk (Supplement to Bahamas Gazette 1815). Paul also complained to Moss's overseer, Thomas Whewell, who provided the police office with a copied list of provisions that showed a shortage in food rations (CO 23/67 1815: 3). The clerk showed T. Mathews, a police magistrate, this list of provisions. Ultimately, William Wylly, who was then Attorney General for the Bahamas, heard about this case and sent for Whewell to make a statement (CO23/67 1815: 5). By requiring the white overseer to make a statement, Wylly ensured this case could be tried. Slave testimony against whites was not allowed, so a white person had to provide evidence for the case to even be brought to trial, which did happen in this instance. Although James Moss was acquitted of cruelty to his slaves, Wylly's actions demonstrated his intention of enforcing laws requiring the humane treatment of slaves.

Between 1824 and 1833, the laws governing slave treatment in the Bahamas became more liberal (Craton and Saunders 1992: 228). The social climate in the Bahamas was receptive enough to this increasing liberalism that a couple was tried for cruelty to one of their slaves in 1827. Henry and Helen Moss were accused of

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excessively punishing their slave Kate on their plantation on Crooked Island.

Specifically, Kate was reported to have been confined to the stocks for seventeen days

and nights, during which time the Mosses gave her tasks to be completed. Since she was

not released from the stocks during this time, she could not complete these tasks, and was

subsequently flogged repeatedly (Anonymous: 1). One of the overseers on the plantation,

John Delancy, testified that Helen Moss ordered the cook and the overseer to rub red

pepper into Kate's eyes (CO 23/76 1827: 277a). Another overseer, James Spencer, who

happened to be Henry Moss's nephew, claims the pepper was rubbed *onto* her eyes rather

than in them (CO 23/76 1827: 280b), as if this would have been less cruel. Witnesses

claimed Kate was flogged (CO 23/76 1827: 277), and Delancy identified the whip as a

pair of small ropes connected to wooden handles (CO 23/76 1827: 279a).

Upon Kate's release from the stocks, she complained to Helen Moss's mother that she

was not feeling well and had had a fever the night before. Mrs. Frese replied that if she

continued to feel badly, to come to the house in the morning for medicine (CO 23/76

1827: 280a). Instead, Kate (who was a house slave) went to the fields to work, where she

collapsed and died (CO 23/76 1827: 280b). The Mosses were convicted of the

misdemeanor of cruelty to a slave rather than the more serious offense of murder of a

slave (Saunders 1985: 162), but it is significant they were convicted at all.

Slaves were also subject to trial in the legal system. In 1832, five slaves were

tried in Nassau for protesting against the treatment of another slave at the Farquarson

plantation in San Salvador. In this case, the slaveowner's illegitimate mulatto son James

hit a slave named Isaac for attempting to mount a mule from "the wrong side" (Deans

Peggs 1957: 50). Alick, Isaac's brother, attacked James, and claimed he would kill him.

When the other slaves heard about this conflict, they threatened James as well. The next

morning, the Farquarson slaves appeared armed with clubs and sticks. They "repeted

[sic] a great deal of the threats and abuse that they used the night befor [sic] and would

not harken to any advise or counsel that was given them" (Deans Peggs 1957: 51). The

slaves went back to work, although some of the men carried clubs with them the entire

day (Deans Peggs 1957: 51).

Eventually, Alick and two other slaves, Bacchus and Peter, were sent to Nassau to

be tried in court. Threats continued at the plantation so that two more slaves, March and

Matilda, were sent to Nassau as well (Craton and Saunders 1992: 355). Although all of

these slaves served terms in the workhouse, the governor intervened to recommend

leniency primarily because James Farquarson was of mixed descent and had tried to mete

out excessive punishment without his father's authority (Craton and Saunders 1992: 356).

The results of this recommendation is a reminder that people of color, regardless of their

status, were not equal to whites.

Clifton Plantation

Clifton Plantation was established in 1813 by William Wylly. Although the land

was originally granted to John Wood, Thomas Ross, and Lewis Johnson in the late 18th

century, they do not appear to have developed the property. As a result, the Crown

repossessed the land and regranted it to Thomas Mathews in 1812. Mathews conveyed it

to Wylly shortly afterward (Wilkie and Farnsworth 1999: 295). Wylly had already

purchased adjacent land in 1799 (Wilkie 2001a: 275). Clifton continued as Wylly's main residence until 1821, when he moved to St. Vincent (Wilkie and Farnsworth 1999: 295).

Records show that in 1818, 44 enslaved people lived at Clifton. Wilkie notes at least 10 of these individuals were African born (Wilkie 2001a: 277). Unfortunately, there are no specifics about where in Africa these people came from, although Wilkie hypothesizes they may have been Yoruba or Congo based on these known affiliations elsewhere on New Providence (Wilkie 2001a: 278).

Enslaved people at Clifton were subject to Wylly's published rules on slave behavior. Dated to 1815, these rules include allowing his slaves access to money. Enslaved people at Clifton were allowed time to raise their own provisions on separate two acre plots of land, and then sell their produce in the market in Nassau on Saturday. Further, they were allowed access to Wylly's boat to haul bulky items to the market. Another opportunity to earn money was to build walls on the plantation, for which Wylly paid one shilling per yard (Wilkie 2001a: 276). Wylly's rules also encouraged literacy and Methodist religious instruction (Wilkie 2001a: 273). However, Wylly's apparent benevolence and humanity was not apparent in all his actions; there are also documents that record his cruelty to enslaved people who did not follow his rules. For example, when one of his slave families ran away, he offered a reward for their capture, and upon their return, promptly sold them to "Henry Moss, one of the Bahamas' more notoriously cruel planters" on Crooked Island (Wilkie 2001a: 274). When Wylly died in 1828, his will intentionally sold families to different owners, including those families who had been well-established for years.

Promised Land

The land where Promised Land was established was granted to William Moss in 1785. He died in 1796, leaving the plantation to his brother James, who developed the plantation further. Upon his death in 1820, James's nephew, James Moss, Jr. took over, and immediately sent all the slaves who were capable of working to what is now Guyana (Demerara) (Wilkie and Farnsworth 1999: 289).

Unfortunately, no information about the enslaved people and/or their origins has been published at this point. However, we do know that before James Moss' death, he managed to send 211 people to Guyana, and after his death his executors (including his nephew) sent 823 more (Wilkie and Farnsworth 1999: 290). As Moss was the main importer of enslaved people to the Bahamas, and owned slaves on many plantations throughout the Bahamas and in Demerara (at least 1051 people), it becomes clear he was one of the wealthiest men in the Bahamas (Wilkie and Farnsworth 1999: 290).

Wade's Green

Wade Stubbs came to North Caicos in 1789 with a land grant of 860 acres. He established a cotton and sugar plantation here, and continued to purchase land until his death in 1822, at which time the plantation had expanded to approximately 3000 acres. Little is known of the enslaved people living at Wade's Green except that by 1822, 336 slaves were working there (Wilkie and Farnsworth 1999: 288).

Marine Farm

Joseph Hunter received the land grant for this area in 1791, but did not develop the plantation. By 1808, James Moss had taken over ownership and begun growing cotton. By 1810, the plantation was producing little more than provisions, and began sending his slaves to present day Guyana. He continued to send slaves there after his death, leaving behind only those who were old or unable to work.

The slave population at Marine Farm was not substantial in number. According to Wilkie and Farnsworth, the plantation was worked by only 13 people, which included 10 adults and one child aged somewhere between 8 and 12 years old. There were also two drivers (Wilkie and Farnsworth 1999: 290).

Great Hope

The land for Great Hope Plantation was originally granted to George Gray in 1791. Gray sold the land in 1792 to James Menzies, who established the plantation and purchased more land to bring the plantation to 1770 acres in size. After Menzies' death, the property was bought and resold to Henry Moss (James' nephew) around 1818. Moss claimed ownership of Great Hope until 1847, when he also claimed ownership of Marine Farm (Wilkie and Farnsworth 1999: 292-293).

Like the other plantations in the Bahamas, little is known about the enslaved Africans living here. In 1822, there were 41 enslaved people at Great Hope. This number steadily increased over the next 12 years so that in 1834, 99 enslaved people

were living there (Wilkie and Farnsworth 1999: 292). However, nothing has been

published about their origins.

Chapter 4: Archaeology and Comparisons

Methodology

Archival Research

In addition to archaeology, I conducted historical research on Rosedown Plantation. My primary sources for this information were the West Feliciana Parish Public Library, the Hill Memorial Library at Louisiana State University, the Louisiana State Archives, and the West Feliciana Parish Clerk's office. At these locations, I consulted historic newspapers, the Turnbull-Bowman family papers, and deed records for West Feliciana Parish.

These sources were all consulted to learn more about the plantation context and the lives of all the people living there. Although the records privilege the viewpoint of white slaveowners, it is possible to find information about enslaved people. At the West Feliciana Parish Public Library, microfiche of historic newspapers provided information about the Turnbulls' probate records (which included lists of enslaved people). The Hill Memorial Library's collection of Turnbull-Bowman papers included information about daily life on the plantation for both the slaveowners and enslaved people. These papers are mostly financial records, but they provide information about the enslaved people living at Rosedown (e.g. doctor bills, inventories, etc.) that cannot be found elsewhere. Likewise, the deed records at the West Feliciana Parish Clerk's office show a record of land acquisition for Daniel Turnbull as he assembled Rosedown, and also give some information about his buying and selling of enslaved people, including their names.

Oral History

Only one oral history was collected during the course of this dissertation research. Although the intent was to collect more, it was difficult to schedule these meetings while I was in the field with volunteers or during the workday when I needed an introduction to potential informants from younger residents of the community who were at work. I was able to interview Mr. Samuel Brooks, who grew up at Rosedown and lived there until the 1950s when the Underwood family bought the property. Interviews with Mr. Brooks were audio taped with his permission. I attempted to set up an interview with Mr. Brooks' mother who had lived at Rosedown for most of her life, but she was in poor health during my fieldwork, and an interview would have been too taxing.

Archaeology

At the outset of this project, the location for the slave quarters at Rosedown was unknown. The most widely cited source for information about the quarters was in "Reflections of Rosedown", a small booklet sold in the gift shop. In this booklet, the author describes the slave quarters at Rosedown as "laid off on the plan of a small city" with "well-built" and "comfortable" cabins, a well, and brick pathways "leading in all directions to the cabins" (Word n.d.: 22). However, this source also describes the enslaved people as Daniel Turnbull's "staff" (Word n.d.: 20) and notes that prior to European contact, "Bands of Indians lived in the flowering woodlands like children of nature" (Word n.d.: 6), indicating that the author has a romanticized view of the past. In addition, this source has no date of publication listed and contains no references

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anywhere in the text, which creates some difficulty in interpreting where the quarters were located within the plantation and what they were actually like.

Notary records at the St. Francisville Parish Clerk's Office indicate that Daniel Turnbull began acquiring land for Rosedown in 1829. His first purchase consisted of 500 arpents (approximately 422 acres) of land from his wife's family, who had originally bought it from the Mills family (Figure 4.1). This land was located west of Alexander Creek. He also purchased 496.66 acres of land east of Alexander Creek, 74 enslaved people, farm tools, and livestock (WFPNR, 1829:BC:168-172). This suggests that the area had an established plantation, and since the record notes that Daniel Turnbull was already living on the portion west of Alexander Creek (WFPNR, 1829:BC:168), that he had already established boundaries for his plantation.

Turnbull continued to add to the size of his property with additional purchases. In 1833, he bought 1435 arpents (1212 acres) of land north of his existing property. This new tract of land spanned both sides of Alexander Creek (WFPNR, 1841:BH:100-102), bringing Rosedown's acreage up to 2131 acres. By the time Daniel died in 1861, he had purchased five more tracts of land (WFPNR, 1871:BQ:213-215) bringing his plantation lands at Rosedown to a total of approximately 3458 acres.

A 1904 USGS 7.5 minute quadrangle topographic map shows a series of buildings behind the big house (Figure 4.2). These structures are located north and northwest of where the main house at Rosedown is located according to a 1994 USGS 7.5 minute quadrangle map (Figure 4.3). The 1904 map also shows a series of roads, some of which are still visible at Rosedown. By coordinating the features of this map with the
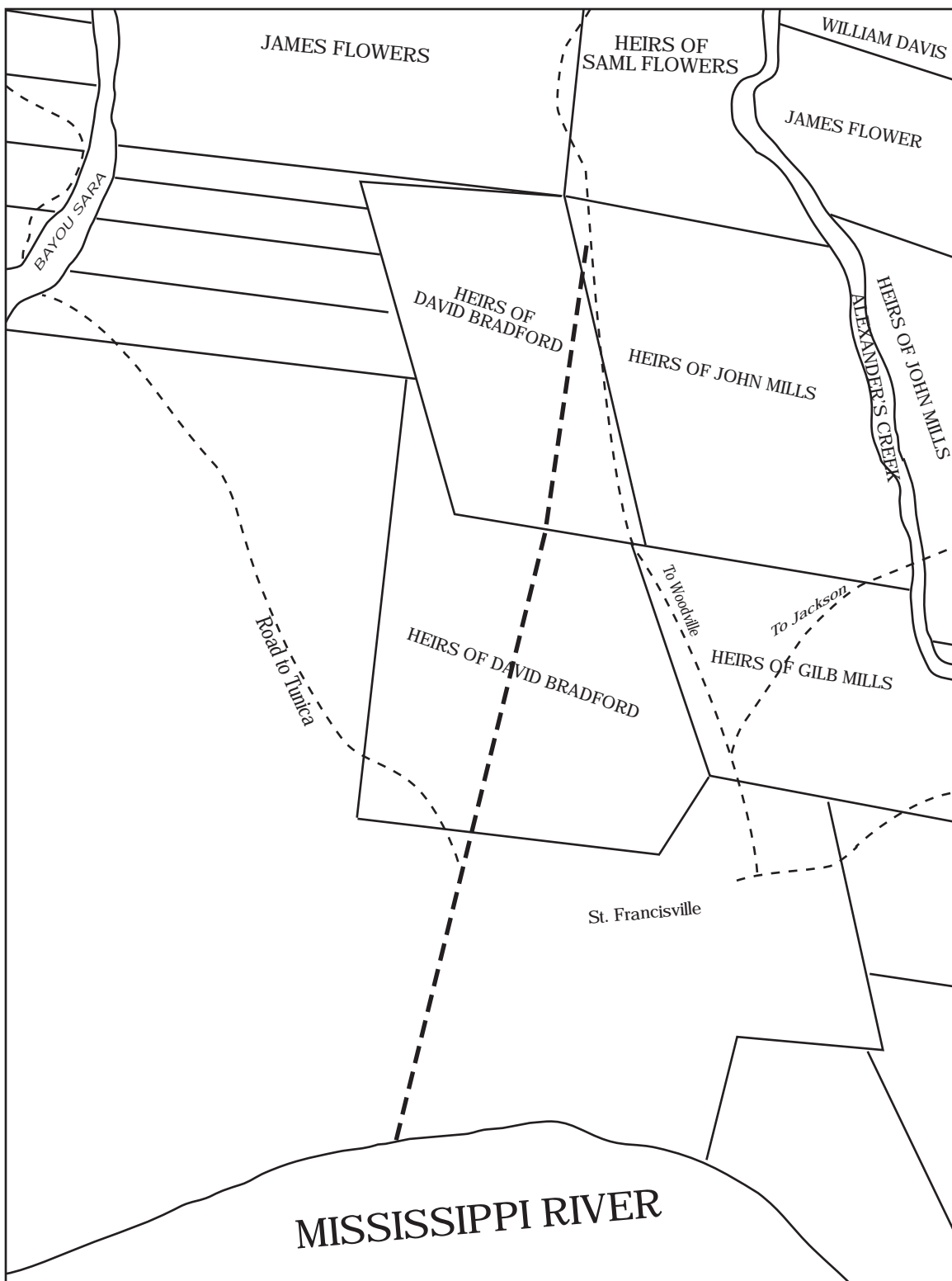
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Figure 4.1 1852 Surveyor's Map of the Rosedown Area

Figure 4.2 1904 Topographic Map
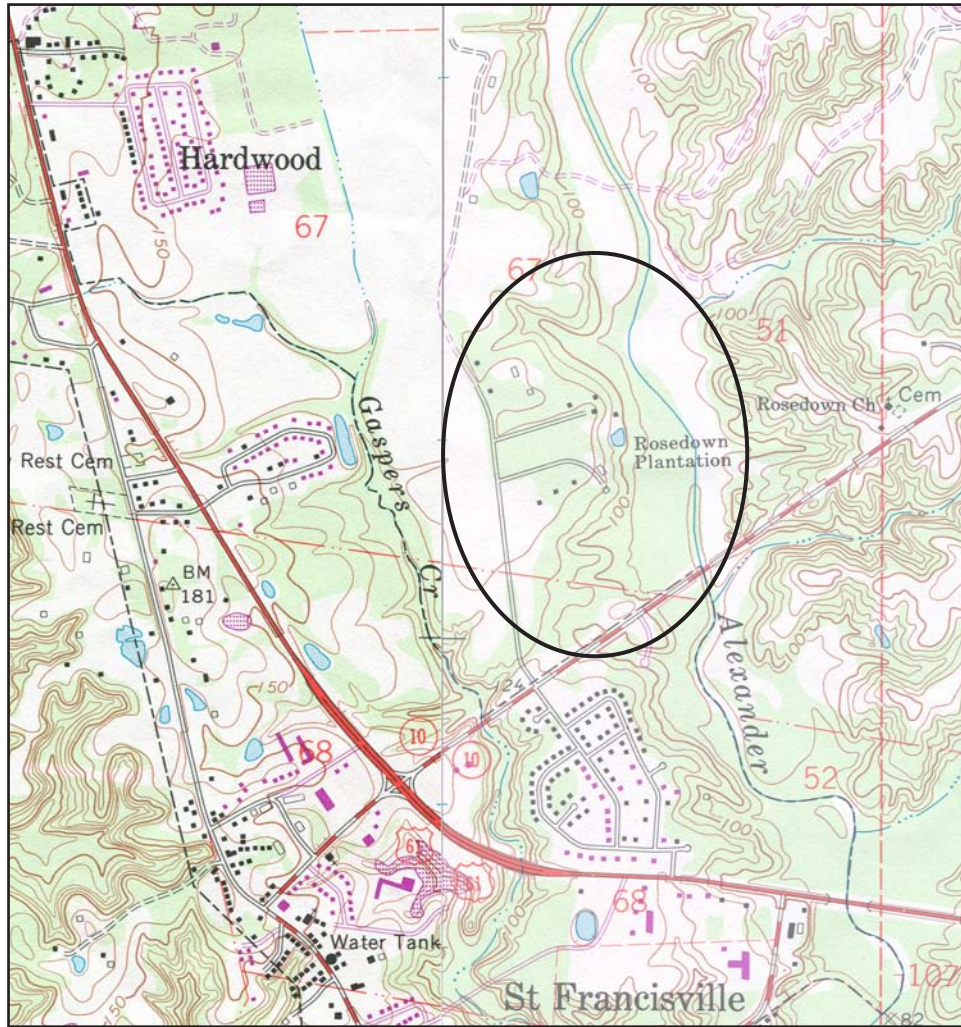Showing Rosedown Plantation

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Figure 4.3 1994 Topographic Map Showing
Rosedown Plantation

existing features of the landscape at Rosedown, it seemed likely the quarters were located

north-northwest of the main house in a lower area. This area is located between

Alexander Creek and the main plantation drive that extends all the way to the rear of the

property currently owned by the state (Figure 4.4). I decided this area was worth testing

to determine the presence or absence of archaeological deposits associated with the

enslaved African community at Rosedown.

