



# Kent Academic Repository

**Fricke, Felicia Jantina (2019) *The Lifeways of Enslaved People in Curaçao, St Eustatius, and St Maarten/St Martin: A Thematic Analysis of Archaeological, Osteological, and Oral Historical Data*. Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) thesis, University of Kent,.**

## Downloaded from

<https://kar.kent.ac.uk/75188/> The University of Kent's Academic Repository KAR

## The version of record is available from

<https://doi.org/10.22024/UniKent/01.02.75188>

## This document version

UNSPECIFIED

## DOI for this version

## Licence for this version

CC BY (Attribution)

## Additional information

## Versions of research works

### Versions of Record

If this version is the version of record, it is the same as the published version available on the publisher's web site. Cite as the published version.

### Author Accepted Manuscripts

If this document is identified as the Author Accepted Manuscript it is the version after peer review but before type setting, copy editing or publisher branding. Cite as Surname, Initial. (Year) 'Title of article'. To be published in *Title of Journal*, Volume and issue numbers [peer-reviewed accepted version]. Available at: DOI or URL (Accessed: date).

## Enquiries

If you have questions about this document contact [ResearchSupport@kent.ac.uk](mailto:ResearchSupport@kent.ac.uk). Please include the URL of the record in KAR. If you believe that your, or a third party's rights have been compromised through this document please see our [Take Down policy](https://www.kent.ac.uk/guides/kar-the-kent-academic-repository#policies) (available from <https://www.kent.ac.uk/guides/kar-the-kent-academic-repository#policies>).

# **The Lifeways of Enslaved People in Curaçao, St Eustatius, and St Maarten/St Martin: A Thematic Analysis of Archaeological, Osteological, and Oral Historical Data**

*Felicia Jantina Fricke BSc (Hons) MSc*

## **Abstract:**

In recent years, archaeologists have demonstrated that they can help to deconstruct dominant heritage narratives and develop new ones which are more nuanced and sensitive to both past and present stakeholder and subaltern communities. In this study, material culture from excavated enslaved villages, human remains from excavated enslaved cemeteries, and oral histories from participant interviews, were used to construct alternative narratives of the lifeways of enslaved people on the Dutch Caribbean islands of Curaçao, St Eustatius, and St Maarten/St Martin. The use of qualitative data in a thematic analysis facilitated nuanced understandings of many aspects of enslaved lifeways and allowed comparisons to be made between the islands and between the various datasets as well as between the study area and other regions of the Caribbean and the wider Americas. On each island, the research provided a perspective lacking in the existing literature: in St Maarten/St Martin the evidence indicated that enslaved people here had highly complex spiritual, cultural, and communal lifeways which were intricately linked with the island landscape; in St Eustatius the evidence indicated that enslaved people experienced high levels of stress despite periods of economic and material wealth; and in Curaçao the evidence indicated that the social structures of Atlantic slavery persisted well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Overall, the study demonstrates that narratives describing slavery in the Dutch Caribbean as ‘mild’ have neglected many of the physical and psychological stresses of enslavement for which there is ample evidence. The new narrative presented here is therefore important for our understanding of Dutch Caribbean heritage and structures of modern slavery, the development of island identities, and positive social and political change.

**Word Count:** 92,900

**Year of Submission:** 2019

School of European Culture and Languages

University of Kent

**The Lifeways of Enslaved People in Curaçao, St Eustatius,  
and St Maarten/St Martin: A Thematic Analysis of  
Archaeological, Osteological, and Oral Historical Data**

*Miss Felicia Jantina Fricke BSc (Hons) MSc*

**Word Count: 92,900**

Submitted for the PhD in Classical and Archaeological Studies

University of Kent

2019



*Kunuku* house, 1950s needlepoint by H E Fricke-Hofman.

For Charlotte Sabey-Corkindale, who always believed in me.

# ABSTRACT

In recent years archaeologists have moved away from a focus on elite sites and lifeways in the past, and have instead begun to address the lifeways of ‘silenced’ or ‘subaltern’ groups such as enslaved people. Archaeological research has shown itself to be an effective way of reaching these groups, who often did not leave written records behind them. Heritage narratives in many regions, including the Dutch Caribbean, are still dominated by colonial discourse, and alternative data sources such as archaeology can help to deconstruct these narratives and develop new ones which are more nuanced and sensitive to both past and present stakeholder communities.

In the current study, the data sources of material culture from excavated enslaved villages, human remains from excavated enslaved cemeteries, and oral historical narratives from participant interviews, were used to construct alternative narratives of the lifeways of enslaved people on the Dutch Caribbean islands of Curaçao, St Eustatius and St Maarten/St Martin. The use of qualitative data in a thematic analysis facilitated nuanced understandings of many aspects of enslaved lifeways and allowed comparisons to be made between the islands and between the various datasets as well as between the study area and other regions of the Caribbean and the wider Americas.

On each island, the research provided a perspective lacking in the existing literature: in St Maarten/St Martin the evidence indicated that enslaved people here had highly complex spiritual, cultural, and communal lifeways which were intricately linked with the island landscape; in St Eustatius the evidence indicated that enslaved people experienced high levels of stress despite periods of economic and material wealth; and in Curaçao the evidence indicated that the social structures of Atlantic slavery persisted well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Overall, the study demonstrates that narratives describing slavery in the Dutch Caribbean as ‘mild’ have neglected many of the physical and psychological stresses of enslavement for which there is ample evidence.

Recent alterations in government have highlighted the colonial relationship between the Kingdom of the Netherlands and the Dutch Caribbean islands. The development of alternative narratives is therefore important not only for our understanding of Dutch Caribbean heritage and structures of modern slavery, but also for the development of island identities, and for the achievement of positive social and political change. The results presented here can challenge people's assumptions, start conversations, and pave the way for future work that deepens our understandings of oppressive social systems in the past while helping to dismantle them in the present.

# CONTENTS

<b>1</b>	<b>Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1	Research Problem	1
1.2	Aim	3
1.3	Research Questions	3
1.4	Terminology: Lifeways	3
1.5	Terminology: Slavery and Enslavement	5
1.5.1	<i>Legal Property and Chattel Slavery</i>	6
1.5.2	<i>Geographical Ancestry and Social Race</i>	7
1.5.3	<i>Parasitic Masters and Economic Utility</i>	8
1.5.4	<i>Permanence</i>	9
1.5.5	<i>Physical Violence</i>	10
1.5.6	<i>'Mental Slavery', Dishonour, and Social Death</i>	10
1.5.7	<i>An Appropriate Definition</i>	13
1.6	The Dutch Caribbean Islands: Geography and Society	14
1.7	Brief History of Curaçao	16
1.8	Brief History of St Eustatius	25
1.9	Brief History of St Maarten/St Martin	30
1.10	Conclusion	37
<b>2</b>	<b>Literature Review</b>	<b>40</b>
2.1	Introduction	40
2.2	Slavery in Curaçao	42
2.3	Slavery in St Eustatius	47
2.4	Slavery in St Maarten/St Martin	54
2.5	Conclusion: A Gap in the Literature	57
<b>3</b>	<b>Theoretical Framework</b>	<b>59</b>
3.1	Introduction	59
3.2	Critical Realism: Ontology and Epistemology	61
3.3	A Postcolonial Epistemology	63
3.3.1	<i>Subaltern Studies</i>	67
3.3.2	<i>Is it Possible to Create Alternative Narratives of the Subaltern?</i>	69
3.3.3	<i>The Suitability of Subaltern Studies</i>	71
3.4	A Decolonising Approach to Oral History Interviews	73

3.5	A Biocultural Approach to Osteology	76
3.5.1	<i>Theorising Slavery in Archaeology: The ‘State of Dishonour’</i>	77
3.6	Mutuality and a Contextual Approach to Material Culture	80
3.6.1	<i>Mutuality and Symmetrical Relationships</i>	80
3.6.2	<i>Contextual and Comparative Approaches to Material Culture</i>	82
3.7	Contemporary Archaeology: The Past in the Present	84
3.8	Politics, Social Impact, and Engaged Ethics	86
3.9	Limitations of the Approach	88
3.10	Conclusion	91
<b>4</b>	<b>Methodology</b>	<b>92</b>
4.1	Introduction	92
4.2	Interdisciplinarity and Alternative Ethnography	93
4.3	A Qualitative Dataset	96
4.3.1	<i>Ensuring Validity and Reliability in Qualitative Studies</i>	96
4.3.2	<i>Data Collection</i>	99
4.4	Reflexivity and Insider/Outsider Status	99
4.4.1	<i>Reflexivity in the Literature</i>	99
4.4.2	<i>Insider/Outsider Status</i>	100
4.4.3	<i>Reflexivity in Action</i>	102
4.4.4	<i>Speaking About the Subaltern</i>	104
4.5	A Note on Cultural Interactions	104
4.6	Methodology: Material Culture	106
4.6.1	<i>Material Culture Analysis</i>	106
4.6.2	<i>The Study of Slavery in Material Culture</i>	107
4.6.3	<i>Site Selection Process</i>	108
4.6.4	<i>Artefact Selection Process</i>	109
4.6.5	<i>Material Culture Interpretations</i>	111
4.6.6	<i>Ethical Issues in Material Culture Analysis</i>	114
4.6.7	<i>Limitations of Material Culture Analysis</i>	115
4.7	Methodology: Osteological Analysis	116
4.7.1	<i>Slavery in Osteology</i>	116
4.7.2	<i>The Osteobiographical Approach</i>	118
4.7.3	<i>The Skeletal Sample</i>	121
4.7.4	<i>Professional Standards for Osteology</i>	122
4.7.5	<i>Sex Assessment</i>	123
4.7.6	<i>Age Assessment</i>	124

4.7.7	<i>Ancestry Assessment</i>	126
4.7.8	<i>Stature Estimation</i>	127
4.7.9	<i>Palaeopathology with a Focus on Systemic Stress</i>	128
4.7.10	<i>Ethical Issues in Osteological Analysis</i>	132
4.7.11	<i>The Osteological Paradox</i>	134
4.8	Methodology: Oral History	135
4.8.1	<i>Oral Historical Research</i>	135
4.8.2	<i>Oral History and Slavery</i>	137
4.8.3	<i>Recruitment and Sampling</i>	138
4.8.4	<i>The Interview Process</i>	141
4.8.5	<i>Triangulation and Redundancy</i>	144
4.8.6	<i>Transcription</i>	144
4.8.7	<i>Member Checking</i>	145
4.8.8	<i>Ethical Issues in Oral History Interviewing</i>	146
4.8.9	<i>Limitations of Oral Historical Data</i>	148
4.9	Data Analysis	150
4.9.1	<i>Use of Thematic Analysis</i>	150
4.9.2	<i>Coding the Data</i>	151
4.9.3	<i>Use of NVivo</i>	152
4.9.4	<i>Constructing a Narrative</i>	153
4.10	Conclusion	153
<b>5</b>	<b>Materials</b>	<b>155</b>
5.1	Introduction	155
5.2	Materials: Material Culture	155
5.2.1	<i>Fair Play Plantation, St Eustatius</i>	156
5.2.2	<i>Schotsenhoek Plantation, St Eustatius</i>	159
5.2.3	<i>St Eustatius Historical Foundation Museum and Members of the Public</i>	161
5.2.4	<i>Golden Rock Plantation, St Maarten</i>	162
5.2.5	<i>Mont Vernon Plantation, St Martin</i>	163
5.2.6	<i>St Maarten History Museum and Members of the Public</i>	166
5.2.7	<i>Plantage Knip/Kenepa, Curaçao</i>	167
5.2.8	<i>Kas di Pal'i Maishi, Curaçao</i>	170
5.3	Materials: Osteobiography	171
5.3.1	<i>Fleur de Marie, Curaçao</i>	176
5.3.2	<i>Kamer van Koophandel, Curaçao</i>	177
5.3.3	<i>Veeris Plantation, Curaçao</i>	179

5.3.4	<i>Fort Amsterdam, St Eustatius</i>	180
5.3.5	<i>The Lazaretto, St Eustatius</i>	182
5.3.6	<i>Witten Hoek, St Eustatius</i>	184
5.3.7	<i>Rockland Plantation, St Maarten</i>	186
5.3.8	<i>Zoutsteeg, St Maarten</i>	187
5.4	Materials: Oral History	189
5.4.1	<i>Anonymity</i>	189
5.4.2	<i>Gender Balance</i>	189
5.4.3	<i>Geographical Ancestry and Social Race</i>	190
5.4.4	<i>Occupation</i>	192
5.4.5	<i>Interview Data</i>	192
5.4.6	<i>Construction of Themes and Sub-Themes</i>	193
5.4.7	<i>Gender and Slavery</i>	194
5.4.8	<i>Influence of 21<sup>st</sup> Century Culture</i>	194
5.4.9	<i>Influence of Other Histories</i>	195
5.4.10	<i>Influence of the Dominant Narrative</i>	196
5.4.11	<i>Influence of Post-Emancipation Traditions</i>	197
5.5	A Note on Timescale: Paga Tera as Slavery	197
5.5.1	<i>Permanence</i>	199
5.5.2	<i>Violent Physical Domination</i>	200
5.5.3	<i>Violent Psychological Domination</i>	201
5.5.4	<i>Social Isolation and General Dishonour</i>	201
5.5.5	<i>Parasitic Masters</i>	202
5.5.6	<i>Paga Tera as Slavery</i>	202
5.6	Conclusion	203

## **6 Thematic Analysis: Material Culture 205**

6.1	Introduction	205
6.2	Curaçao	206
6.2.1	<i>Labour</i>	206
6.2.2	<i>Resistance</i>	207
6.2.3	<i>Physical Violence</i>	209
6.2.4	<i>Coping Mechanisms</i>	210
6.2.5	<i>The Homespace</i>	211
6.2.6	<i>Foodways</i>	215
6.2.7	<i>Religion</i>	219
6.2.8	<i>Leisure Time</i>	223
6.3	St Eustatius	225

6.3.1	<i>Resistance</i>	225
6.3.2	<i>Physical Violence</i>	227
6.3.3	<i>Medicine</i>	227
6.3.4	<i>Psychological Stress</i>	228
6.3.5	<i>Coping Mechanisms</i>	229
6.3.6	<i>The Homespace</i>	229
6.3.7	<i>Foodways</i>	233
6.3.8	<i>Religion</i>	237
6.3.9	<i>Leisure Time</i>	239
6.4	St Maarten/St Martin	241
6.4.1	<i>Labour</i>	241
6.4.2	<i>The Homespace</i>	241
6.4.3	<i>Foodways</i>	243
6.4.4	<i>Religion</i>	247
6.4.5	<i>Leisure Time</i>	249
6.5	Conclusion	251
<b>7</b>	<b>Thematic Analysis: Osteobiography</b>	<b>253</b>
7.1	Introduction	253
7.2	Curaçao	253
7.2.1	<i>Labour/Activity</i>	253
7.2.2	<i>Physical Violence/Trauma</i>	257
7.2.3	<i>Medicine/Infectious Disease and Systemic Stress</i>	258
7.2.4	<i>Foodways/Diet and Metabolic Disease</i>	260
7.2.5	<i>Religion/Burial Context</i>	263
7.3	St Eustatius	265
7.3.1	<i>Labour/Activity</i>	265
7.3.2	<i>Medicine/Infectious Disease and Systemic Stress</i>	267
7.3.3	<i>Foodways/Diet and Metabolic Disease</i>	270
7.3.4	<i>Religion/Burial Context</i>	273
7.4	St Maarten/St Martin	277
7.4.1	<i>Labour/Activity</i>	277
7.4.2	<i>Foodways/Diet</i>	278
7.4.3	<i>Religion/Burial Context</i>	281
7.5	Conclusion	283

<b>8</b>	<b>Thematic Analysis: Oral History</b>	<b>285</b>
8.1	Introduction	285
8.2	Curaçao	285
8.2.1	<i>Labour and Economic Engagement</i>	285
8.2.2	<i>Resistance</i>	288
8.2.3	<i>Physical Violence</i>	290
8.2.4	<i>Medicine</i>	291
8.2.5	<i>Psychological Stress</i>	292
8.2.6	<i>Coping Mechanisms</i>	296
8.2.7	<i>The Homespace</i>	298
8.2.8	<i>Foodways</i>	299
8.2.9	<i>Religion</i>	300
8.2.10	<i>Leisure Time</i>	301
8.3	St Eustatius	301
8.3.1	<i>Labour and Economic Engagement</i>	301
8.3.2	<i>Resistance</i>	305
8.3.3	<i>Physical Violence</i>	306
8.3.4	<i>Medicine</i>	308
8.3.5	<i>Psychological Stress</i>	308
8.3.6	<i>Coping Mechanisms</i>	310
8.3.7	<i>The Homespace</i>	311
8.3.8	<i>Foodways</i>	312
8.3.9	<i>Religion</i>	313
8.3.10	<i>Leisure Time</i>	314
8.4	St Maarten/St Martin	315
8.4.1	<i>Labour</i>	315
8.4.2	<i>Resistance</i>	317
8.4.3	<i>Physical Violence</i>	321
8.4.4	<i>Medicine</i>	323
8.4.5	<i>Psychological Stress</i>	323
8.4.6	<i>Coping Mechanisms</i>	324
8.4.7	<i>The Homespace</i>	325
8.4.8	<i>Foodways</i>	326
8.4.9	<i>Religion</i>	327
8.4.10	<i>Leisure Time</i>	331
8.5	Conclusion	331

<b>9</b>	<b>Discussion and Conclusions</b>	<b>333</b>
9.1	Introduction	333
9.2	Comparative Analysis	333
9.2.1	<i>Labour</i>	333
9.2.2	<i>Resistance</i>	335
9.2.3	<i>Physical Violence</i>	339
9.2.4	<i>Medicine and Disease</i>	340
9.2.5	<i>Psychological Stress</i>	342
9.2.6	<i>Coping Mechanisms</i>	343
9.2.7	<i>The Homespace</i>	345
9.2.8	<i>Foodways</i>	346
9.2.9	<i>Religion</i>	349
9.2.10	<i>Leisure Time</i>	351
9.3	Change Through Time	352
9.4	The Legacy of Slavery	353
9.4.1	<i>Mental Slavery</i>	354
9.4.2	<i>Politics, Economy, and Independence</i>	355
9.4.3	<i>Collective Identity</i>	357
9.5	Modern Slavery	359
9.6	Further Work	360
9.7	The Lifeways of Enslaved People: An Interdisciplinary Study	361
	<b>Glossary</b>	<b>365</b>
	<b>Bibliography</b>	<b>366</b>
	<b>Appendix A: Oral History</b>	<b>CD</b>
1	Participant Information Sheet	
2	Participant Consent Form	
3	Interview Structure Curacao	
4	Interview Structure St Eustatius	
5	Interview Structure St Maarten/St Martin	
6	Transcript CUR-OH-01	
7	Transcript CUR-OH-02	
8	Transcript CUR-OH-03	
9	Transcript CUR-OH-04	
10	Transcript CUR-OH-05	

11	Transcript CUR-OH-06
12	Transcript CUR-OH-07
13	Transcript CUR-OH-08
14	Transcript CUR-OH-09
15	Transcript CUR-OH-10
16	Transcript EUX-OH-01
17	Transcript EUX-OH-02
18	Transcript EUX-OH-03
19	Transcript EUX-OH-04
20	Transcript EUX-OH-05
21	Transcript EUX-OH-06
22	Transcript EUX-OH-07
23	Transcript EUX-OH-08
24	Transcript EUX-OH-09
25	Transcript EUX-OH-10
26	Transcript EUX-OH-11
27	Transcript EUX-OH-12
28	Transcript SXM-OH-01
29	Transcript SXM-OH-02
30	Transcript SXM-OH-03
31	Email SXM-OH-04
32	Transcript SXM-OH-05
33	Transcript SXM-OH-06
34	Transcript SXM-OH-07
35	Transcript SXM-OH-08
36	Transcript SXM-OH-09
37	Transcript Alteration Sheet
38	Preliminary Report on Oral History – Short (English)
39	<i>Voorlopig Rapport van Mondelinge Geschiedenis</i> – Short (Dutch)
40	Preliminary Report on Oral History – Long (English)

## **Appendix B: Material Culture**

**CD**

1	Database of Site Reports
2	Database of Material Culture

## **Appendix C: Osteobiography**

**CD**

1	Skeletal Database
---	-------------------

2	Osteological Recording Template
3	CUR-OB-01 Fleur de Marie Skeletal Report
4	CUR-OB-02 Veeris Plantation Skeletal Report
5	CUR-OB-03 Kamer van Koophandel Skeletal Report
6	EUX-OB-01 Witten Hoek Skeletal Report
7	EUX-OB-02 Fort Amsterdam Skeletal Report
8	EUX-OB-03 The Lazaretto Skeletal Report
9	SXM-OB-01 Zoutsteeg Skeletal Report
10	SXM-OB-02 Rockland Plantation Skeletal Report

## **Appendix D: Research Dissemination**

**CD**

1	Research Dissemination
---	------------------------

## TABLES

1.1	The various potential aspects of a definition of slavery	13
3.1	Definitions of relativism, critical realism, and realism	62
4.1	Criteria for high quality qualitative research	98
4.2	Criteria for exclusion of sites from the study	109
4.3	Foci of palaeopathological analysis	131
4.4	Arguments for using oral history in archaeological research	137
4.5	Qualities of interview questions	142
5.1	Summary of artefacts recorded	156
5.2	Inventory of skeletons from Curaçao	173
5.3	Inventory of skeletons from St Eustatius	174
5.4	Inventory of skeletons from St Maarten	175
5.5	Interviewed population divided by gender	190
5.6	Interviewed population divided by geographical ancestry	191
5.7	Interviewed population divided by occupation	192
5.8	Oral history data collected	193
6.1	Artefacts relating to work and economic engagement in Curaçao	207
6.2	Inventory of additional artefacts relating to labour from Haviser (1999)	207
6.3	Artefacts relating to resistance and survival in Curaçao	211
6.4	Artefacts relating to the household in Curaçao	214
6.5	Inventory of additional domestic artefacts from Haviser (1999)	214
6.6	Artefacts relating to foodways in Curaçao	217
6.7	Inventory of additional artefacts relating to foodways from Haviser (1999)	219
6.8	Artefacts relating to religion in Curaçao	220
6.9	Inventory of additional artefacts relating to religion from Haviser (1999)	221
6.10	Artefacts relating to leisure time in Curaçao	224
6.11	Inventory of additional artefacts relating to music from Haviser (1999)	224
6.12	Luxury items from St Eustatius	226
6.13	Artefacts relating to alcohol consumption from St Eustatius	229
6.14	Artefacts relating to the domestic sphere in St Eustatius	232

6.15	Artefacts relating to personal adornment and clothing in St Eustatius	233
6.16	Artefacts relating to foodways in St Eustatius	236
6.17	Artefacts relating to leisure in St Eustatius	240
6.18	Artefacts relating to construction in St Maarten/St Martin	243
6.19	Artefacts relating to foodways in St Maarten/St Martin	245
6.20	Artefacts from Mont Vernon representing foodways	246
6.21	Artefacts relating to leisure activities in St Maarten/St Martin	250

## FIGURES

1.1	Map of the Caribbean	15
1.2	Map of Willemstad, Curaçao	21
1.3	Map of Oranjestad, St Eustatius	26
1.4	Late 18 <sup>th</sup> to early 19 <sup>th</sup> century map of St Maarten/St Martin	31
2.1	Statia blue beads (replica, Ghanaian)	51
3.1	Diagram showing ontology, epistemology and methodology in this study	60
3.2	Osteological traits that can be used to investigate slavery	78
3.3	The ‘state of dishonour’ and its impacts on the skeleton	79
4.1	Screenshot of the artefact database in Excel	110
4.2	Skull of an individual buried with an iron collar, Guadeloupe	117
4.3	Burial of a young adult male at Seville Plantation, Jamaica	120
4.4	Screenshot of the NVivo user interface	152
5.1	Map showing location of Fair Play Plantation, St Eustatius	157
5.2	Plan of Fair Play Plantation, St Eustatius	158
5.3	Plan of enslaved village at Fair Play Plantation, St Eustatius	159
5.4	Map showing location of Schotsenhoek enslaved village, St Eustatius	160
5.5	Plan of Schotsenhoek Plantation enslaved village, St Eustatius	160
5.6	Plan of Rockland and Golden Rock Plantations, St Maarten	162
5.7	Map showing location of Mont Vernon Plantation, St Martin	164
5.8	Plan of Mont Vernon Plantation, St Martin	165
5.9	Plan of Mont Vernon Plantation enslaved village, St Martin	166
5.10	Map showing location of Plantation Knip (Kenepa), Curaçao	168
5.11	Plan of Structure 27 at Kenepa village, Curaçao	168
5.12	Plan of Kenepa village, Curaçao	169
5.13	Kunuku house at the <i>Kas di Pal’i Maishi</i> , Curaçao	170
5.14	Map of Scharloo showing location of Fleur de Marie, Curaçao	177
5.15	Map of Willemstad showing location of the Kamer van Koophandel	178
5.16	Map of Curaçao showing location of Veeris Plantation, Curaçao	179
5.17	Fort Amsterdam, St Eustatius	181

5.18	Map of St Eustatius showing location of the Lazaretto	183
5.19	Map showing location of the Barnes and Johnston plantations	185
5.20	Plan of Rockland Plantation showing burial location	187
5.21	Map of St Maarten/St Martin showing location of Zoutsteeg burials	188
6.1	Artefacts relating to labour from Curaçao	206
6.2	Artefacts showing economic engagement and reuse, Curaçao	208
6.3	Writing material from Kenepa, Curaçao	209
6.4	Rod made from a bull's penis from the <i>Kas di Pal'i Maishi</i> , Curaçao	210
6.5	Artefacts relating to alcohol consumption at Kenepa, Curaçao	211
6.6	Traditional <i>kunuku</i> house construction	212
6.7	Artefacts relating to construction at Kenepa, Curaçao	213
6.8	Artefacts relating to foodways in Curaçao	218
6.9	Artefacts relating to religion in Curaçao	220
6.10	Balance of good and bad energy at the <i>Kas di Pal'i Maishi</i> , Curaçao	222
6.11	Artefacts relating to leisure time in Curaçao	223
6.12	Artefacts relating to economic engagement in St Eustatius	226
6.13	Iron shackles at the St Eustatius Historical Foundation Museum	227
6.14	C17th-C19th medicine bottle fragment from Fair Play, St Eustatius	228
6.15	Ceramic fragment with reference to sugar processing, St Eustatius	228
6.16	Artefacts relating to alcohol consumption in St Eustatius	229
6.17	Artefacts relating to construction in St Eustatius	230
6.18	Artefacts relating to personal adornment and clothing in St Eustatius	231
6.19	Artefacts relating to foodways in St Eustatius	234
6.20	Glass perfume bottle stopper from Fair Play, St Eustatius	237
6.21	Blue beads from St Eustatius	238
6.22	Artefacts relating to leisure activities from Fair Play, St Eustatius	240
6.23	Artefacts relating to labour in St Maarten	241
6.24	Artefacts relating to construction in St Maarten	242
6.25	Artefacts relating to the domestic sphere from St Maarten/St Martin	244
6.26	Multifaceted blue bead from Mont Vernon, St Martin	247
6.27	Artefacts relating to religion in St Maarten/St Martin	248
6.28	Artefacts relating to leisure in St Maarten/St Martin	249
7.1	Osteochondritis dissecans, Curaçao	254

7.2	Osteomyelitis and sinusitis, Curaçao	256
7.3	Carrying loads on the head, a Curaçaoan tradition	257
7.4	Fractured zygomatic arch in an individual from Veeris, Curaçao	258
7.5	Linear enamel hypoplasia, Curaçao	259
7.6	Skeletal evidence for diet in Curaçao	261
7.7	Evidence for use of shroud pin at Veeris Plantation, Curaçao	264
7.8	Diverse geographical ancestry, Curaçao	265
7.9	Skeletal evidence for labour in St Eustatius	266
7.10	Linear enamel hypoplasia from the Lazaretto, St Eustatius	267
7.11	Lesions relating to leprosy from the Lazaretto, St Eustatius	268
7.12	Lesions relating to syphilis from Fort Amsterdam, St Eustatius	269
7.13	Lesions relating to diet in St Eustatius	272
7.14	Grave goods, St Eustatius	274
7.15	African facial features of individuals from Fort Amsterdam, St Eustatius	275
7.16	Skeletal evidence for labour from St Maarten	278
7.17	Dental pathologies relating to diet at Rockland Plantation, St Maarten	280
7.18	Dental modifications, St Maarten	282
8.1	Tomb of Mr Moore, St Eustatius	311
8.2	Doll showing traditional dress, St Maarten/St Martin	320

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

A large number of people were instrumental in the development and completion of this thesis, both professionally and personally, and in a number of countries across the world. Firstly, I would like to thank my academic supervisors, Dr Sophia Labadi, Dr Ellen Swift, and Dr Efrosyni Boutsikas at the University of Kent, an inspirational all-female supervisory team who have made me feel that positive change for women in academia is just around the corner.

I would also like to thank the following people for archaeological assistance and encouragement: Reese Cook, Sue Sanders, Gay Soutekouw, Ruud Stelten, Pardis Zahedi, Frank van Spelde, and Fred van Keulen at SECAR; Dr Jay Haviser and Christopher Velasquez at SIMARC; Amy Victorina and Claudia Kraan at NAAM; Dr Dominique Bonnissent (Regional Curator of Archaeology of Guadeloupe, Saint-Barthélemy and Saint-Martin); and Christophe Henocq at the *Collectivité de Saint-Martin*. In addition, many thanks are due to: Misha Spanner at the St Eustatius Historical Foundation Museum; Elsje Bosch at the St Maarten Historical Museum; and Jeanne Henriquez at the *Kas di Pal'i Maishi* for their time and for access to materials in their collections; and of course my many amazing interviewees who welcomed me into their homes, endured the boring paperwork, and answered sensitive questions with a great deal of eloquence and passion. Without these people, I would have absolutely no data.

I would also like to thank Dr Rose Mary Allen at the University of Curaçao and Walter Hellebrand at the St Eustatius Monuments Office for their input and advice; Dr Jason Laffoon at Universiteit Leiden for confirming my suspicions using Science; Dr Andrea Waters-Rist, Dr Corinne Hofman, and Dr Menno Hoogland (amongst many others!) for welcoming me into the Leiden community; Dr Johan Stapel at CNSI for providing a local platform for research dissemination; Lisa Davis Burnett at the St Maarten Daily Herald for writing a great piece on my research; Dr Mike Field at

Universiteit Leiden for brainstorming solutions to environmental archaeological problems; Dr Matthew Reilly at the City College of New York for introducing me to contemporary archaeology; Dr William Pettigrew at the University of Kent for warning me that I was going to upset a lot of people (and I did, but hopefully only the right ones!); Carlos Cáceres Puerto, Meg Moodie and Indi Reeve for hosting me at the University of Edinburgh; Karin de Wijs at the Dutch Language School, Oxford, for guiding me through three years of exams; Amanda Clarke and Natalie Anderson for over a decade of archaeological training and advice; and the woman who shouted “AMEN!” when I started talking about reflexivity during one conference presentation.

Funding for the research came not only from my employment in various part-time jobs and the generous contributions of friends and family but also from institutions which decided I was worth spending their money on, specifically the UK Society for Latin American Studies and the University of Kent’s Centre for Heritage. Without this help the research would have been impossible so these organisations have my heartfelt thanks.

The stressful environment of PhD research would be difficult to navigate without a group of incredible friends and extended family, often supplying advice, pizza, and/or beer. Many of the people who helped with this have already been mentioned above, but enormous thanks are also due to Camilla Prince, Alice Haigh and Justin Leslie, Joe Couling, Maggie and Steve Couling, Violet Brand, Dr Emma Slayton, Philippa and Hendrikje Jorissen, Daisy Everiss, Caitlyn Purling, Jess Kerr, Agnes Boomsma, Leo and Tiny Fricke, Aro Fricke and Ingeborg Donia, Jenn Yerkes and Mark Yokoyama, Caroline Collins Kealy, Dr Jessica Palmer, Dr Barbara Veselka, Dr Rachel Schats, Dr Sarah Schrader, Emma de Mooij, Femke Reidsma, Marcel Hennevelt, Matt Davies, Terence Eder, my climbing buddies, and all my wonderful colleagues at The Bishop.

This thesis is dedicated to Charlotte Sabey-Corkindale (also known as Lottie), with whom I did my undergraduate degree in archaeology at Durham University. She

always thought I would get here and I didn't believe her. I wish that I could tell her she was right and how much her faith and friendship meant to me. Unfortunately, important things sometimes have to remain unsaid.

Finally, the biggest thanks are due to my parents, Harm-Jan Fricke and Kathryn Bramble, whose financial assistance and unwavering belief in my ability to complete my research were absolutely essential in keeping me both fed and sane.

# 1 INTRODUCTION

---

## 1.1 RESEARCH PROBLEM

Over thirty years ago, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1985a) discussed the use of ‘alternative historical narratives’ to address the neglect of minority and marginalised populations in historical discourse, achieved through the re-reading of texts produced by the elites (Spivak 2012; Spivak 1988; Spivak 1985a). This phenomenon is also known as ‘voices from the edge’, ‘writings at the margin’, ‘fragmentary statements’, and ‘history from below’ (Pandey 2012). However, this approach can only provide us with limited information about marginalised groups (Koslofsky and Zaugg 2016; Spivak 2012; Gilmore III 2006a; Cohen, L., Manion and Morrison 2000: 147; Thornton 1998: 4; Guha 1997). In recent years, archaeologists have demonstrated the ability of the material record to address this problem of invisibility. It has allowed researchers to explore disadvantaged groups in past societies in more detail than ever, while also addressing modern social and political issues (see for example Moshenska and Gonzalez-Ruibal 2015; Gonzalez-Ruibal 2013; Leone et al. 2013; Meskell 2012; Gonzalez-Ruibal, Sahle and Vila 2011).

In many areas, including the Caribbean, scholars encourage the fusion of data from different sources such as archaeology, history, sociology, ethnography, and oral history, to address alternative narratives on enslavement, and this has in many cases been successful (Kelly 2014b; Lenik and Petley 2014; Pandey 2012; Kamau Brathwaite 2006b; Kusimba 2006; Nair 2004; DeCorse 1996). The use of oral history in particular is “an exceptionally powerful means of democratizing the content, process, and audience for history” (Shopes 2014: 258). It can advance new interpretations about the lives of marginalised groups (Shopes 2014).

The development of these alternative narratives is extremely important, not only for the development of local identities, but also in terms of a greater understanding of modern slavery and inequality (see Knight 2012; Patterson, O. 2012; Trouillot 1992). The history and archaeology of the Dutch Caribbean has been neglected in this sphere, with most scholars concentrating on English, French and Spanish speaking regions (Kelly 2014a; Roitman 2013; Oostindie and Roitman 2012; Kelly 2009; Gilmore III 2005: 18). However, the Dutch Caribbean is particularly in need of these narratives because its historiography is still dominated by colonial discourse (Legene and Waaldijk 2007; van Stipriaan 2007). Discourses are mostly constructed by white or European men who conclude, without using any alternative lines of evidence, that slavery on these islands was ‘mild’ despite the fact that enslaved individuals seldom have a documentary voice (see Emmer 2011; Gilmore III 2005; Oostindie 1995; Paula 1993; Goslinga 1990; Romer 1977; Hoetink 1972). This domination of historical discourse by white men is already being challenged across historical archaeology (Monton-Subias and Hernando 2017), and as Oostindie (2013a) has noted, further archaeological research into slavery in the Dutch Caribbean is of high importance.

The current interdisciplinary study addressing the lifeways of enslaved individuals in Curaçao, St Eustatius, and St Maarten/St Martin is therefore a response to a gap in the literature on enslavement in the Dutch Caribbean. This chapter will lay out the aim and research questions of the study, and discuss key terminology and definitions, before moving on to a brief discussion of historical accounts of slavery on each of the three islands. It will conclude with a comment on the manipulation of historical narratives for the benefit of the white ruling class, and state that a new approach is needed to overcome these narratives in the discipline of archaeology.

## **1.2 AIM**

The aim of this study is to construct an alternative narrative of the lifeways of enslaved people in Curaçao, St Eustatius and St Maarten/St Martin through the thematic analysis of data from human remains, material culture and oral history, and to compare the results from different islands and datasets.

## **1.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

- RQ1            What themes can be constructed from osteology, archaeology and oral history about the lifeways of enslaved individuals in the colonial period in Curaçao, St Eustatius, and St Maarten/St Martin?
- RQ2            In what ways do the data sources (osteology, material culture and oral history) agree with and differ from each other in the types of information they can provide?
- RQ3            What are the similarities and differences in lifeways between the three islands?
- RQ4            What are the possible reasons for these differences?
- RQ5            Are there discernible changes in the lifeways of enslaved individuals through time?

## **1.4 TERMINOLOGY: LIFEWAYS**

What, then, are the ‘lifeways’ of an enslaved person that the author is trying to examine? The notion of ‘lifeways’ can be found across the social sciences, including bioarchaeology, plantation archaeology, and oral history, although it may not always be referred to in these terms (see for example SECAR 2013; Armstrong 2009; Allen 2007a;

Sofaer 2006a: 23; Sealy et al. 1993; Tomich 1991 [1990]). It is used to indicate the various aspects that build up how a person or a group of people live their lives, such as social mores, cultural traditions, and economic participation. For example, Bowes (2011) has used this term in her study of the subsistence strategies of enslaved people at Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest estate; Sealy *et al* (1993) have applied the concept of lifeways to the remains of an enslaved woman at Vergelegen in the Western Cape of South Africa; Orser (1994) has examined the religious traditions of enslaved people in the antebellum US South in an attempt to widen the scope of lifeway studies beyond that of the material; and Franklin (2017: 124) has addressed the lifeways of enslaved people on the Virginian sites of Coke's Plantation, Rich Neck, and Utopia in comparative perspective. Theresa Singleton (2010) has described how the lifeways of enslaved people can be inferred from archaeological materials:

Analyses of archaeological materials recovered from the places enslaved Africans and their descendants lived, worked, sought refuge, or died provide information on their material world – housing, use of space, personal and household items, craft production, foodways – that can be used for making inferences about non-material aspects of slave lives, including their agency, group formations, survival strategies, religious beliefs, cultural practices, power struggles, and interactions with other peoples. (*Singleton 2010: 188*)

It can therefore be argued that any study of how people lived their lives in the past is actually a study of lifeways. It should also be noted here that whenever the author mentions African influences on lifeways, material culture, or belief systems she is aware that she is referring to a very large and diverse geographical area (both in Africa and in the Diaspora) and that any interpretations to be made are extremely cautious. Please see DeCorse (1999) for a discussion of the problems with such interpretations, as well as section 4.4.5 below.

## **1.5 TERMINOLOGY: SLAVERY AND ENSLAVEMENT**

Agorsah (2011) has noted the importance of definitions when this topic is being addressed. Slavery differed through time and space, even within the colonial Americas (Heuman and Walvin 2003: 75; Davis 1984: 11-12). One must build a definition that is suitable for the context in question (Pelteret 1995: 2).

Firstly, it is necessary to distinguish between ‘slavery’ and the ‘slave’. Some scholars consider the concept of the ‘slave trade’ in Africa to be erroneous, as it implies that the individuals being traded were already enslaved. In fact, they were often free people who had been captured specifically to supply the trade. It is therefore preferable to distinguish between kidnapping and forced migration in Africa and enslavement in the Americas (Nimako and Willemsen 2011: 49). In order to acknowledge capture and transportation as part of a process of enslavement, the author refers to ‘enslaved people’ rather than ‘slaves’ throughout the study (Nimako and Willemsen 2011: 52). However, in some places she does refer to the ‘slave owner’, for example.

Additionally, Handler and Reilly (2017) and Inikori (1999) have discussed the problems with using these words to refer to indentured labourers and servants. Many people occupy a position somewhere between slavery and freedom (Patterson, O. 2012; Eltis 2003; Pelteret 1995: 2-3). The disentanglement of such terms is still a problem in modern international law (Siller 2016). This is complicated by the fact that the state and the people may have very different ideas about what slavery entails (Cooper, F. 1979). Legal and state definitions can be unhelpful in the context of advocacy, because they were developed for a different purpose (Hamilakis 2016). Here, the author develops a definition of slavery which focusses on the experiences of the enslaved person. The following sections will address the main themes in definitions of slavery used by various authors, and how they relate to slavery in the Dutch Caribbean.

### **1.5.1 Legal Property and Chattel Slavery**

Many definitions of slavery involve the concept of legal ownership (Nimako and Willemsen 2011: 46; Paula 1987: 25; Paula 1968: 37). For example, Alexander (2001: 45) has defined a 'chattel slave' as "a human being who is the property of, and entirely subject to, another human being under the religious, social and legal conventions of the society in which he or she lives". Similarly, Agorsah (2011: 199) defines western slavery as "purely capitalistic, including downright dehumanisation and racism. Profit was the main motive". Indeed, slavery in the Americas was often modelled (legally speaking) on Roman definitions, which emphasised the domination of one individual by another and in practice were constructed around chattel and the commodification of the person (Harper 2011: 34-35). Davis (2006) also believes that the concept of chattel should be central in definitions of slavery, because he sees it as closely related to the dehumanisation of enslaved people (see Davis 2006: 30-32). However, as Harpham (2018) and Rinehart (2016) have pointed out, acceptance of the enslaved person as a human being may be necessary to structure systems of punishment which contribute to oppression.

Chattel and the commodification of the person are not therefore the only factors contributing to the structure of slaving systems. Slavery has existed all over the world, at varying scales, and for varying purposes, and not all of these types of slavery were or are part of a legal system (Patterson, O. 2012; Pelteret 1995: 1; Davis 1984: 14). Even before abolition in 1863 it was unclear whether African or African-descendant people who were Christians could legally be enslaved in the Dutch Caribbean, although they often were (see Nimako and Willemsen 2011: 18). Furthermore, social attributes of slavery persisted in the Caribbean and other parts of the Americas after abolition (Schiltkamp, Smit and Wachlin 2000). In order to discuss slavery in the Dutch Caribbean it is therefore necessary to utilise a definition that covers slavery happening both inside and outside the law. Patterson has provided two definitions that cover forms of slavery without legal support.

The more recent definition was developed in order to examine modern slavery (Patterson, O. 2012):

Slavery is the permanent, violent domination of natively alienated and generally dishonoured persons. (*Patterson, O. 1982: 13*)

[Slavery is] the violent, corporeal possession of socially isolated and parasitically degraded persons. (*Patterson, O. 2012: 6*)

The different parts of these definitions (permanence, violence, natal alienation or social isolation, dishonour, and parasitic degradation) are discussed further in the following sections, with additional reference to the work of other scholars. However, the author will first discuss geographical ancestry as it has particular relevance to slavery in the Americas.

### **1.5.2 Geographical Ancestry and Social Race**

Transatlantic slavery was one of the most highly racialised slaving systems the world has ever seen (Walvin 2007: 134). When the Dutch started trading in Africa in the 1600s, African people were virtually unknown in the Netherlands. As in Britain, it took several decades for a (mostly negative) stereotype to emerge, and when it did it was based primarily on the ‘savagery’ of African cultures rather than on innate differences in the people themselves (Nimako and Willemsen 2011: 42; Oostindie 2005: 25). However, as Dutch involvement in the ‘slave trade’ increased, an innate inferiority was added to the list of reasons why Africans could be enslaved (Oostindie 2005: 25). Phrenology, craniometry and evolutionary theory were all employed to support this view (Nimako and Willemsen 2011: 42).

Although contemporary racist narratives held that Africans were uniquely suited for slavery (Heuman and Walvin 2003: 636), and the words ‘black’ and ‘slave’ became

almost synonymous in the Americas by about 1700 (Heuman and Walvin 2003: 635; Davis 1984: 33), Native American or Amerindian people were also enslaved, especially during the early years of colonialism (Blakely 1993: 6). In later years, creole enslaved people often had mixed ancestry (MacEachern 2011). This resulted in highly complex systems of classification based on ancestry across Latin America, including in Curaçao (Telles and Paschel 2014; Marcha, Verweel and Werkman 2012; van der Ven 2011: 74; Cohen, D. and Greene 1972). These classifications could proceed from full African ancestry to  $1/16^{\text{th}}$  African ancestry (Jordan 2003b). This resulted in black 'race' (a social construct) (MacEachern 2011; Fausto-Sterling 2010; Sauer and Wankmiller 2009) being applied to people who may actually have had less than 50% African ancestry, with DNA contributions from European and Amerindian ancestors as well. Although geographical ancestry was a contributing factor in Caribbean enslavement, therefore, the concept of social race and its relationship to geographical ancestry in the region is so complicated that the current author does not believe it appropriate to include either in a definition of slavery in this study.

### **1.5.3 Parasitic Masters and Economic Utility**

In his 2012 definition of slavery (see section 1.5.1), Patterson adds the dimension of the 'parasitic degradation' of the enslaved person. Here he is referring to the aggrandisement of the slave owner in relation to the enslaved person, as well as to the use of the enslaved person's body or labour (Patterson, O. 2012; see also Davis 2006: 28-29). The parasitic exploitation of the subaltern in terms of labour that benefits the ruling classes is also mentioned in postcolonial theory (Prakash 1994). This is very relevant in areas of the Caribbean where full plantation economies developed, and the owner was exploiting the enslaved person for the fruits of their labour. However, this was not always the primary motive for enslaving someone. On Caribbean islands which did not develop

into full plantation economies (like Curaçao, St Eustatius, and St Maarten/St Martin) the ownership of enslaved people was small-scale and related more to the maintenance of a luxurious lifestyle than to the production of goods for sale (Rupert 2012: 131, 135). Slavery can therefore be parasitic while bestowing little economic advantage on the slave owner, and although other scholars have found profit to be of central importance in slavery definitions (see section 1.5.1), the current author does not therefore find it to be relevant to her definition of slavery.

#### **1.5.4 Permanence**

Patterson (1982: 1-14, 209-211) has noted that slavery is permanent: it is a condition that persists unless the owner or master decides otherwise. This certainly distinguishes slavery from indentured labour, which had a pre-arranged end date (Handler and Reilly 2017). However, there are other forms of exploitative labour organisation that are permanent, such as serfdom (Hellie 2011; Inikori 1999). Inikori (1999) has noted that there are many ways in which serfdom and slavery are similar, but distinguishes serfdom on the basis of: the means to be self-sufficient; the free time in which to become self-sufficient; control over one's own income; and inhabiting a living space separated from that of the master. Although some enslaved people inhabit spaces that are separate from the master or owner, these spaces are often under surveillance according to Jeremy Bentham's *Panopticon*, a theory of social control in institutions such as prisons and schools, as well as in wider landscapes such as cities, based on the idea that people are more likely to conform to rules if they feel that they are constantly being watched (Leone 2005: 13-14; Miller, J. and Miller 1987; Foucault 1977; Bentham 1843). This makes the habitation spaces of enslaved people less private than those of serfs. These details are clearly complex and can vary within slavery itself. The author therefore puts forward that enslaved people in the Dutch Caribbean may have shared some experiences with serfs in,

for example, 17<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> century Russia (see Hellie 2011; Inikori 1999). The concept of permanence in the definition of slavery must therefore be combined with other aspects of enslavement in order to separate it from serfdom.

### **1.5.5 Physical Violence**

Enslavement occurs through an ongoing process of violence (Patterson, O. 1982: 1-14). Violent episodes used to enslave an individual include, for example, rape and beating for minor perceived misdemeanors, and this was a process that began even before captives reached the Americas (hooks 1981: 18-19). However, more important than the violence itself is the threat of violence: the enslaved person feels that violence could happen at any time (Patterson, O. 1982: 1-3; Davis 2006: 37). This sense of unease and uncertainty is strongly related to the psychological effects of slavery.

### **1.5.6 'Mental Slavery', Dishonour, and Social Death**

Although it is true that slavery exists on a spectrum including many other types of forced and exploitative labour regimes, the current author believes that in its psychological aspects, slavery can be set apart. Cooper (1979) already noted almost forty years ago that slavery has both physical and psychological aspects.

The process of enslavement involves the internalisation of inferiority by the enslaved person, and the acceptance of their new status. Psychologists have described the psychological effects of slavery ('mental slavery') as Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), Post Traumatic Slave Syndrome (PTSS), and Disorders of Extreme Stress Not Otherwise Specified (DESNOS) (Sule et al. 2017; Herman 1992). They can manifest in dissociative tendencies; self-hatred; depression and suicidality; passivity; loss of identity; self-harm; hypervigilance and anxiety; and physical symptoms such as headaches, back pain, and tremors. Many of these effects are actually coping mechanisms which the

traumatised person uses to survive (Herman 1992). These effects can be passed down through families and communities to affect individuals who did not directly experience the traumatic event (Sule et al. 2017; Degloma 2009).

Patterson's concept of 'dishonour' is particularly important here because it relates to the concept of self-hatred (Patterson, O. 1982: 5, 12). By choosing to die instead of being enslaved, an individual retains their honour as a member of society. By choosing to live and be enslaved, an individual loses their honour and becomes 'socially dead' (Patterson, O. 1982: 78). This notion of preferring death to slavery is a recurring motif in western culture, touched on by widely differing authors from William Shakespeare to the *The Rasmus* (The Rasmus 2003; Patterson, O. 1982: 78). These ideas about domination and dishonour are also put forward by Harper (2011: 33-38) on late Roman slavery, and Rodet (2015) has also noted that slavery and social isolation can carry a stigma that is inherited for generations. 'Dishonour' is therefore necessary as part of the definition of slavery because it allows consideration of these psychological effects.

Secondly, when Patterson wrote about natal alienation, he was referring to the removal of enslaved people from the support networks of their native land, so as to provide fewer means of escape, greater psychological isolation, and more effective social death (Patterson, O. 1982: 1-14). This concept cannot be applied to forms of slavery that occur within the social group where the individual was born, for example within the family, and therefore do not remove the individual from their culture or support network (Patterson, O. 2012; Taylor 2001). Creole enslaved people in the Caribbean were not always natively alienated, so a definition that excludes these people is inappropriate (Allen 2007a: 65). Patterson's more recent definition of slavery replaces 'natal alienation' with 'social isolation', which refers much more appropriately to the enslaved person's removal from the dominant society (see Patterson, O. 2012). Additionally, social isolation is not

the sole preserve of enslaved people (Donald 2011; Davis 2006: 30; Meillassoux 1991 [1986]). The definition of slavery must therefore combine this aspect with others.

Many definitions of slavery have in common the notion of being ‘entirely subject’ to another person. This means that the owner or master has the right to “buy, sell, free, adopt, ill-treat or kill” their enslaved person (Alexander 2001: 45). JanMohamed (2005: 16) has discussed the extent to which the ‘death-bound-subject’ (or in this context, the enslaved subaltern) is both *socially* dead in that they have no socio-political presence and socially *dead* in that they constitute ‘bare life’. The concept of ‘bare life’ is one that crosses the boundary between legal and social enslavement. It refers to the individual who may be killed with impunity as their murder does not represent a crime in the given society (Agamben 1998). JanMohamed (2005) uses the example of lynching in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century United States as an example of the African-descendant person in ‘bare life’, where the mob took on sovereign power (JanMohamed 2005: 8-9). In slaving systems the enslaved person lives under a ‘commuted death sentence’, and the threat of this withheld death is used as tool of control (JanMohamed 2010: 142; JanMohamed 2005: 15, 19-20). This creates a feeling of constant uncertainty that has a profound psychological impact (Herman 1992; Cooper, F. 1979).

Some scholars have taken issue with definitions of slavery that emphasize ‘social death’ and ‘bare life’ because they seem to deny the agency of the enslaved person and their ability to resist the regime in which they are enclosed, for example by forming social bonds within their own communities (Brown 2009; Cooper, F. 1979). Brown (2009) states that such an abstract concept is not a substitute for proper engagement with the complex experiences of the enslaved person. However, the current author would like to suggest that ‘social death’ and ‘bare life’ refer to an individual’s exclusion from the dominant society and their lack of importance within it. They form the circumstances

against which resistance is set and within which agency operates, rather than being inherent qualities of the enslaved person.

### 1.5.7 An Appropriate Definition

**Table 1.1:** The various potential aspects of a definition of slavery discussed in this chapter, and justifications for accepting or rejecting them for inclusion in the definition of slavery used here (with reference to Patterson, O. 1982: 13; and Patterson, O. 2012: 6).

Possible Aspects of Slavery in the Dutch Caribbean	Applicable to Definition?	Justification
Legal property/ Chattel slavery	No	Not all slavery that occurred was legal
Geographical ancestry/ Social race	No	Amerindians and people of mixed ancestry were often enslaved as well as African individuals (and we cannot excavate race)
Permanence	Yes	Distinguishes slavery from indentured labour. The enslaved person remains enslaved indefinitely unless they are freed
Physical violence	Yes	Physical violence may be used against enslaved people, for example as part of the process of enslavement, although it is also used against other marginalised groups. However, it is the <i>threat</i> of physical violence which is most important (see psychological violence)
Psychological violence/Dishonour/ 'Mental slavery'	Yes	This is the mechanism of enslavement, including the concepts of dishonour, bare life, and the commuted death sentence. These are factors that separate slavery from serfdom and indentured labour
Parasitic masters	Yes	The master appropriates the labour/time/body of the enslaved person (also related to 'bare life') in a more extreme way than that of indentured labour or serfdom
Social isolation	Yes	The enslaved person is separated from society (i.e. is socially dead), often including lack of legal recourse against masters
Economic utility of the enslaved person	No	Many islands in the Caribbean were too small to support a full plantation economy, and enslaved people were sometimes bought as symbols of social status
<i>Slavery is the permanent, violent physical and psychological domination of socially isolated, generally dishonoured persons exploited by parasitic masters.</i>		

Some enslaved individuals in the Caribbean exerted their agency to become part of a 'proto-peasant' economy, and experienced material conditions comparable to those of free labourers and the 'poor white' population, although the psychological conditions were different (Reilly 2015a; Reilly 2015b; Reilly 2015c; Reilly 2014; Craton 2003a [1997]; Fogel and Engerman 1989: 5; Davis 1984: xv). The author has therefore

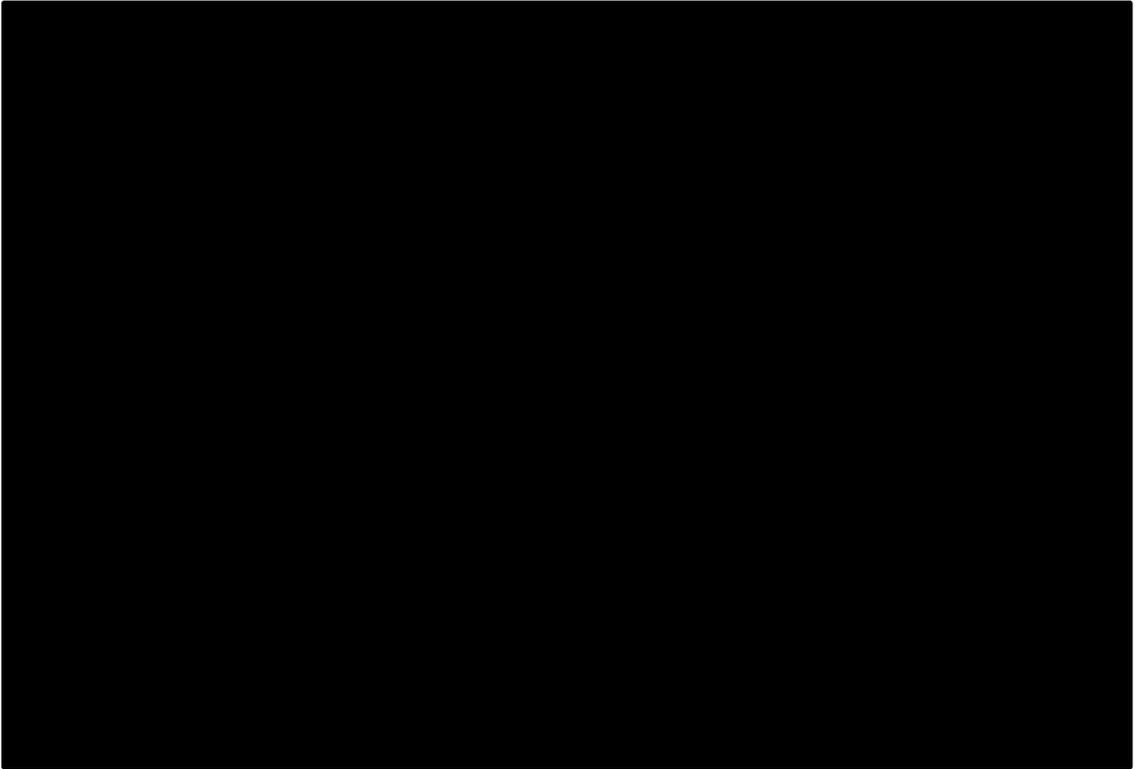
established that any definition of slavery used in this study should include both physical and psychological factors, while excluding legal and economic ones.

Table 1.1 (above) includes the different potential aspects of enslavement in the Dutch Caribbean, which have been discussed above. It identifies the aspects which are relevant for a definition of slavery that functions well within the research context, and aspects which are not, and concludes with an appropriate definition of slavery for use in the research context.

The following section will introduce the islands where the research took place, in terms of their geography and their current social and political status, as well as briefly summarising the dominant historical narrative on each island.

## **1.6 THE DUTCH CARIBBEAN ISLANDS: GEOGRAPHY AND SOCIETY**

Although they share a Dutch colonial history, the islands of Aruba, Bonaire, Curaçao, St Eustatius, St Maarten, and Saba, do not form a homogenous group (Oostindie 2013a; Oostindie 2005: 10). Geographically, they are separated into two. Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao form the Leeward Antilles, lying in a line about 40-70km off the coast of Venezuela. Curaçao is the largest at 444km<sup>2</sup> with Aruba (190km<sup>2</sup>) to its west and Bonaire (288km<sup>2</sup>) to its east (Haviser 2001a; de Palm 1985: 115). The volcanic islands of the Windward Antilles lie in a rough triangle to the northeast, on the other side of the Caribbean Sea (Barka 2001; Haviser 2001a). Only half of St Maarten is Dutch, and this has an area of 34km<sup>2</sup>, while French St Martin has 54km<sup>2</sup> (St Martin Tourist Office 2016a; Haviser 2001a). The other islands have 21km<sup>2</sup> (St Eustatius) and 13km<sup>2</sup> (Saba) (Haviser 2001a; de Palm 1985: 431, 435).



**Figure 1.1:** The Caribbean, showing the Greater and Lesser Antilles, including St Eustatius, St Maarten and Curaçao (after Farnsworth 2001a: xiii).

From 1954 until 1986, the six Dutch Caribbean islands formed an overseas protectorate of the Netherlands called the Netherlands Antilles (Oostindie 1992). In 1986, Aruba declared independence, followed by St Maarten and Curaçao becoming autonomous in 2010 (Ansano and Kraan 2015; Government of the Netherlands 2013; Allen 2012a; Eckkrammer 2007; de Palm 1985: 335-338). Bonaire, Saba and St Eustatius now have a much closer political and organisational relationship with the Netherlands and operate as overseas municipalities (Ansano and Kraan 2015; Roitman 2013; Allen 2010a).

Administrative divisions are not necessarily socially or culturally important (Knight 2012: ix, 2; Allen 2010a). In this case, geographical separation coupled with linguistic differences led to restricted contact between the Windward and Leeward Islands, and the notion of the ‘Dutch West Indies’ had little meaning except as a governmental and administrative tool (Knight 2012: 2; Oostindie 2005: 20). Even today,

people from different Dutch colonial backgrounds do not form a single community or ascribe to a single identity. These identities are inherently plural (Oostindie 2011b: 15).