Additional research revealed that this area of the property had structures on it at

different points in time. A 1939 USGS 7.5 minute quadrangle map indicates the presence

of buildings in this area (Figure 4.5), and an aerial photo taken in 1941 shows structures

scattered throughout this area (Figure 4.6). Subsequent aerial photographs taken in 1952

(Figure 4.7), 1959 (Figure 4.8), and 1967 (Figure 4.9) show that each year, a few more

structures disappear until there are none left.

Fieldwork

I submitted a research design to the State of Louisiana Division of Archaeology in

which I proposed using a metal detector within the above described area to find areas of

potential artifact concentration. Once these deposits had been pinpointed, I anticipated

excavating a series of 50x50 cm shovel tests to locate existing deposits and then opening

1x1 meter or 1x2 meter units to expose the spatial arrangement of these deposits and

associated features.

Southeast Regional Archaeologist Dr. Rob Mann and LSU graduate student Tim

Schilling accompanied me to Rosedown to assist me with the metal detector survey. The

1 Acre Well Site

Johnson Creek

Main House

Lot 0-3

Lot 0-2

Lot G
David Underwood
(Now or Formerly)

Lot 0-1

LA Highway 10

Gaspers Branch
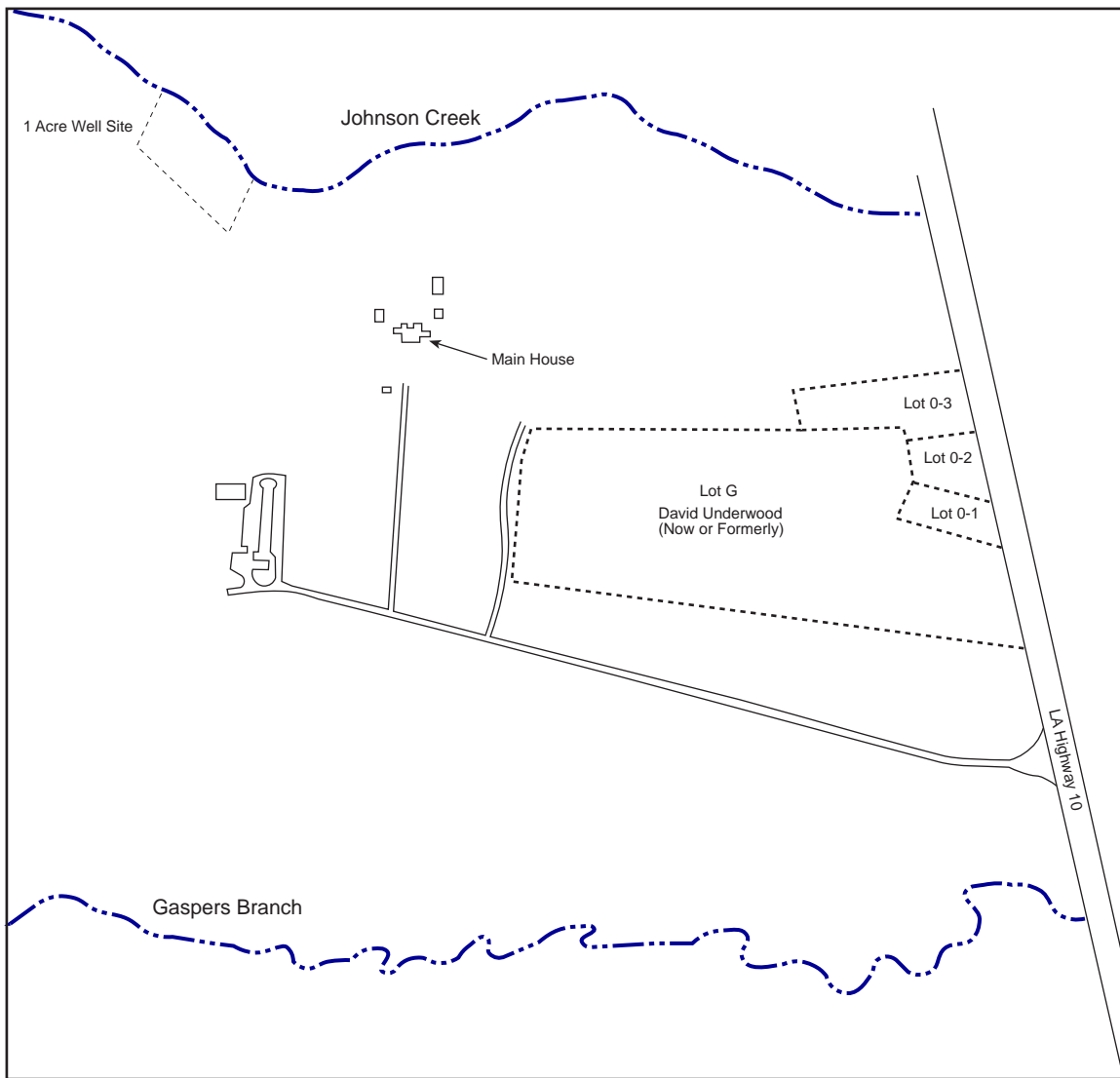
Figure 4.4 Property Currently Owned by the State of
Louisiana

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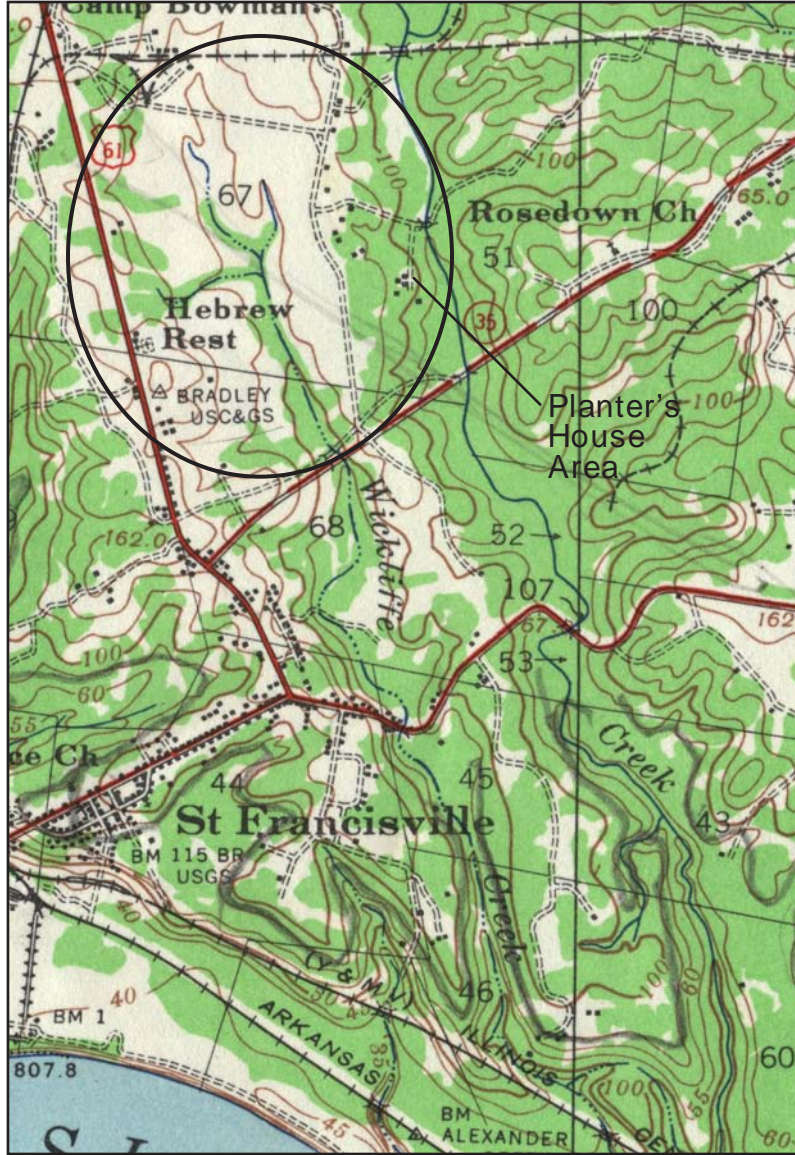
Figure 4.5 1939 Topographic Map
Showing Rosedown Plantation

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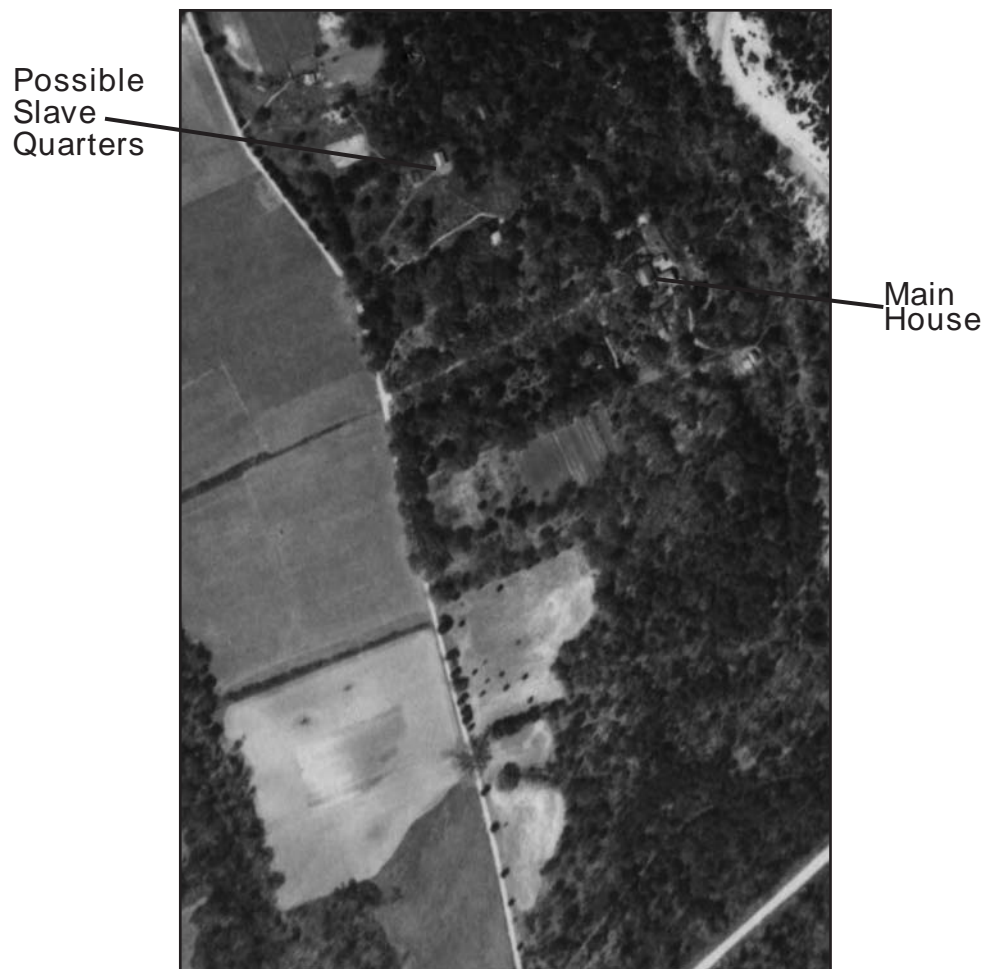Possible Slave Quarters

Main House

Figure 4.6 1941 Aerial Photo of Rosedown
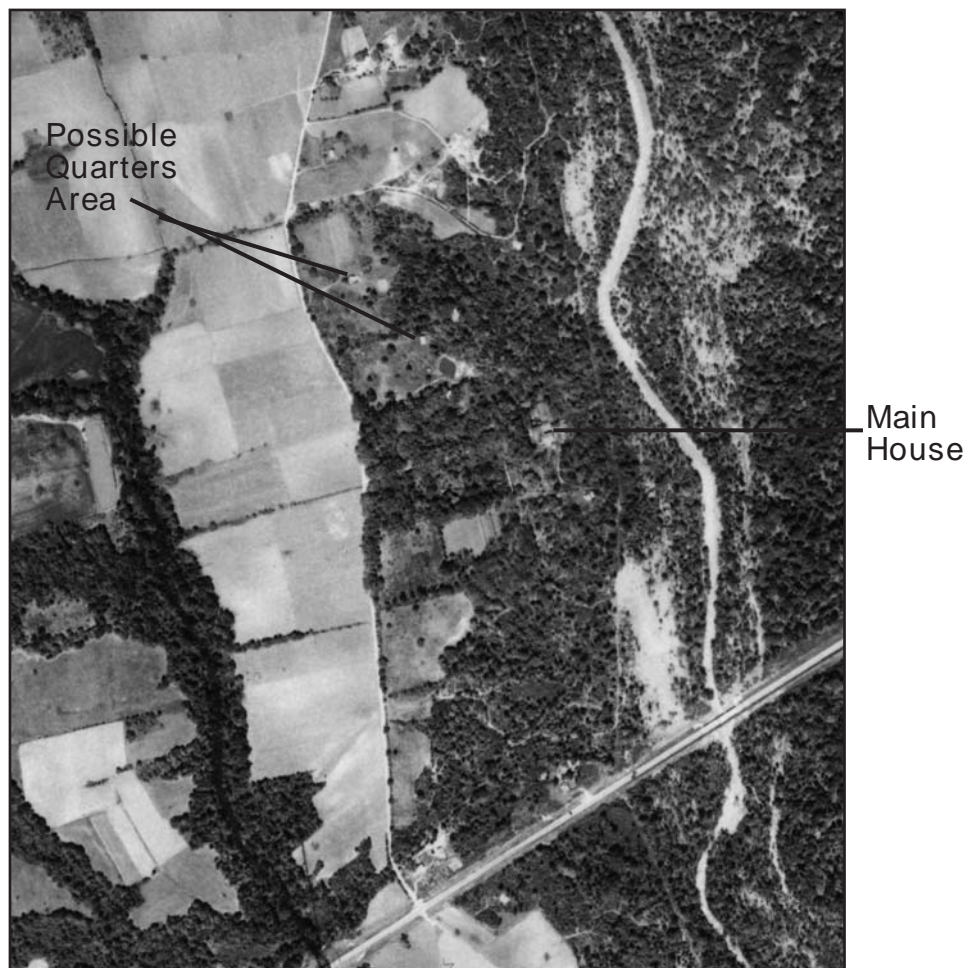
Figure 4.7 1952 Aerial Photo of Rosedown

Possible Quarters Area

Main House

Figure 4.8 1959 Aerial Photo of Rosedown

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Figure 4.9 1967 Aerial Photo of Rosedown

metal detector delineated a few areas that seemed to contain large metal deposits. Focusing on these areas, we established a temporary datum with the Total Data Station and I laid out an east-west transect perpendicular to the existing main drive at Rosedown. I excavated seven 50x50 cm shovel tests along this transect; all were negative with little change in stratigraphy.

At this point in the excavation, Dr. Chip McGimsey, the Southwest Regional Archaeologist, suggested doing several east-west transects with 30x30 cm shovel tests at a 25 meter interval to quickly and efficiently locate areas of artifact concentration. His first shovel test (ST 12), located 25 meters east of ST 8, recovered metal, brick, glass, and ceramics (Figures 4.10, 4.11).

We excavated a total of three east-west transects using this strategy, with a total of 10 shovel tests. Artifacts seemed to be more concentrated near ST 12, where Chip had begun the transects. Based on these results, we used the TDS to map in four corners of a grid for a series of shovel tests spaced five meters apart. This grid was intended to provide information about the spatial distribution of the artifacts and to isolate artifact deposits.

This grid contained five parallel east-west transects with seven shovel tests each. Excavation revealed no particular areas of artifact concentration. As a result, I decided to do further exploratory testing. I established another line of shovel tests at a 25 meter interval generally oriented east-west, but following the landform. This line included one shovel test located in lowlands close to the creek bank. Although several ceramic sherds

Rosedown Site Plan

■ Excavation Units
⬠ Metal Detector Points
○ Shovel Tests

N

0 5 10   20   30   40
Meters

179
181 153
173
164
155 178
161 163 175
169
151a
151
108
Unit 4 Unit 5
109
6
18
63
Unit 3 Unit 2
158 154 150 160
93 21
107
20 111
19
92
183
15
106
104
102
49 50 51 52 53 54 55
14 84
116
43
17 45 46 47 48
113
85
38
86
39 40 41 42
87 111
30
12 32 33 34 35 13
88 Unit 7 Unit 6
22
23 24 25 26 27 28
89
123
11 10
118 120
185
152
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

Figure 4.10

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Rosedown Site Plan

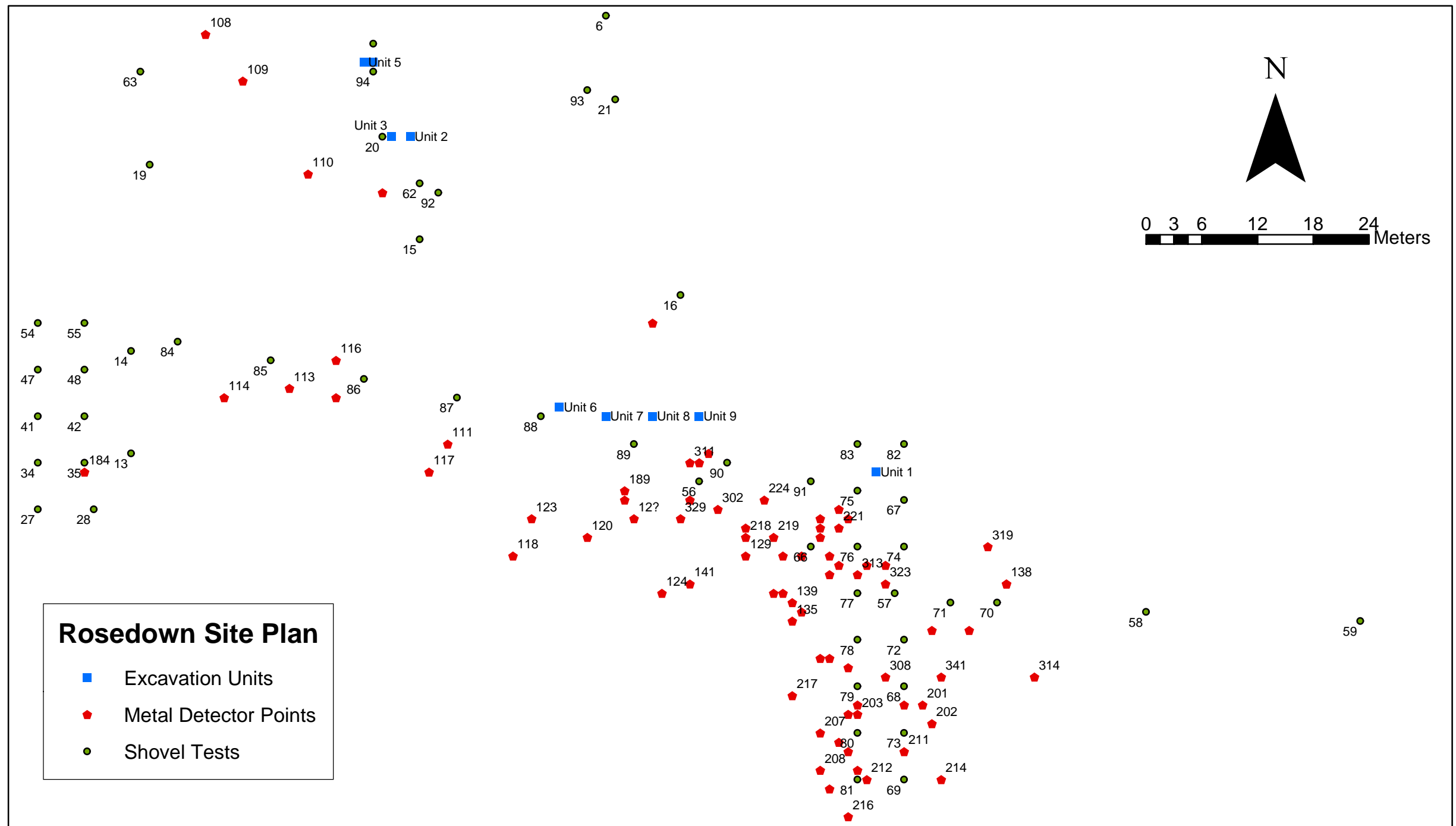Excavation Units
Metal Detector Points
Shovel Tests

Figure 4.11

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were eroding out of the slope near this lowland, no artifacts were found in that shovel test (ST 61). The eroding artifacts were surface collected.