Although the differing attitudes and fortunes of European powers shaped the history of their overseas territories, the Dutch Caribbean islands are still geographically, culturally and politically diverse (Kelly 2014a; Kelly 2014b; Oostindie and Roitman 2014: 2; Oostindie and Roitman 2012; Kelly 2009; Farnsworth 2001a: xx; Blakely 1993: 31). This is partly because the Dutch had little linguistic, cultural or religious impact in their colonies in comparison to that of other European states (de Vries 2005; Oostindie 2005: 127-128). The differences in historical and modern development amongst these small islands, and the continuing impact that slavery heritage has upon their living inhabitants, makes them ideal subjects for study and comparison (Allen 2015b; Kelly 2014b; Roitman 2013; Knight 2012: 228; Rojer and Aimone 2007: 4; Marcha and Verweel 2003). Comparative approaches are extremely important in the development of such research in the Caribbean because they allow differences and similarities to be more thoroughly explored (Kelly 2014b; Singleton 1995; Trouillot 1992).

In this study, St Eustatius, St Maarten and Curaçao were chosen out of the six Dutch Caribbean islands due to their ability to provide three lines of evidence (archaeological, osteological and oral historical) for the lifeways of enslaved people, and therefore the opportunity to produce rich and original ‘alternative narratives’ (see Gilmore III 2006a; Griffiths 2006 [1994]; Parry 2006 [1987]; Spivak 2006; Taylor 2005; Forbes 2000; Portelli 1981).

## **1.7 BRIEF HISTORY OF CURAÇAO**

At contact between European explorers and the indigenous inhabitants of the Americas, the ABC Islands (Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao) were home to Amerindians

speaking languages of the Arawak family, probably part of the Caquetio ethnic group (Rupert 2012: 18; Haviser 2001a). Curaçao became a Spanish island from 1526, by which time they had already transported the entire native population to Hispaniola to work in the gold mines (Rupert 2012: 21). The island was then occupied by a small number of Spanish men and Amerindians from elsewhere and was turned into a vast ranch (Rupert 2012: 21, 25, 36). It became a haven for pirates and privateers who needed meat and water (Rupert 2012: 25-26). In 1634 the Dutch captured the island, valuing the strategic advantages of its location as well as its easily defended harbour (Rupert 2012: 3, 19, 40; Nimako and Willemsen 2011: 66; Haviser 2001a; Simmons-Brito 1981). Between 1800-1803 and 1807-1816 the island fell into English hands, but otherwise has remained largely Dutch (Rupert 2012: 245; Haviser 2001a).

Due to the extremely arid climate and poor soils, Curaçao could not support the type of full plantation economy often found elsewhere in the Caribbean region (Rupert 2012: 41; Oostindie 2005: 12; de Palm 1985: 115-120). Indeed, lack of food and water were a recurring problem for the inhabitants (Rupert 2012: 41, 74; de Palm 1985: 115-120). Instead, the island developed as a trading centre, especially from the late 17<sup>th</sup> century when it became a free port under the jurisdiction of the second *West Indische Compagnie* (WIC) (Rupert 2012: 3, 42). It was heavily involved in the receipt and forwarding of enslaved people and other ‘commodities’ to Spanish America, and the English and French Caribbean (Byers 2011; Nimako and Willemsen 2011: 66; Emmer 2006; Haviser 2001a; van den Boogaart 1980). Coffee, cocoa, tobacco and hides were central to the Curaçaoan economy (Rupert 2012: 167; Nimako and Willemsen 2011: 66-67; Simmons-Brito 1981). Much of this trade was regarded as illegal by other nations, and smuggling was undertaken by people at all levels of society, from enslaved individuals to plantation owners and Catholic priests (Rupert 2012: 74, 88-89, 119, 155, 190). The proximity of Venezuela allowed networks of trade and interaction that had

existed since pre-colonial times to continue, and this inter-cultural interaction (between Amerindians, Spaniards, Curaçaoans, Africans, Dutch, Portuguese Jews and others) facilitated the development of a rich and complex Curaçaoan culture (Rupert 2012: 19, 135-136, 181; Klooster 2006). Society consisted of three tiers, with the internally divided white community at the top, the internally divided enslaved community at the bottom, and the free Afro-Curaçaoan population in-between (van der Dijs, N. 2011: 123; Allen 2010a; Romer 1998).

The demographic structure of the island was different to that of many other places in the Caribbean, with a higher proportion of European inhabitants than on other islands, due to its status as a free port (Oostindie and Roitman 2012). Enslaved people made up  $\frac{1}{3}$  to  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the population (as opposed to Jamaica where there were five times as many enslaved people as free people) (Hartog 1976: 52). Declines in the enslaved population were mainly due to manumission (Lamur 1991 [1981]). Indeed, there was a large population of free African-descendant people – over 50% of the Afro-Curaçaoan population were already free at emancipation, and could possess property and enslaved people of their own (Oostindie 2011a; Schiltkamp, Smit and Wachlin 2000: 21; Oostindie 1995; de Palm 1985: 444-445; Simmons-Brito 1981). However, freedom was not necessarily a relief: masters often freed their enslaved people as an economic necessity in times of drought, and it was then nearly impossible for the freed people to feed themselves (Oostindie 2011a). Manumission did not therefore always represent an increase in quality of life (Thornton 1998: 151).

The main languages spoken on the ABC Islands have been Spanish (due to the proximity of Venezuela), Portuguese (due to the population of Sephardic Jews who had fled from Portuguese Brazil in 1654) and the local Iberian creole, Papiamentu, which also has African influences (Jacobs, B. 2012; Rupert 2012: 51-52, 137; Oostindie 2005: 19-20; Fouse 2002: 98-99; de Palm 1985: 367-370). Only a small section of the population

spoke Dutch, mainly the Protestant elites and merchants conducting transatlantic trade (Rupert 2012: 137; Oostindie 2005: 20). Enslaved individuals therefore had little contact with Dutch culture and African influences played a more significant role (Oostindie 2005: 19; Havisser 2001a). Papiamentu enjoyed a somewhat privileged position in comparison to other Caribbean creoles, as it developed into a *lingua franca* that was spoken at all levels of society (Allen 2012b; Jacobs, B. 2012: 218-220; Rupert 2012: 213; Oostindie 2005: 9). The other creole language that developed on Curaçao, Guene, was spoken mainly by rural enslaved people. It was used as an effective method for secret communication, as it was not understood by the planter class (Allen 2007a: 37). Fragments of Guene are still preserved in traditional songs, but sadly it is no longer a living language (Allen 2007a: 46, 70).

Curaçaoan culture was also strongly influenced by Catholicism, at variance with the Protestantism of the Dutch elite (Oostindie 1995; Thompson, A. 1985). Priests from Venezuela converted the enslaved population of the island and used religion as a tool for making them obedient and loyal (Oostindie 2005: 19, 40-41). However, Afro-Curaçaoan communities combined African traditions with Catholic ones to generate a unique creole religious culture (Allen 2007a: 237-250). At abolition in 1863, 86% of all Curaçaoans were recorded as Catholics (Oostindie 2005: 40).

Enslaved Africans had lived in Curaçao since the era of Spanish rule, and by the early 1640s the WIC owned around forty enslaved people there (Rupert 2012: 63). However, most of the enslaved people arriving on Curaçao were shipped on to colonies in Spanish South America (Walvin 2013: 126, 133; Emmer 2011; Havisser 2001a). Before sale they were imprisoned at the Zuurzak and Groot Sint Joris depots, during which time they often experienced starvation due to meagre island resources (van der Dijks, N. 2011: 116; Allen 2007a: 64; Emmer 2006: 29; Havisser and Simmons-Brito 1995a; de Palm 1985: 444-445). While awaiting sale, the enslaved people were often worked to

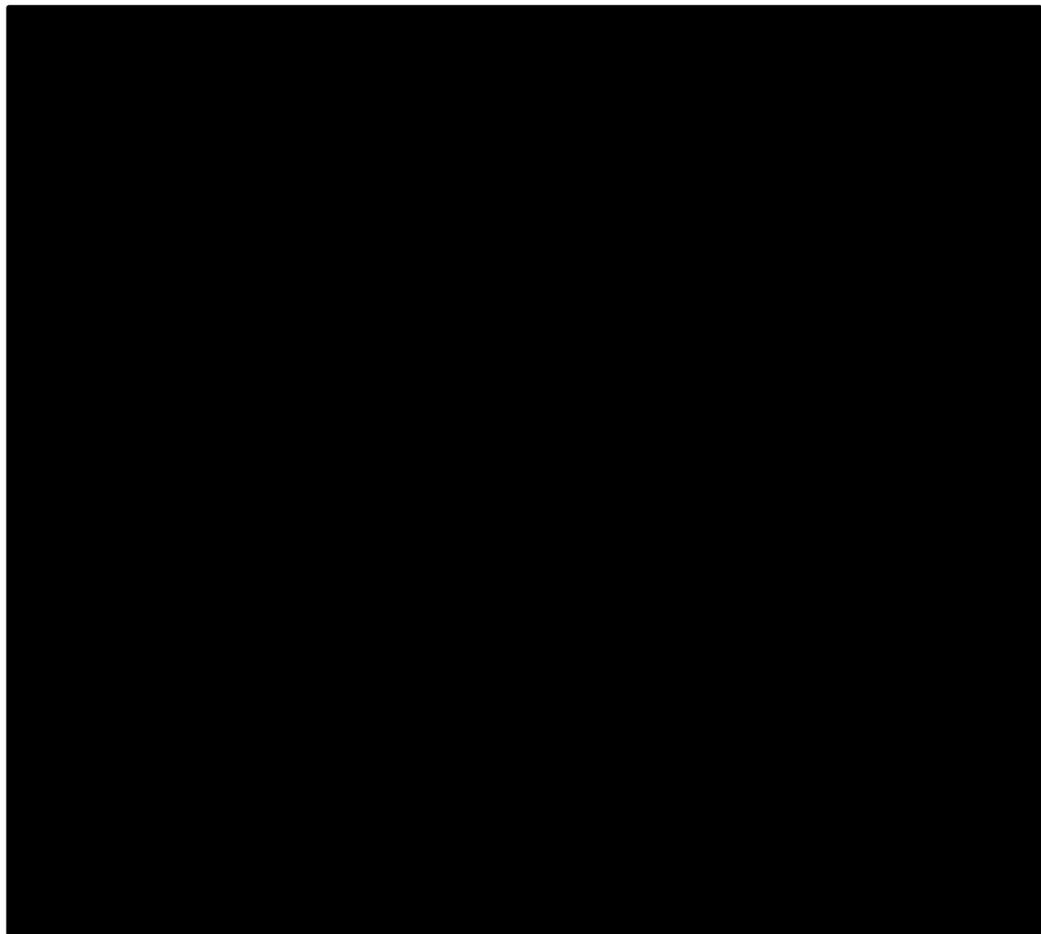
exhaustion carrying stone or picking salt. Declines in trade meant that enslaved people were kept in this state for longer (Jordaan 2003). The period of greatest Curaçaoan involvement in the 'slave trade' was the last quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, after which time it was overtaken by St Eustatius (Jordaan 2003; de Palm 1985: 442-444).

Enslaved people who remained on the island may have been the old, diseased, and very young, as healthy enslaved people of working age were more likely to attract foreign buyers (Rupert 2012: 82; de Palm 1985: 442-444). Curaçaoan buyers might purchase *manquerons* - or enslaved people sold for less money because they were not entirely healthy – in a speculative capacity, hoping that the individuals would recover and then be vendable for a higher price (Jordaan 2003).

Additionally, the fact that most foreign buyers preferred enslaved men resulted in a sex imbalance opposite to that which prevailed in other areas of the Caribbean (Schiltkamp, Smit and Wachlin 2000: 21; Thomas, H. 1997: 401). Buyers in Willemstad (the capital of Curaçao) purchased enslaved women as domestic servants and prostitutes (Jordaan 2003). Young boys were also popular with local buyers because they could be trained as artisans and thereby help their owner accumulate cash (Allen 2010b; Jordaan 2003).

Meanwhile, the plantations focused on the production of food for local consumption and filled a social role not unlike that of the gentleman's country estate (Rupert 2012: 135; Oostindie 2005: 12; de Palm 1985: 291-293). They resembled small farms, growing a mixture of plants and tending to a variety of animals such as goats, cows, pigs, and chickens (Oostindie 2005: 12). Each plantation needed only a small number of enslaved people, perhaps ten or twelve (this compared to Suriname, for example, where plantations often had over a hundred enslaved people) (Rupert 2012: 143; Oostindie 2005: 12). Enslaved people could also be found working in domestic services, shipbuilding, and fishing (Oostindie 2005: 13, 38-39). Much of this work took place in

the Willemstad harbour area (Rupert 2012: 3). The town developed initially around Fort Amsterdam, in an area known as ‘Punda’ (Rupert 2012: 39, 127; de Palm 1985: 400-401). By the 18<sup>th</sup> century it had expanded east into the new area of Pietermaai, as well as west into an area called ‘Otrobanda’ on the other side of St Annabaai, a multicultural area inhabited by a high number of free Afro-Curaçaoan people and enslaved individuals (Rupert 2012: 3, 128-129, 132-133, 246; de Palm 1985: 361-362; Simmons-Brito 1981). Oral historical sources give evidence that clusters of artisans lived here, such as cabinet- and shoe-makers (Simmons-Brito 1981). The neighbourhood of Scharloo (to the north of Pietermaai) also developed into a wealthy area after 1850 (Winkel 1987: 8).



**Figure 1.2:** Map dating from 1911, showing Fort Amsterdam (directly below the St Anna Baai bridge), Pietermaai (below Waaigat) and Otrobanda (also known as Overzijde) (Werbata 1911-1912: 12).

Enslaved people residing in Willemstad might be permitted to live apart from their owner, and this afforded them a greater degree of autonomy (Rupert 2012: 3, 125, 129).

They were also allowed to wear shoes, unlike those in Suriname (van der Dijs, N. 2011: 127; Romer 1977: 58). Enslaved people in Willemstad who sold surplus in the market or were hired out for a fee might be allowed to keep some of the money from such activities, and work towards earning their freedom (Schiltkamp, Smit and Wachlin 2000: 21). Natural increase occurred in the enslaved population between 1840 and 1861, and historians have speculated that this may have been due to the different types of labour required. Comparisons are often made with Suriname, where the enslaved population did not naturally increase, and which had a reputation for hard labour (Lamur 1991 [1981]; Hoetink 1972). Such information has earned the island a reputation for ‘mild’ slavery and ‘tranquil’ master-slave relations (Oostindie 2005: 13, 38-39; see Oostindie 1995: 161, 163; de Palm 1985: 444-445; Hoetink 1972).

However, this evidence should be looked at critically. None of it in any way suggests that the institution of slavery in Curaçao was not harsh (Oostindie 2011a; van der Dijs, N. 2011: 125). Enslaved people there may not have been as well fed as those in Suriname (van der Dijs, N. 2011). They might also be sent to work on the salt pans as a punishment, and the physical abuse perpetrated by masters on their enslaved people was no less extreme than in other areas of the Caribbean (Rupert 2012: 142; Allen 2007a: 78; Paula 1987: 27). Enslaved people who participated in Curaçaoan rebellions might be burnt, dismembered or broken on the rack (Oostindie 2011a). Punishments recorded for WIC enslaved people were extremely harsh (Gibbes, Romer-Kenepa and Scriwanek 2015). Local historians Gibbes *et al* (2015) have pointed out that the narrative of ‘mild’ slavery may refer only to the practise of caring for enslaved people before sale, in the hope of fetching a higher price – a practice clearly disregarded whenever the WIC was suffering from a labour shortage (see Jordaan 2003). Alternatively, van der Dijs (2011: 125) has proposed that the concept of ‘mild’ Curaçaoan slavery is related to the fact that the island was unproductive in terms of export materials.

Enslaved people could escape Curaçao by various means unavailable to those on other islands. An example of this is the ‘temporary manumission’ bestowed by owners in order to allow their enslaved people to go to sea (Rupert 2012: 103-104; Schiltkamp, Smit and Wachlin 2000: 21). It was intended that the manumitted individuals would return to Curaçao and become enslaved once more at the end of their voyage, but in reality many used this as an opportunity to escape (Allen 2012b; Rupert 2012: 160-161). Those who returned were likely to do so because they didn’t want to leave their family behind (Allen 2012b; Price 1966: 1371). The contraband networks connecting Curaçao to Venezuela also provided opportunities for escape (Rupert 2012: 197; Oostindie 2011a).

These networks of trade and communication with Venezuela and other parts of the Caribbean allowed enslaved people in Curaçao to gain knowledge about slavery and freedom in other parts of the world, such as the rebellion in Haiti and the French Revolution towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Rupert 2012: 207-209; Klooster and Oostindie 2011: vii-ix; Oostindie 2011a). The largest uprising of enslaved people in the history of the island occurred in August 1795, just three months after a rebellion also took place in the mainland town of Coro (Fatah-Black 2013; Rupert 2012: 206-207; Klooster and Oostindie 2011: vii-ix; Oostindie 2011a; de Palm 1985: 444-445, 476). The Curaçao revolt was organised by an enslaved man called Tula from Plantation Knip (also known as Kenepa), and he is an important historical figure in Curaçao today (see Leinders 2013; Cain 2009; do Rego 2009b).

By the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, Curaçao was no longer a thriving commercial hub. The United States had emerged as the new centre for American trade, and many of the Spanish colonies in South America, including Venezuela, had gained independence. For the next century the island remained an economic backwater (Rupert 2012: 245-246). In 1863 the approximately 7000 people still living in slavery on Curaçao were legally freed, but this was not the end of their suffering (Allen 2014a; Allen 2007a: 119). Social and economic

conditions could continue to be harsh for the freed population (Schiltkamp, Smit and Wachlin 2000: 21; Oostindie 1995). In 2000, Holland noted that “a system such as slavery might be abruptly halted, but its dream lives in the people’s imagination” (Holland 2000: 14-15). The *paga tera* system of land use introduced in 1863 tied people to the plantations and forced them to work for free, and many were left in poverty (Allen 2007a: 132, 135, 121, 260; Schiltkamp, Smit and Wachlin 2000: 21). One should not therefore discount the notion that social slavery continued beyond its legal abolition, with Afro-Curaçaoan individuals living in a place where life was achieved rather than experienced, and where both figurative and literal death were part of the social landscape (Newman 2010; Patterson, O. 2009; JanMohamed 2005: 5; Ames 2001; Holland 2000: 16).

The Catholic Church was instrumental in the alleviation of hardship before and after 1863, but also introduced its own forms of oppression, especially towards women (Allen 2007a: 163-168). The rejection of the Papiamentu language by the authorities, amongst other Eurocentric actions, had a profound negative impact upon the local population (van der Dijks, N. 2011: 75; Allen 2010a; Broek 2007; Fouse 2002: 137-158). Many men left the island to look for work in other areas of the Caribbean, and it was not until 1918 that the arrival of Shell Oil provided the local population with steady employment and the prosperity of Curaçao once more began to rise (Rupert 2012: 246-247; Allen 2007a: 261). Periods of unrest such as the 1969 May Movement continued during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and modern Curaçao is still home to a divided population (Marcha, Verweel and Werkman 2012; Broek 2007; Marcha and Verweel 2003; Anderson, W. and Dynes 1975).

## 1.8 BRIEF HISTORY OF ST EUSTATIUS

St Eustatius was inhabited by Amerindians from at least the 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> centuries AD, probably by people speaking Arawak languages and part of the Taino ethnic group (Barka 2001; Haviser 2001a). However, a drought or a volcanic eruption may have encouraged them to leave, and the island was uninhabited when it was settled by the French in 1629 (Barka 2001). The French were then quickly succeeded by the Dutch WIC in 1636 (Karklins and Barka 1989). St Eustatius was a desirable possession for the WIC because it had a sheltered harbour and was favourably situated in relation to Caribbean trade routes (Gilmore III and Nelson 2015; Barka 2001). The Dutch colonists therefore built themselves a new fort in Upper Town, Oranjestad, on the site of the earlier French one (Gilmore III and Nelson 2015; Karklins and Barka 1989). It was the first of twenty-four fortifications on the island, built during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries (Stelten 2010a; Stelten 2010b: 309; Barka 2001; Hartog 1997b). These forts and batteries seldom saw any real conflict due to poor military upkeep - it is perhaps more likely that they were constructed as a symbol of prosperity (Gilmore III and Roth 2013; Stelten 2010a; Stelten 2010b: 309). The Netherlands, with its small population, relied on neutrality to keep its colonies safe in times of war (Oostindie and Roitman 2012). However, this strategy was not always successful: the island changed hands between the French, Dutch and English twenty-two times between 1629 and 1816, when it became permanently Dutch (Barka 2001; Haviser 2001a; Karklins and Barka 1989). By this time, English had become the *lingua franca* and the Dutch then made little subsequent impression on the language or culture of the island (Oostindie 2011b: 9, 19; Barka 2001; Haviser 2001a; Thompson, A. 1985).

The early European inhabitants of St Eustatius experimented with the use of kidnapped Amerindians as enslaved labourers, mostly imported from Dominica (Crane 1999: xiv; Hartog 1976: 21). The first enslaved Africans were brought to St Eustatius in

the 1640s and thereafter worked on the increasingly successful tobacco plantations (Nimako and Willemsen 2011: 65; Barka 2001; Haviser 2001a; Crane 1999: xiv; Hartog 1976: 21). By 1650 they had completely replaced the Amerindians and by 1750 they outnumbered the Europeans 2:1 (Crane 1999: xiv; Heath 1999). However, the island was ultimately unable to support a full plantation economy due to its low annual rainfall (Nimako and Willemsen 2011: 65; Barka 2001; Haviser 2001a; Crane 1999: xiv; de Palm 1985: 431-435). Drought was a frequent danger and destroyed many harvests, and deforestation and erosion led to poor soil quality (Barka 2001; de Palm 1985: 431-435). Tobacco, indigo, and peanuts, were grown for export but the tobacco market collapsed during the 1680s and thereafter the most important role of the island was as a trading centre (Gilmore III and Nelson 2015; Barka 2001; Karklins and Barka 1989). Sugar and cotton were still grown on a small scale but enslaved people were mostly employed in shipbuilding and the Oranjestad commercial sector (Nimako and Willemsen 2011: 65; Gilmore III 2006a: 87; Oostindie 2005: 12-13).



**Figure 1.3:** Map of Oranjestad in 1781, showing Fort Oranje (centre) and Fort Amsterdam (left), located in Upper Town and Lower Town respectively (after Martin, P. 1781).

By the late 18<sup>th</sup> century there were over six hundred buildings on the narrow strip of land known as ‘Lower Town’ in Oranjestad, including over two hundred warehouses (see Figure 1.3) (Gilmore III and Nelson 2015; Karklins and Barka 1989). This demonstrated the island’s prosperity as a commercial centre (Barka 2001; de Palm 1985: 358-359). Indeed, it was so commercially successful that it became known as ‘the Golden Rock’ (Crane 1999: xiv). This success was linked to its location near islands owned by the French, English, Spanish and Danish, whose restrictive trade laws prevented them from making large profits (Emmer 2006: 28; Karklins and Barka 1989). In 1754 the WIC made St Eustatius a free port, and the island merchants were therefore able to supply these other nations with cheap goods (Gilmore III and Nelson 2015; Oostindie and Roitman 2012; Karklins and Barka 1989). During the American War of Independence, St Eustatius supplied arms and ammunition at enormous profit – gunpowder sold on the island for 120% of its Amsterdam price (Barka 2001; Haviser 2001a; Crane 1999: xvii; Karklins and Barka 1989). In 1775 a Scottish woman called Janet Schaw arrived in Oranjestad and wrote:

From one end of the town to the other is a continued mart, where goods of the most different uses and qualities are displayed before the shop-doors. Here hang rich embroideries, painted silks, flowered Muslins, with all the Manufactures of the Indies... I bought a quantity of excellent French gloves for fourteen pence a pair, also English thread-stockings cheaper than I could buy them at home. (*Schaw 1921: 137-138*)

St Eustatius was also an important slave-trading centre. Olaudah Equiano visited the island during his enslavement and wrote that his ship collected “a live cargo, as we call a cargo of slaves” (Equiano 1999 [1814]: 99). This trade was based at Fort Amsterdam at the northern end of Lower Town, where enslaved people were both ‘stored’ and auctioned (Gilmore III and Nelson 2015; Cook, R. and Stelten 2014; Stelten 2013). By 1725 two to three thousand enslaved people came through this building each year, and were sold on to the French, English and Spanish colonies (Cook, R. and Stelten 2014;

Emmer 2011). In 1742 an extra storey was added to the fort building so that more people could be accommodated. Most of them were part of the inter-island trade (*kleine vaart*) rather than arriving directly from Africa (Gilmore III 2006b).

The WIC (which employed people of many nationalities) had a liberal attitude to allowing foreigners to inhabit their colonies, and St Eustatius therefore hosted merchants and settlers from various different places including England, Scotland, France, Italy, Germany, North America, and other parts of the Caribbean (Barka 2001; Blakely 1993: 4; Thompson, A. 1985). Janet Schaw remarked “never did I meet with such variety; here was a merch[an]t vending his goods in Dutch, another in French, a third in Spanish... the diversity is really amusing” (Schaw 1921: 137-138). During this period the number and variety of religious buildings in Lower and Upper town increased in order to represent congregations from various backgrounds, such as Catholics, Anglicans and Jews (Barka 2001). Efforts by the white elites to control the enslaved population through the Dutch Reformed Church ultimately failed, as West African beliefs and Methodism thrived (Miller, D. and Gilmore III 2016).

The social structure of the island was based around commerce, with plantations filling the function of country estates. They were important expressions of social status due to their role in the illegal re-export of rum refined from the sugar of Jamaica, St Kitts, and Nevis (Gilmore III and Nelson 2015). The elite culture of the island revolved around material wealth and its flamboyant expression, as was common across the Caribbean (Lenik and Petley 2014; Stelten 2013).

Historical sources tell us that enslaved people on St Eustatius may have been afforded a degree of ‘freedom’ seldom seen elsewhere (Gilmore III 2010a; Gilmore III 2006a; Gilmore III 2005: 287). In Oranjestad, enslaved people often lived separately from their masters (Heath 1999). They filled a variety of roles as coopers, distillers, barbers, and ship crewmen and were able to earn their manumission more quickly than enslaved

people on other islands (Gilmore III 2010a; Gilmore III 2006a). Those working in commerce (as the autobiography of Olaudah Equiano demonstrates) were allowed more ‘freedoms’ than those enslaved in plantation and domestic contexts (Gilmore III 2006a; Equiano 1999 [1814]). Adverts for the return of runaways imply that some enslaved people here could read (Gilmore III 2006a). The small size of the island meant that runaways did not have anywhere to go, and owners may not therefore have felt the need to maintain constant supervision (Stelten 2013). The lack of true plantation or sugar economy and the small size of the island may have led to a different physical and cognitive landscape, one that contained fewer barriers for enslaved individuals (Cook, R. and Stelten 2014; Gilmore III 2006a). When they were freed, many people chose to remain on the island and continue to take advantage of its economic opportunities (Gilmore III 2010a). However, this is not to say that people enslaved on St Eustatius never felt the need to escape. For example, they sometimes escaped to Puerto Rico, where once baptised they could not be returned to their owners. After the abolition of slavery by the British in 1833 they were also likely to head for the British islands, especially St Kitts (Hartog 1976: 51-52).

The ‘slave trade’ was outlawed on St Eustatius in 1784 and the economic fortunes of the island thereafter declined (Barka 2001; Havisser 2001a; Karklins and Barka 1989). New French and English taxes restricted trade and by the 1830s the warehouses in Lower Town had been abandoned (Gilmore III and Nelson 2015; Gilmore III 2010a; Karklins and Barka 1989). St Eustatius lost its important commercial position as trade routes shifted around the newly independent United States (Barka 2001). After the abolition of slavery by the Dutch in 1863 the remaining plantations were no longer viable, and by the 1890s most of the Europeans had left the island. Formerly enslaved people grew cotton, yams and sweet potatoes in order to survive, and young people (particularly men) left the

island to find work, a trend that continues to this day (Gilmore III 2006b; Barka 2001; Crane 1999: xxii-xxiii).

## **1.9 BRIEF HISTORY OF ST MAARTEN/ST MARTIN**

Amerindian communities had left St Maarten/St Martin by the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and the island was uninhabited when the Spanish dubbed it ‘useless’ in 1493 (Guadeloupe 2009: 20). Like St Eustatius, it had a brief French presence from the 1620s (Guadeloupe 2009: 20; Haviser 2001a). The first fort on the island (later named Fort Amsterdam) was built by the Dutch in 1631 and remodelled by the Spanish during their occupation of the island between 1633 and 1648 (Haviser 2010b; Haviser 2001a). It was in 1648 that the Dutch and the French split the island between them, with Dutch St Maarten in the south and French St Martin in the north, although the exact location of the border was contested until the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century (Rupert 2012: 75; Haviser 2001a). Between 1801 and 1816 the English had control of the island, but after this it was returned to the Netherlands and France on a permanent basis (Hoogland, Hofman and Gilmore III 2015). By this time, English had become the *lingua franca* and the Dutch made little subsequent impact on language or culture (Oostindie 2005: 9, 19; Barka 2001; Haviser 2001a; Hartog 1981: 87; Hartog 1978: 48). The Methodist Church, for example, had a much greater influence than the Dutch Reformed Church. By 1850 all the enslaved people (on both sides of the island) were Methodists (Ensing 2012: 70; Hartog 1981: 111).

Despite its bureaucratic split, St Maarten has usually functioned as a social whole. During the period of enslavement, people often owned land on both sides of the border and transferred enslaved people freely between them (Paula 1993: 185). The terms of the 1648 treaty ruled that resources were to be shared between the two powers, and this meant that ‘French’ enslaved people were often to be found working in the Great Salt Pond on

the Dutch side, for example. There was a lot of movement and communication between the enslaved populations of the island (Paula 1993: 185; Johnson, W. 1987: 27; Paula 1987).



**Figure 1.4:** Samuel Fahlberg's *Cart Topographique de L'Isle de St Martin* dating to the late 18<sup>th</sup> or early 19<sup>th</sup> century (after Reinhartz 2012: 2).

The French governed their enslaved people under the *Code Noir*, which was developed during the 17<sup>th</sup> century specifically to deal with the legal problem of slavery in the West Indies. It encouraged the conversion of enslaved people to Christianity, but also described the enslaved person's status as commodity, subordinate and dependent (Boucher 2011; Goveia 1991 [1960]). As observed elsewhere in the Americas, this system simultaneously acknowledged and denied the humanity of the enslaved person (Harpham 2018; Goveia 1991 [1960]).

There were several areas of the *Code Noir* (for example, laws against the manumission of a master's children, and the prohibition of markets on Sundays) that did

not stand up to local opinion in the Caribbean environment and were therefore removed or ignored (DuBois 2011; Goveia 1991 [1960]; Elisabeth 1972). However, it was by no means a document committed to the protection of the enslaved person (Boucher 2011; Goveia 1991 [1960]). Although they could appeal to the local Council or complain to the King in cases of maltreatment, in reality the standards set for the treatment of enslaved people by the Code were extremely low. Enslaved people were allotted very small amounts of food and clothing, and although they were supposed to be protected against cruel treatment by their masters, this part of the Code was seldom acted upon. Enslaved people could be tortured by the authorities and hunted if they ran away. The French government encouraged large plantations as a way to make the West Indies profitable, and public interest rather than the rights of the enslaved person was their primary concern (Goveia 1991 [1960]). All of these conditions had an effect upon enslaved people in St Maarten/St Martin. The Dutch government's laws on slavery were slightly different, having been based more closely on Roman law, but they had a similar effect upon the enslaved person (Peabody 2011; Goveia 1991 [1960]).

The Dutch colonists of the 1630s settled at Simpson or Cay Bay. At first they grew tobacco, cotton and sugar themselves, but soon they switched to enslaved labour (Hartog 1981: 49; Hartog 1978: 31). Enslaved Africans were brought to St Maarten in the 1640s, at which time the colonist settlement relocated inland to Little Bay, which was considered safer (Haviser 2001a; Hartog 1981: 49; Hartog 1978: 45). Like St Eustatius and Curaçao, St Maarten/St Martin suffered from an environmental inability to support a large plantation economy (Nimako and Willemsen 2011: 65; Barka 2001; Haviser 2001a; de Palm 1985: 435-440). Although sugar and cotton were grown on a small scale, most enslaved people were employed in salt panning, which supplied the herring industry (Roitman 2013; Nimako and Willemsen 2011: 65; Oostindie 2005: 12-13; de Palm 1985: 435-440, 532-534). From 1650 to 1700 conflicts between England and France created an

unstable climate in which it was difficult for merchants to do business, and towards the end of this period St Maarten/St Martin became less of a focus as trade centred on nearby St Eustatius. In 1702 the French were able to return to the island after a prolonged period of English control. The French village of Marigot began to develop into a larger settlement and a fort was built there (Hartog 1981: 51-52). Over the years there were many attempts to fortify the island, but they were largely ineffective (see Hartog 1994).

In 1733 the island council of Dutch St Maarten decided to build a town on the Great Bay sandbank (Johnson, W. 1987: 42; Hartog 1981: 57; Hartog 1978: 45). The town was named Philipsburg after the John Philips, Commander of Dutch St Maarten between 1735 and 1746 (Hartog 1981: 55). During this period the Dutch part of the island was much more economically successful than the French part (Hartog 1981: 41-42). This was largely due to the achievements of John Philips, which included the revival of the salt industry; the establishment of more mills; the encouragement of cash crops such as sugar, cotton and coffee instead of subsistence crops such as yams and cassava; and the attraction of foreign settlers (Ensing 2012: 79; Hartog 1981: 56; Hartog 1978: 46). In French St Martin, a similar function was fulfilled by August Descoudrelles (Governor 1763-1785) who also attracted settlers to the island (Hartog 1981: 55, 60). On the French side of the island, cattle raising was very profitable in addition to sugar (Hartog 1981: 90).

The sugar heyday on St Maarten/St Martin occurred between 1775 and 1830 (Hoogland, Hofman and Gilmore III 2015). After this date the effects of British campaigns against the 'slave trade' and the introduction of fast-growing sugar beet in Europe made their small-scale sugar plantations less economically viable (Hoogland, Hofman and Gilmore III 2015; Guadeloupe 2009: 27-28; Hartog 1978: 67). This was exacerbated by the presence of the salt pans, which required enslaved people to leave the plantations whenever a salt ship arrived and thereby interrupted crop production

(Hoogland, Hofman and Gilmore III 2015). The American War of Independence did not benefit the island because it stifled the trade in salt and sugar (Hartog 1981: 62-63). Other hardships included the hurricanes of 1819 and 1848, which destroyed many buildings and damaged the economy (Guadeloupe 2009: 27-28; Johnson, W. 1987: 37; Hartog 1981: 67). After 1830 the ban on 'slave' trading caused land owners on both sides of the island to go bankrupt (Hartog 1981: 69). The French abolished slavery in 1848 and many of the plantations on this side of the island were then sold off in parcels (Hartog 1981: 69-70).

Emancipation therefore progressed rather differently on St Maarten compared to the other Dutch islands. In 1848 when the enslaved people on the French side of the island were emancipated, the enslaved people on the Dutch side responded to this by declaring themselves free (Oostindie 1995). Letters between the island governors and the Dutch government show that the St Maarten elites were in favour of this early emancipation, but their request was rejected. Some scholars argue that this resulted in a situation where slavery existed legally but not socially, and describe the enslaved people as "*de facto* free" (Roitman 2016b; Oostindie 1995; Paula 1993: 186; Johnson, W. 1987: 36). Some slave owners may have treated their enslaved people better during this period, for example by allowing the use of provision grounds, although Voges (2006: 10) notes that this may have been because they now refused to provide food and clothes to people they now considered nominally free. However, documentary evidence also shows that enslaved people were still being sold in this period, the plantations continued to function and the census office still refused to register enslaved people (Voges 2006: 10; Paula 1993: 186).

A decline in the enslaved population between 1844 and 1852 is attributed to the high number of escapees (Roitman 2016b); this despite the fact that enslaved people here were supposedly comparatively well-off or even "*de facto*" free (see Paula 1993). Finally, because so many people left French St Martin after 1848, there was no work for those who crossed the border looking for freedom. Many of them were therefore forced to return

to Dutch St Maarten, where the salt industry experienced a brief revival due to the development of a new warehousing system in 1853 (Roitman 2016b; Hartog 1981: 47, 70).

Paula (1993: 185) states that in St Maarten there was a “unique interpersonal relationship [...] between master and slave” involving co-operation for survival and omitting the harsh treatment encountered on other Caribbean islands. He argues that one of the reasons for this may have been the proximity of the island to Anguilla and other islands which offered comparatively easy avenues for escape, meaning that masters had to find ways to keep their enslaved people around (Paula 1993: 185). Lamur (1991 [1981]) notes that Richardson Plantation in St Maarten had a high rate of reproduction in the enslaved population, with an average family size of 8.5 (compared to 6.4 for Curaçao, although this is also a high figure). He suggests that this may have been due to the types of labour carried out in the Dutch islands compared to true plantation societies such as Suriname (Lamur 1991 [1981]). Roitman (2016b) also provides evidence that enslaved people on St Maarten may have been materially better off than their counterparts on other islands because of the types of food and clothing that they received, and the presence of provision grounds. Enslaved individuals on St Maarten/St Martin are also thought to have had a high degree of personal freedom compared to those in other areas of the Caribbean. This may have been due to the way they arrived on the island, accompanying their owners from other parts of the Americas when they had been allotted tracts of land, rather than coming directly from Africa. The population was therefore one of creolised individuals where revolts were rare (Guadeloupe 2009: 27). During the 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, the island actually had a white majority, something that was not seen in true plantation societies such as that of Jamaica (Rupert 2012: 75; Heuman 2003b; Hartog 1981: 88). However, by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the enslaved population of both sides of the island outnumbered the white population almost 6:1 (Hartog 1981: 88).

Roitman (2016b) treats the system of escape and return in the group of islands around St Eustatius and St Maarten/St Martin as a sort of seasonal labour migration occurring before emancipation, which had an important psychological effect in terms of making the slave owners fearful and the enslaved people hopeful. But it was still small scale and returning to slavery after escape was often extremely dangerous in terms of punishment (see *Nationaal Archief inventarisnummer 8, arbeid 8* for a Curaçaoan example). Roitman (2016b) says that enslaved people may have been reluctant to run away for several additional reasons, including the expectation that the Dutch government would soon free them, certainty of the life they knew, and the existence of support networks.

In her 2017 article, Roitman argues for an apparent blurring of the lines between enslaved and freed in both Curaçao and St Maarten/St Martin during this period. This was because the urban slavery system allowed people to earn their own money; freed people were a large part of the island population; and finally, freed people fell into a legal limbo (Roitman 2017). She makes an important contribution in identifying areas of shared experience between enslaved and freed people. From an elite viewpoint, enslaved and freed people may well have been treated similarly in some ways. However, one must also consider that the lines between enslaved and freed may have been very clear to those who were or had been enslaved. Additionally, the current author proposes that similarities between the experiences of enslaved and freed people should not be interpreted as contributing to the ‘mildness’ of slavery in these islands; rather, they should allow researchers to more thoroughly examine the lasting impacts of enslavement on subsequent generations (see section 1.5.6).

Legal emancipation arrived, as it did in the other Dutch Caribbean territories, in 1863 (Allen 2007a: 101). In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century many people left for work elsewhere in the Caribbean, such as with Shell Oil in Curaçao (St Martin Tourist Office 2016b). In

the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, 70-80% of the St Maarten population were first- or second-generation immigrants who arrived with the tourist boom in the 1980s (Guadeloupe 2009: 5, 11-12). However, the effects of the 2017 hurricanes Irma and Maria on the island are likely to have far-reaching economic and social effects (see Gahman and Thongs 2017).

## **1.10 CONCLUSION**

Handler *et al*'s (1989) observation that most of our knowledge about slavery in the Caribbean is focussed on the administration of the system rather than on the enslaved people themselves often remains true in 2019. Subaltern narratives, including those of enslaved people, are often buried underneath narratives that benefit the white majority (Matthews 2017). In the Dutch Caribbean the white-dominated discourse on slavery has focussed on a narrative that foregrounds words such as 'mild', 'tranquil', and 'relative' (see Emmer 2011; Nimako and Willemsen 2011: 25; Gilmore III 2005; Oostindie 2005: 38; Oostindie 1995; Paula 1993; Goslinga 1990; Romer 1977; Hoetink 1972) while focussing on material and economic concerns that have little to do with the wider state of slavery. As Chan (2007: 8) notes, "these were not 'extenuating' circumstances of slavery, but alternative incarnations of it. Bondage was a bitter fate whatever the circumstances or setting of its existence". Enslaved people did not experience their enslavement in comparative perspective (Paula 1968: 26).

Indeed, Wilkie (2001) has observed that even individuals whose religion or moral code encouraged them to act kindly towards enslaved people did not necessarily improve the circumstances of enslavement. For example, William Wylly of Clifton Plantation (Bahamas, early 19<sup>th</sup> century) was a Methodist and slavery reformer and encouraged literacy and economic independence amongst his enslaved people. However, he also sold an entire family to a notoriously cruel owner after they attempted to escape (Wilkie 2001).

That they wanted to escape in the first place demonstrates that enslavement at Clifton Plantation was still psychologically stressful despite certain educational and economic advantages.

Additionally, John Chenoweth (2017) has discussed in his book *Simplicity, Equality, and Slavery* the ways in which Quakers (who had a reputation as kinder masters) constructed their ideals of equality and peace in ways that did not interfere with their role as slave owners. For example, the notion of peace was constructed mainly in relation to large-scale violent episodes such as warfare, and not to the domestic context. As for equality, the marginal environment of the British Virgin Islands made it necessary for Quakers to construct their white identity in relation to the enslaved community – the creation of an in-group and an out-group that was supposed to safeguard white people in times of crisis. Finally, the notion of Quakers as kind masters is not actually supported by historical or archaeological evidence (Chenoweth 2017).

The function of dominant narratives portraying slavery as ‘mild’ is to limit the agency of subaltern groups in resisting the continuing effects of colonialism. Similar consequences can be observed in Setauket, New York, where guide books dismiss slavery as ‘mild’ and Native American and African-American influences on the history and culture of the area are skated over. Instead, the colonisers are absolved of guilt by subsuming all groups into one grand narrative. Archaeology is very important in processes of uncovering and discovering subaltern narratives because it provides alternative, underground data sources (Matthews 2017).

Although it can be painful for people to revisit the memory of slavery, such research does have support from local communities (van der Dijs, N. 2011: 125; Juliana 2008). Forgetting can be dangerous because it may allow colonialism and inequality to persist (Shepherd 2013b; Meskell and Scheermeyer 2008), but understanding the mechanisms of injustice and oppression allows us to combat them (van der Dijs, N. 2011:

106, 136; Marcha and Verweel 2003: 125). In this way, the current study advances an emancipatory agenda. This is discussed more thoroughly in Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework, which underpins the goals, methods, and structure of the study. Chapter 2: Literature Review will now introduce the existing literature on alternative narrative production for enslaved individuals in the Dutch Caribbean in more detail.

## 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

---

### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

Documentary studies, such as those referred to in Chapter 1, have provided a wealth of information about slavery in the Dutch Caribbean, including the ways in which enslaved populations fluctuated through time, the laws enacted concerning slavery, the involvement of enslaved people in the economy, and the profitability of the trade itself (Roitman 2016a; Fatah-Black 2014b; Fatah-Black and van Rossum 2012; Rupert 2012; Nimako and Willemsen 2011: 89; Gilmore III 2006a; Barka 2001: 120). However informative these works are, historical documents written by the elites may be biased, inaccurate or even fabricated (Koslofsky and Zaugg 2016; Spivak 2012; Gilmore III 2006a; Cohen, L., Manion and Morrison 2000: 147; Thornton 1998: 4; Guha 1997). It is important to see the European documentary voice as one among many (Legene and Waaldijk 2007; van Stipriaan 2007; Mazama 2001).

Recently, there have been attempts to address slavery through the re-reading of historical documents from a postcolonial perspective, in order to foreground the subaltern (see for example Reinhardt 2006; Reinhardt 2001). In the United States, historians have the advantage of access to narratives written by formerly enslaved people, such as Mary Prince, Solomon Northup and Harriet Jacobs (Northup 2014; Prince 2008; Jacobs, H. 2001). Although Olaudah Equiano's famous narrative does mention St Eustatius several times, there are no such texts that originate from the Dutch Caribbean (Aljoe 2004; Equiano 1999 [1814]). Enslaved people are therefore notably silent in its historiography, and the established historical narrative for the Dutch Caribbean is one that characterises slavery here as 'mild' compared to slavery in other places, such as Suriname (see Gilmore III 2005; Oostindie 1995; Paula 1993; Goslinga 1990; Romer 1977). This has a silencing effect upon the people of the Dutch Caribbean, who are still experiencing the lasting

social and political effects of slavery. Other sources of data, such as archaeology and oral history, are therefore needed if a strong alternative narrative is to be produced.

Archaeological studies on slavery in the Americas are usually situated in urban or plantation economy contexts (see for example Pearson et al. 2011; Perry, Howson and Bianco 2006; Shuler 2005). These contexts are at variance with the Dutch Caribbean, which consists of small islands where the climate could not support a full plantation economy (Oostindie 2005: 8-9). Instead, St Eustatius and Curaçao became important free ports, while St Maarten profited from the export of salt and other commodities (Nimako and Willemsen 2011: 65; Oostindie 2005: 12-13; Barka 2001; Havisser 2001a). The lifeways of enslaved people on these islands may therefore have been different from those elsewhere (Gilmore III 2005).

The development of alternative narratives for slavery in the Dutch Caribbean has until now been hampered by several factors. Firstly, few people learn Dutch or Papiamentu as a foreign language, and this makes many resources inaccessible for foreign scholars (Allen 2015b; Agorsah 2011; Allen 2006a: 112; Blakely 1993: xix). Scholars in the Netherlands may also be uncomfortable with studying such topics, as they challenge notions of Dutch society as tolerant and liberal (van Stipriaan 2007; Blakely 1993: xix). As Wekker (2018; 2016) has indicated, Dutch people are often unwilling to discuss issues such as slavery and colonialism because they threaten firmly held beliefs about white innocence. Where the Dutch Caribbean is addressed, the six islands are often grouped together despite their historical and modern differences, or alternatively studies often privilege Curaçao, St Eustatius and Aruba above the other islands (Kelly 2014a; Roitman 2013; Oostindie and Roitman 2012; Blakely 1993: 29). They are often excluded from discussions of wider developments in the Caribbean and the African Diaspora, and Dutch Caribbean scholars are seldom recognised at a pan-Caribbean level (Allen 2015b; Allen 2012b; Allen 2006b; de Vries 2005).

Haviser (2001a) and Haviser and Hofman (2015) have already provided comprehensive literature reviews covering archaeological work in the Dutch Caribbean. What research there is into the lifeways of enslaved people here began in the 1950s and 1960s with enthusiasts such as the amateur anthropologist Paul Brenneker, whose collections are still accessible in local museums (Haviser and Hofman 2015; Haviser 2001a; Brenneker 1969-1973). Since the early 1980s various organisations including the College of William and Mary, the Archaeological-Anthropological Institute of the Netherlands Antilles (AAINA), and Universiteit Leiden, have conducted survey, mapping, and small-scale excavations in the Dutch Caribbean (Kelly 2014c; Haviser 2001a; Eastman 1996). These studies have often focussed on forts, plantation houses, and the explanation of systems and trade rather than on enslaved people (see for example Gilmore III 2013; Haviser 2010b; Haviser 2001a). The contribution of African descendants to the culture and identity of Dutch Caribbean islands has been neglected in comparison to the attention paid to European elites (Allen 2015a; Allen 2015b).

This chapter will identify archaeological projects which touched on the lifeways of enslaved people in Curaçao, St Eustatius, and St Maarten/St Martin, as well as other sources of data which are compatible with the construction of an alternative narrative: oral history, osteology, and sociology. It will conclude by identifying a gap in the literature and highlighting the importance of filling this gap.

## **2.2 SLAVERY IN CURAÇAO**

Studies regarding the lifeways of enslaved people are not common in Curaçao, and Rose Mary Allen (2007b) has already provided a detailed review of the literature on slavery on the island, which covers the topics of social structure, accommodation and residence, cultural influence and creativity, and emancipation. Her article *Toward*

*reconstituting Caribbean identity discourse from within the Dutch Caribbean island of Curaçao* also discusses the main sociological and oral historical texts pertinent to this topic (Allen 2015b). In addition, she has discussed some of her oral historical results on enslaved lifeways in another article entitled *The oral history of slavery, Afro-Curaçaoan memory, and self-definition*, which addresses the question of enslaved lifeways from a standpoint very similar to that of the current study (Allen 2014b). It is instructive to read these publications in addition to the section that follows.

Much of the information we have about enslaved people in Curaçao comes from documentary evidence, for example the 19<sup>th</sup> century slave ownership lists and laws regarding slavery, which do not represent an alternative narrative (Koslofsky and Zaugg 2016; Spivak 2012; Gilmore III 2006a; Jordaan 2003; Cohen, L., Manion and Morrison 2000: 147; Schiltkamp, Smit and Wachlin 2000: 20; Thornton 1998: 4; Guha 1997; Ellis 1981). 19<sup>th</sup> century studies of Curaçaoan traditional culture were also biased, treating it as ridiculous (Allen 1996). However, the tide is starting to turn. Examples of historical works avoiding the colonial narrative of ‘mild’ slavery include *Slavery and Resistance in Curaçao* by do Rego and Janga (2009), *De Curaçaoenaar in de Geschiedenis* by Gibbes *et al* (2015), and *Tula: De Slavenopstand van 1795 op Curaçao* produced by the *Nationaal Instituut Nederlands Slavernijverleden en Erfenis* (NiNSee) (Cain 2009).

A significant oral historical study on the lifeways of Afro-Curaçaoans in the post-abolition period by Rose Mary Allen (2007a) included a chapter on the lifeways of enslaved individuals before 1863. She triangulated her own findings using the oral historical work of Paul Brenneker and Elis Juliana from the 1950s and 1960s. Brenneker and Juliana were able to interview people who were born soon after abolition, and therefore possessed a considerable amount of knowledge in the area of enslaved lifeways (Allen 2007a: 53-57). Allen’s data were mostly collected in the 1980s and although Richenel Ansano (1996) has noted 20<sup>th</sup> century changes to traditional culture on the

island, Allen's work corroborates many of the observations made twenty or thirty years earlier (see Allen 2007a). She addressed several areas of enslaved lifeways, principally African continuities, labour, social life, economy, material culture, and religion. Much of the analysis included information from intangible heritage such as traditional songs (Allen 2007a; see also Allen 2014b; and Allen 2001). Music had also previously been investigated by René Rosalia at Universiteit Leiden in the 1990s (Haviser 2001a; Rosalia 1997; Rosalia 1996a). This research was combined with social activism and therefore had an emancipatory agenda (Allen 2015b). Further analyses of oral history have included: Martinus' (1997) study of Guene, the African creole language; Rutten's (1989) study of medical practices; Lampe's (1988) study of resistance as expressed through the traditional Nanzi stories (see also Allen 2007a: 17-18; van Duin 2007; Baart 2001); and Rosalia's (1996b) study on the repression of Curaçaoan cultural practices such as stick fighting, the *seú* harvest festival, and the feast of San Juan. This type of information has in one case been instrumental in the identification of an archaeological site relating to enslaved people (the slave depot at Zuurzak), and to the increased understanding of areas where many enslaved individuals lived, such as Otrobanda (Haviser and Simmons-Brito 1995a; Simmons-Brito 1981).

More recently, Colet van der Ven (2011) has published an oral historical study addressing the effect of historical events such as slavery and the arrival of Shell Oil on modern Curaçao, which included information on enslaved lifeways. However, the findings of this study were not subjected to further analysis, triangulation or comparison with other data sources such as archaeology. Similarly, in 2011 Natasha van der Dijs conducted semi-formal interviews with 182 people from Curaçao in order to explore the development of ethnic identities on the island (van der Dijs, N. 2011: 13, 200-201).

Various scholars note that the circumstances of slavery on Curaçao have left a psychological effect on the modern population, almost akin to post-traumatic stress

disorder (van der Dijs, N. 2011: 135; Marcha and Verweel 2003: 122; Akbar 1996: 3-25; Paula 1968). These effects include food insecurity leading to obesity, and insecurity about personal opinion and identity (van der Dijs, N. 2011: 136-140; Marcha and Verweel 2003: 10, 117). Marcha and Verweel's (2003) sociological study on the culture of fear and silence supports these observations. It is important to confront these issues so that they can be resolved, contributing to ongoing emancipation (van der Dijs, N. 2011: 136; Allen 2006b; Fanon 2006 [1968]; Marcha and Verweel 2003: 125; Fanon 2001 [1963]: 168-169).

Some alternative narratives incorporating data from more than one source have been developed: Rose Mary Allen (2017b) and Jeanne Henriquez (2006) have examined slavery and post-1863 sexual politics in Curaçao as systems of dominance based on racialized sexual exploitation and oppression using oral historical and documentary data. Indeed, in later life the celebrated scholar René Römer remarked to Richenel Ansano that he intended to rely less on documentary evidence and put a greater emphasis on ethnographic information (Ansano 2006b).

Archaeological work on the island has been scarce, partly because the island's archaeological organisation, National Archaeological Anthropological Memory Management (NAAM), has a small staff and lacks the funding to undertake research projects (Amy Victorina pers. comm.). Early interest in the archaeology of Curaçao (such as the pastor van Koolwijk in the 1870s, and the ethnoarchaeologist de Josselin de Jong in the 1920s) yielded few site identifications and no thorough fieldwork (Haviser 2001a) although in 1965 José Cruxent produced the first radiocarbon dates (AD 1610) for the Spanish occupation of Curaçao at Gaito, to the northeast of Punda (Haviser and Hofman 2015; Haviser 2001a; Cruxent 1965). Newton (1986), Prunetti (1987), Buddingh' (1994) and others have addressed Curaçaoan architecture, and these studies have had a particular resonance for the historical archaeology of the island (Haviser 2001a). However,

archaeological projects carried out by professional organisations (the AAINA and later NAAM) from the 1980s onwards have never proceeded into in-depth alternative narratives (see Gawronski and Kraan 2010; Haviser 2001a; Haviser 2001c; Haviser, Khudabux and van Langenfeld 2001; Nagelkerken 1997; Nagelkerken 1991).

In the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s the amateur anthropologists Paul Brenneker, Elis Juliana, and Christian Engels produced valuable work, including the collection of material culture that can still be viewed in the island's museums (Haviser and Hofman 2015; Juliana 2008; van der Dijs, M. 2008: 11; Haviser 2001a). This material culture includes artefacts relating to domestic life, labour, religion, agriculture, animal husbandry, abuse, and resistance (see Brenneker 1969-1973). Haviser's (2001c) inventory of Afro-Curaçaoan material culture, including perishable materials, is also an important addition to this ethnoarchaeological tradition, as is the information from his (1999) excavation of a late 19<sup>th</sup> to early 20<sup>th</sup> century *kunuku* house at Kenepa village. Haviser (1997) has also identified features of the traditional *kunuku* house (with special reference to Plantation Knip) that reflect West African (Nigerian Yoruba) traditions adapted to a Caribbean environment. This work builds on Vlach's (1976b; 1976c) work on the shotgun house, which described similarities between Haitian shotgun houses, and Amerindian and Yoruba houses. In his (1976cb) article the Yoruba house plans can be seen to bear a close resemblance to those of Curaçaoan *kunuku* houses, although the Curaçaoan examples include an extra door at the back of the building, creating a through draught.

Human remains excavated in Curaçao have not been situated within the context of slavery nor addressed from the perspective of the alternative narrative. The remains of two individuals of African ancestry from Veeris Plantation in the western part of the island were excavated in the 1980s. Only one of these individuals was subjected to basic osteological analysis at the time (Haviser 1986). More recently, human remains excavated

at Fleur de Marie in Willemstad have been subjected to osteological analysis as well as isotopic analysis and radiocarbon dating (Victorina and Kraan 2012). Due to their context and the available historical and archaeological information, these human remains have the potential to produce rich and original osteobiographical narratives (see Kuijlaars, Victorina and Kraan 2012).

The comparatively large size of Curaçao means that it has great potential for further archaeological work to be undertaken (Haviser 2001a). NAAM values interdisciplinary approaches and views material remains and intangible heritage as equally important (Ansano and Kraan 2015). The current study therefore aligns well with local research aims and addresses a significant gap in the literature of Curaçao, while having access to useful background information in the oral historical and ethnoarchaeological work of other scholars.

### **2.3 SLAVERY IN ST EUSTATIUS**

Oral historical research in St Eustatius has been sparse. The most thorough study was carried out in the 1980s by Julia Crane, and several of the people she interviewed were old enough to have known people who were enslaved (Crane 1999: 3, 6). Topics covered in her book *Statia Silhouettes* include running away, punishment, resistance, African origins, slave owners, skills such as stonemasonry and locksmithing, religion, emancipation, *obeah*, labour, songs, and attitudes to race (Crane 1999: 4-5, 7-8, 10-12, 115-116, 130, 182-183). Miriam Schmidt's (1996) study on folklore from Statia (St Eustatius) has also examined aspects of traditional culture such as foodways, religious beliefs, bush medicine and the culture of respect.

However, in archaeological terms St Eustatius is the most comprehensively investigated of the Dutch Caribbean islands. Research began in the 1920s with the curator

and archaeologist de Josselin de Jong and in the 1960s with the historical archaeologist Ivor Noël Hume, but it was not until the 1980s that larger-scale academic research began (Haviser 2001a; de Josselin de Jong, J. 1947; Haviser and Hofman 2015). The College of William and Mary (University of South Florida), and the AAINA ran field schools each year until 1994, by which time they had achieved the location and mapping of nearly 300 archaeological sites, mainly plantation buildings but also church, fort and warehouse sites, as well as developing several theses on subjects such as acculturation and colono-ware ceramics (Haviser and Hofman 2015; Barka 2001; Haviser 2001a; Eastman 1996; Barka 1985). Additionally, Barka (2001) approached the historical archaeology of St Eustatius from the perspective of settlement patterns, revealing an intricate history of growth and decline using evidence from maps, first-hand documentary resources, and the observation of standing buildings and ruins (Barka 2001). The astounding number and preservation of archaeological sites on St Eustatius prompted Dethlefsen *et al* (1982) to dub the island ‘the Pompeii of the New World’. The incredible richness of this resource can be observed on the archaeological predictive map by de Waal *et al* (2015).

Further work has usually been concentrated at urban, commercial, or military sites, including the investigation of ethnic minority communities, for example Jewish people (see Gilmore III and Nelson 2015; Gilmore III and Roth 2013; Morsink 2013; and Soffers and Zahedi 2013; Roth and Gilmore III 2011; Stelten 2010a; Stelten 2010b; Haviser 2001a). Much of this has been carried out by SECAR (St Eustatius Centre for Archaeological Research, established in 2004) in partnership with Universiteit Leiden (Gilmore III and Nelson 2015). This has included mapping and test excavations at estates such as Benner’s Plantation, Fair Play Plantation, and Steward Plantation, including industrial complexes, burial grounds and enslaved villages which have yielded some evidence for enslaved lifeways (Gilmore III, Hoogland and Hofman 2015; Cook, R. and Stelten 2014; Stelten 2012a). Richard Grant Gilmore III (2008) (former SECAR

archaeologist) conducted resistivity and gradiometry survey to investigate the locations of the enslaved villages at Pleasures Estate and English Quarter. The enslaved village at English Quarter yielded artefacts through surface collection. However, a discrete area thought to be the enslaved village was not identified at Pleasures Estate (Gilmore III 2006b).