Since I had determined that artifacts were present all the way to the slope, I decided to find out whether there were more artifacts located north of the northernmost transect. A series of shovel tests here revealed that although artifacts were present in this area, there were still no apparent concentrations or features.

One area that seemed promising for finding intact deposits was the area near ST 56 and ST 57. I dug a shovel test halfway between these tests, then decided to use two north-south transects in line with ST 57 to learn whether there were intact areas of artifact concentration. Both the transects and the shovel tests were located 10 meters apart. The artifacts did begin to be more concentrated toward the north end of these lines, so additional shovel tests were placed at five meter intervals between the already existing ones. This action was an attempt to understand where the artifact concentration began. As the concentration seemed to be heavier further to the north, I added two shovel tests five meters north of the northernmost shovel tests on these transects.

Deposits also seemed to become thicker toward the east end of the site. In an attempt to delineate where this concentration began, I excavated another line of shovel tests at a 10 meter interval (northwest/southeast) between ST 54 and ST 67. I also excavated one other shovel test in a depression between ST 65 and ST 21 to learn whether there were structural features in this area.

Based on these shovel tests, there seemed to be an area with deep cultural deposits near ST 67, 75, 81, and 82. I opened a 1x2 meter unit between these shovel tests to

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understand whether there was a spatial component to these deposits. Unit 2 was placed north of the original shovel test grid. This spot was chosen on the basis of a metal detector survey, which indicated that a large concentration of iron was located there. I hoped to find whether this concentration was composed of a large amount of nails and could indicate a structure was located in this area. Unit 3 was placed adjacent to Unit 2 to the southwest. Unit 4 was laid out north of shovel test 94. Unit 5 was adjacent to Unit 4. Units 6 through 9 were placed five meters apart east-west along a gradual downward slope to understand the stratigraphic profile and associated artifact deposits.

Results

Oral history suggests that the area was once part of the slave quarters. Sammy Brooks, who visited the site during the excavations, remembered that at least three cabins were located in the test area. He also explained that more cabins were located across Alexander Creek on the eastern bank, as well as underneath an existing barn. The cabin was torn down so the barn could be built. He also maintained that a line of cabins ran along the east side of the main drive of the plantation, north of the excavation site (Sammy Brooks, 8/21/02).

In an attempt to locate areas with potential structural deposits, I enlisted the help of two very skilled metal detector enthusiasts, Calvin and Linda Wiggs. The Wiggs were familiar with archaeological survey involving metal detectors, and also had high quality detectors that allowed them to distinguish between different types of metal. Not only did they survey the entire mowed excavation area, Calvin also walked north of the site along

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the east edge of the road (a 5 foot swath had been mowed for this purpose) to detect any possible iron concentrations. I had hoped to confirm whether Sammy Brooks' memory about cabins being located along the east edge of the plantation's main drive was accurate. Calvin did not locate any large iron deposits in this area, which suggests either the structures were in a different place or that they were completely removed.

Archaeology

The artifacts will be the main focus of this section. However, in order to understand that information, I will first present a discussion of the soils at Rosedown. The stratigraphy at the site greatly affects the artifact interpretation.

Soils are formed from sediments that have remained undisturbed for a great deal of time, such as a century. Soils are usually referred to in distinct layers or horizons. According to Schiffer, the A horizon is the uppermost zone that is dark and organic. The B horizon lies underneath this, and is lighter in color without organics. The C horizon is the parent material for the soils (Schiffer 1987: 201). As the soils form, the organic material in the A horizon begins to leach out downward. The E horizon is a product of this leaching, and appears as a light colored sterile soil layer on top of the B horizon (Mandel and Bettis 2001: 179). The boundary between the E and B horizons is gradual, as the B horizon absorbs all the organics (Mandel and Bettis 2001: 180) and clay particles to form a clay soil (Selley 2000: 26) (Figure 4.12).

As described above, soil formation processes continue over a long time. This suggests that the current A horizon would contain historic artifacts dating from the last

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A = dark organic layer

E = light, culturally sterile layer

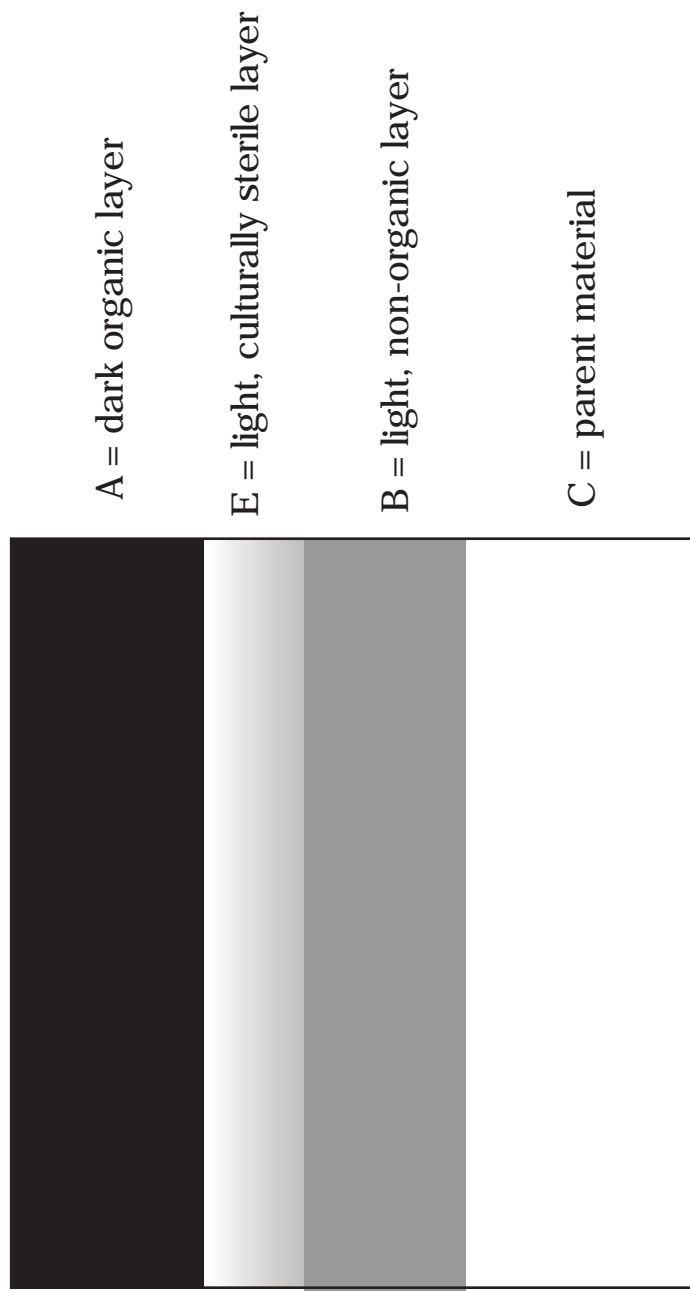B = light, non-organic layer

C = parent material

Figure 4.12 Soil Horizons

century or so. The sterile E horizon underneath would separate this layer from the B

horizon, which might contain prehistoric deposits from when that soil was the A horizon.

However, at Rosedown, this phenomenon was observed in only a few places, specifically

Unit 1 and ST 89. There are a few other areas where this stratigraphy may be present, but

the top layers have been plowed or mixed together, and sometimes has had fill placed on

top.

Unit 1, which was a 1x2 meter unit, shows that there is a layer of approximately

40 centimeters of overburden on top of the A horizon in this area (Figure 4.13). The

overburden is a yellowish brown soil that contains a large quantity of artifacts, which

suggests it may be composed of other A horizons mixed with other soils. Underneath

that is a layer of dark yellowish brown soil with more artifacts, followed by a mostly

sterile layer of brown soil about 13 centimeters thick. This sits atop a largely sterile layer

of clay; although devoid of historic artifacts, this soil contained evidence of a prehistoric

occupation including lithics and post molds.

Unfortunately, Unit 1 is one of the few places where a recognizable A horizon

exists. In most of the other units and shovel tests, the A horizon is missing completely,

and often the E horizon is absent as well. The A and E may be present in some cases, but

have been so churned up, it is impossible to recognize anything but a B horizon. In some

cases, fill has been added on top of the B horizon. As the entire site slopes gradually

downward from west to east toward Alexander Creek, it becomes evident that the A

horizon (and frequently the E horizon) is missing from the tests closer to the main drive

and from the area where the original grid of shovel tests was placed. However, as the

Unit 1 South Wall Profile

10YR5/4

10YR4/4

10YR4/3

10YR4/4
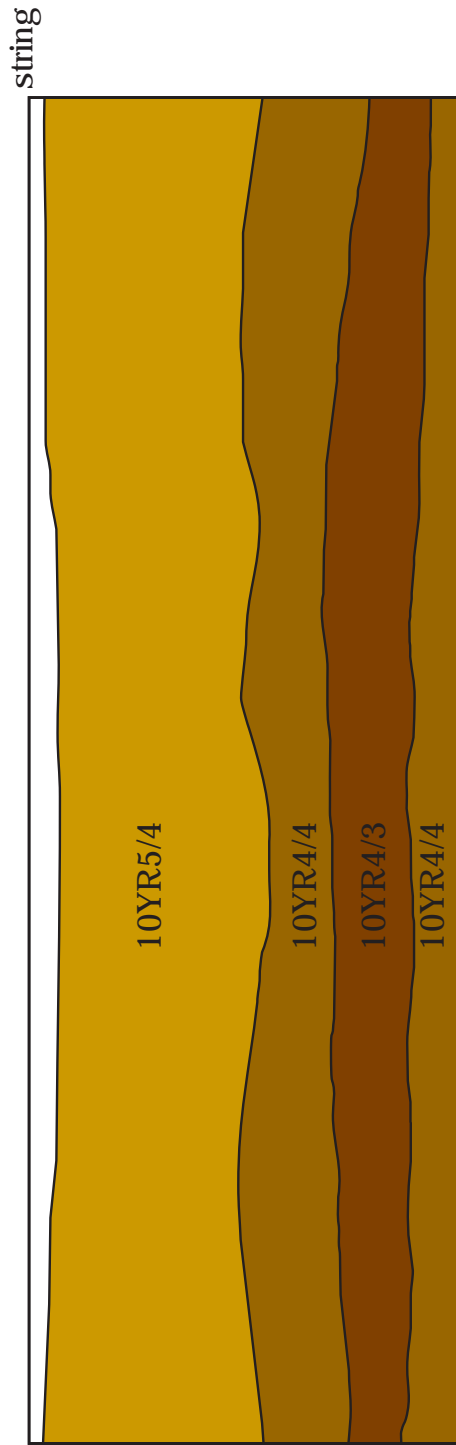
Unit 1 East Wall Profile

10YR5/4

10YR4/4

10YR4/3

10YR4/4

= 10cm
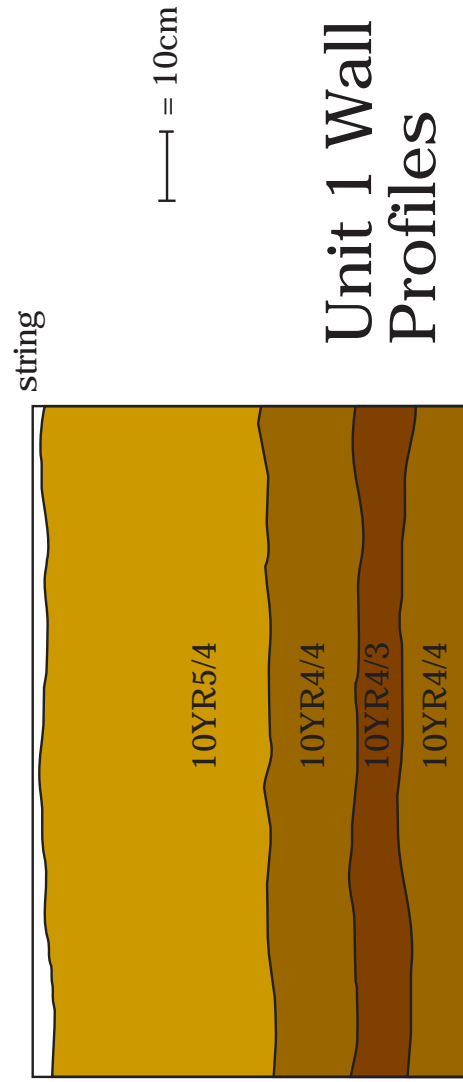
Unit 1 Wall Profiles

Figure 4.13

shovel tests and 1x1 meter units continue eastward toward the creek, many of them have a layer of fill on top of the B horizon or potentially mixed A and E horizons. Near the two parallel north-south transects, the stratigraphy seems to be intact in some places, although there is fill on top of it.

The site stratigraphy suggests that this area has been bulldozed. However, it also suggests that the soils were not simply stripped on the western portion of the site and redeposited on the eastern portion of the site, but rather that most of the area was scraped and then redeposited throughout the site. This has created occasional pockets of intact deposits with fill on top of them. During this fieldwork, only a few of these pockets were definitively located, but it is possible that more of these areas exist. The shovel testing I did was designed to locate deposits, but was limited by time, available workers, and the vast area that could have been tested. It is possible that more intact deposits exist in the wooded area closer to the creek and east of the open area that was tested.

In addition to the stratigraphic evidence for bulldozing, Sammy Brooks told me that when the Underwoods bought the property, they had bulldozed the cabins, or burnt them first and then bulldozed them. Several people mentioned that the Underwoods had used the area where I was excavating as a pasture for their cattle. This means that in addition to the disturbance created by bulldozing the property, the soil continued to be disturbed as the cattle walked continually over the landscape.

Despite this evidence of soil disturbance and attempts at erasure, I am confident that this area was part of the slave quarters. The type, quantity, and date of the artifacts all suggest that this was a living area from the early 19th century through the mid 20th

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century. However, other artifacts indicate that this space was not used exclusively by enslaved people and their descendants. A discussion of these other components follows.

Other components

Although this dissertation focuses mainly on the lives of enslaved Africans living at Rosedown Plantation, other groups of people also left their mark on the landscape. The most obvious group of people is the descendant community, who lived on the plantation until the 1950s, when the Underwoods purchased the property. However, there were two other groups of people who are represented at this site: Civil War troops and American Indians.

There was significant Civil War activity near Rosedown; Port Hudson, a key Confederate stronghold on the Mississippi River, was located just 10 miles southeast of the plantation. Port Hudson and Vicksburg, Mississippi were key stations on the Mississippi River as they were north and south of the Red River, a main supply artery from West Louisiana and Texas (Hewitt 1987: xi). The Federal Army was interested in gaining control over the Mississippi to shut off Confederate supply lines. In 1863, Federal troops "tested" the Port Hudson stronghold, which the Confederate Army defended successfully (Hollandsworth 1995: 48). Two Union ships escaped to Vicksburg while ground troops retreated to Baton Rouge. Two months later, Nathaniel P. Banks led Union troops to launch an offensive from the north while more Union soldiers surrounded the southern access (Hollandsworth 1995: 49).

Ultimately, the Union won out; after the fall at Vicksburg, the Confederates surrendered at Port Hudson, ending the siege (Hewitt 1987: 173). However, the significance of this Civil War site is that it was one of the first places where black soldiers were recruited to fight in the Union Army. Federal commander Benjamin Butler, who was ultimately responsible for the fall of Port Hudson, enlisted the assistance of free African-Americans who had Louisiana militia experience (Hollandsworth 1995: 15). However, many of these "free" blacks were technically slaves who had escaped (Hollandsworth 1995: 18). This did not matter to Butler, who later "recruited" blacks by seizing what was considered Confederate property (slaves) to put into military action (Hollandsworth 1995: 20). These soldiers eventually took part in the siege at Port Hudson, after a disastrous order to charge the Confederates (Hewitt 1987: 148). Their role in this battle drew national media attention, and overall strengthened northern beliefs that African-Americans could be valuable as soldiers. The Union military doubled their efforts in recruiting African-American soldiers after Port Hudson (Hollandsworth 1995: 66; Hewitt 1987: 177).

In addition to the African-American soldiers, many slaves fled their plantations to camp with the Union soldiers. These former slaves included men and women who often did chores for the officers (Hollandsworth 1995: 12). This practice seems to have been common throughout Louisiana, but was certainly a pattern at Rosedown. In her garden journal, Martha Turnbull notes that at some point during the war, four slaves left to fight with the Confederate Army, and 129 left to fight with Union troops. Since her total count

of enslaved people living at Rosedown totals 450, this represents significant movement

among the slave population at Rosedown (Martha H. Turnbull Journal nd.).

Archaeologically, the Union presence at Rosedown, however fleeting, is

represented by three molded lead bullets, a Civil War Eagle button, and one ramrod

holder for a rifle (Figure 4.14). The metal detector surveys also located 880.8 g of melted

lead chunks. Although Union soldiers melted lead to mold it or pour it for their own

bullets, it is possible that these lead chunks could have been reused by slaves or their

descendants for other, unknown purposes.

Figure 4.14 Civil War Artifacts at Rosedown

The American Indian component at Rosedown is a bit less ephemeral than the

Civil War component. Although it is difficult to understand whether some of the artifacts

are in primary or secondary context due to the bulldozing, most of these artifacts were

recovered in the northeastern part of the site, and the largest concentration of lithics came

from Unit 1. In this unit, there were 14 flakes recovered, 12 of which are in primary

context (soil horizon B), approximately 35-48 centimeters below surface (cmbs) (Figure

4.15).

Figure 4.15 Lithics from Unit 1

There were also three postmolds found in the bottom of this unit, shown in Figure 4.16.