Gilmore III has also used a combination of historical and archaeological evidence to explore economic ‘freedoms’ afforded enslaved individuals in St Eustatius (Gilmore III 2006a; Gilmore III 2005). He stresses that documents must be used carefully, as they were written by the dominant class and often present a positive, almost idyllic view of slavery. However, wills and inventories may include the name, age and occupation of enslaved individuals, and laws refer to the commercial activities, housing, behaviour, labour, manumission and treatment of enslaved people (Gilmore III 2006a). He used such documents to assess the effect of European cultural attitudes on the development of African-American society, and compared St Eustatius to developments in Spanish, English, French and Danish colonies (Gilmore III 2005: 14-15, 283-286). He also attempted the reconstruction of enslaved lifeways through the study of these documents, as well as through the archaeological analysis of Pleasures Estate, English Quarter Plantation, Duinkerck House and Battery St Louis (Gilmore III 2005: 14-15). Gilmore III (2008) argues that enslaved people on St Eustatius occupied sturdy buildings which reflected and displayed the wealth of the landowners. The enslaved village at English Quarter, for example, is located in a position where visitors to the Great House would easily have been able to view it (Gilmore III 2008). Gilmore III and others have used such evidence to demonstrate that enslaved people on this island “lived in better conditions than their cohorts on other islands” (Cook, R. 2015; Gilmore III 2008: 183). However, these works refer only to material wealth and do not consider other aspects of enslaved lifeways. Further, the assemblages collected in Gilmore III’s (2005) study do not lend

themselves to further analysis by other researchers due to the nature of the grey literature and archives available.

However, Gilmore III's petrographic analyses have indicated that there may have been a trade in Afro-Caribbean wares between islands: pottery from Nevis and St Croix was found on St Eustatius, while pottery from St Eustatius was found on Antigua and Nevis (Gilmore III 2005: 133-134). Similar work has been done by scholars from the universities of Tennessee, Missouri and Montana in association with Historical Research Associates Inc. and the Smithsonian Institution looking at Afro-Caribbean wares produced by enslaved people on the islands of St Kitts and St Eustatius (Ahlman et al. 2008). The study of Afro-Caribbean pottery has in general been very important in the investigation of creolisation and enslaved lifeways (Hauser and DeCorse 2003). Although Afro-Caribbean ware was not the only type of object that enslaved people manufactured, it is the only type that reliably survives in archaeology (Hauser 2011). These earthenwares are built up by hand, unglazed, and fired without a kiln, and therefore represent the use of West and Central African techniques in an American environment (Heath 1999). They can demonstrate cultural interaction through their shape, with flat-bottomed vessels and handles demonstrating European influences, and round-bottomed vessels representing African cooking technology (Gilmore III 2005: 140). They may also have a role in *obeah* religious traditions (Kelly and Norman 2006; Heath 1999). Obeah is a belief system widespread across the British Caribbean islands (see Fernandez Olmos and Paravisini-Gebert 2011: 155; Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005: 198). The word *obeah* probably comes from the Ashanti words *obayifo* (wizard) and *obeye* (witch) (Fernandez Olmos and Paravisini-Gebert 2011: 155; Sypkens-Smit 1981: 81). However, the traditions that it consists of are influenced by many different West African belief systems referring to the interaction of humans with the supernatural, for example witches, ancestors, and spirits (Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005: 198; Frey and Wood 2003; Handler

2000). It is similar to other African-influenced belief systems in the Americas such as Vodou, myal, quimbois, *brua* and *montamentu*, and is intertwined with holistic medical practices (Fernandez Olmos and Paravisini-Gebert 2011: 155-171; Allen 2010c; Haviser 2010a; Haviser 2006b; Handler 2000).



**Figure 2.1:** Statia blue beads: replica multifaceted bead by Jo Bean, Saba (left); and marble bead from Ghana sold in the Scubaqua Dive Centre, St Eustatius (right) (Source: Author).

The blue glass beads of St Eustatius (see Figure 2.1) also survive well in archaeology and have received a great deal of attention, from scholars as well as from tourists and local inhabitants. They are found at a wide variety of colonial-era sites (both commercial and domestic) in the Caribbean and have a particular link with enslaved individuals, who wore them as jewellery, as well as with *obeah* men, who wore them as part of their ceremonial regalia (Handler and Norman 2007; Karklins and Barka 1989). They were part of an Atlantic network of bead trading which linked Europe, Africa and the Americas (Karklins and Barka 1989). Stine *et al* (1996) have suggested that beads (especially blue ones) were worn both ornamentally and as protective or curative charms, representing a West and Central African bead tradition. Currently, they serve an important social function on St Eustatius. Tourists are attracted to the island specifically in order to dive for the beads amongst the submerged warehouses of Lower Town (Reese Cook, pers.

comm.). However, their full socio-cultural significance in St Eustatius has never been properly investigated.

Although archaeological analysis of other structures relating to slavery has occurred, for example Byrd's (2014) study of agricultural structures in the northern part of the island, two excavations stand out above the rest for the quality and detail of the site reports and for the amount of information which they produced. Firstly, the excavation of the 18<sup>th</sup> century enslaved village at Schotsenhoek Plantation by SECAR in 2012 and 2013 revealed the remains of seven rectangular post-in-ground huts. Associated with these structures were approximately 2000 artefacts (Stelten 2015b; Stelten 2013). This village is unusual in that it is located out of sight of the plantation house, and does not therefore conform to Jeremy Bentham's '*Panopticon*' and the layout of plantations on other islands (Stelten 2013; Singleton 2001; Miller, J. and Miller 1987; Foucault 1977: 200-201; Bentham 1843). As Mark Leone (2005: 13-14) has discussed using the cityscape of 18<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> century Annapolis as his example, contexts in which the populace feel observed are more conducive to effective social control. This evidence seems to support the theory that enslaved people on St Eustatius (when not directly observed) experienced more 'freedom' than those on other islands (Stelten 2013; Gilmore III 2006a; Gilmore III 2005). However, it should also be remembered that alternatively constructed plantation environments may be intended to serve other purposes than the separation of enslaved and free and the associated increased independence that enslaved people may therefore have gained. For example, plantations without a typically panoptic layout focussed on the enslaved people may in fact be structured in order to display wealth from the viewpoint of visitors or passers-by, for example (see Chenoweth 2017).

Secondly, in 2014 SECAR undertook archaeological investigation of a late 18<sup>th</sup> to early 19<sup>th</sup> century enslaved village at Fair Play Plantation. The four buildings uncovered are very similar to those at Schotsenhoek Plantation: rectangular post-in-ground wooden

structures with extra post-holes indicating remodelling over time (Cook, R. and Stelten 2014). The houses conform to a single alignment, and this may indicate the pre-planning of the settlement, something which is not often observed in the Caribbean (Cook, R. and Stelten 2014; Farnsworth 2001b; Pulsipher and Goodwin 2001). Although these sites are very valuable in the interpretation of enslaved lifeways, archaeologists have not yet integrated their material observations with a thorough consideration of other data sources, such as oral history, which can inform on other aspects of enslaved lifeways.

The analysis of human remains also has a lot to contribute to alternative narratives on St Eustatius. Although eighteen individuals have been excavated from burial contexts on the island, full osteological analysis has seldom been applied. The exceptions are five skeletons excavated at the Lazaretto outside Oranjestad by Joanna Gilmore in 2004 (Gilmore 2008; Gilmore 2004). These individuals exhibited pathologies consistent with leprosy, which had profound social repercussions and was associated with slavery (Gilmore 2004: 6, 15-16). Other human remains excavated at Fort Amsterdam (the slave depot) have only been subjected to basic analysis (Morsink 2012).

Legal protection for the island's archaeology remains sparse, but the archaeological excavation of sites like the enslaved villages at Schotsenhoek and Fair Play, and the analysis of artefacts such as Afro-Caribbean ware sherds and blue beads, as well as Julia Crane's oral historical study, are contributing to an understanding of enslaved lifeways and alternative narratives on St Eustatius (Gilmore III and Nelson 2015). However, there is still a lot to be done. Individuals like Richard Grant Gilmore III (2005) have sought to combine different types of data into comparative studies with a degree of sensitivity to the nuances of enslaved lifeways and the issues surrounding their study. The project described here will take this further: by using a combination of published, unpublished and original data from osteology, material culture and oral history, it can produce a rich

and detailed alternative narrative of a kind that has never been attempted on St Eustatius before.

## **2.4 SLAVERY IN ST MAARTEN/ST MARTIN**

Oral historical and sociological studies have also been rare in St Maarten/St Martin. In 1981 Menno Sypkens-Smit produced a report on the cultural anthropology of the island, which used several sources of information (including interviews) to discuss topics such as storytelling, labour, punishment, religion, foodways, games, music, dance, and songs. However, this report was only ever intended as an introductory document that recommended signification further research (Sypkens-Smit 1981). Unfortunately, since then there have been only two thorough oral historical studies conducted on the island. The first was that of Francio Guadeloupe in 2009. He found that the modern inhabitants of the island may not have a thorough understanding of its history (Guadeloupe 2009: 11). This is due to several factors, most significant among them being the high number of recent immigrants (70-80% of the population have arrived in the past thirty to forty years) and the fact that older generations have appeared unwilling to talk about slavery (Guadeloupe 2009: 11-13, 24). Stories that have passed into local consciousness may be fabricated (such as the story of the enslaved woman Onetitiloke) or borrowed from other islands, especially Jamaica. The true oral history of St Maarten may therefore be difficult to access (Guadeloupe 2009: 11-15). However, Guadeloupe's research centred round the development of St Maarten as a multicultural and tolerant island and did not aim specifically to gain information on enslaved lifeways. Sanny Ensing's more recent anthropological work on St Maarten's intangible heritage did provide information on this topic, in particular the areas of language, storytelling, traditional crafts, religion, foodways, music, and dance (Ensing 2012).

Archaeologically speaking, St Maarten/St Martin was also investigated in the 1920s by de Josselin de Jong, who noted some sites. In the 1950s and 1960s several families (the Buncampers, Beaujons and Wilsons) were involved in the development of ethnographic collections. However, only a few of their artefacts can currently be seen in the local museum (Haviser 2001a). In the 1980s several historical archaeological sites were mapped by Haviser and Sypkens-Smit (see for example Sypkens-Smit 1982), but no excavations were conducted until 1987 when Baart began to work with the AAINA. His project included excavation, survey and mapping at Fort Amsterdam and in the waters surrounding it (Haviser 2001a). In the late 1980s and early 1990s the College of William and Mary was involved in mapping plantation sites, and this led to a protection list being created by the local government (see Barka 1993). Further underwater mapping followed, but most attention has been focussed on plantation complexes and Fort Amsterdam with little time given to more ephemeral remains such as accommodation for enslaved people (Haviser 2001a). Recent work has included the investigation of Bethlehem Estate, one of several plantations on the Dutch side of St Maarten which have been mapped in detail. The fieldwork was a joint venture between Universiteit Leiden and SECAR and was successful both in mapping the ownership of the estate through time with the use of documentary records, and in the detailed recording of the plantation's various buildings (Hoogland, Hofman and Gilmore III 2015). However, there was little attempt to construct alternative narratives from these remains. Jay Haviser has investigated house/garden terraces belonging to enslaved people at Belvedere Plantation, and a free Afro-Caribbean village at Over-the-Bank (Haviser 2008; Haviser 1996). Archaeological resources on the Dutch side of island can be observed on the predictive map by de Waal *et al* (2015).

On the French side of the island, most archaeological work has focussed on prehistoric sites (Kelly 2014b; Haviser 2001a; Haviser 1991). This aligns with a general trend neglecting the archaeology of enslavement in the French Caribbean (Kelly 2014b).

However, the *Institut national de recherches archéologiques préventives* (Inrap) has undertaken the only open-area, stratigraphically recorded excavation of an enslaved village on the island. The report is extremely well put-together and contains a detailed discussion of the Mont Vernon village layout and artefact assemblage (see Bonnissent 2012).

In terms of human remains, in 2010 three individuals were excavated at Zoutsteeg, now in the centre of Philipsburg but in the past a marginal area close to the salt pans (Schroeder, Haviser and Price 2014; Haviser 2010c). Radiocarbon dating has shown that these individuals were buried sometime between 1660 and 1688 (Schroeder et al. 2015). These remains have attracted international attention because they exhibit African forms of dental modification, indicating that they were first-generation enslaved people. Indeed, isotopic analysis reveals non-local strontium ratios (Schroeder, Haviser and Price 2014). Recent DNA studies have concluded that one of these individuals probably originated in northern Cameroon, while the other two probably came from Nigeria or Ghana (Schroeder et al. 2015). The study of these individuals is a significant contribution to alternative narratives on St Maarten. More recently, the St Maarten Archaeological Research Centre (SIMARC) has also excavated human remains at the Rainforest Adventures development, Rockland Plantation (Haviser 2017).

Another informative (but now reburied) skeleton was that of Father Jordanus Onderwater, a Dominican priest buried in the Frontstreet Cemetery in Philipsburg in 1891. The grave had a far higher number of African-Creole artefacts associated with it than the other graves in the cemetery. On the surface were four altars with food offerings, candles, cigars, coins, and small animal sacrifices. Buried artefacts included conch shells, bottles, and handmade dolls. After the exhumation, *obeah* artefacts continued to be deposited at the empty grave. This demonstrates the strong association between person

and location in *obeah* beliefs and has important implications for the archaeology of colonial-era *obeah* practices in St Maarten/St Martin (Haviser 2010a).

Despite the important work of Jay Haviser and SIMARC, the meticulous excavation of Mont Vernon by Inrap, and the anthropological work of Sanny Ensing, St Maarten/St Martin is still suffering from profound heritage neglect in all areas. The author can therefore make a significant contribution both in the generation of further oral historical data and in the integration of these data with archaeological and osteological information to create an alternative narrative.

## **2.5 CONCLUSION: A GAP IN THE LITERATURE**

This chapter has highlighted many of the problems encountered in the study of slavery in the Dutch Caribbean. Chapter 1 had already demonstrated that much of the existing research has centred around trade and the WIC (Oostindie and Roitman 2012). Where slavery is directly addressed using historical documentation, studies are dominated by the writings of white or European men who characterise slavery in this region as ‘mild’ or in some cases, absent (Roitman 2016b; Oostindie 2005: 39; Paula 1993; Romer 1977: 33). However, Chapter 2 has shown that archaeologists have also focussed on the material belongings of enslaved individuals and neglected to investigate the other aspects of enslavement, leading to a false equation of material wealth with quality of life (Cook, R. 2015; Gilmore III 2013; Stelten 2013; see Gilmore III 2010a). Both historical and archaeological approaches have therefore often failed to take into account the role of European or white researchers in silencing modern Caribbean populations still trying to deal with the social and political aftereffects of slavery (see Fatah-Black and van Rossum 2014 for discussion of Eurocentrism in such contexts). Sociologists have been more

successful in this area, particularly in Curaçao (see for example van der Ven 2011; Allen 2007a; Marcha and Verweel 2003). Much work remains to be done.

Interdisciplinary studies utilising data from multiple sources and underpinned by ethical theoretical frameworks can address this gap (Ansano and Kraan 2015; Oostindie and Roitman 2012; van Stipriaan 2007; Lovejoy, P. 1997; Trouillot 1992). Archaeology, osteology, and oral history used together have the potential to provide information on aspects of life about which documentary sources say very little (Kelly 2014a; Kusimba 2006: 241; Kelly 2002; Delpuech 2001; Orser and Funari 2001). With this in mind, the study discussed here abandons Eurocentric historical documentation and archaeological approaches that focus solely on the material, and instead uses multiple data sources that link directly to the enslaved people of the Dutch Caribbean. It is (to the author's knowledge) the first study to incorporate data from archaeology, osteology, and oral history into the same thematic analysis, and one of few studies which have used qualitative data analysis software like NVivo to address heritage and archaeology (see for example Prajnawrdhi, Karuppanan and Sivam 2015; Faniel et al. 2013; Loulanski and Loulanski 2011; Labadi 2005). The research is also original in its use of unpublished grey literature from local heritage organisations to inform data collection and interpretation – literature which is inaccessible to most researchers and heritage professionals.

The following chapter will address the ethical theoretical framework necessary for the proper application of interdisciplinary qualitative methods in the sensitive environment of the Dutch Caribbean.

## 3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

---

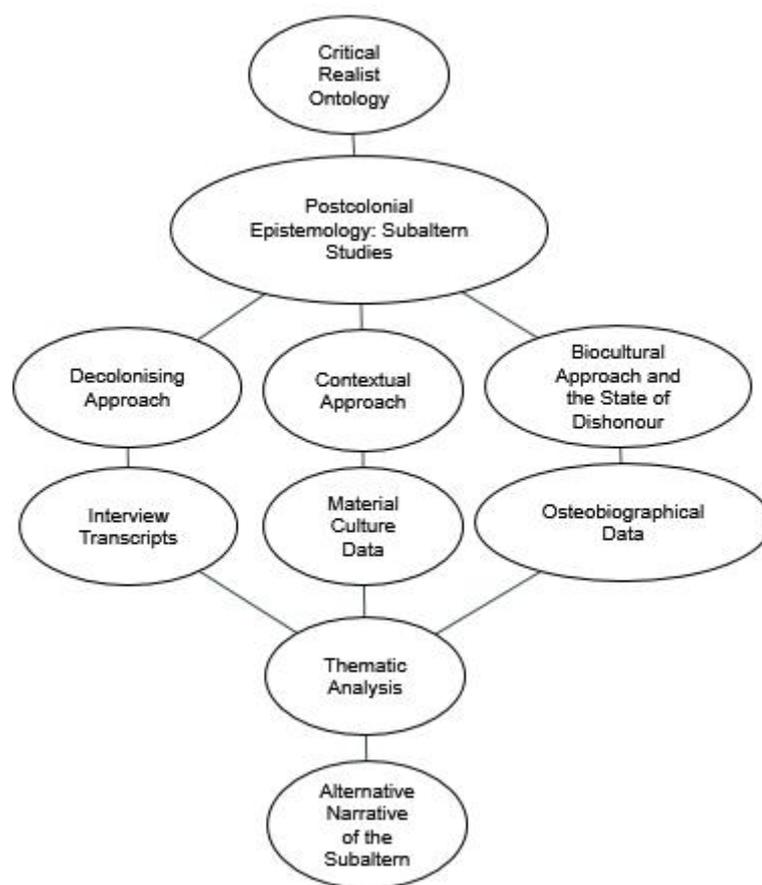
### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous two chapters have demonstrated that there is a gap in the study of enslaved lifeways in the Dutch Caribbean islands, and that any research conducted in the region should have an approach which foregrounds stakeholder communities. In order to achieve this and avoid perpetuating the colonial relationship that archaeologists have often had with the Caribbean region, it is important to apply strong theoretical and ethical frameworks. It is impossible to separate data from the implicit (and perhaps unconscious) epistemological standpoints of the researcher (Shanks and Tilley 1992: 111; Kosso 1991). One should therefore make ontological and epistemological assumptions explicit, and demonstrate a strong link between these and the chosen methodology (Roulston 2010; Koro-Ljungberg et al. 2009). This is especially true in interpretative disciplines, such as archaeology, where the theoretical basis is used to focus the research and provide it with certain boundaries (Morse 1994; Shanks and Tilley 1992: 108).

Historical archaeology, and in particular the archaeology and anthropology of the Caribbean, may sometimes be under-theorised (Johnson, M. 2006: 256-161; Trouillot 1992). Colonial areas are complex and do not fit neatly into traditional dichotomies such as western/other (Trouillot 1992). New theoretical approaches must be constructed to deal with this complexity and to incorporate non-western contributions (Pagan-Jimenez 2004; Havisser and Juliana 2001; Thomas, N. 1994: ix-x; Trouillot 1992). The epistemological approach that is appropriate is always dependent on the specific research in question (Wylie 1992).

An approach that remains open-minded and flexible, incorporating characteristics from more than one theoretical school, may therefore be more appropriate as well as more thoroughly critical, and may evolve as the research progresses (McLachlan and Garcia

2015; Wolgemuth et al. 2015; Johnson, P. et al. 2006: 186-187). Mixed-theory projects are particularly useful when the data are complex or when the researcher is dealing with marginalized communities, as in this study (Koro-Ljungberg 2004). Divisions between different branches of theory are unhelpful in archaeology, as it is situated on the cusp between the natural and social sciences (Kosso 1991; Hodder 1989). Rather, archaeological theory should be seen as a dialogue, with each approach learning from the others (Kosso 1991).



**Figure 3.1:** Diagram showing the relationship between ontology, epistemology and methodology in this study (Source: Author).

A postcolonial approach to the archaeology of the Caribbean is often recommended (Espersen 2016; Hauser and Lenik 2014; Liebmann 2008; Hicks 2007). It is primarily an epistemological approach, concerning the way in which knowledge is produced, and is often supported by the use of a critical realist ontology, which allows for hermeneutics

and plurality whilst maintaining the integrity of archaeological data (Ormston et al. 2013; D'Souza 2010). The aim of this chapter is to discuss a uniquely appropriate mixed-theory framework consisting of a critical realist approach to subaltern studies in postcolonial theory, which adapts to meet the needs of a diverse qualitative dataset. Figure 3.1 above shows how these approaches fit together into a cohesive whole.

### **3.2 CRITICAL REALISM: ONTOLOGY AND EPISTEMOLOGY**

The diverse school of post-processual archaeological thought encourages the inclusion of minority groups, agency, plurality, emotion and cognition in archaeological research. It developed as a response to the varied positivist approaches of the New Archaeologies and processualism, which had a realist approach to 'truth' (see Table 3.1 below) and neglected to take into account the ways in which researchers are affected by their hermeneutic standpoints (Johnson, M. 2006: 101-108; Roscoe 1995; Gosden 1992; Shanks and Tilley 1992: 105; Trigger 1989: 379; Binford 1987). It is often important for archaeologists to utilize a post-processual approach when sociologically-related questions are being asked of the data (Allison 1999). However, relativist approaches, when taken to their logical conclusion, may mean that there is no objective past to study (Trigger 1989: 380; Binford 1987). 'Strong' constructivism (or neo-Kantian constructivism) can therefore be seen as a step too far in some circumstances (Sismondo 1993b). As archaeologists we have little evidence to work with in the first place, and must avoid absolute relativism and endemic doubt if we are to make any interpretations at all (Gosden 1992; Shanks and Tilley 1992: 110-111). Indeed, archaeology cannot politically align itself with an emancipatory agenda if no valid arguments can be constructed (Johnson, M. 2006: 172; Trouillot 1995: 12-13; Gosden 1992). Communities struggling with ongoing emancipation can be damaged when archaeologists approach their research in a non-judgmental fashion (Orser 2016; Benton and Craib 2011: 138-139; Hockey 2010).

We should not therefore maintain a position of neutrality about social systems such as that of plantation slavery (Benton and Craib 2011: 99; Trouillot 1995: 12-13). Moral relativism may trivialise human experience while moral objectivism may be oppressive and intolerant (Benton and Craib 2011: 211).

The middle way of ‘critical realism’ (as opposed to ‘realism’ and ‘relativism’, see Table 3.1 below) is a philosophical approach which states that although there is a true reality, we can only ever partially know it because we are affected by our own personal identities and experiences (Braun and Clarke 2013: 26; Benton and Craib 2011: 121; Shanks and Tilley 1992: 110-111). It constitutes a theoretical separation of the ontological (realist) and the epistemological (relativist) approaches, and in this manner allows for the production of ‘valid’ research whilst maintaining a critical standpoint regarding research outcomes and reflexively interrogating the hermeneutic qualities of the researcher (McLachlan and Garcia 2015; Benton and Craib 2011: 210; D'Souza 2010; Shanks and Tilley 1992: 108-111). This is especially important to consider when working outside one’s home country. In areas like the Caribbean, specialists are in short supply – but this does not give them a right to access or control heritage, which often has implications for the economy (in terms of tourism) as well as politics and culture (Meskell 2005). It is therefore important to deconstruct traditional western notions of knowledge control, including the identification of those who can be considered an ‘authority’ and those who cannot (Conkey and Gero 1997; Roscoe 1995). This deconstruction is particularly important when addressing oral history (see Chapter 4: Methodology).

**Table 3.1:** Definition of ‘relativism’, ‘critical realism’ and ‘realism’ (after Braun and Clarke 2013: 26).

<b>RELATIVISM</b>	There is no true ‘reality’, and we each construct the world through our own experiences
<b>CRITICAL REALISM</b>	There is a true ‘reality’, but our understanding of it is partial because we all have our own viewpoints
<b>REALISM</b>	There is a true ‘reality’, which we can objectively study

Although critical realism rejects the idea of objective truth, it does maintain that knowledge can be ‘true’ (or in other words, ‘valid’) in certain contexts, which we can seek to understand (Braun and Clarke 2013: 30-31). It also allows constructionist approaches such as the relationship between the symbolic and the material to be taken into account (see Edley 2001; Trouillot 1995: 13). Research undertaken within a critical realist framework is therefore worthwhile, because it produces a ‘valid’ result which has been reflexively interrogated (see Ormston et al. 2013; Tracy 2010; Meskell 2002). It shares with Marxism the goal of advancing emancipatory agendas through critique of the power structures present in a society (Benton and Craib 2011: 137-138; Leone, Potter and Shackel 1987).

Doctoral students often attempt to occupy the ‘middle ground’ of critical realism (McLachlan and Garcia 2015). Some scholars have questioned this, as it may not encourage a critical stance towards the construction of the research and the relationship between ontology, epistemology and methodology (McLachlan and Garcia 2015; Wolgemuth et al. 2015; Johnson, P. et al. 2006: 186-187). However, postcolonial archaeology *must* be reflexive and critical in this way in order to interrogate the standpoint of the western academic, especially where subaltern studies are concerned (see section 3.3.1 below) (see Meskell 2002; Spivak 1988). The author therefore believes it is emphatically necessary to approach the research from a critical realist standpoint (Braun and Clarke 2013: 26).

### **3.3 A POSTCOLONIAL EPISTEMOLOGY**

In this context, ‘postcolonial’ does not refer to a time after colonialism, but rather to an area where the modern psychological and material environment is directly related to past colonial relations (Stoler 2013). Postcolonialism is a group of theoretical

approaches developed in the Middle East and South Asia and refers mainly to the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (Bhabra 2015). It is slightly different from decolonialism, which developed in the diasporic South American community and starts in the 15<sup>th</sup> century with European colonisation of the region (Bhabra 2015; Rizvi 2015). However, the two schools share a great deal of common ground in terms of their aims, which are emancipatory and contest the colonial world order. They can therefore be united as part of an approach which Bhabra calls ‘connected sociologies’ (Bhabra 2015). According to Mignolo (2007):

The de-colonial shift... is a project of de-linking while post-colonial criticism and theory is a project of scholarly transformation within the academy. (*Mignolo 2007: 452*)

It is therefore possible to have a decolonial *agenda* within a theoretical framework based on the work of postcolonial scholars. Although the time-period and geographical location of the current study align more closely with the development of decolonialism, the theoretical approach taken here is indeed one that developed within a postcolonial framework (see section 3.3 below). It does not contradict the tenets of decolonialism because it is also concerned with those who are erased from history (Bhabra 2015).

Liebmann (2008: 2) states that postcolonial approaches to scholarship “challenge traditional colonialist epistemologies, questioning the knowledge about and the representation of colonized ‘Others’ that has been produced in colonial and imperial contexts”. The field deals specifically with theoretical approaches in environments like the Dutch Caribbean that have a complex history of the exploitation and subjugation of one group by another (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 2006: 1-4). Since its origins in literature studies and liberation movements after World War II it has been employed across the social sciences and humanities (van Dommelen 2011; Lydon and Rizvi 2010; Singleton 2010). It differs from earlier approaches to the study of colonialism in that it is

self-reflexive, political and activist (Lydon and Rizvi 2010). It provides critical responses to the Enlightenment's Eurocentric, hegemonic ideals (Scott 2004: 177).

A great deal of postcolonialist work undertaken exists to advance an emancipatory agenda, for example through language, traditions, gender equality and racial equality (see Bishop 2006 [1990] on the teaching of traditional mathematics; Gates 2006 [1986] on racism, slavery and literacy; Holst Petersen 2006 on intersections between sexism, colonialism and traditional culture; and Thiong'o 2006 [1981] on the use of language in the struggle against imperialism). Its use in archaeology since the 1990s has been primarily for the decolonisation of the discipline itself, which often still operates along largely colonialist lines (Lane 2011; Oliver 2011; van Dommelen 2011; Villedelli 2011; Wilkinson 2011; Hodder 2010; Meskell and Weiss 2008; Meskell 2000). However, it is also used to address archaeological research questions from a postcolonial perspective (see for example Canete and Vives-Ferrandiz 2011; Jimenez 2011). It is particularly important, when addressing diasporic cultures, to move away from western, dualist systems of categorisation and allow room for non-western interpretations (Monton-Subias and Hernando 2017; Bruchac 2014; D'Souza 2010; Fontein 2010; Havisser and Juliana 2001). This includes the acknowledgement of local scholars, who may be marginalised in the world of academia (Schmidt, P. and Karega-Munene 2010). An emancipatory agenda is then attempted through the critique of ancient and modern power structures. These are foci that postcolonial studies shares with critical realist, feminist, queer, anti-racist, green, and Marxist approaches (Benton and Craib 2011: 212; Spencer-Wood 2011; Lydon and Rizvi 2010; Gullapalli 2008; Lazzari 2003; Dowson 2000; van Dommelen 1997; Trouillot 1995: 6-7). Neo-marxism, for example, is involved with the use of ideology to naturalise and thereby maintain social inequality (Johnson, M. 2006: 94-95). Leone (2005: 24-26) describes this well in his archaeological study of 18<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup>

century Annapolis, and it is clearly very applicable in the context of slavery, where large numbers of people are often enslaved by comparatively small numbers of free people.