These postmolds were shallow, and contained no artifacts. Artifacts associated with this

occupation include 48 flakes, one scraper, and two undecorated shell-tempered ceramics

that resemble Baytown Plain. The beads recovered from this site may also be associated
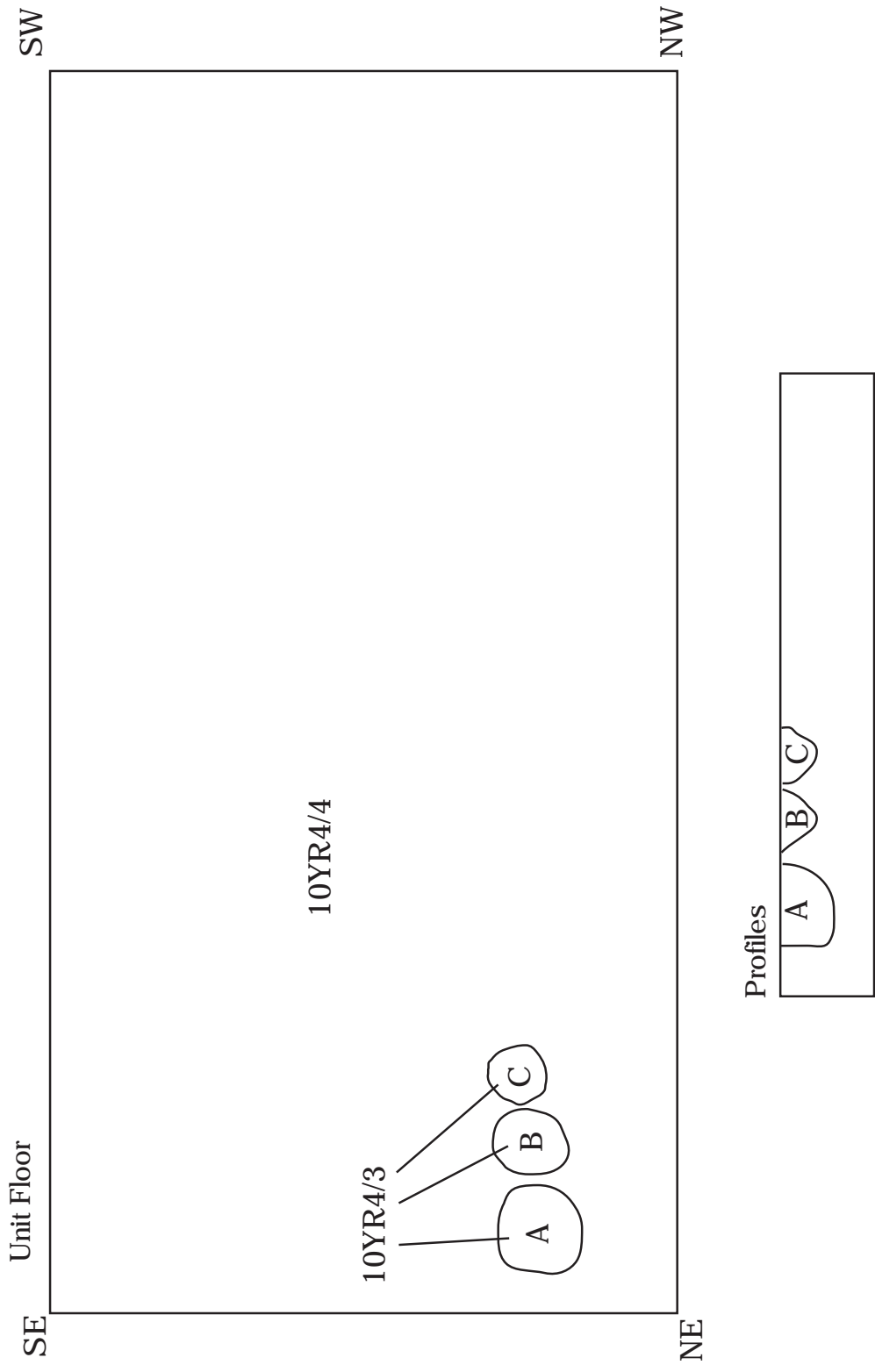
Figure 4.16 Post Molds in Unit 1

with this component, but this is unlikely since this component appears to predate European contact.

Artifact Analysis

Since the site has been so extensively disturbed, it is not feasible to analyze the spatial arrangement of features within this landscape. However, the artifacts are useful in other contexts.

Categorizing the artifacts recovered is problematic; although most historical archaeologists sort artifacts into distinct divisions such as architecture, personal, kitchen, etc. (South 1977), this seems to be a very easy way to impose personal biases on the data. For example, I may classify ceramics as kitchen artifacts, even though their owners may have used them to hold nails. As Beaudry et al. have noted, artifacts have multiple meanings (1991), and may be categorized differently and used differently by different people. This seems especially likely among a group of people who did not have a high socioeconomic standing – items often have to be recycled for different uses in order to save money.

However, the problem remains as to how to discuss these artifacts in a meaningful way without imposing functional biases on them, and without resorting to discussing them by material type. As such, I have decided to use a modified version of South's classification system, acknowledging that in doing so, I am imposing my own biases on how certain artifacts were used in the past by different people. Despite the problems with recycling and differences in perception about how a material item should be used,

functional categories are useful for discussing artifacts from an economic standpoint. That is, it becomes much easier to discuss the relative costs associated with different architecturally related artifacts, such as nails and window glass within an architecture category than to discuss them separately under metal and glass categories and then try to draw inferences about the relative cost of architectural elements of a structure.

Architectural/Structural Category

As there are no standing slave cabins left at Rosedown, and their location was unknown at the outset of this research, this artifact category became important in establishing my field site as the location of the slave quarters. As mentioned above, metal detectors were used in an attempt to find concentrations of metal artifacts that might indicate a large quantity of nails representing a structure. Although 1,888 nails were recovered at this site, the bulldozing has dispersed any nail concentrations that might indicate the presence of a specific structure. Also, as the iron preservation is so poor, not all nails were preserved enough to determine whether they were hand wrought, machine cut, or wire cut. As such, the nails could not be used as diagnostics (Edwards and Wells 1993).

Window glass is another indicator of a structure; however, it is highly unlikely that enslaved people had the luxury of having windows in their planter-provided housing. As such, it is not surprising that such a small amount of window glass (90 sherds) was found at this site.

Brick is another potential indicator of structural remains, as even wooden structures often had brick footings. A large quantity of brick, 15.79 kg, was located at this site. No complete bricks were found, but the porous texture, relatively low firing, and susceptibility to breaking suggest intact brick deposits such as footers may have been destroyed during bulldozing. No maker's marks were recovered from the brick assemblage. At neighboring Oakley Plantation, evidence of brick piers associated with slave quarters was recovered, (Wilkie 2000b: 87), but interestingly, no whole bricks were recovered from this area (Wilkie 2000b: 90).

By themselves, the nails, window glass, and brick at this site cannot provide conclusive evidence for the presence of structures. However, when taken together with a few other items recovered at this site, there is more substantive evidence for the presence of structures in this area.   Items such as a hinge, a door plate, a door lock plate, a hinge pin, a hinge plate, and a keyhole cover all suggest the presence of a structure (Figure 4.17). These items were probably added during post-Emancipation occupation, not because the white slaveowner would have forbidden it, or because enslaved people didn't have anything of value, but because enslaved people were more likely to hide objects of value in less obvious ways. The presence of buried root cellars or "hidey holes" has been documented in slave quarters throughout the southeastern United States (e.g. Franklin 1997, McKee 1987, Heath 1999a, 1999b). These additions imply that the descendant community was choosing to purchase items that would make their homes more secure, and that they were also purchasing items that were more valuable not only to themselves,

but also to others who would be interested in stealing them.

Figure 4.17 Architectural artifacts

Household/Kitchen/Foodways

Artifacts associated with household activities such as food preparation may

provide information about how enslaved Africans chose to organize their daily lives

including how they may have used planter-provided items differently from the planter

and how they may have supplemented the provisions they received from the planter.

Although artifacts recovered from this site provide a reflection of how the Turnbulls

chose to treat their slaves in terms of material culture, they also may provide insight into

how slaves appropriated these items for their own use.

Miscellaneous household items found at this location included lamp parts, both electric and kerosene, a faucet fixture, and clock gear. These items are interesting because they indicate that people living in this area were concerned with light and running water. However, even more interesting is that there are no electrical lines or water lines buried in this area. It is possible that these items were used for something other than electricity or running water, or that they were trash from elsewhere. Yet the kerosene lamp parts may be associated with the clock gear, which shows that residents at this site were interested in time. This is especially interesting in a slave context because lights and clocks imply control over time and schedule. Lamps allow the user to perform activities that otherwise would have to be done during daylight hours, thus extending the workday or time allotted for other activities, such as household chores, playing games, or socializing. Clocks further suggest manipulation of time, as they provide an artificial means of setting a schedule. For the enslaved population, time was largely controlled by the planter and by the available natural light, so a clock would not have been a necessary item for the plantation routine. Not only does this suggest enslaved people had their own conception of time, it also implies a degree of mathematical literacy in that they would have had to know how to read the clock. Of course, it is also possible that the clocks were ornamental in function, expressing status rather than time concerns.

Cooking vessels and eating utensils were poorly represented at this site. Iron preservation was extremely poor, and no metal cooking pots were recovered. Some spoons and silverware handles were recovered at this site, but by themselves do not

present much information. Only one of these spoon fragments was made of silver, and had been modified by two holes having been punched through the handle.

Bottle glass

The bottle glass assemblage at this site is interesting, in that despite the presence of 1,507 sherds, only 21 of them have any sort of embossed letters or numbers. Of these 21 embossed pieces, one is a Coca-Cola bottle piece; the rest have only a few letters or numbers, and many of them are unreadable. This in itself is intriguing, as it suggests that enslaved Africans and their descendants living at Rosedown were not consuming bottled items; more specifically, the assemblage shows that enslaved people were not consuming bottled medicine like their neighbors at Oakley Plantation. At Oakley, medicine bottles were recovered from more than one slave/tenant cabin (Wilkie 1996b: 125). Wilkie suggests the presence of these medicines were a result of the planter's control over illness, noting that at Oakley, doctors prescribed medicines that were administered to enslaved people by the planter (2000b: 170).

Although the historical papers indicate that European doctors did treat the slave population at Rosedown, the archaeology suggests a different pattern was occurring than that found at Oakley. Among the financial records in the Turnbull-Bowman papers are several doctor receipts that indicate the doctor frequently visited Rosedown to examine and treat slaves. Most of these receipts do not indicate what type of medication was prescribed, but do indicate that a prescription was written. At times, these bills also indicate what type of affliction is being treated – there are indications that enslaved

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people living at Rosedown and Turnbull's other plantations suffered from dental

problems, syphilis, wounds, abcesses, fractures, and piles (Table 4.1). There are also

three instances where the doctor made a visit to deliver the placentas for slave women

(Turnbull-Bowman papers: Reel 1 3/31/1841, 6/2/1855), which suggests that midwives

may not have delivered children among the enslaved people.

Table 4.1 Common Medical treatments among the Turnbull slaves

Disease/Problem	Treatment	Year	Slave Name
	Tooth extraction	1822	Polly, Adam
	Visit & advice	1822	Bernard, Matilda, Joe, Rachel
	Blood-letting	1822	Tom
	Advice & Medicine	1822	Jenny & Lydia's children
	Advice & Pills	1822	Jenny
	Visit	1822	Isaac, Sambo
	Worm medicine	1822	Bernard & others
	Opened abcess	1822	Eliza
	Box of ointment	1822	Ramsey
	Bleeding of blister	1823	Lucy, Charlotte
	Advice	1823	Eliza, Jenny
	Advice, bleeding	1823	Sarah
Piles	Prescription	1828	
	Prescription	1828	Fanny, Hannah
	Seeping wounds, bleeding, medicine	1828	
	Dressing wound	1828	Sam, Lewis
	Extracting tooth	1832	Isaac
	Prescription	1832	Sampson
	Scarifying, cupping, prescription	1832	Mace
	Extracting teeth	1834	Charlotte, Joan, Hannah, Yellow Nance, Adam, Judy
	Visit & medicine	1834	Simon, Mary
	Visit	1834	Nelly
	Medicine	1834	Nance
	Prescription & Medicine	1838	Nelly, Sampson, Chloe, Henry, Aaron
	Extracting tooth	1838	Dan
Childbirth	Attendance all night on her in labour (sic)	1838	Becky
	Prescription & sucking	1838	
	Prescription & lancing	1838	

Disease/Problem	Treatment	Year	Slave Name
	abcess		
	Prescription & cupping	1838	Cesar
	Prescription	1838	Sam, Edith
	Leeches	1838	
	16 leeches	1838	Benjamin
	Prescription	1840	Henrietta, Littleton, Amy, Ann, Lucille,
	Extracting teeth	1840	Hannah
	Opening abcess	1840	
	Prescription	1841	Mary
	Prescription & extract dentis	1841	Eric
	Reducing fracture, scraping seeping wound	1841	"boy"
Girl threatening abortion		1841	
Syphilis		1841	Delphi
		1841	Nisy
Childbirth	Examination in vagina, prescription, medicine, & delivery of placenta	1841	Mary
Childbirth	Delivery of placenta	1841	Augustine
	Visit	1842	Rose
	Bleeding	1846	
	Removing tumor	1850	
	Prescription	1855	Ellen
	Extracting teeth		
	Medicine	1855	
	Removing placenta	1855	
	Prescription, 2 hours detention	1857	Eliza
	Prescription	1857	Anthony, Moses
	Surgical opinion	1858	

However, despite this suggestion that planters were in control of enslaved peoples' medical treatment, another receipt suggests that enslaved people at Rosedown and Turnbull's other plantations were treating themselves. In a receipt from 1841, there is a record of a doctor's visit on July 29th "for a girl threatening abortion" (Turnbull-Bowman papers Reel 1). If the girl had been threatening suicide, it probably would have been recorded as a girl or a pregnant girl who was threatening suicide rather than abortion because it would have involved the loss of two potential workers from the planter's point

of view. This idea is strengthened through interviews with formerly enslaved people from Louisiana; both Henrietta Butler and Manda Cooper remember their mothers being tasked specifically to have children. Ms. Butler notes that the slaveowner forced her mother to have children so he could sell them (Clayton 1990: 38). Ms. Cooper's mother was not allowed to work in the fields as:

> She brought him more money having children than she could working in the field. None of us had the same father. They would pick out the biggest nigger and tell her they wanted a kid by him. She had to stay with him until she did get one.
>
> (Clayton 1990: 44)

These memories are a reminder that planters attempted to impose total control over enslaved women's bodies. They also demonstrate the strength of this control; children of these unions were fully aware that planters considered them to be economic objects rather than people.

However, as noted above, enslaved women did not passively accept these planter attempts at control. Not only does the receipt in the Turnbull papers show individual resistance, because it is recorded as a girl threatening abortion, it suggests that enslaved people had knowledge of something that would induce abortion without killing the mother, which implies a knowledge of plants with medicinal properties.

Interestingly, no knapped glass sherds were recovered from Rosedown, as they were from Oakley (Wilkie 2000b: 154). No complete bottles were recovered, and the glass fragments recovered had not been retouched. Bottles may have been shattered by the bulldozer activity.

Additionally, the presence of few glass bottle sherds suggests that unlike the in Bahamas, enslaved people at Rosedown did not have to recycle bottles as containers to hold drinking water. This suggests that slaves at Rosedown had easy access to potable drinking water; perhaps Word's description of a well in the slave quarters is accurate.

Bone

A category of artifact that might yield useful information about the diet of enslaved Africans and their descendents is bone. Despite the poor preservation conditions for iron artifacts, which suggests bone preservation would also be poor, a good representative sample of bone was obtained from this site. Approximately 929.7 g (861 pieces) of bone were recovered from Rosedown, and include a diverse array of species. Faunal remains recovered include bones from cow, pig, deer, and chicken. Many of these bones include teeth, (Figure 4.18) suggesting that the entire animal was consumed. Although Wilkie notes that researchers have attributed this to the planter distributing the "less desirable" parts of the animal to the slaves (2000b: 136), Franklin argues that during the period of enslavement, most classes, including elite slaveowners, consumed parts of animals that many people today consider undesirable (2001: 8). This may indicate that enslaved people had a preference for such cuts of meat according to the type of dish

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prepared. If stews, gumbos, or other dishes with meat as a minor ingredient were prepared, it is unlikely that it would have to be a certain cut or type of meat; as Wilkie notes at Oakley, squirrel was commonly served in these types of dishes due to the small amount of meat available (2001b: 138).

Figure 4.18 Animal Teeth Recovered at Rosedown

This contrasts directly with the deposits at Oakley, where very little bone was recovered from slave contexts (Wilkie 2000b: 136). At Oakley, enslaved people were consuming the domesticates pork, beef, turkey, and chicken, and supplementing this with wild species such as squirrel, wild duck, rabbit, and fish (Wilkie 2000b: 138).

<u>Ceramics</u>

The ceramic assemblage at Rosedown is varied and contains a high number of sherds (n=802), but overall, the sherds are very small. This may be a result of the bulldozer or cattle disturbance. The small size of the sherds creates other problems; larger pieces often show more of a decorative pattern which can provide clues toward establishing a vessel count or in reconstructing maker's marks. At Rosedown, no maker's marks were recovered.

Despite these limitations, the ceramic assemblage at Rosedown can provide information about enslaved people and their descendents. The Mean Ceramic Date (MCD) can suggest the primary time period the assemblage represents and an adaptation of Miller's ceramic cost index can provide information about economic opportunities people living here may have had.

The MCD for an assemblage is a form of frequency seriation that assumes the peak of a ceramic type's popularity is at its midpoint date of manufacture. By determining the types of ceramics present in a ceramic assemblage, multiplying the number of sherds of each type by their midpoint dates of manufacture, adding their products and dividing by the total number of sherds, the archaeologist can produce an MCD (South 1977: 217-218).

Alone, the MCD of an assemblage is subject to the same biases as all seriation sequences. The seriation is dependent on what has been left in the archaeological record, archaeological sampling strategy, and identification of distinct ceramic types. Additionally, South's manufacture dates do not provide dates of manufacture for all ware

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types; for example, for stonewares, the archaeologist must be able to determine decoration and in some cases, vessel form to use a median date of manufacture (South 1977: 210-212). However, at Rosedown, where the slave quarter locations remain unknown, an MCD is another line of evidence for whether these deposits are associated with the slave community.

The limitations I faced in preparing an MCD for Rosedown caused me to exclude some ceramics from this analysis. For example, South provides median dates of manufacture for several different kinds of stoneware, including brown, grey, and white stonewares. However, he further breaks these categories down into specific form and decoration categories. Given the small sherd size at Rosedown, it is difficult for me to determine form and/or decoration in many cases. As such, I had to exclude stoneware and porcelain from the analysis. Yellowware was also excluded, as South does not provide dates for this ware type. Also, South's median manufacture dates are intended for sites with English ceramics – at Rosedown, some of the stoneware in the ceramic assemblage may have been American.

The MCD at Rosedown is 1851. As Table 4.2 shows, not all ceramic types found at Rosedown were represented in this analysis. However, this date does correspond with the occupation of the slave quarters; Daniel Turnbull established Rosedown in 1830, and enslaved people lived on the plantation through the Civil War. In addition to the MCD, additional evidence to support this occupation date is found in the types of decoration displayed on these sherds. For example, according to Majewski and O'Brien, black transfer prints were popular from 1830 to 1860 (1987: 145), green shell edge on

whiteware was a common decorative practice until about 1840 (1987: 152), and after

1820, technological advances allowed manufacturers to use green, yellow, red, and black

colors in addition to blue for underglaze decoration (1987: 139). Mocha decoration is

increasingly rare after the 1840s (Miller 1991: 7). All these characteristics, present in the

Rosedown assemblage, point toward an occupation after 1820 and before 1860.

Table 4.2 Mean Ceramic Date

Ceramic Ware Type	Median Date of Manufacture	Number of Sherds Present	Product
Creamware	1791	1	1791
Ironstone	1857	35	64,995
Pearlware – annular	1805	3	5415
Pearlware – blue handpaint	1800	14	25,200
Pearlware – shell edge	1805	3	5415
Pearlware – transfer print	1818	2	3636
Pearlware – undecorated	1805	75	135,375
Whiteware – mocha	1843	30	55,290
Whiteware – undecorated	1860	539	1,002,540

Even more support is evident when the MCD is recalculated without the

undecorated whiteware (Table 4.3). Whiteware was manufactured from 1820 until the

early twentieth century (South 1977: 211), and can be very difficult to distinguish from

pearlware or ironstone. This creates inherent subjective biases on the part of the

archaeologist, and skews the results due to its longevity. By removing undecorated

whiteware from the calculation of the MCD at Rosedown, I can remove some of these

biases. The MCD without the undecorated whiteware is 1822.8, which further supports

the idea that this assemblage is associated with the antebellum occupation at Rosedown.

Table 4.3 Mean Ceramic Date without undecorated Whiteware

Ceramic Ware Type	Median Date of Manufacture	Number of Sherds Present	Product
Creamware	1791	1	1791
Ironstone	1857	35	64,995
Pearlware – annular	1805	3	5415
Pearlware – blue handpaint	1800	14	25,200
Pearlware – shell edge	1805	3	5415
Pearlware – transfer print	1818	2	3636
Pearlware – undecorated	1805	75	135,375
Whiteware – mocha	1843	30	55,290

With the chronological association of this assemblage established, it becomes important to learn what else this assemblage can tell us. Despite the disturbed archaeological context, this artifact category may be able to provide the most information about the consumer choices slaves were making. Different ware types and decoration had different prices. George Miller's ceramic cost index (Miller 1980, 1991) provides a loose framework within which to analyze refined ceramics through their decoration. Miller's argument is that decoration was the primary determinant of cost, although ware type also had some effect. He bases his arguments on vessel descriptions for refined earthenwares. This is a useful tool, but it does have some limitations. One of the most obvious problems is that archaeologists are generally working with sherds rather than with complete vessels, and "Generating average CC index values for lumped assemblages representing over 20 years of occupation seems to be a meaningless exercise" (Miller 1991: 4). As different sherds, both decorated and undecorated, may belong to the same vessel, but may not retrofit, it is difficult to form an accurate vessel count. As such, the

assemblage may be very different than what the archaeologist assumes on the basis of the sherds that are present.

Since archaeologists rarely have the luxury of finding a number of complete vessels at any particular site, especially at those sites associated with oppressed groups, Miller's overall idea has to be adapted somehow. In this study, I have determined a version of a minimum number of vessels by first isolating ware type. Next I sorted the sherds by decoration type and decoration color, and then divided them into the categories of flatware, hollowware, and unknown. Each combination, regardless of the number of sherds that are included in each category, counts as one vessel. That is, even if there are five whiteware green shell edge flatware fragments from one shovel test, they only count as one vessel. If there is another whiteware green shell edge unknown fragment in the same shovel test, it counts as a separate vessel (Table 4.4). Although this method ignores cross mends between units or levels, and also ignores that an unknown sherd may be part of a vessel where the other sherds are determined hollowware or flatware, ultimately, it will help in the case of undecorated ceramics, where more than one vessel of the same type might be present in the same level. In this way, one decorative type is not biased over another, although I am undoubtedly determining a higher vessel count overall than is actually there.

Table 4.4 Assemblage vessel decoration totals

Decoration type	Total vessel count	Percentage of total assemblage
Undecorated	415	51%
Annular band	61	8%
Decal	1	0.1%
Flow	1	0.1%
Glaze	42	5%

Decoration type	Total vessel count	Percentage of total assemblage
Handpainted	70	9%
Mocha	42	5%
Molded	6	0.7%
Shell Edge	45	6%
Slip	15	2%
Sponge	8	1%
Tin Enamel	1	0.1%
Transfer Print	60	7%

Miller's index is based on refined wares, which excludes less expensive coarse earthenwares and stoneware. It also excludes yellowware. As such, these ware types have been excluded from the decoration analysis in this study. However, these wares are considered in the overall cost of the assemblage. Among the refined wares, porcelain tends to be the most expensive, followed by ironstone, whiteware and pearlware (Miller 1991). Although Miller provides a very distinct breakdown of decoration types and vessel types for each ware, his classifications are very specific. In this study, it may be more useful to extrapolate his ideas and results into a more general framework. I have devised four categories of decoration that all ware types can be classified into. Category one consists of undecorated ceramics, glazed ceramics, and tin enamel ceramics. Category two includes annular band decoration, mocha, molded decoration, shell edge, sponge, and slip decorations. Category three consists of handpainted wares that are more expensive due to the time involved in one person replicating the design on each ceramic piece. Category four is for the most expensive types of decorations to produce: transfer prints and flow decoration.

Based on this framework, I've organized the artifact assemblage at Rosedown into these categories. Tables 4.5 and 4.6 show the breakdown of the assemblage. As these

tables show, the decorative category best represented at the slave quarters is the category one, which is the cheapest. It is possible that some of these vessels were part of a larger decorated vessel, but regardless of this the number of undecorated vessels represented here is much larger than that of any other group, and suggests that this is a fairly accurate representation.

Table 4.5 Vessel decoration type totals

Decoration Type	Decoration Category	Total number of vessels	Percentage of vessel assemblage
Undecorated	1	179	41%
Annular band	2	51	12%
Decal	4	1	0.2%
Flow	4	1	0.2%
Glaze	1	14	3%
Handpainted	3	50	11%
Mocha	2	25	6%
Molded	2	6	1%
Shell Edge	2	40	9%
Slip	2	13	3%
Sponge	2	7	2%
Tin Enamel	1	1	0.2%
Transfer Print	4	50	11%

Table 4.6 Decorative and economic categories

Decoration Category	Total Number of Vessels	Percentage of Vessel Assemblage
1	194	44%
2	142	32%
3	50	11%
4	52	12%

The predominant ware type found at this site was whiteware, with 574 sherds representing 72 percent of the 802 sherd total. Whiteware was the most popular ware type, but not necessarily the cheapest. Stoneware and earthenware vessels were cheaper, as were cream colored wares by this period (Miller 1991: 3). The high preponderance of this ware type suggests that ceramics may not have been purchased on a basis of the

absolutely cheapest available. However, the overall assemblage is still extremely

inexpensive.

The economic factors of ware type and decoration combined suggest enslaved

people at Rosedown were choosing or more likely, being supplied with cheap, widely

available ceramics that were standard pieces at that time. It may also suggest they

preferred undecorated vessels, or that Daniel Turnbull was providing ceramics for the

slaves, although there is no record of this in the Turnbull-Bowman family papers.

Another alternative is that the Turnbulls were handing down their old ceramics to

enslaved people. However, the Turnbulls were very wealthy, and enjoyed public displays

of their wealth, so it would seem likely that more of the expensively decorated ceramics

would appear in the archaeological record.

At Oakley Plantation, located approximately four miles east of Rosedown, Wilkie

found that the ceramic assemblage associated with the slave population is relatively

expensive, and is older than that of the planter assemblage, suggesting that planters were

providing slaves with hand-me downs (Wilkie 2000b: 126-128). Unfortunately, Wilkie

bases her analysis on vessel type rather than including a discussion of decoration, which

makes it difficult to compare the Oakley slave assemblage with the Rosedown slave

assemblage. However, she does mention that these ceramics were primarily creamware,

pearlware, and whiteware, and included decorations of mocha, shell edge, transfer print,

hand painting, sprig, and sponge (Wilkie 2000b: 94).

Metal

Iron metal preservation at Rosedown was poor. Although there was a large weight of metal fragments (5.111 kg), these fragments were rusty pieces of unidentified sheet metal or chunks of unidentifiable metal. This sheet metal may have originally been part of metal roofing, cooking pots, or other items, but now lack distinguishing form and feature.

Many other metal artifacts were recovered, including items made of brass and lead (Table 4.7). In part, this diverse assemblage is biased due to the use of a metal detector, which located most of these items. These items are discussed in more detail according to their functions.

Table 4.7 Metal artifacts recovered at Rosedown

Metal	Form	Count	Weight
Aluminum	Band	1	.9g
	Foil	1	1.65g
	Lid	5	
	Screw Cap	2	
	Seal	2	
Brass	Band	5	
	Boot heel	5	
	Buckle	5	
	Button	12 (some plated)	
	Cap	3	
	Chain	2	
	Clock Mechanism	1	
	Decorative piece	1	
	Disc	1	
	Door plate	1	
	Eyehook	1	
	Fastener	4	
	Fragments	29	138.2g
	Harmonica plate	1	
	Hasp/fastener	1	
	Hinge plate	1	85.4g
	Keyhole cover	1	
	Lamp part	1	21.9g
	Lamp wick adjuster	4	
	Lock plate	1	

Metal	Form	Count	Weight
	Pocket knife	1	25.3g
	Rifle shell	1	13.2g
	Ring (machine)	1	
	Rivet	2	
	Safety pin	1	
	Sash belt keeper	1	
	Shotgun shell base	2	
	Silverware	2	
	Straight pin?	1	
	Tack	12	
	Thimble	2	
	Tube	1	
	Unknown	2	25.1
Copper	Lid	1	2.1g
	Fragments	5	4.5g
	Penny (1941)	1	
	Wire	1	28.0g
Iron	Barbed wire	2	
	Belt tongues	3	
	Fragments		5.03kg
	Gear	1	2.9
	Handle	1	
	Harness part	2	
	Hinge	1	
	Hinge pin	1	
	Hoe	3	
	Hook/pin	1	
	Horse tack	1	
	Latch	1	
	Lug nut	1	
	Machine parts	13	856.25g
	Saw Blade	1	
	Screw	1	
	Spike	3	
	Spoon pieces	2	
	Strap	1	26..2g
	Tube	1	4.8g
	Washer	1	
	Wire	11	59.2g
Lead	Bullet	3	
	Fragments		870.4g
	Shot	9	
Silver	Spoon (modified)	1	
Stainless Steel	Belt buckle	2	
	Spoon	1	
Unknown	Drill bit	1	
	Faucet	1	
	Fragments		84.65g
	Lid	1	

Metal	Form	Count	Weight
	Ramrod holder	1	14.3g
	Spoon	1	3.1g
	Spring	1	
	Tag	2	

Tools/Agriculture

A category that archaeologists often use, but one not well represented at this excavation, is tools. One saw blade (20th century) and 3 hoe blades (20th century) were recovered from this context. Supplemental hardware, in the form of a screw, tacks, a washer, barbed wire, a drill bit, and possible harness parts, were also recovered (Table 4.8). These artifacts, which are probably associated with post-bellum occupations, indicate that agricultural work and possibly architectural repair was occurring here. It is not surprising that most of these artifacts are more recent, as many enslaved people may have taken the planter's tools with them if they moved after Emancipation or held onto their tools and used them to earn a living. Discarding tools that earned an income, however meager, was a luxury.

Table 4.8 Tools at Rosedown

Tool	Count	Weight
Barbed wire	2	
Drill bit	1	
Harness part	2	
Hoe	3	
Hook/pin	1	
Lug nut	1	
Pocket knife	1	
Saw Blade	1	
Screw	1	
Spike	3	
Washer	1	
Tack	12	
Wire	12	87.2g

Other evidence for farming activities is found in the presence of gizzard stones at the site. Gizzard stones indicate chickens were present. Chickens need to ingest a rock or other hard substance to help them digest. When the stone has served its purpose, it is regurgitated, or the stone is lost when the animal is butchered. At this site, five worn, smooth, ceramic sherds were recovered (Figure 4.19). These sherds appear to be gizzard stones, and are similar to those encountered at the tenant farm occupation that Southeast Regional archaeologist Rob Mann excavated at Rosedown north of the current project area (Mann 2003). The significance of these stones is not only that we know enslaved Africans and their descendants were raising chickens (chicken bones confirm this), but also that this was a potential source of income. Gizzard stones are present at many farming sites, and at Oakley, where Wilkie describes "water-worn" ceramics from the slave assemblage (Wilkie 1995: 145).

Figure 4.19 Gizzard Stones

Smoking/Socialization

Artifacts indicating smoking were surprisingly absent in this assemblage. Only 15 pipe bowl and one pipe stem fragments were found at this site. Many of these fragments were brown or dark grey, whereas only four were the white kaolin type typically found at early to mid 19th century sites (Figures 4.20, 4.21).

Figure 4.20 Pipe fragments

Figure 4.21 White Kaolin Pipe Fragments

This is a very interesting trend, as it indicates that enslaved people at Rosedown may not

have been spending their money on tobacco and tobacco pipes. It may also indicate that

tobacco was not readily available at Rosedown, much like the situation at Oakley. At

Oakley, only two pipes were associated with the slave assemblage, and it is unclear

whether enslaved people had access to tobacco through the planter. However, as Wilkie

notes that corncob pipes were very common in Louisiana, the pipe assemblage may not

be an accurate reflection of tobacco consumption on the plantation (2000b: 116-117).

Either way, it is clear that enslaved people at Rosedown and at Oakley had access to

tobacco through the planter or through their own networks.

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Another artifact that may indicate a social activity is a metal harmonica plate. Although there is only one item associated with music and/or entertainment, it is very possible other perishable instruments were manufactured by enslaved people and their descendants.

Clothing

Another group of artifacts that may provide insight into the lives of enslaved people and their descendants is clothing, as many clothes have hardware such as buttons, rivets, pins, etc. that are made of different materials and associated with clothes of different cost. Barbara Heath has specifically categorized these types of items as items of personal adornment that reflected wealth and social status within the slave community (1999b: 53). She notes that beads, buckles, and buttons from Poplar Forest have been recovered from the slave quarters, and that rather than seeing these items solely as associated with hand-me down clothing, we should realize that enslaved people may have chosen to purchase these items to express their status to others (Heath 1999b: 52). Advertisements for runaway slaves further suggest that enslaved people were using clothing, jewelry, and hairstyles to identify themselves on the plantation, and that these identifiers were often altered to convey a different appearance (and status) when escaping (Heath 1999b: 53).

At Rosedown, a total of 19 buttons were recovered (Figure 4.22). Twelve of these were metal buttons, two were shell, one was bone, and four were plastic. The presence of the plastic buttons indicates they date from a later occupation, but the other

buttons suggest that enslaved people may have been purchasing or trading for clothes other than those provided by the planter.

Figure 4.22 Buttons Recovered from Rosedown

Although there are no specific receipts for slave clothing other than material in the papers I reviewed from the Turnbull-Bowman family collection, it is unlikely that the Turnbulls were purchasing clothing for their slaves that would have required fasteners or items that would be viewed as adornment and would have been more expensive. Enslaved people at Rosedown may have been choosing to acquire clothing with specific adornments to express their status within the slave community. Heath has also suggested that clothing

was a valuable commodity that could be sold, used for disguise, or a combination (Heath 1999b: 53).

It is also possible that the formerly enslaved people living at Rosedown were recycling clothing items such as buttons; at Oakley, gold-plated buttons were recovered from the slave/tenant farmer contexts, and were probably recycled items due to their expense (Wilkie 2000b: 130). At Rosedown, button recycling was probably occurring; a Civil War eagle button was recovered, and certainly was originally associated with a soldier, but may have been reused. Two thimbles recovered from this area indicate that sewing was occurring, further suggesting these artifacts could have been reused.

Other clothing items recovered at this site include an eyehook, a rivet, three belt tongues, a safety pin and a possible straight pin, five suspender buckles, five metal boot heels, a belt buckle with a cowboy scene molded on it, and a sash keeper. By themselves, these artifacts do not present a very convincing picture that enslaved people or the descendant community were spending a lot of money on clothing. However, as an assemblage, these items together suggest that clothing with fasteners and/or accessories became more important. That is, enslaved people and their descendents consciously decided to wear clothes that distinguished them from their own and their ancestors' status as enslaved people to establish their own identities within their own social contexts. In the case of the descendant community, it may also have been a decision to wear the same clothing as whites to establish that both groups were actually equal as human beings despite the legal denials of civil rights.

Closely related to clothing adornment, personal items can also be very informative about consumer activity. These items tend to be unique, and may provide insight into what individuals are choosing to buy rather than the group. However, as indicated above, individual choices may be designed to symbolize status within a particular group, which implies that the group generally agrees on this concept. As the archaeological record only reflects what has been left behind, items that were economically, personally, or culturally valuable may have been taken with the site's occupants when they left or passed down through generations of family.

At Rosedown, there are a few items that appear in the artifact assemblage that fall into the personal category rather than the clothing category. These items include a barrette fragment, a celluloid comb tooth, a pocketknife, and beads (n=7). The barrette and comb tooth certainly might be indicators of status according to hairstyle as well as through adornment. Heath cites a number of examples of how hairstyles were expressions of identity within enslaved African culture (1999b:54-55). The pocketknife (Figure 4.23) could also have been associated with hairstyles (i.e. shaving patterns into the hair, shaving or maintaining facial hair, etc.), although it could have also been used as

a tool for various other purposes.

Figure 4.23 Pocketknife

Seven beads were recovered at Rosedown, and include five glass faceted beads
(green, white, and blue), one shell bead, and one ceramic bead (Figure 4.24). The
association of enslaved Africans with beads is common in the archaeological literature
(e.g. Handler and Lange 1978, Otto 1984, Yentsch 1994), and is often viewed as one of
the few definite items of adornment among slaves. Although it has been suggested that
such beads are associated with a spiritual element, it is difficult to make this association
without knowing more about their particular context. It is certainly possible that at
Rosedown these beads could have been associated with spirituality, but without more

contextual information, it is enough to say they are indicators of status within the slave community. Regardless of whether these beads are associated with the prehistoric American Indian component (if it post-dates European arrival), they could have been reused.
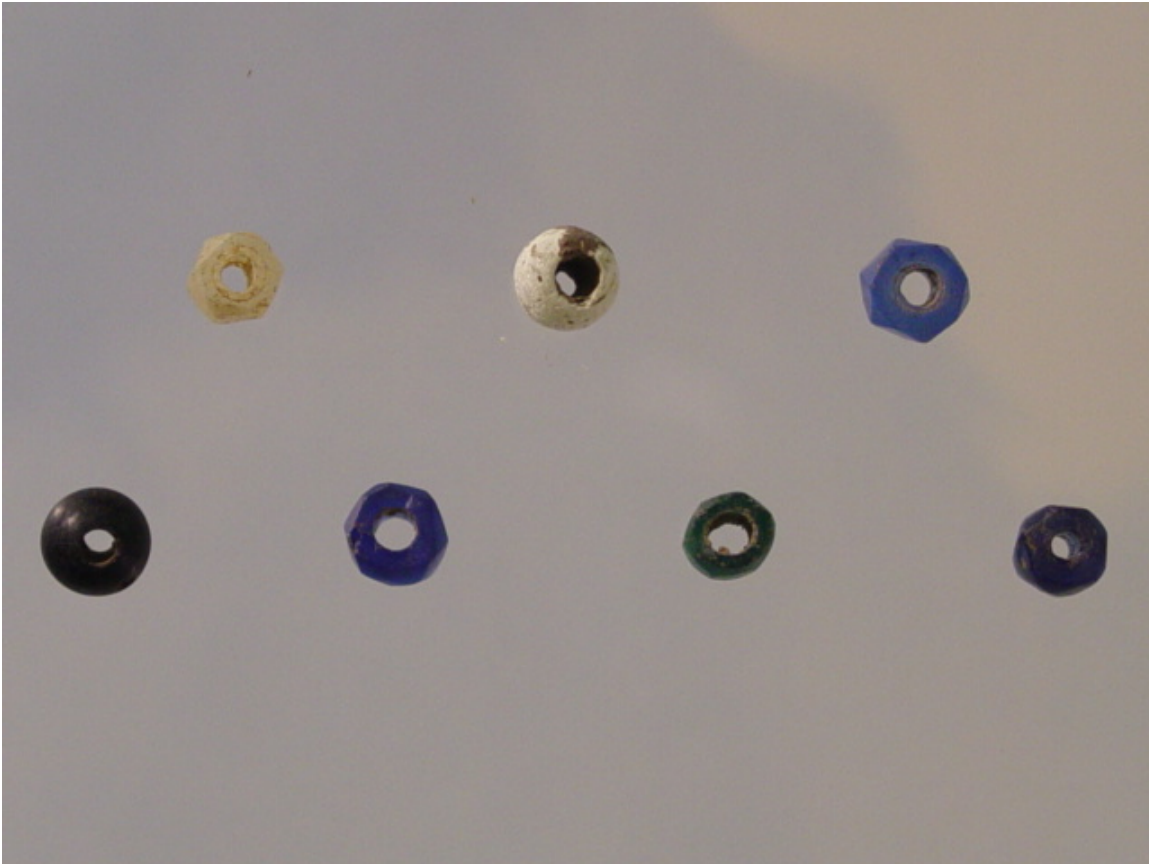
Figure 4.24 Beads from Rosedown

One artifact that stands out as being both a personal item and an example of recycling is a modified spoon (Figure 4.25). This spoon is made of silver, and consists of only part of the handle. The handle has two holes punched into it, and was probably used as a talisman of protection. According to other literature (Powdermaker 1939, Puckett 1926, Wilkie 2000b, Davidson 2004), enslaved Africans in the southeastern United

States, including Louisiana, often wore coins or other metal objects with holes punched in them suspended on a string around their ankles or necks. These objects were believed to protect the wearer from spiritual harm.