Archaeology can clearly make significant contributions to postcolonial discourse, especially through its material aspects (Croucher 2010). This is because colonialism is preoccupied with the control of objects such as land and goods (Orser 2017; Lydon and Rizvi 2010). However, different postcolonial paradigms are applicable in different archaeological contexts (Liebmann 2008). For example, Byrne's (2003) study in Australia suggests that terms such as 'site' need to be re-examined in non-western settings and is a good example of a sensitive postcolonial critical examination of established 'western' terminology. This view is echoed by scholars such as Rizvi (2008) and Patterson (2008: 33), who advises that postcolonial archaeology be "integrated, integrative, and integrating [and] critically and socially engaged". In the Caribbean, sensitive attempts to meet these aims include Pagán Jiménez and Rodríguez Ramos' (2008) proposal that a new postcoloniality is developed within Puerto Rico for a context-specific approach, given that the society is still operating in a doubly colonised state, while Hauser and Hicks (2007) have underlined the importance of reflexivity and materiality in the study of colonial landscapes (seeing the plantation, for example, as a type of material culture designed to perpetuate inequality).

In the Dutch Caribbean, Ansano (2015) has stated that Curaçao "does not partake of the discourse on postcoloniality" because it was never a plantation economy and because its creole language, Papiamentu, has experienced such a celebrated status when compared with other Caribbean creoles. However, he does also state that African-Caribbean culture is fluid, resonating between "trauma and resistance on one hand and on the other hand a history of wisdom and power" (Ansano 2015). This acknowledgement of trauma and resistance in African-Caribbean culture does, in the author's view, bring Curaçao within the area in which a postcolonial approach is beneficial, especially in light

of persisting social inequalities on the island (see Marcha, Verweel and Werkman 2012; Marcha and Verweel 2003). Indeed, a perusal of the local newspapers reveals that there is still a Eurocentric approach to the history of the island (Amigoe Express 2015).

### **3.3.1 Subaltern Studies**

There are several intersecting areas of postcolonial theory (including hybridity and entanglement, race and diaspora) that are highly relevant to the study of slavery in the colonial Caribbean, the most relevant part of postcolonial theory for the research discussed here is ‘subaltern studies’ (Gramsch 2015; Stockhammer 2013; Morris 2010; Liebmann 2008; Bhabha 2006c; Brah 2006 [1996]; Gates 2006 [1986]; van Dommelen 1997). Creolisation and hybridisation theory can also be helpful in postcolonial settings because it addresses the interaction of different cultures to create something new (see Bhabha 2006c; and Kamau Brathwaite 2006a). However, in the context of this study the author considered that the focus of the research should be on the enslaved people themselves rather than on the creation of creole or hybrid cultures.

‘Subaltern studies’ does not draw focus from the enslaved person. Rather, it leads to a focus on them. The approach developed from the historiography of South Asia in the 1980s, and has from the beginning been occupied with overcoming the biases and omissions of historical documentation through interdisciplinary methods (Louai 2012; Lydon and Rizvi 2010; Chakrabarty 2004). It is often situated, theoretically speaking, between postcolonialism and feminism, although it also has Marxist roots (Harrison, N. 2003: 131-132; Green 2002). In recent years there has been increasing interest in the archaeology of subalternity (van Dommelen 2011).

The Marxist roots of subaltern studies lie with the Italian theoretician Antonio Gramsci. His notebooks, written when he was imprisoned by Mussolini’s fascist government in the 1920s and 1930s, give a rather general definition of the ‘subaltern’

(Louai 2012). For Gramsci, the word referred to any low status person or group (Louai 2012; Gramsci 1999). In later years, the definition of ‘subaltern’ has not only been extensively discussed but has also caused a considerable amount of confusion due to the multiple definitions that have been put forward. Its usage by Ranajit Guha of the Subaltern Studies Collective was also broad, and for him the ‘subaltern’ could be any individual who was not a member of an elite group – an approach that has been criticised as essentialist (Louai 2012).

In the 1980s, Spivak defined the ‘subaltern’ as “a person without lines of social mobility” (Spivak 2006: 28; Spivak 1988). She focussed specifically on the female, Indian subaltern with no access to political representation, situated within a globalised, gendered division of labour (Louai 2012; Spivak 2012). Since then, the status of the subaltern has been hotly debated. Spivak (1988) uses the case of Bhuvanewari Bhaduri’s suicide to demonstrate the lack of narrative for the subaltern. But Bhaduri did not represent a ‘true’ subaltern, as she was a member of the middle class. The use of an imperfect example here is instructive. For Bhaduri, it was not her class that made her a subaltern: it was her gender. She therefore encourages us to examine the multiple identities of each subaltern (Rajan 2010). This is important because privileging one aspect of identity at the expense of others will result in partial interpretations (Espersen 2016; Voss 2015).

The current author therefore argues that ‘subaltern’ is a term amply suited to the study of slavery. The enslaved person exists under a ‘commuted death sentence’ and her life is entirely under the control of her master (see section 1.5.6) (JanMohamed 2010: 142; JanMohamed 2005: 15). This state is referred to as ‘bare life’ by Giorgio Agamben in his 1998 work *Homo Sacer* (JanMohamed 2005: 8-9; Agamben 1998: 83). The idea of an individual operating in the circumstances of ‘bare life’ as someone who can be killed with little to no adverse consequences for the murderer (JanMohamed 2005: 8-9) does

not necessarily imply that they have no socio-political agency (Hamilakis 2016). Rather, the current author prefers to identify this state as the peril in which the subaltern finds herself. It is one possible facet of subalternity that may have different meanings and interactions with other facets of identity in different contexts. For example, in Gilroy's (2004: 37) work *Postcolonial Melancholia*, his discussion of the colonial construction of race and the proliferation of this idea in modern society mentions the complexity of aspects of identity such as race, which can have simultaneously dominant and subaltern meanings dependent on context.

Nevertheless, like Bhaduri the enslaved subaltern operating in a state of 'bare life' possesses little means of escape except through death (JanMohamed 2010). She therefore satisfies the definition put forward by Spivak in that she has no "lines of social mobility" (Spivak 2006: 28). The 'commuted death sentence' functions consistently regardless of gender, and the subaltern can therefore equally well be an enslaved man (JanMohamed 2010: 142, 153; Rajan 2010; JanMohamed 2005). Abdul JanMohamed has already discussed this at length in relation to Frederick Douglass (JanMohamed 2010). Indeed, the term 'subaltern', in its original usage by Gramsci, referred to "subordination in terms of class, caste, gender, race, language, and culture" (Prakash 1994: 1477), and researchers have used it in the past to refer to enslaved individuals (Zene 2011; Liebmann 2008; Prakash 1994). However, it should not be seen as a state of victimhood: rather, it should be contextualised, personalised and politicised (Birla 2010; Smith, K. 2010). This avoids a romantic, essentialised or noncritical view of the subaltern (Shopes 2014).

### **3.3.2 Is it Possible to Create Alternative Narratives of the Subaltern?**

Gramsci saw the historical narrative of the subaltern as accessible, and set out a six-stage plan for the historiography of the subaltern (Louai 2012; Green 2002; Gramsci 1999). However, Spivak concluded in 1988 that "the subaltern cannot speak" (Spivak

1988: 308). This is because there is no line of communication open for her, but also because those who try to give her one are inevitably subject to a degree of bias originating from their privileged, and often western, position. True ‘alternative narratives’ of the subaltern are therefore impossible (Spivak 2006; Spivak 1988).

Conversely, scholars such as Benita Parry, Homi Bhabha, Michael Dash and Abdul JanMohamed argue that ‘alternative narratives’ of the subaltern can be constructed (see Bhabha 2006a; Dash 2006 [1974]; Parry 2006 [1987]; JanMohamed 2005). Parry (2006 [1987]) discussed evidence for the voice of the subaltern which Spivak had seemingly ignored (for example, the character of Christophine in Jean Rhys’ *Wide Sargasso Sea* who both defies the colonial order and uses it to her own advantage, depending on the situation) (Parry 2006 [1987]). Rhys herself was white, but also a creole, and a woman – and therefore represented certain aspects of the ‘subaltern’ that Spivak herself had been keen to point out (Rajan 2010; Sheehan 2007; Spivak 1988). The woman as Caribbean subaltern is discussed in Hilary Beckles’ (1998) article on Richard Pares’ 1950 *A West India Fortune*. A similar case is that of Richard Wright, a man but also an African-American, whose successful subaltern characters appear in works of fiction such as *The Long Dream* (JanMohamed 2005; Wright 2000 [1958]). In historical works, the voice of the subaltern can be found in fragments such as trial statements (Pandey 2012; Green 2002; Gramsci 1999: 206; Guha 1997).

However, even when the subaltern does speak, this does not always mean that they are properly heard (Rajan 2010; Spivak 2010). There is a danger that the subaltern is ‘spoken by’ the colonial system in which they exist (Schmidt, P. and Karega-Munene 2010; Liebmann 2008; Griffiths 2006 [1994]). Subaltern voices may be homogenised by the archaeologist (Schmidt, P. 2014; Schmidt, P. and Karega-Munene 2010). Novelists and heritage professionals have frequently noted the risks involved in trying to represent internally diverse ‘silent’ groups (Labadi 2018: 41-56; Harrison, N. 2003: 113-114). The

Caribbean subaltern is often silenced in historical narratives. This silencing is fourfold and occurs at the moments of fact creation, assembly, and retrieval as well as during the historical event (Trouillot 1995: 25). This has serious implications for the study of slavery in archaeology if it relies on historical documentation.

### **3.3.3 The Suitability of Subaltern Studies**

Gramsci intended his work to have a positive social impact, and his goal was the creation of an 'ethical state' with no subordinate groups (Arnold 2012; Louai 2012; Green 2002). Spivak has in recent years emphasised education as the way to bring subalterns out of their voiceless state: in effect, to partially remove them from the subaltern state itself (Spivak 2012; Spivak 2010). Subaltern studies therefore has an emancipatory agenda that aligns well with the goals of postcolonial approaches in literature, history and archaeology (see for example JanMohamed 2010; Schmidt, P. and Karega-Munene 2010; Meskell 2000). It is also highly relevant for a society in which some communities feel that they are being 'recolonised', such as the Dutch Caribbean (Roitman 2013).

In the Caribbean, identities and societies are heavily influenced by colonial history and ethnographic attempts to study the area do not always pay enough attention to the contexts of the groups of people they are studying (Trouillot 1992). The heterogenous nature of modern era Caribbean identities noted by Trouillot (1992), Hall (2006 [1990]), Sheehan (2007) and Knight (2012) allows the modern subaltern to take several forms as ancestry, history, race and nationality interact. Identity, including subalternity, may also change with time, space and social context (Spivak 2012; Brah 2006 [1996]; Trouillot 1992). Discourses are therefore inherently plural and research in the Caribbean needs to be aware of *historicity*, *heterogeneity*, and *articulation* (or the presence and varying permeability of boundaries and limits between different areas and groups) in order to study the particular group within their cultural and societal context (Trouillot 1992).

Colonial binaries such as black/white should be addressed for their historical and current importance but should not be accepted as universal fact (Brah 2006 [1996]; Nair 2004; Harrison, N. 2003: 161; Shanks and Tilley 1992: 103). These goals can be achieved through the use of a postcolonial theoretical framework.

The importance of archaeology in addressing the subaltern narrative must be emphasized: Spivak's assertion that "the subaltern cannot speak" is often true when historical documents are studied in isolation (van Dommelen 2014; Spivak 1988). Alternative lines of evidence such as ethnography (in this study, oral history) and archaeology (in this study, material culture and osteology) can provide evidence for subaltern agency and consciousness that historical documents lack (van Dommelen 2014; Given 2004: 3-4; Gosden 2004: 7-8, 21). Historical archaeologists have also ably demonstrated their ability to adapt theoretical approaches to specific contexts and address the subaltern as varied and complex rather than part of a static dualism (van Dommelen 2014).

In their 2011 study, González-Ruibal *et al* investigated the role of women and children in a guerrilla context from 1930s Ethiopia (Gonzalez-Ruibal, Sahle and Vila 2011). Although they support Spivak in denying that the subaltern can speak and are rightly sceptical of invented archaeological narratives (see Boutin 2012b; Spector 1993) they nevertheless form a narrative centred around material culture left behind by the subaltern. Since this is all that archaeology can ever do, the current author would argue that an 'alternative narrative' of the subaltern *is* constructed, and this is also noted by Matthew Liebmann (2008). (One should be careful to bear in mind that the archaeologist constructs narratives *about* the subaltern, rather than *for* her (Schmidt, P. 2014; Gonzalez-Ruibal, Sahle and Vila 2011; Schmidt, P. and Karega-Munene 2010); and that the researcher should not be *telling* the stakeholder about their own past (Meskell and Masuku

van Damme 2007)). The current author agrees with Meskell (2000) in that disallowing the subaltern a narrative makes it easier for colonialism to pursue its own agenda.

Use of postcolonial theory in archaeology is therefore part of the ‘extended ethics’ that links people in the past to those in the present and future – aiming to decolonise all time periods (Gonzalez-Ruibal, Sahle and Vila 2011; and see Cipolla 2017b). It is also part of the post-processual approach in archaeological theory that strives to incorporate disadvantaged groups (the ‘subaltern’) into archaeological narratives (Meskell 2002). Feminism has had a particularly significant contribution to this part of post-processual theory (Conkey and Gero 1997: 425-429). As a new approach in the early 1990s, gender archaeology addressed the presence of women in the past, for example in the study of domestic spaces, mortuary rituals, and prehistoric cave art (Conkey and Gero 1997). It emphasised the redundancy of ethnocentric viewpoints on gendered activities in a cross-cultural context and encouraged the use of reflexivity and the deconstruction of dichotomies in archaeology (Spencer-Wood 2011; Conkey and Gero 1997). It should also be noted that the theoretical approach described here has much in common with black feminist archaeology, which encourages the use of multiple data sources in the archaeology of the African Diaspora; has a focus on interacting identities of race, gender and class; and strives for modern social change (Battle-Baptiste 2011: 29, 31, 107; Franklin and Paynter 2010; Franklin 2001). Research into the subaltern in archaeology therefore has a long and successful history to which this study hopes to contribute.

### **3.4 A DECOLONISING APPROACH TO ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS**

According to Lydon and Rizvi (2010: 18), engagement with decolonisation (as a goal) is an “ethical necessity” in archaeology. This is both due to the persisting qualities of the discipline as a colonial enterprise, and because archaeology has an important role

to play in the development of modern identities (Rizvi 2015; Lydon and Rizvi 2010). It allows the local to be addressed in opposition to dominant metanarratives, thereby creating spaces for liberation (Dirlik 2006 [1997]). The inclusion of oral history in research projects like this one is “an exceptionally powerful means of democratizing the content, process, and audience for history” (Shopes 2014: 258). But this depends on the researcher’s attitude to the interview process.

In this study it was therefore important to employ a decolonizing approach to the interviews. This approach involves not only adherence to ethical codes and cultural sensitivity, but also to produce research that “talks back [to], contradicts, and produces new understandings” of colonial narratives (Roulston 2010: 223). The attempt to produce such alternative narratives is in line with the aims of subaltern studies (see section 3.3.1 above).

Decolonising research should employ a more nuanced approach to ethical standards than that traditionally applied to research projects. In a decolonising environment, it is not enough to simply follow a prescribed code of ethics (Roulston 2010; Singleton and Orser 2003). Roulston (2010) refers to respect, reciprocity, and an awareness of power imbalances between researcher and stakeholder in the course of qualitative interviewing. In order to conduct ethical research in colonised communities one should consider the potential negative consequences of the research, be aware of power imbalances, communicate in a way that is appropriate for the specific context, utilise emancipatory theoretical perspectives, and include the community in the project (Roulston 2010; Singleton and Orser 2003). Similar vocabulary (honesty, accuracy, credibility, reliability) is used by Wylie (2003). There is the need for a “reflective equilibrium”, whereby the archaeologist constantly assesses their behaviour in relation to ethical practice (Wylie 2003: 13).

Such an approach is sometimes called ‘virtue ethics’, the attempt by the researcher to behave in an honest, trustworthy, respectful and thoughtful way (amongst other virtues) (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2004). Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson (2004) suggest that this can be achieved through first thinking about what constitutes a moral person, and then asking what constitutes a moral action. In this case they conflate the terms ‘moral’ and ‘ethical’, although other authors have avoided this (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2004; Wylie 2003). However, the approach is a good one in sensitive circumstances because it is flexible enough to incorporate non-western perspectives (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2004). There is often a point at which individuals or groups from different cultures can agree (Benton and Craib 2011: 117).

However, there are disagreements about how one decides whether an action is ethical or not. The ‘deontological’ approach maintains that actions have an intrinsic quality of right or wrong, while the ‘consequentialist’ approach says that this depends on the consequences of the action. In reality, ethical actions are often identified on consequentialist lines within a deontological framework. In this way, moral absolutism can be avoided so that the specific context of each action can be considered, but neither does the situation descend into moral relativism, which has the potential to be equally harmful (Wylie 2003).

Relevance to modern communities is one aspect of anthropological research that contributes to its validity (see section 4.3.1 below) (Zuckerman and Armelagos 2011). This is in line with the goals of post-colonial theory (Croucher 2010). In this study, the decolonising approach to interviews was used to allow local inhabitants to become involved in the research as well as voicing their opinions on the subject. For example, the researcher aimed to create a safe space in which the interviewee and the interviewer felt able to ‘agree to disagree’ on sensitive topics (Shopes 2014). The methodological aspects of the approach are explained further in sections 4.6 to 4.9.

### 3.5 A BIOCULTURAL APPROACH TO OSTEOLOGY

Interpretation of human skeletal remains in an osteobiographical context is part of the ‘biocultural approach’ in bioarchaeology. This is an anthropological tradition which explores the intimate relationship between the human body and the society in which we live (Siek 2013; Craig and Buckberry 2010; Handler and Lange 2006). Information can be gained about behavior, lifestyle, disease, and culture (Schutkowski 2008; Larsen 1997: 3; McElroy 1990: 244). As McElroy (1990: 244) puts it, it gives a “comprehensive view of humans as biological, social, and cultural beings”.

Biocultural archaeology is deliberately interdisciplinary in order to understand the complexity of past lifeways (Barrett and Blakey 2011). For this reason, it is a good way to address the problem of nonspecific osteological lesions (the cause of which may be unclear) with knowledge of the cultural and clinical context (Turner and Armelagos 2012). The approach has been used, for example, in the study of scurvy during the Great Irish Famine. It allowed the contextualization of the osteological data in a sensitive manner that linked the disease to its sociocultural processes (Geber and Murphy 2012). It has also been used to understand complex division of labour in 7<sup>th</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC Italy, for example (Robb, J. et al. 2001).

The biocultural method of *osteobiography* (see section 4.7.2) is informed by previous developments in the study of the buried individual such as the post-processual approaches of phenomenology and embodiment. Although these approaches were informative, they sometimes failed to locate the individual in wider society as a changing being who may not have conformed to western societal norms (Sofaer 2006a: 22-23). In order to address this, there is a focus on *lifeways* (see section 1.4) and how these can be observed through the analysis of their effect on human biology (Sofaer 2006a: 23). There is an inherent tension here because the methods are scientific and positivist, while the interpretations are socially oriented and constructivist (Lorentz 2008; Sofaer 2006a: 20,

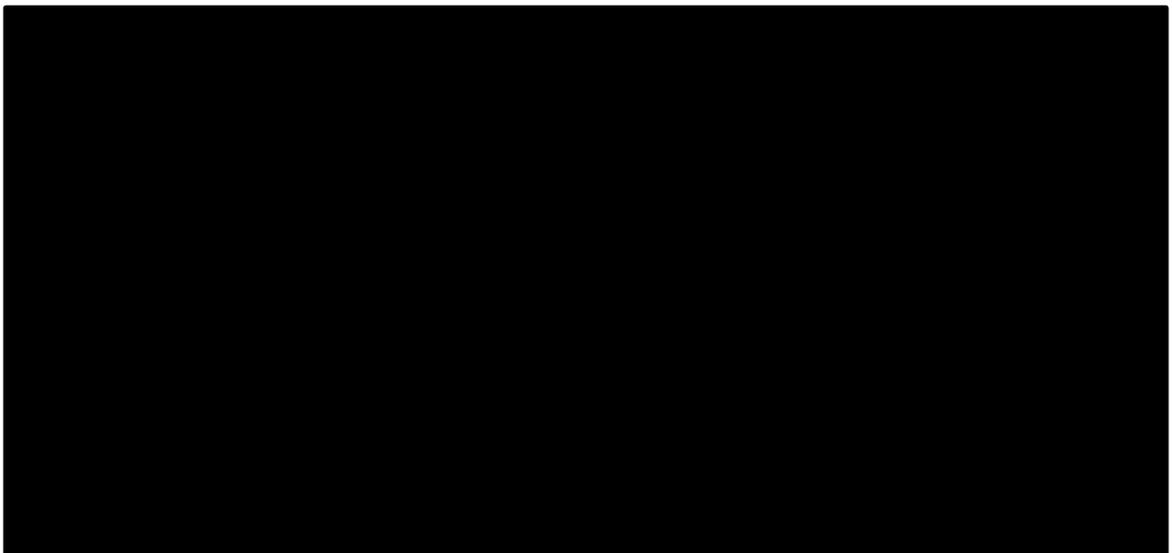
27-28; Lederman 2005). However, biocultural research is able to occupy the middle ground, utilising both descriptive and analytic methods to produce meaningful research that has explanatory and theoretical value. Such research has been able to address social identity through the use of disability and queer theory, biodistance, ethnogenesis and embodiment (Zuckerman and Armelagos 2011; and see for example Voss 2015; Dowson 2000). When the biological and social aspects of anthropology are approached together in this way, it is sometimes called the “four-field” approach (Zuckerman and Armelagos 2011; Lederman 2005; Cantwell 2000). In times of increasing specialization, Lederman (2005) maintains that there should be increased communication between subdisciplines to produce this kind of valuable research.

The biocultural approach can be used to deconstruct modern ‘normative’ attitudes and address identity-based discrimination (Zuckerman and Armelagos 2011). The New York African Burial Ground Project is an example of a bioculturally-oriented project that benefitted descendant communities (Zuckerman and Armelagos 2011; and see Barrett and Blakey 2011; Blakey et al. 2006). The approach is suited to contexts like this because “people experience colonial rule in their bodies” (Given 2004: 93). In the current study, the biocultural approach was used to link evidence from the skeletons of colonial era individuals from the islands of St Maarten/St Martin, St Eustatius and Curaçao to evidence from historical, ethnological, and other archaeological sources on contemporary lifeways (see section 4.7 and Appendix C).

### **3.5.1 Theorising Slavery in Archaeology: The ‘State of Dishonour’**

Despite the attention paid to gender, class, and sexuality, slavery in archaeology remains largely untheorized (see Meskell 2002). In recent years, several authors have developed methodological frameworks which allow violence and abuse to be studied more holistically in osteoarchaeological contexts (see for example Redfern 2015;

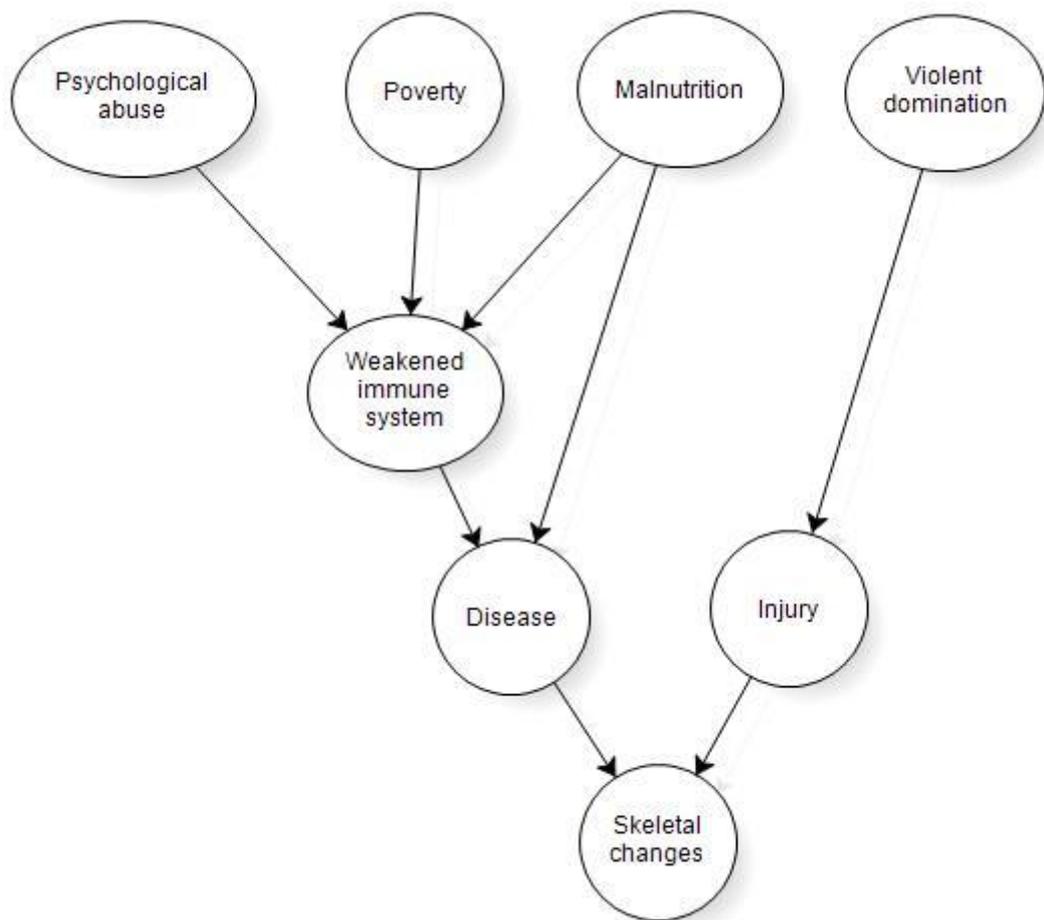
Gowland 2016). Indeed, Martin and Harrod (2015) have developed a methodological framework specifically for the study of slavery in osteology (see Figure 3.2 below). Although they place emphasis on the importance of a suitable theoretical framework for its study, they do not put forward a theoretical approach themselves. The current author agrees that a robust theoretical approach is highly necessary in this area and sets out an approach based on subaltern studies below. She places an emphasis on the context-contingent nature of interpretations about slavery in the archaeological record that she felt was lacking in the Martin and Harrod (2015) article. It is impossible to generalize about enslaved lifeways because they were so varied across time and space – any study of slavery must therefore firstly address context (Thornton 1998: 162).



**Figure 3.2:** Osteological traits that can be used to address slavery in osteoarchaeology (after Martin, D. and Harrod 2015).

Fricke (2012: 24-26) first began to develop the concept of the ‘state of dishonour’ in osteology, using terminology from Patterson’s (1982: 13) definition of slavery. It is a theoretical framework for the study of slavery in osteology, according to Lukacs’ (1992: 362) observations about the existence of “culturally induced variability in frailty” (see Figure 3.3 below for a summary of the potential skeletal effects of slavery). This might

be seen as the bodily effects of ‘structural violence’, a direct or indirect result of human actions leading to oppression within a society (Farmer 2003: 30, 40).



**Figure 3.3:** Diagram showing the various ways in which the ‘state of dishonour’ can have an effect upon the skeleton (Source: Author).

There are several facets to the ‘state of dishonour’ that must be discussed. Firstly, the enslaved individual is violently dominated, which has the potential to affect the skeleton, for example in the occurrence of ‘parry’ fractures to the ulna, which can be acquired when the individual brings up their arms to defend against an attack (Dandy and Edwards 2003). Secondly, social isolation and other traumatic experiences such as the Middle Passage between Africa and the Americas can have a profound psychological effect, which may weaken the immune system and leave the individual more susceptible to infectious diseases, many of which have an effect upon the skeleton (Emmer 2006: 73, 98; Thornton 1998: 153, 156-158; Kelley and Angel 1987).

The 'state of dishonour' may also lead to inadequate provision of food, shelter, clothing, and other necessities. These physiological stresses can also lead to a weakened immune system, while malnutrition can also lead to its own particular skeletal changes such as rickets or osteomalacia (vitamin D deficiency) and scurvy (vitamin C deficiency) (Roberts, C. and Manchester 2010: 234-240). Other potential skeletal changes include cribra orbitalia (due to childhood diseases such as anaemia), enamel hypoplasia (due to episodes of childhood stress) and tibial periostitis (due to infection or malnutrition) (Geber and Murphy 2012; Temple 2010; Walker et al. 2009; Weston 2008; Ogden, Pinhasi and White 2007; Wapler, Crubezy and Schultz 2004). The theoretical framework of the 'state of dishonour' can therefore be used to construct 'life narratives' or 'osteobiographies' in which enslavement is considered as a real possibility, rather than being seen as an exotic theory or merely ignored (see Chapter 4: Methodology for a description of osteobiographical methods).

## **3.6 MUTUALITY AND A CONTEXTUAL APPROACH TO MATERIAL CULTURE**

### **3.6.1 Mutuality and Symmetrical Relationships**

Authors such as Wilkie and Farnsworth (1999), Lemke (2017) and Graves-Brown (2000) argue that extreme approaches to material culture theory are inadequate for the interpretation of archaeological data. While diverse approaches, for example Hodder's (1989; 1986) approach to artefacts as active social agents, and Miller's (1987; 1985) work on categorisation and change over time, have contributed to the development of material culture studies (see Hicks 2010), isolating material culture from humans and humans from material culture cannot produce meaningful interpretations because objects that we produce are seldom purely functional or purely symbolic. Rather, there is a mutual relationship between object and human, which involves the physicality of the artefact

having an effect on its meanings and functions (Gonzalez-Ruibal 2008; Gonzalez-Ruibal 2006; Graves-Brown 2000; Ingold 2000; Preston 2000).

Miller and Tilley (1996: 5) therefore define material culture studies as: “the investigation of the relationship between people and things”. The investigation of this two-way relationship can be effective for understanding the past. An example of this mutual relationship between people and things comes from Gonzalez-Ruibal *et al*'s (2011) study of arrow making amongst the Awa people of the Brazilian Amazon. Since the 1970s the Awa have abandoned many of their traditional artefacts in favour of western material culture, but arrow making persists even though the arrows no longer have a practical function. This is because they are so important for the gendered identity of Awa men. The relationship is mutual because the arrow and the Awa man are inseparable, with each one creating the other. Studies like this one are important because they allow a psychosocial aspect to material culture, something that has been overlooked in archaeological studies which equate material wealth with quality of life in the context of slavery (see for example Samford 1996).