Figure 4.25 Modified spoon handle

Industrial

A large quantity (30.3 kg) of slag was recovered from Rosedown. Slag is a byproduct of metal production; for instance, in order to create wrought iron used to make nails or other tools, the impurities in the metal (minerals) had to be drawn off and discarded. This discarded material is slag (White 1996: 219). Slag composition is

influenced by many factors such as the flux material, the ores present, the charcoal or wood ashes, etc. (For a complete list see Bachmann 1982: 9-10).

Although this artifact has been studied archaeologically, it is not something that is usually recovered from plantation contexts. At Rosedown, the metal detector survey indicated a heavy iron concentration in the north central part of the site (east of ST 94), which suggested a potential architectural deposit. Units 2 and 3 were placed in this area, yielding the heaviest concentration of slag from the entire site, although slag was spread throughout the area.

Although there are different methods for smelting iron (Gordon and Killick 1993, White 1996), resources have to be available. Fuel such as wood needed to be available for fuel to heat the iron oxide. The iron ore itself had to be available, and a flux agent was necessary (White 1996: 218). However, if these resources were available, smelting could occur in different ways with different results. For example, as Gordon and Killick argue, iron production in America occurred on a larger scale in order to quickly provide high quality iron whereas iron production in East Africa was on a small scale to provide low quality but functional tools necessary for daily tasks (1993: 269).

Daniel Turnbull's 1862 succession record shows there was a slave trained as a blacksmith living at Rosedown. The wood on the plantation could have supplied fuel, although a source of iron ore would have also been necessary to create iron to make tools. By this time, it was cheaper to buy iron than make it, so it is unlikely such an operation was occurring at Rosedown. It is more likely this slag was the byproduct of the railroad line, which ran through the Rosedown property after Emancipation. Slag may have been

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reused in some way or deposited in this area for disposal. In both Units 2 and 3 only the B horizon remains, so the slag deposit was dug into this soil for disposal. Since the majority of slag at this site comes from these units, it is probable that the bulldozer pushed most of the deposit into an area where it was out of the bulldozer path and didn't get redistributed.

Guns/Military

There are also ten pieces of lead shot that are probably due to hunting activity near the slave quarters. As discussed in the other components section, three molded lead bullets were recovered along with one ramrod holder and several pieces of melted lead. These are all associated with the Civil War component, but may have been recycled in some way by people living at Rosedown.

Toys

Toys recovered at Rosedown were two clay marbles, a porcelain child's teacup fragment, and a porcelain doll foot. The clay marbles and teacup fragment seem to represent children's toys, although the doll foot may have been associated with a decorative figurine rather than a toy. It is probable that other toys were perishable, and did not survive in the archaeological record. Toys associated with sharecropper occupations recovered at neighboring plantations include tea sets and porcelain doll parts at Oakley, which represent planter hand-me downs, and clay marbles at Riverlake.

Wilkie speculates that the marbles were purchased at the commissary on the plantation, and so represented an aspect of consumer behavior (Wilkie 2000b: 152).

Bahamas data

The data taken from the Bahamas for comparison with Rosedown is compiled from several different plantations on several different islands. However, the focus of the Bahamas data will be on Clifton Plantation, located on New Providence, which had the main market in the capital of Nassau. Undoubtedly, the dispersed nature of the Bahamas created differential access to the main market in Nassau among outlying islands and undoubtedly affected access to consumer goods.

Clifton Plantation

Clifton Plantation, owned by William Wylly, was occupied from 1787 through 1822. Clifton is located west of Nassau on New Providence Island. Extensive test excavations of this plantation took place in 1996 and 1998, resulting in several published works, including my Master's Thesis (Anderson, 1998). The focus of all these works was primarily the enslaved African population at Clifton.

My own work focused on Locus L, a partially standing slave cabin with artifact deposits that span a period of time from the late 18th century through modern occupation. This locus had been bulldozed, but the bulldozing was concentrated on the vegetation, so did not do much more than pull up roots, which interrupted the artifacts' vertical rather than horizontal position. Although the focus of that study was on the spatial distribution

of artifacts within the yard area, there is evidence of consumer activity that shows a contrast with Rosedown.

At Locus L, most of the artifacts are related to categories other than structural, as the house was still standing. Only one piece of window glass and some lamp chimney glass were recovered, along with 63 nails (Anderson 1998: 85). Most artifacts relate to household activities. At this location, metal preservation was poor, but can seams and pan or pot fragments were able to be identified. Bottle glass remains from this area include wine bottle, case bottle, and medicine bottle fragments (Anderson 1998:89). Although no bone was recovered, shell indicates shellfish consumption was an important part of the diet at Clifton (Anderson 1998: 79). A total of 63 ceramic sherds (23 vessels) was recovered from this area, with an MCD of 1827.5, which suggests the assemblage may more heavily represent later occupations at the site. The plate-bowl ratio indicates that the assemblage was primarily hollowware, with 1.5 bowls present for every plate. Although this hints at a cheaper assemblage, the decoration is mostly handpainted, which has a higher economic cost, and shows a preference for a certain type of decoration (Anderson 1998: 64-69). Clothing related artifacts include a clothes rivet, a safety pin, eight buttons, and one glass bead (Anderson 1998: 88). These items may indicate that clothing was not a priority purchase, or that simpler clothing styles, without fasteners or buttons, was preferred. Artifacts associated with smoking include 13 pipe fragments (Anderson 1998: 91), which indicate enslaved people at Clifton had access to tobacco. Finally, in the toy category, two glass marbles were recovered from this context (Anderson 1998: 91).

Wilkie's data from Locus G at Clifton is another slave cabin, that of the driver and his wife, who was the plantation cook for the slaves. The slave kitchen is located next to this cabin (Wilkie 2000a: 13). This in itself is interesting, in that not only did enslaved people have a central area where food was prepared for the entire community, but also in that a specific person was designated by the planter to cook for the other enslaved people. This arrangement implies another imposed level of institutional hierarchy within the plantation organization. Not only was the planter attempting to control what and when enslaved people eat, but he was also controlling who prepared the food, possibly an attempt to prevent stealing from his own kitchen.

The study at Locus G focuses on aspects of consumer choice in ceramics and tobacco pipes, although bottles, buttons, and faunal remains were located here as well (Wilkie 2000a: 13). Based on the knowledge that enslaved people at Clifton could sell produce they cultivated in their own small garden plots, and that they could earn money by building walls on the plantation (Wilkie 2000a: 12), Wilkie argues that enslaved people born in Africa purchased items that appealed to their African aesthetics. A comparison of the ceramic types found in the planter assemblage with the entire ceramic assemblage from all slave quarters at Clifton shows that the only common ceramic type found at all households is undecorated creamware, a type Wylly probably distributed to his slaves. There was also diversity in decoration between cabins (Wilkie 2000a: 15). This suggests enslaved people were purchasing ceramics according to their personal choices, and that as a group, they chose to purchase ceramic types that were different from that of the planter.

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At Locus G, 65 ceramic vessels were identified. Based generally on Miller's four categories, the ceramic decoration at Locus G is predominantly handpainted and minimally decorated (Categories 2 & 3 in the Rosedown study) (Wilkie 2000a: 17). Economically, this was a relatively expensive selection, quite unlike the assemblage found at Rosedown.

In addition to the ceramics, 24 pipe fragments (at least 5 pipes) were recovered at Locus G. This not only indicates that enslaved people had access to tobacco (or another substance), which Wylly provided to them at Christmas (Wilkie 2000a: 22), but that they were purchasing pipes to smoke it rather than reselling the tobacco in the market.   The diversity of pipe decoration styles may represent personal choices of the consumer to access a preferred aesthetic (Wilkie 2000a: 23).

In addition to the above data from Clifton, Laurie Wilkie and Paul Farnsworth published a brief update on their 1996 excavations in which they note a gunflint and unfired musket ball was recovered from the slave quarters. As Wylly at one time armed his slaves to protect himself from a court martial, these artifacts may have been planter-supplied. However, it may also indicate other access to arms, as may the presence of a VI West India Regiment Military button from the free colored militia in the Bahamas (Wilkie and Farnsworth 1996: 50).

Promised Land

Promised Land plantation was owned by James Moss, and is located in southwestern New Providence Island, southwest of Nassau . This plantation was excavated in 1993 by Paul Farnsworth (Farnsworth 1994: 21).

A series of 212 shovel tests were excavated at Promised Land, locating two slave cabins (Farnsworth 1994: 22). A metal detector survey was also conducted, and 40 additional shovel tests dug in areas that seemed to be reflecting a potential metal artifact concentration that would indicate structural remains (Farnsworth 1994: 23). Twenty-five 1x1 meter test units were dug in the slave cabin vicinity. These test units uncovered wattle and daub remains of slave houses, constructed of lime and sand mortar, some with remains of yellow plaster. Lamp chimney fragments were also recovered (Farnsworth 1994: 25).

Household and kitchen artifacts included cast iron cooking pot fragments, silverware fragments, and shell fragments (Farnsworth 1994: 25). No bone was recovered, and it is probable that enslaved people were reliant on marine resources to supplement their diets (Farnsworth 1994: 27). Bottle glass includes remains of wine, liquor, and medicine bottles that were probably recycled to collect fresh drinking water, a practice common in the Bahamas. Ceramics were the most numerous artifacts associated with the slave occupation, and by far the majority were undecorated bowls, the cheapest ceramic types available. However, the next largest grouping of ceramic artifacts were teawares, which were more expensive (Farnsworth 1994: 25).

Although Farnsworth mentions that clothing and personal adornment items were recovered, he does not mention what they are, aside from stating that no glass beads were recovered. He focuses more on the abundance of tobacco pipes, which shows enslaved Africans living at Promised Land had access to tobacco and to pipes. As historical records indicate that tobacco was probably not produced in the Bahamas, this may indicate that tobacco was a more expensive luxury item (Farnsworth 1994: 26). It may also indicate that enslaved people may have been growing their own tobacco and purchasing pipes.

Wade's Green

Wade's Green Plantation, owned by Wade Stubbs, is located on North Caicos Island in the Turks and Caicos Islands, which were formerly part of the Bahamas. In 1989, Paul Farnsworth surveyed and placed test excavations throughout this plantation, including around one slave cabin (Farnsworth 1993: 2-3). Six 1x1 meter test units were excavated in and around this slave cabin, which was still standing (Farnsworth 1993: 7). Artifacts recovered included ceramics, one pipe fragment, bottle glass, a small amount of bone, and shell (Farnsworth 1993: 9-10).

At Wade's Green, the ceramic assemblage become particularly interesting when compared to that of the planter. A comparison of the two assemblages shows that slaves had more flatware than the planter (Farnsworth 1996: 7). Also, although a decoration analysis shows the planter had a more expensive assemblage than the slaves, it was not

by much; the slaves had only five percent more of the cheapest ceramics (Farnsworth 1996: 12).

Another interesting result of the work at Wade's Green involves the artifacts associated with tobacco consumption. The one pipe associated with the slave cabin at Wade's Green is in stark contrast to the higher numbers of pipe fragments associated with the planter, overseer, and kitchen assemblages at the same plantation. This suggests that slaves at Wade's Green either chose not to smoke or that they did not have the same access to tobacco as the planter and the overseer. This implies that tobacco might have been scarce and expensive (Farnsworth 1996: 18).

In order to account for differences between the assemblages at Promised Land Plantation and Wade's Green Plantation, Farnsworth suggests that there is a difference in market access between the two islands. On North Caicos Island, no towns existed, and many planters did not settle and establish plantations in this area (Farnsworth 1996: 7). On New Providence Island, however, the capital port of Nassau had a market that allowed enslaved people to sell their own provisions. Farnsworth explains that these different areas account for differences in the ceramic record based on economics. That is, for Wade Stubbs to supply his slaves with ceramics, it was cheaper and easier for him to buy crates full of different vessel forms and decorations than to travel to Nassau to pick out specific ceramics for distribution to his slaves (Farnsworth 1996: 11). As a result, the slave ceramic assemblage at Wade's Green is much more expensive in appearance, but in reality was cheaper than the slave ceramic assemblage at Promised Land. This also applies to pipes, in that readily available access to tobacco was implied from the remains

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at Promised Land, while the paucity of pipe fragments at Wade's Green suggests the opposite.

Marine Farm and Great Hope

In 1993, Paul Farnsworth and Laurie Wilkie conducted test excavations at Marine Farm and Great Hope Plantations on Crooked Island. At Marine Farm, one potential slave cabin was investigated (Wilkie and Farnsworth 1995: 34). Ceramic evidence for antebellum occupation exists in the form of creamware and pearlware, but evidence for military occupation is suggested after 1820. Structural modification including only sherds of creamware and pearlware suggests these renovations occurred before whiteware (which is present at this site) was introduced in the 1820s (Wilkie and Farnsworth 1995: 35).

At Great Hope, the main slave settlement was outside the testing area, but one slave cabin was included in testing. This occupation spans the early to mid 19th century. Artifacts recovered from the slave cabin include ceramic, bottle glass, pipe fragments, and glass beads. Lack of "status" ceramics in all assemblages at this plantation may indicate restricted access to trade networks (Wilkie and Farnsworth 1995: 35).

Shell also seems to have been important to the enslaved people living at Great Hope, as shellfish was the predominant faunal remain recovered from the slave cabin (Wilkie 1996a: 37). Few fish remains and no animal bone were recovered from this location. Medicine bottles were present here as well, and 12 tobacco pipe stems indicate access to tobacco. In addition to these artifacts, three glass beads were recovered from

this location (Wilkie 1996a: 38). Since Wilkie suggests Crooked Island did not have a

central market (Wilkie 1996a: 34), slaves may have been engaging in other systems of

trade or using goods as a form of currency.

Comparisons

In this section, I will compare specific aspects of Rosedown's slave artifact

assemblage with enslaved people's artifact assemblages at Oakley plantation in Louisiana

and with the Bahamas plantations discussed in the previous section. Unfortunately, there

are some differences in the data that will affect this comparison, such as the extent of

excavation at each site and the data made available through publication. For example, the

slave quarters at Clifton have been extensively excavated and the results widely

published, whereas at both Great Hope and Marine Farm, only one slave house was

excavated, and the available published data is limited. However, despite these

limitations, it is useful to begin to compare data from these diverse environments to begin

to understand how enslaved people created their own environments. In order to make

such a comparisons, I will base the percentages of each comparison category on the total

artifact assemblage.

Bottle Glass

Although the category of bottle glass can provide a lot of information about

activities occurring at a site, the assemblage at Rosedown is poor. At Rosedown, no

complete bottles were recovered. Also, bottle glass sherds at this site were small with

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few markings. These factors make the task of determining original or even reuse function of these items difficult, and subsequent comparison nearly impossible. However, the glass sherds' lack of markings does provide interesting data.

Most medicinal remedies manufactured in antebellum times were marketed in distinctly shaped bottles with identifying lettering embossed on them. The lack of a quantity of such bottles suggests enslaved people at Rosedown were not taking such medicines. This is in direct contrast to the enslaved people living at nearby Oakley, where Wilkie attributes the presence of a larger quantity of medicine bottles to the planter, who supplied his slaves with medicines when they were ill (2000b: 170). In most of the southeast and the Caribbean, planters were responsible for providing their slaves with basic provisions, such as food, clothing, and medicine. Thus the lack of such bottles at Rosedown would imply that the enslaved people were rarely ill or poorly cared for. However, in the Turnbull-Bowman papers, there are several receipts for doctor's visits, and for some time, a doctor actually resided on the plantation. A few of these receipts mention treatments for the slaves, but there are not many references to specific medicines. This suggests that either the Rosedown slaves were exceptionally healthy (despite several yellow fever epidemics), or that despite appearances, Daniel Turnbull was not providing them with more than the minimal medical care.

Bone

Table 4.9 shows the faunal remains found at sites in Louisiana and the Bahamas. The patterns seem to follow available resources; that is, in Louisiana, a variety of wild

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and domestic animals were readily available, whereas in the Bahamas, marine resources

were the most easily accessible. As bone preservation tends to be poor in both regions, it

is probable that enslaved people exploited more faunal resources, but that they may not

have survived in sufficient quantity to be identified in the archaeological record.

Table 4.9 Archaeologically recovered faunal remains

	Rosedown	Oakley	Clifton	Promised Land	Wade's Green	Great Hope
Cow	x	x				
Pig	x	x				
Chicken	x	x				
Deer	x					
Turkey		x				
Fish			x		x	x
Conch			x	x	x	x
Shellfish			x			x
Unidentified	x		x			x

Ceramics

The results of the ceramic analysis at Rosedown indicates enslaved people had

access to a very cheap assemblage of ceramics, regardless of who purchased them. It is

indicative of the overall poverty present at the site, which is to be expected considering

that Louisiana was known for its harsh conditions (Johnson 1999: 23). However, when

compared to the ceramic assemblages from the Bahamian plantations, an interesting

pattern emerges (Table 4.10).

Table 4.10 Ceramic vessel cost categories

	Rosedown	Clifton	Promised Land	Wade's Green	Great Hope	Marine Farm
Category 1	44%	19.7%	88.2%	49.4%	9.5%	13.3%
Category 2	32%	31.6%	0%	20.3%	39.7%	13.3%
Category 3	11%	31.6%	11.8%	10.1%	15.9%	26.7%
Category 4	12%	17.1%	0%	20.3%	34.9%	46.7%

Initially, it would seem that the cost of Rosedown's assemblage was similar to that of Promised Land and Wade's Green, who also show the bulk of their assemblage as cheap, undecorated ceramics. However, a closer look suggests that Rosedown and Promised Land are the only plantations where the cost of the ceramic assemblage is heavily weighted toward inexpensive wares. Furthermore, at Promised Land, there are no representations from the most expensive category of ceramic. The other Bahamian plantations show very different patterning in that the more expensive ceramic categories are significantly represented.