Theoretical approaches that treat the mutual relationship between people and things as fully *symmetrical* emphasise that objects should be addressed for their intrinsic physical characteristics as well for their relationship with human beings: that there should be equal focus on the object and the human being (Olsen and Witmore 2015). For example, Murray (2007) has used a symmetrical approach in the context of history to address the interaction of different belief systems surrounding science and *obeah* which allows each of these belief systems to be addressed equally. However, in reality no relationship is ever entirely symmetrical (Hodder and Lucas 2017). Additionally, Cipolla (2017a) argues that a symmetrical approach, despite its ethical aspirations, is inappropriate in the context of postcolonial approaches because in these situations the focus should be on the subaltern. Battle-Baptiste (2011: 71) has also put forward this

point in her book *Black Feminist Archaeology*. It is a concept with which the current author wholeheartedly agrees: the material culture that she studies is only useful insofar as it provides information on the enslaved people of the Dutch Caribbean. This is not to deny that artefacts are assemblages, participants, and things (see Witmore 2014), but rather to acknowledge that there is a wider agenda to the research project, one in which society and politics are more important than the artefacts themselves.

### **3.6.2 Contextual and Comparative Approaches to Material Culture**

Postprocessual archaeologists often emphasise the importance of context in the archaeological record (Shanks and Tilley 1992: 104; Hodder 1989). Contextual archaeology rejects interpretations that do not take into account cultural systems of motivation and symbolism, which may assist interpretations (Trigger 1989: 348-350). Interdisciplinary contextual approaches allow archaeologists to ask a wider range of questions of their data (Samford 1996: 113). For example, a cemetery that appears to represent an egalitarian community when studied in isolation may be interpreted differently if other aspects of the culture, including housing, worship, and agriculture are also studied (Trigger 1989: 348-350). Similarly, cognitive interpretations of prehistoric art are facilitated by the study of context and archaeological parallels (Bradley 1989). Rather than focusing on certain areas such as ‘gender’ or ‘sexuality’, the archaeologist should address the society in its wider sense (Meskell 2002). This should include analysis of spaces such as the domestic area as social constructs that interact with social identities such as status and age (Allison 1999).

Contextualism aligns with critical realism in its proposal that knowledge can be ‘true’ (or in other words, ‘valid’) in certain contexts, which we can seek to understand (Braun and Clarke 2013: 30-31). Research undertaken within a critical realist or contextualist framework is therefore worthwhile, because it produces a ‘valid’ result

which has been reflexively interrogated (see Ormston et al. 2013; Tracy 2010; Meskell 2002). We should avoid making western assumptions about material culture, and instead employ a broad comparative approach.

Addressing the study at various levels (for example: national history, world political economy and local responses to these) is one way in which colonial binaries can be deconstructed and cultural complexity taken into account (Trouillot 1992). Rather than pursuing positivist or constructivist extremes, Orser (2016) puts forward a middle way which allows the specific area to be addressed in its complex local context, without being isolated from regional and global developments. This approach uses Magnússon's (2003) 'singularization' theory, which addresses societies from the 'bottom up' by using a microhistorical approach. It encourages the development of rich descriptions that can illuminate how individual agency at the micro level contributes to macro developments. In archaeology, this encourages interpretations that allow context to be influenced by assemblage, rather than the other way around. This is particularly important in the development of missing histories. This approach has been used in many different contexts, for example at Búðarárþakki in Iceland, where archaeologists addressed the life of a man called Porkell who lived there for a decade in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, using the Land Register and archaeological evidence to construct a microhistory that detailed his domestic life (Mimisson and Magnusson 2014). Another example of microhistory is that of the Staat family who lived in the Raritan Valley of New Jersey in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Archaeologists used excavation data and historical records to piece together a story which illustrated how the lives of a few individuals were connected to wider events such as the Revolutionary War (Veit and Gall 2009). In the Caribbean, Finneran (2017) has taken the small island of Bequia as the unit of analysis, whilst not losing sight of wider developments influencing its population and economy.

Microhistories are not, therefore, necessarily isolated from the macroscale: rather, they can be used to inform a fluid, responsive macrohistory which does not limit micro-interpretations through prescribed narratives (Orser 2016; Magnusson 2003). This link with the macroscale is very important if we are to avoid trivialising archaeological narratives, especially in the colonial Americas (Orser 2016). A broad comparative approach is not necessarily homogenising – it can allow local differences as well as broader structures to be seen (Lydon and Rizvi 2010; DeCorse 2008; Gosden 2004: 20). Examples of such advantages can be found in the study of African cultural traits in the Americas (see Evans 1999; Holloway 1990), and Wilkie and Farnsworth (1999) have addressed slavery in the Bahamas using a multi-scalar approach that investigated five plantation sites within their regional networks. In the current study, comparisons between different Caribbean islands and different datasets in their historical, cultural, and social context, as well as comparisons with other areas of the Americas, allow interpretations to be informed by both micro and macro processes.

### **3.7 CONTEMPORARY ARCHAEOLOGY: THE PAST IN THE PRESENT**

The theoretical approach put forward here is influenced by theory in contemporary archaeology. Broadly speaking, contemporary archaeology concerns events that happened from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century to the present day (Olivier 2001), or as Harrison and Schofield (2010: 5) put it, the time period stretching backwards from the present until a period when memory begins to fade, for example around 1950. They describe this time period as moving forward with us into the future (Harrison, R. and Schofield 2010: 4). It operates therefore within the late modern, supermodern, or postmodern period, which can be distinguished from the modern period by the increasing using of electronic media and the globalisation of these technologies, mass migration,

more flexible modes of capitalism, and the increasing availability of leisure time (Harrison, R. and Schofield 2010: 3-4). It addresses a postmodern worldview, abandoning metanarrative and the Enlightenment and sharing traits with postprocessual archaeological thought (Harrison, R. and Schofield 2010: 2-3; Johnson, M. 2006: 162-167). This approach includes a belief that we need a “heretical or undisciplined archaeology” that does not rely on dominant discourse but rather on marginalised fragments (Shepherd 2013b: 242). It reminds us of the need for reflexivity and introspection, for challenging our own assumptions, and for incorporating multiple voices into our interpretations (Moshenska and Gonzalez-Ruibal 2015; Gonzalez-Ruibal 2013; Hodder 2003; Olivier 2001). Contemporary archaeology has been instrumental in uncovering the modern subaltern, because the established narrative on a subject is likely to be that of the enfranchised, and this is something that material culture can contradict (Buchli and Lucas 2001a).

However, this approach is also applicable at deeper time depths: Harrison and Breithoff (2017), McAtackney and Penrose (2016), and Hodder (2001) amongst others argue that we should see contemporary archaeology not as the study of a particular time period, but rather as a new way of approaching the discipline, one that questions western views of temporality, challenges established narratives, and addresses modern socio-political issues by foregrounding marginalised groups. If contemporary archaeology has the potential to provoke strong feelings, political and social change, then why do we treat the more distant past as if it does not have these properties? Time does not necessarily dim emotions (Gonzalez-Ruibal 2016b). There is a danger that archaeologists proceed with the scientific project without giving much attention to its implications. A good example of this is the burial ground at Prestwich Street in Cape Town, which was a point of focus for local displaced and enslaved-descendant communities. The voices of these communities were ignored by a group of archaeologists whose desire for scientific

knowledge excluded other ways of knowing and did severe epistemic violence to the stakeholders (Shepherd 2013a; Shepherd 2013b).

In the context of the current research, the entanglement of the archaeology of enslavement with modern political and social realities means that the era of slavery is never 'past' in the way that it might be separate or unemotional when we think about linear time. Enslavement in a Caribbean context is always present both physically and psychologically (Thomas, D. 2016). Contemporary archaeology therefore align well with the aims of the current research project in its ethical, theoretical and methodological elements: foregrounding the subaltern as an ethical imperative; having a non-linear approach to time; and using material culture as a main data source (see Harrison, R. and Breithoff 2017; Gonzalez-Ruibal 2008).

### **3.8 POLITICS, SOCIAL IMPACT, AND ENGAGED ETHICS**

As emphasized by contemporary archaeologists, scientific research does not occur in a neutral arena, but in the social world (Gonzalez-Ruibal 2016b; Mirza and Dungworth 1995). It may therefore be impossible to separate archaeology from politics (Gonzalez-Ruibal and Hall 2015; Conkey and Gero 1997; Shanks and Tilley 1992: 109-110; Wilk 1985). As the New Archaeology aimed to be neutral and positivist, it did not address the use of archaeology for political or nationalist purposes (Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996). However, research by several authors shows this exploitation in action.

Wilk (1985) has mapped publications on the ancient Maya against political events in the United States of America to show that archaeological interpretations often subconsciously mimic current affairs such as threats to national security and the environment. In the case of Greece, the immense symbolic power of its classical past (closely related to its cultural present) has been used by different interest groups to

variously: encourage support of the Greek War Effort; sell Coca-Cola; make money to pay off national debts; and foster international relationships (Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996). In China, the past has been used to support communism by emphasizing the noble and beautiful culture of the ‘people’, which flourished despite oppression from earlier rulers (Fowler 1987). In Ethiopia, the return of the Aksumite stela from Italy (removed by Mussolini during the 1930s) united all Ethiopians behind a single cause (Finneran 2003).

Using these examples, it is possible to see that “the question is not *whether* archaeology is political, but *how* it is so” (Chicone 2011: 52). Where archaeology and heritage studies are conducted in an unthinking manner, they can do real and symbolic violence to modern communities (Meskell 2005). Archaeologists must therefore consider political agendas in their work, thereby attempting to avoid providing support for continued structural inequality (Hamilakis 2018; Orser 2011; Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996; Pluciennik 1996; Mirza and Dungworth 1995; Trigger 1989: 381; Binford 1987; Wilk 1985). We must ask, how might archaeological interpretations be used to do good? (Shanks and Tilley 1992: 109-110).

Archaeology can be relevant to modern society and politics, for example by allowing therapeutic responses to traumatic heritage (Harrison, R. 2016; Gonzalez-Ruibal and Hall 2015; Meskell and Scheermeyer 2008; Gonzalez-Ruibal 2016b). Engaging with decolonisation through uncovering the erased subaltern and returning them to the historical narrative is an ethical imperative of the discipline (see Harrison, R. and Breithoff 2017; Gonzalez-Ruibal 2016b; Lydon and Rizvi 2010; Gonzalez-Ruibal 2008). As archaeologists studying physical evidence we are uniquely placed to examine how and why modern inequalities developed, the first step in their deconstruction (Chan 2007: 13). Additionally, becoming involved with descendant communities is one way in which archaeology (specifically postcolonial archaeology in the Caribbean) can promote

multivocality and be used to further an emancipatory political agenda (Hofman and Hoogland 2016; Antczak et al. 2013; Laguer Diaz 2013; Wilkie and Bartoy 2000), although researchers must be careful to contribute to truly collaborative research rather than the perpetuation of colonial methods (see La Salle 2010). There is already a longstanding tradition of community participation in the Dutch Caribbean. Of the three islands discussed here, the most active in relation to community involvement is St Maarten/St Martin, where school children are involved with the St Maarten Archaeological Research Center (Haviser 2015a).

The use of postcolonial theory in archaeology is part of an ‘extended ethics’ that links people in the past to those in the present and future – aiming to decolonise all time periods through the examination of oppression and inequality (Gonzalez-Ruibal, Sahle and Vila 2011; Lane 2011; Villelli 2011; Lydon and Rizvi 2010; Meskell 2002; Meskell 2000). The new ethnographic archaeology also aims to be a more critically engaged and ethical discipline (Cunningham and MacEachern 2016; Gonzalez-Ruibal 2016a; Meskell 2010). It is a move away from other trends in archaeology which make the discipline large-scale, specialist, expensive, and inaccessible (Cunningham and MacEachern 2016). Research with such an approach is needed to contribute to the ongoing emancipation of the Dutch Caribbean islands, including working towards identity formation and the well-being of local communities (see Hodder 2010; Meskell 2002; Haviser 2001b).

### **3.9 LIMITATIONS OF THE APPROACH**

Although the approach here is one of mixed-theory, each of the theoretical standpoints incorporated fall under the umbrella of postprocessualism. There are criticisms of postprocessualism just as there are of processualism. Pluralism has been accused of allowing that all voices are equally valid, and therefore generating discourses

that are 'fringe', radical, extreme, or merely less than academic, while postmodernism, which advocates relativism, has been seen as a lack of reason by some scholars (Hodder 1997; Bender 1993; Peebles 1993). Although postmodernism can be helpful in its rejection of nationalist metanarratives and its focus on the local (for example, oral histories rather than dominant histories), it can neutralize the political aims of postcolonialism, focusing on deconstruction rather than on recuperation and emancipation (Brydon 2006; Dirlik 2006 [1997]; Quayson 2004). Indeed, deconstruction can be unhelpful where events of the past have an influence on the present (Brydon 2006; Dirlik 2006 [1997]). Finally, some scholars have warned that it is important to be aware of the tensions between the desire to have a positive social or political impact and the pursuit of the truth (Gilroy 2004; Buchli and Lucas 2001b).

These criticisms of postprocessual and constructivist approaches are mitigated here by the application of critical realism. However, a particular problem with critical realism as an approach to qualitative interviewing is that during interviews the topic under discussion is constantly being (re)created, and this undermines a realist ontology (McLachlan and Garcia 2015). The author concedes that this can be a problem when qualitative interviewing is the only source of data under analysis. However, in the current interdisciplinary project, a frame of reference for the qualitative interviews is provided by the osteological and archaeological data (see Gullapalli 2008).

Other criticisms of critical realism include its generalised, abstracting and universalising approach to freedom and emancipation (Benton and Craib 2011: 213; Roberts, J. 2001). Roberts (2001) argues that a more specific approach is required to situate emancipatory agendas within their social structures. However, a flexible approach may be beneficial in a Caribbean context, because it allows for the inclusion of alternative modes of thinking, and avoids a Marxist focus on full capitalism (see Havisser and Juliana 2001; Wilkie and Bartoy 2000; Leone, Potter and Shackel 1987). Additionally, suggesting

viable alternatives to existing structures of oppression is not beyond the scope of critical realism: in fact, it is something that critical realists are addressing in their work (Benton and Craib 2011: 214).

There is much crossover between postcolonial and Marxist theoretical approaches, especially in areas like subaltern studies which take basic ideas from Marxist thinkers (Sinha and Varma 2015; Patterson, T. 2008; Gramsci 1999). Marxist critics of postcolonial theory note that there is little attention paid to an emancipatory agenda; that it reduces postcolonial struggles to ideas and abandons materiality; that it fails to pay proper attention to issues of class and capitalism and the relationships between nature, society, and people; and that it remains unforgivably elitist (Sinha and Varma 2015; D'Souza 2010; Liebmann 2008; Patterson, T. 2008). Postcolonial approaches may also homogenise colonial experience, a similar criticism to that levelled at some feminist approaches (Spencer-Wood 2011; Liebmann 2008; Pagan-Jimenez and Rodriguez Ramos 2008; Patterson, T. 2008). However, the application of a critical realist ontology to a postcolonial epistemology does encourage nuance, sensitivity, and an emancipatory agenda (D'Souza 2010). It helps researchers to understand the areas in which postcolonialism often falls short, such as attention to dualisms, agency, and the material dimension (Mannathukkaren 2010). Fortunately, these areas are receiving considerable attention in archaeology (Liebmann 2008; Pagan-Jimenez and Rodriguez Ramos 2008; van Dommelen 1997). The time lag between the production of new theoretical approaches in other disciplines and their application in archaeology is beneficial here: postcolonial archaeology can respond to criticisms levelled at postcolonial approaches elsewhere (Liebmann 2008). The current author has in this chapter demonstrated that the goals of postcolonial theory do allow for flexibility in theoretical approaches, and that she has produced a theoretical framework appropriate for the research in question.

### **3.10 CONCLUSION**

Marginalised groups are now being included in archaeological interpretations of material culture and stratigraphy, and oral history is often utilised as a method of data collection as well as a way to involve stakeholder communities (see for example Espersen 2016; Meskell 2010; Schmidt, P. and Karega-Munene 2010; Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2004; MacEachern 2002; Robin 2002; Mason, R. 2000). The approach discussed here is informed by these developments but must also build on them to incorporate a diverse and sensitive dataset (Koro-Ljungberg 2004). Subaltern studies, for example, has not fully addressed oral history in the past (Spivak 2012).

In this chapter the importance of a critical realist approach to postcolonial studies has been demonstrated. The contextual and comparative approach to material culture, the decolonising approach to qualitative interviewing, and the biocultural approach to osteology are shown to fit well within a postcolonial theoretical framework. The following chapter will demonstrate how these ontological and epistemological paradigms inform a highly suitable methodology.

## 4 METHODOLOGY

---

### 4.1 INTRODUCTION

The interdisciplinary nature of the current project is part of what Johnson *et al* (2006) call the ‘rejection of methodological monism’ in qualitative research. Indeed, the use of several methods often allows the researcher to achieve a more holistic appreciation of the subject in question (Curtin 2002; Morse 1994). This is especially important in areas like the Caribbean, whose complexity is often overlooked by researchers (Armstrong 2013). Combining information from a variety of sources (such as interviews, artefacts, documents, field notes and video and audio recordings) is therefore gaining acceptance (Cohen, L., Manion and Morrison 2000: 146, 157; Morse 1994) not only in the social sciences, but also in archaeology (see for example Altschul, Thiaw and Wait 2016; Low 2002; MacEachern 2002; Robin 2002). The study of slavery often participates in this trend, necessarily at the crossroads between anthropology and history (Oostindie and Roitman 2012; Hicks 2007: 1-2; Keller 1980). The use of more than one data source can provide a more complete picture of the lifeways of subaltern groups such as enslaved people, providing complementary information (see Hamilakis 2016; Higman 2014; Franklin 2012: xv-xvi; Shuler 2011; Lange and Handler 2009; Ascher and Fairbanks 1971). Loomba (2010: 129) asserts that an interdisciplinary approach encourages a decolonised perspective because it “challenges disciplinary chauvinism”, running counter to trends of increasing specialisation within the fields of archaeology and anthropology (Lenik and Petley 2014; Curtin 2002; Watters 2001). In this study, the use of three datasets within archaeological ethnography was appropriate for the theoretical approach.

In this chapter, the author will introduce archaeological ethnography and its interdisciplinary approaches; the use of qualitative data will be discussed; the methods used for data collection will be discussed; and a description of the method for data

analysis will follow. Ethical issues and limitations inherent in the use of these methods will be addressed throughout.

## **4.2 INTERDISCIPLINARITY AND ALTERNATIVE ETHNOGRAPHY**

‘Ethnography’ is a sociological and anthropological approach to the study of the practices and beliefs of a social group (Morse 1994; Vidich and Lyman 1994). The current ‘ethnographic turn’ in archaeology (also known as ‘ethnographic archaeology’; ‘archaeological ethnography’; or ‘ethnoarchaeology’, although this last term has antiquarian associations) distances itself from colonial narratives and therefore fits well within the theoretical framework set out in Chapter 3 (Castaneda 2009; Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009; Vidich and Lyman 1994).

Meskell (2010: 446) defines *archaeological ethnography* as “a holistic anthropology that is context dependent ... [and] can encompass a mosaic of traditional forms, including archaeological practice ... interviewing, and archival work”. It entails deep engagement and collaboration with modern populations; it is reflexive, and allows the distinction between ‘insider’ and ‘outsider’ to blur; it is politically engaged; it foregrounds material objects; and it can play an important role in the emancipation of marginalised groups (Cunningham and MacEachern 2016; Meskell 2012; Meskell 2010; Vidich and Lyman 1994). Sometimes this approach, with its understanding of multiplicity and its aim to produce meaningful, significant and ethical work, is referred to as *alternative ethnography* (Bochner 2000). It has similarities with contemporary archaeology (see section 3.7) (Harrison, R. and Breithoff 2017). The entanglement of the past in the present makes living people a valid part of the discovery process and reinforces the use of oral history and artefacts from living history museums such as the *Kas di Pal'i Maishi* in Curaçao (see section 5.2.8).

Interdisciplinary studies are common in ethnographic archaeology. As mentioned in Chapters 1 and 2, it is often necessary to compare information from historical resources written by the enslavers with data from other sources, for example material culture and osteology (Lenik and Petley 2014; Agorsah 2011; Okumura 2011; Kusimba 2006: 219, 241). These sources can take us “beyond a reliance on the second-hand representations contained in textual sources by white authors” (Lenik and Petley 2014: 395). Hauser and Hicks (2007: 268) underline the importance of an approach to Caribbean archaeology that grounds ideas in materiality “rather than using objects and landscapes to illustrate historical accounts, elite ideas or political observations already developed elsewhere” (Hauser and Hicks 2007: 268). Indeed, archaeology “must be allowed to speak with its own voice” (Allison 2004: 202).

Studies using multiple sources in the past have been very varied and have included, for example, Forbes’ (2007) use of ethnology, archaeology and archival study to explore the landscape of Methana in Greece, finding that while some ethnographic information was firmly rooted in myth, other information was demonstrably based on fact. He showed that kinship and an abstract notion of time depth are two of the most important influences on how the Methanites view their landscape. More recently McGill (2012) has linked archaeology, cultural anthropology and education to explore the perspectives that Belizean schoolchildren have on heritage. The results were used to inform future methods of educating young people. In Suriname, the interdisciplinary study of slavery and marronage has provided successful alternative narratives or ‘histories from within’ using documentary, archaeological, and oral historical evidence (van Stipriaan 2007). DeCorse (2008) has used documentary, oral historical, and archaeological evidence to examine the development of Elmina (Ghana) in its wider context. Finneran’s (2017) study of the Bequia landscape using cartographic, historical and archaeological data is an important contribution to the involvement of small, arid islands without a thriving sugar economy

(similar to those of the Dutch Caribbean) in wider Caribbean narratives, and the (2013) study by the same author engages with creole material culture in Barbados using both archaeological and oral historical sources. Such studies inevitably provide new ways of looking at old problems.

Scholars such as René Römer have already suggested that ethnographic methods might be needed in the context of the Dutch Caribbean (Ansano 2006b), and a few scholars have begun to use multiple data sources to explore slavery in the region. Such research has included Gilmore III (2000) using documentary and archaeological sources to look at enslaved lifeways in St Eustatius; Hauser and Armstrong (2012) integrating ethnohistorical and archaeological data to look at frontier settlements in the 18<sup>th</sup> century Caribbean; Pulsipher (1994) assessing the history, ethnography and geography of subsistence gardens in Montserrat; and Espersen (2016) using oral historical, documentary and archaeological data to study gender, class, and race in Saba. Research currently taking place in the Dutch Caribbean includes a project by the *Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (KITLV) entitled ‘Confronting Caribbean Challenges: hybrid identities and governance in small-scale island jurisdictions’. It aims to investigate “how political reforms and intensive migrations affect historically grounded identities and political practices on these Dutch Caribbean islands” through the integration of past, present and future (Oostindie 2013a: 1). It encourages the integration of data from multiple sources and disciplines, as well as the co-operation of academics with local heritage organisations and the general public. Jessica Vance Roitman is undertaking the sub-project entitled *The Dutch Windward Islands: confronting the contradictions of belonging, 1815-2015*. This includes the detailed historical and oral historical study of developing island identities in 19<sup>th</sup> century St Eustatius and St Maarten (Roitman 2013). The current author therefore finds herself part of an existing research community using interdisciplinary approaches to answer sociological questions relating

to slavery and its consequences in the Caribbean. However, she can take this a step further: by using a wide range of evidence it becomes possible to bring the colonised back into the narrative, without using historical documentation as the main data source (Given 2004: 3-4). The current study will do this by applying the principles of archaeological ethnography to the Dutch Caribbean and combining qualitative data from three sources: material culture, osteology and oral history.

### **4.3 A QUALITATIVE DATASET**

Qualitative data are focused on *meaning* and *personal significance* rather than statistical significance (Braun and Clarke 2013: 4). They allow archaeologists to answer sociological questions concerning issues such as identity, activity, and the relationship between these two things (Allison 1999: 9). Qualitative research techniques also encourage a high degree of reflexive thinking (see section 4.4), particularly important in post-colonial studies and in heterogeneous, plural environments like the Caribbean where descendant communities still exist (Braun and Clarke 2013: 36-37; Havisser 2006; Hodder 2003; Trouillot 1992). In this study, the use of qualitative data facilitated the integration of three very different datasets, from archaeology, osteology and oral history (see Cohen, L., Manion and Morrison 2000: 146).

#### **4.3.1 Ensuring Validity and Reliability in Qualitative Studies**

Replicability is not expected in qualitative research: another researcher with differing identities and approaches would generate slightly different results in the same research environment. This does not detract from the importance of the narrative that is constructed: it is one valid story amongst many (Braun and Clarke 2013: 20). The results of qualitative research are not generalizable in the way that quantitative results can be,

but the “richness and detail” of the analysis may be useful to researchers in similar environments, in this case other post-colonial environments both within and beyond the Caribbean region (Denscombe 2010: 304-305). However, the research must still be shown to be valid within a qualitative paradigm.

There is little consistency in the vocabulary used to describe the quality of qualitative research, but many researchers refer to ‘reliability’ and ‘validity’, meaning the truthfulness and accuracy of the conclusions drawn (Roulston 2010; Tracy 2010; Pyett 2003; Morse 1994; Gorden 1969: 4). Tracy (2010) has developed criteria to act as a universal guide with the flexibility to apply to diverse research projects (see Table 4.1 below). The application of such a standard for the assessment of research quality is part of a reflexive approach, as discussed in Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework and in section 4.4 below (Johnson, P. et al. 2006). Tracy’s criteria were used here to assess research quality because they respond to questions raised by Arthur Bochner (Tracy 2010; Bochner 2000). He and others point out that frameworks for measuring quality in qualitative research are sometimes based on quantitative frameworks and are not therefore particularly useful (Johnson, P. et al. 2006; Bochner 2000). Further, he states that it is difficult to construct universally applicable criteria because there is no one right way to conduct ethnographic research. Strict criteria may be restrictive and can distract from the production of meaningful and ethical work (Bochner 2000).

Despite useful responses like Tracy’s (2010), there is still some concern amongst qualitative researchers that others do not see their research as sufficiently ‘scientific’ or rigorous (Cutcliffe and Ramcharan 2002; Bochner 2000). In order to combat this, qualitative studies must have a meaningful and coherent theoretical framework including strong ontological and epistemological standpoints, as well as a strong ethical framework (Johnson, P. et al. 2006; Corbin and Morse 2003; Cutcliffe and Ramcharan 2002; Ramcharan and Cutcliffe 2001). As shown in Table 4.1, much of the validity and

reliability of the research depends on this (Roulston 2010; Tracy 2010). The author has already discussed her theoretical and ethical standpoints (see Chapter 3), which are appropriate for the research questions (see section 1.3).

**Table 4.1:** Criteria for qualitative research of high quality (after Tracy 2010).

<b>Criterion</b>	<b>Explanation</b>	<b>Application</b>
Worthy Topic	The research topic should be relevant, timely, significant and interesting.	Slavery is still happening all over the world, and past slavery has had a lasting effect upon descendant populations.
Rich Rigor	The research should be based on appropriate theoretical approaches, and should represent an adequate amount of time in the field, sufficient data collected, and appropriate data collection and analysis methods.	The author has generated a theoretical framework (a critical realist approach to subaltern studies) that is appropriate for all the methods used. She spent over six months in the Dutch Caribbean over the course of four years, and collected data until saturation.
Sincerity	The research should be self-reflexive and transparent.	The author kept a reflexivity diary throughout the process of data collection and analysis. She made her goals and methods explicit to stakeholders.
Credibility	The research should contain descriptions, triangulation and multivocality.	Chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9 contain descriptions, as well as extensive triangulation and the voices of many stakeholders.
Resonance	The research should be relevant to a variety of audiences.	The research is relevant not only to inhabitants of the Dutch Caribbean, but also to people living in the Netherlands who are unaware of their colonial history. It also has relevance for wider slavery studies in archaeology, history, and sociology.
Significant Contribution	The research should provide significant contributions to academia in terms of theory, morality, methodology, and heuristic and practical concepts.	This is the first time that thematic analysis has been used to combine oral history, material culture and osteological data. It has a strong theoretical framework with positive social and political aims.
Ethics	Ethics concerning procedure, situation, culture, relationships and research termination should all be addressed.	The author is aware of her insider/outsider status in the Dutch Caribbean. She intends to maintain a relationship with her stakeholders beyond the completion of her PhD through publications, outreach, and postdoctoral research.
Meaningful Coherence	The research should achieve its aims, use methods that are appropriate to the goals, and connect literature, research questions, results and interpretations in a meaningful way.	The achievement of the research aims and answers to the research questions are demonstrated in Chapter 9. They show that the study was coherent and used appropriate theories and methods.

### **4.3.2 Data Collection**

In qualitative research, data are collected until ‘saturation’. This term refers to the point at which new data are no longer generating new information (Braun and Clarke 2013: 55; Mason, M. 2010; Small 2009: 25; Morse 1994). These data can consist of notes, transcripts, articles, photographs, videos, sound recordings, artwork, questionnaires and other media (Cohen, L., Manion and Morrison 2000: 146). In this study, the data are confined to three types: material culture notes, osteobiographical narratives, and interview transcripts.

## **4.4 REFLEXIVITY AND INSIDER/OUTSIDER STATUS**

### **4.4.1 Reflexivity in the Literature**

Reflexivity is an intrinsic part of the postcolonial approach (Lydon and Rizvi 2010). Archaeologists have emphasised its importance in the Caribbean, both in terms of the decolonisation of the discipline (see Hauser and Hicks 2007; Hicks 2007) and regarding scrutiny of the complex identities of the researcher herself (Gullapalli 2008; Liebmann 2008). This is also a concern in critical realist research, where reflexivity is encouraged in order to interrogate hermeneutic standpoints and to continually re-interpret the data (Shanks and Tilley 1992: 108-111). It is true that no description of one’s own identities and biases can automatically increase research objectivity, but by addressing these issues explicitly we increase the potential usefulness of our research for other scholars (Harrison, N. 2003: 162-163; Cohen, L., Manion and Morrison 2000: 139).