A potential explanation for this trend is Farnsworth's argument that in the Bahamas, the slaves' respective ceramic assemblages reflected relative access to goods. Although limited accessibility applied to both planter and enslaved groups, Farnsworth implies it is the planter who is the primary purchasing agent (1996: 6). According to Farnsworth, the Wade's Green assemblage is more expensive because it was cheaper for Wade Stubbs to buy crates of mismatched ceramics containing a variety of ware types and decorations than for him to travel to Nassau to purchase matching sets of the cheapest undecorated wares (Farnsworth 1996: 18). Wilkie and Farnsworth extend this argument to include both Great Hope and Marine Farm, which like Wade's Green, were located a great distance from Nassau (Wilkie and Farnsworth 1999: 300). In contrast, James Moss, the owner of Promised Land, was one of the primary importers for the Bahamas, and had access to cheap, undecorated ware types because of this and his residency in Nassau.

Yet Clifton Plantation was also located near Nassau, and the overall assemblage there is much more expensive than both Wade's Green and Promised Land. Wilkie has suggested such diversity is a result of enslaved people purchasing their own ceramics with money they earned from selling agricultural products they raised on their own plots, which was encouraged by slaveowner William Wylly (Wilkie 2000a, 2001). It is probable that enslaved people at Clifton had access to purchasing such ceramics simply because their owner allowed them to have access to money. However, this is not to suggest that enslaved people did not exercise choice over items such as ceramics. For example, at Marine Farm, half the total ceramic assemblage comes from the most expensive category. An explanation for this is that enslaved people were trading with soldiers (who had different market access) stationed near the plantation (Wilkie and Farnsworth 1999: 300).

Overall, this comparison of ceramic cost indicates that Rosedown and Promised Land show the cheapest overall assemblages. The market access argument points to differing degrees of access to material items for enslaved people.

Smoking

Although tobacco pipes were recovered from Oakley, Clifton, and Great Hope plantations, the percentage of this group were not calculated in relation to the total artifact assemblage, nor were the necessary numbers available for me to calculate the percentages. Without this information, the numbers of pipes recovered from these plantations is useless for comparison. As such, the only plantations that were compared were Rosedown, Promised Land, and Wade's Green (Table 4.11).

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Table 4.11 Tobacco pipe percentages

	Rosedown	Promised Land	Wade's Green
Tobacco pipe fragments	16 .09%	13.8% 10	1.2% 1

Interestingly, tobacco pipe numbers seem to be similar between Rosedown and Wade's Green. Farnsworth has hypothesized that tobacco was scarce in the Bahamas, and not readily accessible to slaves, especially on the Out Islands (1999: 15). This might explain the difference between the Wade's Green assemblage and the Promised Land assemblage, but does not explain the situation at Rosedown. Tobacco was readily accessible in Louisiana, as it was one of the smaller cultivated cash crops. It is possible that tobacco was not grown at Rosedown, or as Wilkie suggests at Oakley, that corncob pipes were used, and wouldn't have been preserved in the archeological record (2000b: 216). However, much like Rosedown's ceramic assemblage, it also suggests a very economically poor assemblage as well as close planter control over slave access to tobacco.

Personal Items

Like the tobacco group, data was not available about the number of beads recovered to calculate their percentage of the total artifact assemblage for Oakley, Clifton, and Great Hope. However, there were so few beads recovered in each place that using numbers rather than percentages should not skew the comparison too badly (Table 4.12).

Table 4.12 Beads recovered at each plantation

	Rosedown	Oakley	Clifton	Promised Land	Wade's Green	Great Hope
Number of beads present	7 .04%	1	1	0	0	3

Farnsworth and Wilkie have mentioned that beads are relatively rare on Bahamian plantation sites (Wilkie and Farnsworth 1995: 34, Wilkie 1996a: 38). This seems to be the case in the above comparison; even though beads make up less than one percent of the total assemblage at Rosedown, there is still a greater number here than at any of the Bahamas sites or at Oakley. Although an unknown number of cabins were excavated at Rosedown, and one cabin was excavated at Oakley, Promised Land, and Wade's Green, the preliminary comparison suggests that enslaved people living at Rosedown had greater access to these items used as personal adornment. This observation is strengthened when specifically compared to Clifton, where seven slave cabins and the slave kitchen were excavated, and where slaves had access to money and to the market, but only one bead was recovered. Although the overall percentage is small at Rosedown, it does suggest that personal adornment may have been an area where planter control was marginally looser, perhaps because these items tended to be smaller and easier to hide if necessary.

Chapter 5: Discussion and Interpretations

In comparing these plantations from Louisiana and the Bahamas, the central theme that has emerged is power relationships and the way enslaved people positioned themselves within the oppressive context of enslavement. As slaveowners fought to maintain their privileged position in society and enslaved people sought to improve their living conditions and social position by resisting, the two groups continuously negotiated their social positions. Within the hegemonic system of slavery, the ultimate power rested with wealthy white slaveowners who used law, landscape, and surveillance to define and reinforce their own powerful status. Although these practices were developed out of shared beliefs and values, expressions of power were mediated through individual plantation owners. Individuals determined whether slaves had access to markets, to material items, to healthcare, etc., regardless of the norms and laws they had accepted as part of a larger group.

However, the undercurrent of resistance within this larger system also finds many different expressions, both at group and individual levels. In addition to open, organized rebellion, group defined values such as informal systems of law, alternative medicine, and spirituality show an organized but not necessarily overt resistance. These systems of resistance also provide space for individual expression of resistance, which is more difficult to uncover archaeologically.

The following discussion incorporates historical and archaeological data into these themes of control, surveillance, resistance, medicine, spirituality, and law. This

structure helps incorporate the comparisons that were discussed in Chapter 4 into a more cohesive overall framework of power negotiations.

Levels of Control

One of the ways to address the power differentials between groups and individuals is to acknowledge different levels of control within plantation society. Of course, as a group wealthy white slaveowners retained the highest degree of control, even after the abolition of slavery. The continued history of racism and violence throughout the United States and Caribbean has demonstrated the lingering effects of the persistent inequality of this race-based class system.

Despite the general imbalance of power, the comparison made in this dissertation has indicated that in Louisiana and the Bahamas, individual planters also had an extremely high level of power within this system. The group may have defined laws and acceptable behaviors on a national or a regional level, but it was the individual planter who chose how to interpret these definitions and how to conduct his own affairs. This included how the planter chose to treat slaves.

Differences in how individual slaveowners treated their slaves in Louisiana and the Bahamas appear in the material record. A comparison of the relative costs of slave ceramic assemblages, for example, showed wide variation within and between the Louisiana and Bahamas plantations. The cheapest overall assemblages were found at Promised Land and Rosedown, plantations that were owned by one of the wealthiest men in the Bahamas and by one of the wealthiest men in the American South, respectively.

However, both men demonstrated coldness toward their slaves in the historical record; James Moss was accused of providing inadequate rations for his slaves in 1816 (Craton and Saunders 1992: 223), and Daniel Turnbull demonstrated his indifference toward his slaves in many ways, including by enslaving his own illegitimate child until she was sixteen (WFPNR, 1833:BE:137-138).

Other plantations with equally wealthy owners show very different patterns. At Wade's Green, half the assemblage is from the cheapest decoration category while the most expensive category represents approximately one-fifth of the total assemblage. Clifton has a moderately expensive assemblage overall, while Great Hope has high percentages of very expensive and relatively cheap ceramics. Marine Farm's ceramic assemblage is very expensive; nearly half of the vessels belong to the most expensive decoration category.

The explanation for this wide variation in the Bahamas could be geographic access, as Farnsworth (1996) and Farnsworth and Wilkie (1999) have suggested. They suggest that planters who lived further away from the market in Nassau bought crates of mismatched ceramics at a lower price than matching sets of undecorated wares (Wilkie and Farnsworth 1999: 302). They also note that enslaved people at Marine Farm and Great Hope may have had access to other goods due to the military presence on the island (Wilkie and Farnsworth 1999: 301). Although this argument addresses planter access to available resources, it does not address individual planter differences or slave access to available resources. Did planters sanction this trade, or was it a form of resistance?

More specifically, what kind of market access did slaves have? After all, it was control over that access that determined the material correlates of behavior.

The ceramic assemblages at Rosedown, Clifton, and Promised Land demonstrate different levels of planter control. At Rosedown, the very inexpensive assemblage suggests that either Daniel Turnbull purchased ceramics for his slaves or that he restricted slave access to money so that they could not afford to buy more than the cheapest available ceramics. Regardless of the situation, it was Daniel Turnbull's decision that determined the type of material culture available to enslaved people living on his plantations.

In the Bahamas, individual planter control is also apparent through the ceramic assemblages found at Clifton and Promised Land. Both plantations were located on the island of New Providence, where the capital of Nassau is also located. However, the ceramic assemblages associated with enslaved Africans on these two plantations are very different. Promised Land, like Rosedown, has a very poor assemblage. Clifton, however, has a relatively expensive assemblage. Individual planter control seems to explain this difference.

Promised Land was owned by James Moss, a wealthy planter who lived in Nassau. Based on the planter ceramic assemblage, Farnsworth has suggested Moss used this plantation as a weekend retreat or vacation house. He also notes that Promised Land was a small plantation, and not economically important (1996: 17). This might suggest that enslaved people living at Promised Land would have had more opportunity to acquire goods through the market at Nassau or through informal trade systems.

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However, the overseer's presence at Promised Land and Moss's presence in Nassau may have actually been more effective in controlling slave movement. Slaves living at Promised Land would have had a very difficult time accessing any market system under the constant threat of being watched both on the plantation and in Nassau.

In contrast, William Wylly, owner of Clifton plantation, allowed his slaves direct market access. Wylly encouraged his slaves to earn money by paying them to build walls on the plantation and by growing their own provisions to sell at the market in Nassau on Sundays (Wilkie 2000a: 12). The latter was a common practice throughout the Caribbean (Pulsipher 1990), although as James Moss demonstrated, was not a practice every planter chose to employ. The ceramic assemblage at Clifton reflects Wylly's relative permissiveness through its relatively high cost and the variety of decorative styles and colors present in different slave assemblages (Wilkie 2000a). This data suggests that individual planter control was an important influence on slave behavior and material culture.

Levels of Surveillance

The differing levels of control demonstrated on these plantations point to one of the ways planters enforced their control on the plantation, through levels of surveillance. At Rosedown, Oakley, Wade's Green, and Great Hope, planters lived at the plantation with enslaved people and an overseer. At Promised Land and Marine Farm, the owner was usually absent, and the plantations were run by overseers. This difference may have meant a great deal for the enslaved people living at these plantations, for although all of

them had to deal with the overseer's surveillance, some of them also had to live under the planter's watchful eye. This extra level of surveillance may have provided security to the planter, but it created more difficulty for enslaved people trying to live and resist successfully under the oppressive system of slavery. To some degree the intensity of these different gazes affects the material culture recovered from these plantations.

The best example of how material culture reflects the different intensity of surveillance is a comparison of the slave ceramic assemblages at Promised Land and Marine Farm. This comparison is especially insightful because both of these plantations were owned by James Moss even though they are located on different islands.

As discussed above, the ceramic assemblage at Promised Land was very inexpensive and the ceramic assemblage at Marine Farm was very expensive. Wilkie and Farnsworth have argued that the ceramic assemblage at Marine Farm is a result of planters purchasing crates filled with a variety of vessel forms and decorations that were cheaper than purchasing a cheap set of undecorated ceramics (1999: 302). However, James Moss lived in Nassau, where cheap sets of undecorated wares were readily available. Also, along with his brother William, Moss was a merchant and one of the main slave importers to the Bahamas. The Moss brothers had another merchant brother in Liverpool who exported goods and slaves to them. As Farnsworth notes, "There can be little doubt that if anyone had access to goods in the Bahamas, it was James Moss" (1996: 17).

If James Moss had access to cheap undecorated wares, and it is evident he did from the slave ceramic assemblage at Promised Land, why wouldn't he have purchased

these wares for the slaves at Marine Farm as well? At Marine Farm, nearly 75% of the

ceramic assemblage belongs to the most expensive categories. Wilkie and Farnsworth

suggest that enslaved people at Marine Farm were trading with the military for material

goods, as there was a military contingent stationed nearby (1999: 301). Although this is a

plausible explanation, and was probably occurring to some extent, it seems unlikely that

enslaved people had traded for ¾ of their total assemblage, especially when there were

other plantations on the island that the soldiers may have had trade relationships with.

A contributing factor to the differences between the Promised Land and Marine

Farm assemblages is the different levels of surveillance these two groups of enslaved

people experienced. As mentioned in the above section, enslaved people living at

Promised Land were constantly subject to surveillance. On the plantation, the overseer

observed their actions and behaviors, and running away to Nassau merely moved them

into the realm of the planter's gaze. This continual feeling of being observed would have

made it difficult for enslaved people living at Promised Land to position themselves

outside the geographical boundaries defined by the planter.

At Marine Farm, however, enslaved people did not have as many restrictions.

Like Promised Land, this was a smaller plantation, and may have been run primarily by

two drivers with an overseer or manager that did not live permanently on the property

(Wilkie and Farnsworth 1999: 290). Regardless of whether there was a permanent

overseer, enslaved people at Marine Farm had at least one less level of surveillance than

the enslaved people at Promised Land because James Moss lived in Nassau, which was

approximately 250-300 miles away by ocean. This may have enabled people living here

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to more freely access the available market resources, in this case, the military. The

different level of surveillance provided different ways for enslaved people living at these

two plantations to maneuver within the system and to resist. Although spatial data has

not been published for either of these plantations, an investigation into whether enslaved

people living at these two plantations were organizing space differently might provide

additional insight into how different levels of surveillance affected people at different

plantations owned by the same individual.

Resistance

In establishing visible levels of control through instituting various levels of

surveillance, planters created a framework against which slaves could resist. Resistance

was group and individual, overt and covert. The types and methods of resistance varied

in different contexts (Garman 1998: 143). However, I also acknowledge that some

examples of resistance that I discuss below may simply be a way that enslaved people

were coping to get through another day rather than a conscious effort to resist.

Materially, resistance may be seen through the presence of illegal or forbidden

artifacts in the assemblages of enslaved people. Weapons such as guns, for example were

prohibited in the slave quarters both in the Bahamas and in Louisiana. Yet evidence of

guns was recovered from the slave quarters at both Clifton and Rosedown. At Clifton, an

unfired musket ball and a gunflint were recovered from the slave quarters. Although

Wylly armed his slaves at one point to prevent his own arrest, he later swore that these

weapons were not loaded (Wilkie and Farnsworth 1996: 50). Wylly may have been

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lying, or his slaves may have had access to ammunition and guns other than this one

instance where they were planter supplied. More specifically, although the resistance to

the law against slaves carrying firearms may have been planter-sanctioned, there is also

the possibility that enslaved people at Clifton resisted by procuring ammunition and/or

guns through their own social networks.

At Rosedown, 10 pieces of lead shot, three bullets, and a number of melted lead

chunks were recovered from the slave quarters. These artifacts indicate guns were likely

present in this area. As these artifacts are primarily associated with the Civil War, they

may have belonged to Union soldiers that came through Rosedown. In that case, these

artifacts show resistance of an entirely different group of people with different

motivations. However, if enslaved people were using them, these artifacts demonstrate

that enslaved people were actively participating in resisting their social position through

the means available to them. This is not to suggest that enslaved people living at

Rosedown did not resist before the war, but rather to recognize that enslaved people were

actively using available opportunities and material culture to resist their bondage

throughout the period of enslavement.

Another aspect of resistance that can be seen archaeologically is the remains of

food that enslaved people ate to supplement the planter provided diet. As the comparison

in this dissertation demonstrates, there is variation in the type of faunal remains that were

recovered from Louisiana and the Bahamas. At Rosedown and Oakley, there is evidence

that enslaved people were eating domesticated (and some wild) animals. Bone recovered

from each plantation shows that people living on these plantations were consuming

similar species. In contrast, the plantations in the Bahamas do not seem to have relied heavily on domesticated animals, although details about the type of bone recovered at Clifton have not yet been published.

Rosedown and Oakley's reliance on domesticated animals indicate that the planter had a high level of control over slave diet at these plantations. Enslaved people may have had more access to domestic animals, or they may have eaten smaller wild animals with bones that have not survived in the acidic soils. Wilkie suggests that smaller mammals such as squirrels were commonly consumed in soups and stews (2000b: 138).

However, in the Bahamas little animal bone has been found, partially because of poor soil preservation conditions. This may indicate that enslaved Bahamians were not relying on domesticated animals to supplement their diet. However, large amounts of shellfish remains have been recovered at most of these sites. It appears that enslaved people were harvesting and eating shellfish rather than consuming the animals they were allowed and encouraged to raise. In using this strategy, enslaved people in the Bahamas resisted planter imposed norms of eating domesticated animals. There was an additional economic component to this strategy in that at some plantations, Clifton and Promised Land in particular, enslaved people were allowed to sell their livestock back to the planter, thus gaining access to money or other valuable items. Slaves may have chosen to conform to planter wishes in selling livestock to the planter, but they resisted relying exclusively on planter issued rations or the planter sanctioned practice of raising livestock to supplement their diet. Instead, they chose to maximize their economic capabilities and

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to procure some of the abundant marine resources available to supplement their meager rations.

Enslaved people living in Louisiana and the Bahamas may also have been resisting as both a group and as individuals through items of adornment. All of the plantations discussed in this dissertation provided evidence of personal adornment in the slave assemblages, even at Rosedown and Promised Land, where the slave artifact assemblages were very poor economically. At Rosedown, boot heels, buckles, buttons, fasteners, and beads were some of the personal items recovered. Oakley had a similar pattern, and the number of this type of artifact increased in association with the tenant population (Wilkie 2000b: 154). Glass beads were also recovered from the slave contexts at Clifton and Great Hope in the Bahamas. Other unnamed personal items were recovered at Wade's Green and Promised Land (Farnsworth 1996: 13).

Heath has suggested that these types of items were appropriated by enslaved people and used as material indications of status within the slave community (1999b: 52-53). As enslaved people were acting as agents, this was resistance against the societal view of slaves as property rather than as people. Slaveowners who ignored or did not acknowledge slave appropriation of European cultural items thought enslaved people were emulating white culture, which was acceptable to slaveowners as long as these appropriations did not threaten the status quo. Yet paradoxically, even emulation can be construed as resistant in that wealthy slaveowners had created a system of difference that only worked if all people involved continued in static status roles. This is not to suggest that enslaved people were constantly resisting – at times, emulation may have simply

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been based on personal preference or the desire to have something that is associated with a higher status.

Medicine

One of the subtexts of resistance that has surfaced through the comparisons made in this dissertation is the idea that enslaved people in Louisiana and the Bahamas had a specialized knowledge of medicine. Although this specialized knowledge may have included European herbal remedies as well as African and Native American knowledge of herbs and plants, it is significant in that it is separate from the accepted Europeanized medicine associated with the dominant culture.

Although evidence of herbal knowledge and use is difficult to recover archaeologically, there are different factors that point to this specialized knowledge in both Louisiana and the Bahamas. In Louisiana, a comparison of enslaved African-American assemblages shows that while there is a significant quantity of Euroamerican medicine bottles among the assemblage at Oakley, no medicine bottle fragments were recovered at Rosedown. This is a stark contrast, and would suggest that perhaps slaves living at Rosedown were not provided with "white" medical care. However, historical records indicate that this was not the case. There are numerous doctors' receipts that show doctor visits and prescriptions for enslaved people living at Rosedown and Turnbull's other plantations.

This information begins to suggest that enslaved people may have had medical alternatives. A doctor's receipt from 1841 provides more insight into this idea, as it

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mentions the doctor was called to visit a slave who was threatening abortion at one of

Daniel Turnbull's plantations, possibly Rosedown (Turnbull-Bowman papers, Reel 1).

This woman's threat demonstrates not only the effectiveness of individual resistance, but

also that this woman must have had some sort of means to induce an abortion without

harming herself. If she had threatened suicide, the doctor probably would have recorded

it that way. After all, from the planter's perspective, this would have been a significant

economic loss – her labor, her child's labor, and her potential future children's labor.

However, because it is recorded that she threatened to have an abortion rather than

threatened suicide, it suggests she had knowledge of how to do so without killing herself,

and that she may have even attempted it so that the doctor had to be called.

This woman's knowledge probably was based on herbs or plants found in the

woods of the plantation. Such knowledge has been documented among descendant

communities in Louisiana (Clayton 1990; Fontenot 1994) as well as elsewhere in the

American southeast (Westmacott 1992). This knowledge was probably shared among the

group rather than held by an individual, and may have been an amalgamation of

knowledge from Africans, Europeans, and American Indians. The slaves living at

Oakley may also have had access to such knowledge, but this is hard to establish

archaeologically.

In the Bahamas, material culture from slave assemblages is limited in terms of

medical or health related artifacts. Farnsworth reports that artifacts associated with

European concepts of health and hygiene were recovered from slave contexts at Promised

Land and Wade's Green. However, information about these types of artifacts has not yet

been published for Clifton, Marine Farm, and Great Hope.

The historical record indicates that providing slaves with medical care was not a

priority for slaveowners in the Bahamas. Craton and Saunders note that slaves living in

the Out Islands would have had one or two doctor visits in a year if they were fortunate

(1992: 316). They further note that enslaved people living in the Bahamas had to rely on

"traditional African medical lore compounded with local 'bush medicine'" (Craton and

Saunders 1992: 317). Bush medicine is based on knowledge of herbs and plants found

throughout the Bahamas, and is used to cure a variety of illnesses and/or to counteract

Obeah. This specific herbal and plant knowledge has been passed on to the descendant

communities, although some practices, such as the practices surrounding childbirth, have

stopped in favor of Europeanized medicinal treatments. Oral histories provide the best

information about bush medicine, including which practices remain widely known and

used, and which have fallen out of favor and are in danger of being lost as the current

elderly population dies.

Spirituality

One of the ideas mentioned in the above discussion is that bush medicine has been

used to counteract Obeah. As discussed in previous chapters, whites acknowledged

Obeah (and its American counterpart "conjure") as a form of resistance during the period

of enslavement, although Obeah also involved healing and spirituality. In conjunction

with healing, this spirituality is another subtext of resistance that appears in both

Louisiana and the Bahamas, although material evidence is ephemeral at best.

Among the plantations compared in this dissertation, Rosedown, Oakley, and

Clifton have elements of material culture that may indicate a spiritual association. This is

not to deny the existence of such artifacts at the other plantations, but rather to

acknowledge that it is at these three plantations where such items appear in contexts in

which archaeologists can recognize their potential spiritual associations.

At Rosedown, there is one artifact that has spiritual implications. The artifact is a

silver spoon handle that has been modified by someone punching two holes through it

(Figure 4.25). I have interpreted this artifact as a charm or talisman of protection based

on similar artifacts recovered within root cellars in the slave quarters at Rich Neck

Plantation in Virginia (Franklin 1997: 239). At Rich Neck, pewter spoon handles had

been modified by punching holes through them, and Franklin suggests such items were

associated with protective charms and healing kits (1997: 240). The reflective or white

properties of such materials were thought to attract and capture spirits, while mirrors or

mirrored objects were symbols of water that separated the spirit world from the living

world (Farris Thompson 1983: 118-121). Additionally, in the American south, silver is

noted for being a protective agent against being conjured. Often this silver is worn in the

form of a silver coin around the neck or ankle, or in the shoe (Puckett 1926: 288).

A perforated coin was recovered from the early 20th century tenant component at

Oakley (Wilkie 1995: 140). Pierced coins have been found in several slave contexts

throughout the southeast (e.g. Singleton 1991; Adams 1987; Davidson 2004). Davidson

notes that these types of charms may also have European roots (2004: 27). This knowledge provides insight into the pervasiveness of such charms in enslaved African-American contexts; although each culture assigned different aspects of meaning to these charms, enslaved people were able to wear them as symbols of their own cultural beliefs, and thus to resist, while slaveowners believed them associated with their own culture, and would not have necessarily recognized these charms as resistant. The dual meanings associated with these charms also points to the idea that "the effects of colonial hegemony were being internalized and layered onto more traditional values" (Denbow 1999: 419) in that enslaved people may not have consciously recognized them as resistant.

Other artifacts with potential spiritual components recovered at Oakley include lithics, a rosary medal, a Christ's head medal, a cowrie shell fragment, and a porcelain nativity figure (Wilkie 1995: 140). Wilkie notes that the medals and nativity figure are associated predominantly with Catholics, but that the tenant living in this house was known to be Baptist. She cites a number of examples of African-American Baptists praying to saints, and further notes that such items may have been used as charms by people of African descent (Wilkie 1995: 142). This would provide another example of how the same objects had different meanings for white slaveowners and enslaved African-Americans.

Enslaved people and later tenant farmers living at Oakley also curated lithic artifacts. Wilkie notes that five projectile points and three scrapers were recovered at Oakley, but that no American Indian component was located during testing. However, an

American Indian component was present at Rosedown, which is very close to Oakley. The lithics at Oakley do not have typical use-wear patterns associated with use as strikers, and Wilkie suggests they may have been associated with conjuring practices (1995: 142-143). Conjuring, like its' Caribbean counterpart Obeah, is a belief system specifically associated with people of African descent, and was considered a potential threat to white slaveowners. As such, it is an expression of resistance as an alternate belief system.

An alternate spirituality is also suggested at Clifton Plantation, where Wilkie's analysis of decoration on ceramics and tobacco pipes in the slave quarters has revealed an African-influenced aesthetic. A ceramic sherd with a design resembling the Bakongo cosmogram was recovered, as was a tobacco pipe with a design resembling Bakongo imagery of the connection between the living and the dead (Wilkie 2000a: 21-22). The Bahamas had a fairly substantial Congo population among enslaved Africans (Wilkie 2000a: 14), which strengthens this idea of an African aesthetic. What is so significant about this imagery in artifacts found in the slave quarters at Clifton is that these items were probably selected and purchased by enslaved people rather than by the slaveowner. Enslaved people living at Clifton had access to money and to the market in Nassau. In selecting such items for purchase, they may have been expressing aspects of an African-influenced belief system. This belief system may be seen as resistant because it was evident on a plantation where the slaveowner firmly believed in educating his slaves about Christianity, and made attempts to provide religious instruction.

Informal Law

The belief systems associated with conjure that are discussed above also have another dimension, social control within the slave community. By creating social control among themselves, enslaved people demonstrated not only resistance to the oppressive system of slavery, but agency in asserting their own system of informal law and its accompanying informal system of justice.

Definitions of informal law and justice suggest that these systems have to be in some way sanctioned by the state (Fitzpatrick 1992, Abel 1982, de Sousa Santos 1992, Merry 1993). Abel suggests that formal and informal systems of law are so intertwined that informal systems may be simply an inextricable part of the larger state sanctioned formal system (1982: 6). Within the plantation system, this idea addresses the interdependence of enslaved people and slaveowners; through the legalized construction of race and the use of that concept to define humanity and inequality, slaveowners provided the framework of oppression within which enslaved people were forced to live and work together for self-preservation. In defining what was legal, slaveowners also defined what would be considered resistant.

Yet in using law to define race and inequality, slaveowners also ignored the consequence that enslaved people began to bond together emotionally and culturally and acted to define their own sense of justice within this larger system. Under this constant oppression, enslaved people took a measure of control over their own lives through establishing belief systems, standards, and behaviors that were different from those imposed on them from above. It is in this context that African-American and African-

Bahamian identities begin to emerge. Furthermore, enslaved people created their own systems of informal law within this larger context, ensuring social control within their own community and according to their own interests.

Materially, this idea is tenuously linked to artifacts in contexts of resistance. The discovery of artifacts that indicate resistance, such as the guns and ammunition at Rosedown and Clifton, suggests that among enslaved people living at these places, possession of such objects was not considered wrong, even though it was illegal according to state or national law. This hints at the idea that there was an informal system of law among enslaved people living at both plantations who defined right and wrong, or "legal" and "illegal" very differently.

Another material item that implies enslaved people had formed a system of informal law is the charm. As mentioned above, charms were recovered from both Rosedown and Oakley. Although no charms were recovered from the Bahamas plantations, McCarthy has documented the use of charms by African-Bahamians in his work on Obeah (McCartney 1976). Charms are public displays, reminders, or warnings that a person or a place is protected from spiritual and physical harm. In the context of Obeah or conjure, the charm can also be used against someone, usually to prevent theft or adultery (McCartney 1976: 65). This social control reinforces established rules within the community and also provides a sense of justice in that the transgressor has been publicly notified he/she will be punished for breaking these social codes.

Perhaps the best evidence for social control and informal law among enslaved people living in Louisiana and the Bahamas are the artifacts associated with spirituality.

More specifically, the modified spoon and the pierced coin, objects that may be associated with spiritual protection, also may be associated with the practice of conjure. Conjure and obeah were both used to influence the behavior of others both within and outside of the slave community. Even if neither of these systems was used within the slave community, the presence of artifacts associated with protection suggest people believed there was a way to mediate harmful spiritual or physical practices against them. Rather than passive acceptance, enslaved people were attempting to create their own system of right and wrong that protected them, just as whites had created a legal system to protect their own interests at the expense of enslaved people.

Chapter 6: Conclusions

The themes of power negotiation and resistance are present throughout this dissertation. In comparing the material culture from different plantations in two geographically distinct regions, we can begin to learn how enslaved people living under the same oppressive system coped according to their specific living conditions.

Although Louisiana and the Bahamas have very different social conditions today, they share aspects of history that are very similar. Both regions established large-scale plantations equipped for cotton cultivation based on chattel slavery and competed for access to the same markets. Both regions were British possessions but fostered interaction between planters from Spain, France, and America. These planters also imported enslaved people from some of the same areas in Africa. This allowed both planters and enslaved people with similar experiences to interact with one another under the same economic system and suggests social similarities might be found between these regions. These social similarities should be readily apparent on the plantation, which was not only the driving economic focus of both regions, but also the predominant social situation.

The comparisons made in this dissertation are grounded in the unequal power relationships found in plantation society. Although I have created silences in this research in choosing to focus on power negotiation, the comparisons I have made demonstrate that there are some similarities in how enslaved people living in Louisiana and the Bahamas negotiated their social positions on the plantation. These similarities

are evident in the themes that emerged in this research: levels of control, levels of surveillance, resistance, medicine, spirituality, and informal law.

Different levels of control are apparent through individual planter control at each plantation. As slaveowners, planters attempted to assert their control over enslaved people through a variety of means; at Rosedown, for example, landscape features served as visible reminders of social status for both the Turnbulls and their slaves. Planter control over access to material items was another way to demonstrate control. At both Rosedown and Promised Land, the planters provided their slaves with the cheapest ceramics available, while at Clifton, William Wylly allowed his slaves to have access to money to purchase their own ceramics. This is not to suggest that enslaved people living at the other plantations did not have access to goods; Marine Farm and Great Hope demonstrate evidence of informal barter systems outside the planter's provisions. However, enslaved people living at those plantations were probably able to more easily form trade networks because the planter chose to reside elsewhere.

These differing levels of planter control point to the idea that there are different levels of surveillance at each plantation. In Louisiana, the planter often lived with an overseer and slaves on the plantation whereas in the Bahamas it was much more common for planters to live in Nassau or England so that the plantation consisted of only an overseer and slaves. This provided enslaved people in the Bahamas with more opportunities to behave according to their own desires because the planter and his family were not present to watch slave behavior. The overseer was the only person who was watching for "undesirable" behavior among enslaved people.

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In both regions, there is historical and archaeological evidence of resistance. Overt resistance such as running away or refusing to work has been documented in both areas in addition to daily resistance. Archaeologically, there is potential evidence for resistance in the form of artifacts that were forbidden for enslaved people to own being found in association with the slave quarters, such as guns and/or ammunition at both Rosedown and Clifton. The presence of these artifacts may be an indication that enslaved people were concealing illegal items from the planter and overseer to for their own uses, suggesting they may have been resisting. However, it is also possible that these items may have been allowed by individual planters who let enslaved people supplement their diets through hunting.

One way that enslaved people living in both Louisiana and the Bahamas resisted was through the use of folk medicine. There is ethnographic evidence from both areas that enslaved people and descendant communities had specialized knowledge about locally available plants that could be used to cause or cure certain ailments. This knowledge is often related to an alternative concept of spirituality. In Louisiana, for example, certain plants are used in conjure to harm or heal someone. In the Bahamas, plants may be used in Obeah for the same purposes. Although healing may have been something both groups chose to do in addition to planter provided medicine, harm was something that could be done to both planters and people living within the same community.

The idea of harming or threatening to harm people in the same community points to the theme of informal justice. Although enslaved people had to obey planter law most

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of the time, they also had to have internal social controls. Charms, amulets, or other evidence of belief systems alternative to that of planter imposed Christianity may have served as warnings, symbols of protection, or threats among enslaved people. At Rosedown, one artifact, a perforated silver spoon handle, was probably used as a charm for protection against conjure. As such, it may have been a visible means for the wearer to communicate he/she was not to be harmed or there would be repercussions.

The material remains recovered from Rosedown and the plantations in the Bahamas indicate that enslaved people living in both places negotiated their positions according to their specific plantation context. The assemblage at Rosedown is extremely poor economically, reinforcing the idea that enslaved people living there did not have much in the way of material possessions, and that their access to material goods was tightly controlled. In the Bahamas, however, most of the plantations demonstrated slightly more expensive assemblages, reflecting a greater degree of market access, and a little more social space to negotiate based on the absence or leniency of the planter.

The intention of this dissertation was not to use this comparison to state that conditions in one place were worse than that in another. However, an important distinction should be made that enslaved people were aware that some places had harsher physical conditions than others. Louisiana was so notorious for working slaves to death within a few years, that planters in other states were able to use threat of sale to Louisiana to control the behavior of their enslaved people (Johnson 1999: 23). Also, most resistance in the Bahamas occurred when enslaved people were about to be moved to

other islands in the Caribbean, suggesting that enslaved people living there were aware conditions were probably worse elsewhere.

The results of this comparison show that enslaved people living in Louisiana and the Bahamas resisted according to the means that were available to them. In many cases, enslaved people were subject to the individual slaveowner's interpretation of society's rules. However, there are also similarities in the way enslaved people in each of these regions organized their lives both within and between these two regions. Regardless of their regional and individual differences, Louisiana and the Bahamas have similar thematic issues that encompass these similarities and differences. Levels of control, levels of surveillance, resistance, medicine, spirituality and informal law are all themes found in both places, but the individual expression may vary according to region and individual plantation. This comparison provides many levels and layers of analysis; similarities and differences at the national, regional, local, and plantation level.

This comparison has begun an important line of research for regional studies in Louisiana and the Bahamas. It has also just begun to scratch the surface of the nuances of the daily power negotiations between the masters and slaves. Additional research at Rosedown or other Louisiana plantations would contribute greatly to this body of knowledge, and would contribute more data that might strengthen or shift the focus of the comparison made in this dissertation. The most important thing this dissertation has contributed, however, is information about a group of people who have been historically disenfranchised and whose descendants continue to have to reconstruct their past without

the benefit of extensive records. I view this study as the starting point to continually

uncover the silences that have been created.

Appendix A

Enslaved people listed in John Turnbull's 1858 succession

Name	Gender	Age
Harriet	Female	32
Sam	Male	11
Margaret	Female	7
Cornelius	Male	3
Unnamed	Unknown	Infant (Harriet's)
Catharine	Female	27
Alice	Female	4 months
William Brown	Male	40
Jesse	Male	12
Margaret	Female	7
Laura	Female	5
Lucy Jackson	Female	47
Becky	Female	21
Sam	Male	8 months
Polly	Female	15
Dan	Male	10
Mahala	Female	6
Boney	Male	47
Nelly	Female	20
Winny	Female	10 months
Tennessee Harry	Male	72
Simon	Male	28
Letty	Female	27
Fanny	Female	4
Cealy	Female	6 months
Aaron	Male	24
Joan	Female	15
Old Joe	Male	70
Clarissa	Female	65
Fanny	Female	22
Juber	Male	1
Mike	Male	18
Narcisse	Female	12
Moses	Male	21
Suckey	Female	17
Sidney	Male	14 months
Haines	Male	27
Nancy	Female	36

Name	Gender	Age
Wesley	Male	14
Marinda	Female	12
Elizabeth	Female	9
Harriet	Female	5
Judy	Female	3
Dave	Male	8 months
Robert	Male	45
Mariah	Female	40
Anthony	Male	?3
Moses	Male	8
Dlia	Female	17
York	Male	45
Nelly	Female	38
Edward	Male	10
Robert	Male	6
Primus	Male	3
Jessey	Male	38
Lent	Male	14
Little Henry	Male	29
Judy	Female	19
Mariah	Female	3
Peggy	Female	10 months
Cato	Male	27
Jenny	Female	23
Dave	Male	27
Lucy Bowles	Female	36
Julia Ann	Female	13
William	Male	13
Joe	Male	24
Patsey	Female	25
Ellen	Female	10
Everline	Female	4
Jim	Male	2
Ned	Male	42
Mary	Female	24
Jacob	Male	6
Old Jacob	Male	61
Old Henry	Male	34
Rachael	Female	22
Winny	Female	11
Matilda	Female	2

Name	Gender	Age
Oliver	Male	34
Dinah	Female	27
John	Male	27
Roase	Female	23
Ruffin	Male	11
Betsey	Female	7
Annette	Female	3
Henrietta	Female	9 months
Harry	Male	32
Rinah	Female	40
Stephen	Male	15
Paris	Male	4
Eve	Female	4
Joe	Male	2
Tom Panky	Male	34
Little Harry	Male	65
Charles	Male	17
Fender	Female	70
Preston	Male	5
Sally	Female	40
Ann	Female	6
Mary McDermott	Female	40
Oswald	Male	13
Cornelia	Female	11
Spencer	Male	3
Frances	Female	1
Josh	Male	10
Enery	Male	40
Nathan	Male	60
Abram	Male	100
Lucy	Female	70
Clarissa	Female	45
Campbell	Male	25
Adam	Male	18
Polly	Female	13
George	Male	12
Stephen	Male	11
Bingaman	Male	9
Jim	Male	9
Josephine	Female	8
Anthony	Male	22

Appendix B

Enslaved people listed in Walter Turnbull's inheritance from Catharine Turnbull

Name	Spouse	Children	Age
Big John	Peggy		
Peggy	Big John	Beck, Patience, Dick	
Beck			
Patience			
Dick			
Jack Collins	Arfa	Paris, Amy, Dafny, Adam, Patty	
Arfa	Jack Collins	Paris, Amy, Dafny, Adam, Patty	
Paris			
Amy			
Dafny			
Adam			
Patty			
Jacob	Patty	Boney, Rachel, Ione	
Patty	Jacob	Boney, Rachel, Ione	
Boney			
Rachel			
Ione			
Eve		Jane, Ann, Ben, Harriet	
Jane			
Ann			
Ben			
Harriet			
Yellow Sam	Jinney	Sam, William, Liddy	
Jinney	Yellow Sam	Sam, William, Liddy	
Sam			
William			
Liddy			
Old John			40
Isaac			30
Sylvia		Unnamed	
Charles			
Solomon			
Old Judy			

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