Richard Wright’s successful creation of subaltern characters in works of fiction such as *The Long Dream* is managed through continual reflexivity and reanalysis of his own status as subaltern (what Abdul JanMohamed terms the ‘death-bound-subject’) (JanMohamed 2005: 14). Similarly, B W Higman in his 1999 work *Writing West Indian*

*Histories* included an account of his social and academic background “to help the reader locate the writer in time and place” (Higman 1999: xiii). Frantz Fanon in *Black Skin, White Masks*, explicitly states his identity as a medical practitioner from Guadeloupe (Fanon 1968: 223). Other examples include Forbes’s (2007) reflexive reflections in his interdisciplinary study of the Greek landscape; Laguer Díaz’s (2013) statement of nationality and political affiliation in her discussion of identity in the Caribbean; and Guadeloupe’s (2009: 5) reflexive ethnographic study of immigrant tolerance in St Maarten/St Martin.

But can the interpretations of a white, middle-class, European osteoarchaeologist ever truly understand the alternative narrative belonging to enslaved African individuals in the past? (Lydon and Rizvi 2010). Western researchers are “challenged by the narrowness of their experiences” (Cunningham and MacEachern 2016: 10). For example, Mullins (2010) notes that some white archaeologists are reluctant to engage with race, either because they do not recognise white privilege or because they wish to evade it. However, removing race from archaeological debates is unwise because of its profound social implications (Mullins 2010). It also has an impact on how white, middle-class researchers interpret evidence for the lifeways of subaltern groups. For this reason, archaeologists need to continually reassess their role (Singleton 2010). There is a need for real social relationships and contemplation as part of the research process – ethnographic archaeology can be part of an approach that uses this to counter hermeneutic shortcomings (Cunningham and MacEachern 2016). The current author addresses her own identities in section 4.4.3 below.

#### **4.4.2 Insider/Outsider Status**

Traditional approaches to anthropology perceived an ‘etic’ (outsider) perspective as professional and objective. This prevented researchers from interrogating their own

viewpoints and allowed them to place themselves in a position of authority, which effectively stifled the voices of marginalised groups (Fontein 2010). Some scholars now recommend ‘matching’ for class, gender and race between researcher and informant in interview situations (Bozzoli 2016 [1991]; James 2016 [2000]). Inequalities are inherent in the interviewer-interviewee relationship (or researcher-data relationship) and seeking horizontal affinities may be one way to mitigate them (James 2016 [2000]). This is because preconceptions that the interviewee and interviewer have about each other affect the data that are produced (Morse 1994).

‘Insider’ status may indeed allow the development of easier rapport and an intimate atmosphere (Bozzoli 2016 [1991]), while ‘outsider’ status may be particularly problematic in certain communities, such as those of colonised people (Roulston 2010; Haviser 2001b). On the other hand, ‘insider’ researchers also pose problems, as they must reconcile the goals of academic research with the goals of the community (Roulston 2010). During interviewing, it may be easier to talk to a stranger or outsider about certain subjects (Burton 2016 [2003]). Both positions therefore have advantages and disadvantages, as amply demonstrated by Angrosino’s (1989) oral historical work in Saba, where the same interviewee provided different kinds of information to different people.

There is now evidence that researchers often teeter on the brink between insider and outsider status due to the possession of multiple identities (Bozzoli 2016 [1991]; Guadeloupe 2009: 3; Hodder 2003; Finlay 2002). Francio Guadeloupe, for example, grew up on St Maarten. However, his return to the island for his research cast him in the role of academic researcher, an outsider identity (Guadeloupe 2009: 5). Whitney Battle-Baptiste (2007b) has mentioned similar conflicts as an archaeologist of African and Cherokee descent. With this in mind, the ‘matching’ of researcher and interviewee may not be necessary after all. Members of a particular group may experience membership of

that group in vastly different ways (Bozzoli 2016 [1991]; McDonald 2013; Guadeloupe 2009: 3). People in the Dutch Caribbean share multiple, situationally-related identities that they are continuously moving in and out of (Allen 2015b; Allen 2010a). It is therefore important for the researcher to interrogate her own changing identities and to avoid assumptions about the groups with which interviewees may identify (see McDonald 2013; Sheehan 2007).

#### **4.4.3 Reflexivity in Action**

As Guadeloupe (2009: 3) has noted, reflexivity may require being “systematically disloyal” to groups with which we feel an affinity in order to address our research critically. It should occur both during data collection and afterwards during analysis and interpretation (Braun and Clarke 2013: 36-37, 303-304; Cohen, L., Manion and Morrison 2000: 140-141). *Reflexivity as social critique*, for example, seeks to deconstruct the researcher’s dominant position and any other unequal relationship that may exist in the research (Finlay 2002). It is important for the researcher to consider the effect of race, class, and status differences between herself and the interviewee (Braun and Clarke 2013: 88-89; Mullins 2010; Havisier 2006; Finlay 2002; Trouillot 1992). Reflexivity should also include the interrogation of western worldviews, which may differ markedly from Afro-Caribbean worldviews (Havisier 2006; Havisier 2001b).

In this project, the author kept a reflexivity diary throughout data collection and analysis. She recorded her interview experiences (for example, degree of rapport with the interviewee and factors which may have affected it) and interrogated her hermeneutic standpoint (for example, thinking about why she had certain reactions to information provided by the interviewees). Such writing has the added advantage of being a record of the research decisions made (Finlay 2002). At each stage, the researcher makes her insider/outsider status explicit (Cohen, L., Manion and Morrison 2000: 141). In the study

of the subaltern, Spivak calls this 'learn[ing] from below' (Spivak 2012: 333), and it increases the comparability and translatability (known in quantitative studies as 'generalisability', see section 4.3.1) of the research (Cohen, L., Manion and Morrison 2000: 139).

The author acknowledges that her many privileged identities (those of race, class, sexuality, nationality, and level of education) may hinder her interpretations about the lifeways of enslaved people. However, her experiences as a woman and as a person with Caribbean heritage may also allow her to engage with alternative narratives in a sensitive manner that might conceivably be more difficult for a different researcher. Her father was born in Bonaire, where her grandfather was a Protestant minister, and she still has five family members in Curaçao. This places her within the complex web of intersecting Caribbean identities. She has both British and Dutch passports. However, she has an English accent and speaks Dutch as a second language. This combined with the fact that she is white means that she appears to possess distinctly outsider status at first glance. It is only after some conversation that the insider status is revealed. In certain situations, she has found this to be advantageous: not immediately identifiable as a Dutch person (the coloniser), she is free from many potential preconceived biases about this group of people. Subsequently, her personal links to the Dutch Caribbean (particularly her father's identity as a Bonairean and her basic knowledge of Papiamentu) have allowed her to establish considerable rapport with interviewees, who often welcomed her as a Caribbean woman. Indeed, it is perfectly possible for white people to have Caribbean identities. Saba, for example, had a majority white population until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and St Maarten/St Martin also had a majority white population during the 18<sup>th</sup> century (Rupert 2012: 75; Hartog 1981: 88). The author's multiple identities (both insider and outsider) therefore interacted in a way that was ultimately beneficial to the research.

#### **4.4.4 Speaking About the Subaltern**

In areas like the Caribbean, specialists are in short supply – but this does not give us a right to access and control heritage (Meskell 2005). One must be careful of the arrogance associated with becoming the intellectual advocating voice of the subaltern: academics should prepare the way for subalterns to speak for themselves (Louai 2012).

In archaeology, however, it is impossible for long-dead people to speak for themselves. We therefore require the following distinction: archaeologists speak *about* the subaltern, rather than *for* her. When the researcher speaks *for* the other this is called 'prosopopeic representation' and should be avoided (James 2016 [2000]). The past subaltern is not speaking directly through the evidence (in this case material culture, human remains, and oral history): rather, we are required to interpret it, and this interpretation is always in danger of bias resulting from the hermeneutic experiences of the researcher and the preservation of the record (Shanks and Tilley 1992: 108-111).

Nevertheless, there are many examples of successful reflexive projects in the literature, including that of archaeology (see for example Meskell 2002; and Hodder 2003 for a discussion of reflexivity in archaeology). Successful archaeological projects with a focus on the subaltern have included that of Gonzalez-Ruibal *et al* (2011) in colonial Ethiopia and Dietler (2005) in the Graeco-Roman Mediterranean.

#### **4.5 A NOTE ON CULTURAL INTERACTIONS**

As has been mentioned above, the issue of African (or indeed other cultural) influences on American societies is a difficult one which must be approached with caution (DeCorse 1999). Archaeologists studying the African Diaspora in the Americas often look to West Africa for cultural parallels when interpreting their assemblages (see for example Murison 2015; Wilkie 2001; Stine, Cabak and Groover 1996). They focus on

disparate West African societies including those in the areas of Ghana (Akan), Congo and Angola (Kongo, BaKongo and Loango), and Nigeria and Benin (Yoruba), because there is more information available from these areas (Lima, de Souza and Sene 2014; DeCorse 1999; Farris Thompson 1990). These examples encompass many cultural variations through time and space (Hauser and Lenik 2014; DeCorse 1999). Indeed, enslaved people in the Dutch Caribbean islands came from many different regions, and communicated with enslaved and free communities on neighbouring islands and on the South American mainland (Allen 2012b; Rupert 2012: 197-198; Morgan 2006). They therefore had the opportunity to adopt traditions and beliefs from numerous other peoples and incorporate them into their own cultures.

A critical approach to such comparisons is therefore essential. DeCorse (1999) notes that documentary, archaeological, and linguistic sources indicate great change in West African socio-political institutions and trade networks, but some continuity in aspects such as ritual, cosmology, and worldview. For example, foodways and the use of space in and around dwellings tend to be more similar over wider areas. One can therefore in some cases attempt to understand Diasporic sites and worldviews without attempting the impossible task of untangling the many connections between enslaved people in the Americas and their diverse African origins (DeCorse 1999). Such cross-cultural comparisons are therefore valuable in the interpretation of remains belonging to people who did not leave any written explanations for their behaviour but should be addressed within a wider view of enslaved lifeways. In the words of Rose Mary Allen (2014b: 142):

The key issue is not to judge whether the heritage that the enslaved brought with them from Africa was more or less important than the customs that they acquired and created in their new surroundings. It is more useful to look at the relationship between these two aspects in specific historical contexts and to examine the variety of resources that the people drew upon to fashion communities for themselves. (Allen 2014b: 142)

The same cautious, context-dependent approach should be used when addressing European and Amerindian cultural influences, of which there are also examples in the current study.

## **4.6 METHODOLOGY: MATERIAL CULTURE**

### **4.6.1 Material Culture Analysis**

Like osteology and oral history, material culture offers an opportunity to explore alternative narratives that are not present in historical documents (see Sheinin 2011; Mullins 2010; Burstrom et al. 2009; Chan 2007: 3; Gilmore III 2006a; Parry 2006 [1987]; Spivak 2006; Taylor 2005; Forbes 2000; Portelli 1981; Samuel 1976). Qualitative studies of material culture have addressed the relationship between artefacts, gender, identity, and status (including that of enslaved people, especially in the Classical world) (see for example Allison 2013; Allison 2004; Goldberg 1999). These studies can provide an insight into daily activities that were thought too ordinary to be recorded in writing, or subversions of which the ruling classes were unaware (Singleton 2010; Lazzari 2003; Samuel 1976). Unlike documentary sources, material culture is seldom deliberately misleading (Cohen, L., Manion and Morrison 2000: 147), although archaeologists do have an hermeneutic impact on the interpretations they produce, and this is why reflexivity and multi-vocality are so important (see Olivier 2001; Shanks and Tilley 1992: 108-111). The study of material culture therefore offers an opportunity to address issues of representation in colonial contexts, making marginalised groups more visible (Reilly 2016b; Gullapalli 2008; Liebmann 2008; Lazzari 2003; Buchli and Lucas 2001a). It is also an important complement to the other data sources in answering the research questions.

#### **4.6.2 The Study of Slavery in Material Culture**

Slavery has been a topic of archaeological research in the Americas (especially North America) since the 1960s, when black activism developed in the United States (Singleton 1995). During the last 20 years archaeological studies of the African Diaspora (including enslaved people) have been increasing (Symanski 2016). Artefacts and structures are of enormous importance for studying voiceless communities such as the enslaved (Ascher 1974). Their study has the potential to challenge established viewpoints, such as at Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest Estate where excavation of the enslaved village allowed archaeologists to explore the ways in which enslaved people interacted with their landscape (Bowes 2011); Ascher and Fairbanks' (1971) excavation of a cabin in Georgia which obtained information that was not available in historical documents; and Symanski and Gomes' (2016) excavation of two villages in Brazil, which had very low amounts of material culture perhaps representing greater control over foodways by the slave masters. Similar studies have been carried out in Tennessee (Battle-Baptiste 2010b; Battle-Baptiste 2007a; Battle 2004), New York (Rava and Matthews 2017), Maryland (Leone et al. 2013), and Virginia (Franklin 2004), and these projects often have positive socio-political goals that involve community dialogue.

Examples of such studies in the Caribbean include Reilly's (2016b) analysis of material culture contradicting documentary sources on the lower classes in Barbados; Pulsipher and Goodwin's (2001: 177-178) interdisciplinary investigation at the Galways sugar plantation on Montserrat that included local inhabitants, whose understanding was found to be extremely important for the interpretation of the material remains; and Farnsworth's (2001b) use of architectural, documentary, and archaeological data to conduct an investigation into the development of the enslaved house in the Bahamas, where changing enslaved housing reflected cultural negotiations between planters and the enslaved community.

Archaeologists may sometimes approach their material cultural evidence in a way that imitates thematic analysis (explained further in section 4.9.1 below) (see Rava and Matthews 2017; Armstrong 2009; Franklin 2004). For example, Singleton (1995) conducted an analysis of material culture relating to slavery on plantations in North America centred around four central themes: living conditions; status differences; domination and resistance; and African-American cultural identity. This example is important because it demonstrates the capability of archaeological data such as house structures, palaeoenvironmental and zooarchaeological remains, ceramics, ritual objects, negative features such as pits, and the distribution of these within sites, to be linked to wider concepts such as identity and inequality, especially when triangulated with other sources of evidence (Singleton 1995). The current study is therefore part of a substantial literature addressing the materiality of slavery in archaeology.

#### **4.6.3 Site Selection Process**

Allison (2013: 8; 2004: 29, 34) notes that it is important to include sites and artefacts that have been properly recorded in this type of analysis. Sites that were suitable for the research were selected through perusal of the unpublished site reports and published academic literature. Few of the more than 280 identified archaeological sites on St Eustatius have been subjected to thorough archaeological investigation, and not all of these were suitable for the current study (Eastman 1996: 129). Curaçao and St Maarten have over 800 and over 80 archaeological sites respectively, few of which have been investigated (Haviser and Gilmore III 2011; Haviser 2010d). Lack of funding for local heritage organisations means that archaeologists cannot excavate as frequently as they would like (Amy Victorina, pers. comm.) (Haviser and Gilmore III 2011). Table 4.2 below shows the criteria employed in the site selection process, and the author excluded

all sites that fitted these criteria. An exhaustive list of all sites that were considered can be found in Appendix B.

**Table 4.2:** Criteria for site exclusion, with examples of rejected sites (Source: Author).

<b>Criteria for Site Exclusion</b>	<b>Example</b>
No excavation carried out	Veeris Plantation enslaved village, Curaçao
No secure association with enslaved individuals	Mazinga Warehouse, St Eustatius
No firm interpretation of site usage	Feature 9 at Fair Play Plantation, St Eustatius
Small or not sufficiently informative artefact assemblage	Zuurzak slavencamp, Curaçao
No site report available	English Quarter enslaved village, St Eustatius

#### **4.6.4 Artefact Selection Process**

An assemblage is “an aggregation of diverse objects united by a distinctive and clearly defined context” (Hamilakis and Jones 2017: 77). DeLanda (2016: 1-2) and Hamilakis (2017: 169) also emphasize the importance of the temporal and social aspects of the assemblage. In this study, artefact selection was carried out after reading the site reports and conversing with local heritage professionals. The artefacts selected had a firm association with enslaved individuals. Most of them therefore came from the selected sites. However, some items with no context were included in the analysis because they had a firm oral historical association with enslaved individuals (for example, objects in the St Eustatius Historical Foundation Museum and the St Maarten History Museum, or objects belonging to members of the public).

The author accessed material assemblages at local heritage organisations and artefactual data were collected until ‘saturation’ – i.e. the point at which new examples are not generating new data (Braun and Clarke 2013: 55; Mason, M. 2010; Small 2009: 25; Morse 1994). In the context of material cultural analysis this meant, for example, that only one piece of blue transferprint pottery would be recorded for Fair Play Plantation,

unless there was another piece of blue transferprint pottery that was found in a context that might encourage a different interpretation. If all the blue transferprint came from post holes, she would only need one example. If some came from post holes and some came from ditches, then she would need two examples. This is because ditches and post holes may represent different phases or activities in the life of the village. There were two reasons why a qualitative saturation-based approach to material culture data collection was appropriate instead of a more quantitatively-based approach. Firstly, the use of thematic analysis only requires one artefact of each type to produce themes and make links between these themes. Secondly, many of the site reports already included quantitative analyses which did not need repeating (see for example Bonnissent 2012).

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
71	CUR-MC-70	Kenepa	Trench BG	Feature L0001, Fill 1, Planum 1	Abandonment	Pink glass fragment	6324-6325	-	0052KENE0276GLS	-
72	CUR-MC-71	Kenepa	Trench BJ	Feature L0001, Fill 1, Planum 2	Occupation	Clear glass scalloped rim fragment	6326-6327	-	0052KENE0293GLS	-
73	CUR-MC-72	Kenepa	Trench BJ	Feature L0001, Fill 1, Planum 2	Occupation	Brown glass fragments	6328-6329	-	0052KENE0293GLS	-
74	CUR-MC-73	Kenepa	Trench BC	Feature L0001, Fill 1, Planum 1	Abandonment	Clear glass ridged jar	6330-6331	-	0052KENE0244GLS	-
75	CUR-MC-74	Kenepa	Trench BA	Feature L0001, Fill 1, Planum 4	Occupation	Clear glass pop bottle (probably says 'Cherry	6332-6337	-	0052KENE0046GLS	-
76	CUR-MC-75	Kenepa	Trench BA	Feature L0001, Fill 1, Planum 4	Occupation	Clear glass baby's bottle	6342-6343	-	0052KENE0046GLS	-
77	CUR-MC-76	Kenepa	Trench BA	Feature L0001, Fill 1, Planum 4	Occupation	Clear shot glass	6344-6345	-	0052KENE0046GLS	-
78	CUR-MC-77	Kenepa	Trench BI	Feature L0001, Fill 1, Planum 2	Occupation	Green glass beer bottle	6346-6347	-	0052KENE0284GLS	-
79	CUR-MC-78	Kenepa	Trench BE	Feature L0001, Fill 1, Planum 3	Occupation	Brown glass bottle ('No Deposit-No Return'	6348-6353	-	0052KENE0088GLS	-
80	CUR-MC-79	Kenepa	Trench BG	Feature L0001, Fill 1, Planum 1	Abandonment	Green glass Heineken bottle ('Heineken's')	6354-6355	-	0052KENE0206GLS	-
81	CUR-MC-80	Kenepa	Trench BC	Feature L0001, Fill 1, Planum 4	Occupation	Whisky bottle	6356-6358	-	0052KENE0044GLS	-
82	CUR-MC-81	Kenepa	Trench BC	Feature L0001, Fill 1, Planum 4	Occupation	Clear glass bottle ('Alcolado Glacial - Refresh	6359-6361	-	0052KENE0044GLS	-
83	CUR-MC-82	Kenepa	Trench BC	Feature L0001, Fill 1, Planum 4	Occupation	Bacardi bottle	6362-6363	-	0052KENE0044GLS	-
84	CUR-MC-83	Kenepa	Trench BI	Feature L0001, Fill 1, Planum 3	Occupation	Copper alloy pendant with ?turquoise stone	6364-6365	-	0052KENE0286MTL	-
85	CUR-MC-84	Kenepa	Trench BI	Feature L0001, Fill 1, Planum 3	Occupation	1 cent Mont van Curacao coin of 1944 (TPQ)	6366-6369	-	0052KENE0286MTL	-
86	CUR-MC-85	Kenepa	Trench BC	Feature L0001, Fill 1, Planum 4	Occupation	Fe alloy gears and cogs	6370-6372	-	0052KENE0248MTL	-
87	CUR-MC-86	Kenepa	Trench BI	Feature L0001, Fill 1, Planum 3	Occupation	Copper alloy ball	6373-6376	-	0052KENE0288MTL	-
88	CUR-MC-87	Kenepa	Trench BC	Feature L0001, Fill 1, Planum 4	Occupation	Enamel dish with flower pattern	6377-6382	-	0052KENE0288MTL	-
89	CUR-MC-88	Kenepa	Trench BD	Feature L0001, Fill 1, Planum 4	Occupation	Fe nail	6383-6384	-	0052KENE0255MTL	-
90	CUR-MC-89	Kenepa	Trench BI	Feature L0001, Fill 1, Planum 3	Occupation	Fe furniture fitting	6385-6386	-	0052KENE0283MTL	-
91	CUR-MC-90	Kenepa	Trench BH	Feature L0001, Fill 1, Planum 1	Abandonment	?steel furniture fitting	6387-6388	-	0052KENE0271MTL	-

Figure 4.1: Screenshot of Microsoft Excel spreadsheet containing artefactual data from Curaçao (see Microsoft 2011).

Artefacts selected according to this methodology were assigned a reference code (the airport code for the island, followed by MC for Material Culture and the artefact number, for example CUR-MC-001), and photographed. Contextual information was recorded in an Excel spreadsheet (see Figure 4.1 and Appendix B).

#### 4.6.5 Material Culture Interpretations

Artefactual interpretations were made using several sources of information. These included not only the site reports but also other sources providing historical, temporal, geographical, and cultural contextual information (Kelly 2014b) such as:

- grey literature relating to the archaeological site, such as unpublished field drawings and inventories;
- published articles and books, such as Paul Brenneker's anthropological '*Sambumbu*' publications which provide information on many everyday objects used by enslaved individuals in Curaçao, and include oral historical information (Brenneker 2018; Brenneker 2017a; Brenneker 2017b; Brenneker 2017c; Brenneker 1969-1973);
- parallels from West Africa, accessed through online databases such as that of the British Museum (see Trustees of the British Museum 2016);
- artefacts from the Digital Archaeological Archive for Comparative Slavery (DAACS) containing material from sites in North America and the Caribbean (Thomas Jefferson Foundation 2018);
- publications relating to other sites in the Caribbean region (see for example Reilly 2015c; Serrand 2014; and Ahlman, Schroedl and McKeown 2009);
- reference books such as *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America* (Noel Hume 1969);
- ethnographic information from island museums and local inhabitants;
- original and alternative uses of the manufactured or altered object;
- and the physical properties of the material.

A comparative approach using sources such as these is important because methodology has a significant effect upon research results. It is increasingly seen in Caribbean archaeology and provides a broader range of interpretations (Kelly 2014b). However, analogy should be treated as a starting point for comparison, rather than as a directly applicable parallel: homogeneity between populations separated in time and space should not be assumed (Allison 2013: 29; Morgan 2006; Allison 1999: 2, 12-13).

Comparisons should attempt to explain any difference, rather than regard anomalous data as unreliable (Allison 2013: 281). It is important to maintain scepticism towards prescribed cultural generalisations in the interpretation of material culture (Leach 1999), especially where the African Diaspora is concerned (see section 4.5) (Patterson, T. and Kelley 2000; DeCorse 1999).

The interpretation of material culture should therefore be based on:

- the prior research of other individuals or groups;
- the architectural context;
- the stratigraphy of the site and the archaeological context of the artefact (for example, occupation, waste disposal or abandonment deposits);
- the chronology of the site;
- the site as a whole;
- the site within its broader context;
- and contemporary documentary sources (Allison 2013: 4-6; Allison 2004: 36-37, 201): in this case, historical works published by other authors rather than primary documentary evidence, which was beyond the scope of the study.

Links that need to be made between the artefact and its interpretation are:

- the range of uses to which the artefact may have been put;
- the range of people who would have used the artefact;
- and how these uses and people were dispersed around the site or landscape (Allison 2013: 3).

These links have been explored by many authors writing about artefact biography, also known as the 'life history' approach (see Swift 2012; Hicks 2010; Herva and Nurmi 2009; Joy 2009; Graves-Brown 2000; Gosden and Marshall 1999). It uses evidence of material provenance, manufacture, use, modification, reuse and deposition to construct a birth, life, and death narrative for the object (Joy 2009; Gosden and Marshall 1999). Although archaeological information is limited, artefact biography can help to develop

an awareness of the complex and changing social roles played by objects (Herva and Nurmi 2009; Kopytoff 1986). It acknowledges the material properties of an object, the meanings and functions it may have had, how these may have changed over time, and how the object came to be deposited in the archaeological record (Hicks 2010). The archaeologist needs to take into account the various site formation processes that affect the sample of material available to the archaeologist (Allison 2013: 39; Lane 2006; LaMotta and Schiffer 1999: 19-20). The artefact assemblage excavated from a building does not necessarily represent a snapshot of household activities (Allison 1999: 12). Rather, it is formed through the abandonment and post-abandonment processes of a site, both deliberate and accidental (Allison 2013: 39; LaMotta and Schiffer 1999: 19, 25). These processes may involve ritual activities, and it cannot be assumed that the artefacts found in a certain location were also used in that location (LaMotta and Schiffer 1999: 20, 25). This is demonstrated by the work of Paul Lane, who studied a 1980s Dogon village in Mali. The women of the village collected a large amount and wide variety of artefacts during life, but these would be removed from the building after their death and redeposited around the site in a refuse context. The activities of these women would therefore be visible archaeologically, but not in their original context (Lane 2006).

Much of the material culture available for analysis in the Dutch Caribbean dates to the 18<sup>th</sup> century. During this period, fashion joined patina as a means for communicating high social status through objects (Stobart and Rothery 2014; McCracken 1988: 19). Fashion provided wealthy individuals with the opportunity to perform conspicuous consumption, indicating the extent of their economic success to those who visited their estates (Stobart and Rothery 2014). Items with patina (those with signs of age, especially heirlooms) were used to express status attributes such as rank and lineage (Stobart and Rothery 2014; McCracken 1988: 32, 51). Although aristocratic patina was still unavailable to them, the increased production of consumer goods during this period

allowed ordinary people to access the fashionable market for the first time (McCracken 1988: 21). This means that the repair and reuse of artefacts in certain archaeological contexts may indicate restricted access to resources or low socio-economic status (see Swift 2012; Herva and Nurmi 2009; Wilson, D. 1995). Material culture should therefore be examined within the wider frameworks of consumption (see McCracken 1988) with information from structural, ethnographic, and documentary sources. These allow the archaeologist to construct a rich and nuanced interpretation involving activity, identity, and spatial distribution (Allison 2013: 2, 344, 357; Allison 2004: 25-26; Allison 1999: 6, 8).

The data produced from the artefacts are qualitative because they are based on attribution of activity and social values to archaeological objects, and their interpretation through the perusal of associations and patterns which are visible with the human eye (Allison 2013: 10, 46, 347). They can therefore be integrated into a thematic analysis (see section 4.9.1) with the oral historical and osteobiographical data.

#### **4.6.6 Ethical Issues in Material Culture Analysis**

Archaeologists must consider their socio-political impact, especially when they work outside their home country (Meskell 2005). The archaeology of the colonial period in the Caribbean is important because it relates to modern national identities and economic development, for example through tourism (Armstrong 2013; Waterton and Smith 2009; Thomas, N. 1994: ix). One must therefore be wary of uncritical interpretations and recognise the social and political implications of the research (Cipolla 2017b; Armstrong 2013; Wilson, S. 2013). Community involvement is particularly important (see Hofman and Hoogland 2016). This can be achieved through talks, publications and workshops to engage local people (see Antczak et al. 2013). In this study, the researcher involved local people in the creation and interpretation of the data through

the oral historical interview process (see section 4.8) as well as through public lectures and informal workshops.

#### **4.6.7 Limitations of Material Culture Analysis**

Differential survival is a perennial problem for archaeologists. Perishable materials seldom survive, and the sample of material culture that we are able to access is therefore a fraction of the original whole (Lucas 2015; Higman 2014; Lenik and Petley 2014; Allison 1999: 15). Archaeologists often assume that an observed paucity of evidence relating to enslaved lifeways in archaeology is due to contemporary social inequalities which influenced the ability of enslaved individuals to acquire possessions (Higman 2014; Lenik and Petley 2014). However, assumptions about the invisibility of certain groups in the archaeological record may be based on modern prejudices. The archaeology itself is not prejudiced in the same way. In terms of material culture, subordinate groups are as visible as the elites (Allison 1999: 10). It is often a question of whether or not one is looking for them, whilst interrogating one's assumptions (Allison 2013: 2; Allison 1999: 10).

As mentioned above, our interpretations themselves are in danger of being colonial, so it is important to address the whole process of excavation, recording, and analysis with an attitude that attempts to decolonise the discipline (Rizvi 2015). As archaeologists, we have an effect upon the material that we excavate (Hamilakis and Jones 2017). There are problems inherent in the reanalysis of artefacts previously excavated by other researchers, who may have had different methodological and theoretical approaches (Allison 1999: 7). However, it is still possible to gain information from such material, even when recording methods are not high quality (Allison 2013: 344-345; Allison 1999: 7). For example, the application of cautiously broad categories or

themes (see section 4.9) to artefacts facilitates the qualitative analysis of such data (Allison 2013: 9-10, 43-44, 345).

In order to combat possible limitations, the archaeologist needs to approach traditional interpretations of material culture with a critical eye, regard cultural generalisations with scepticism, and engage in a comparative dialogue with other researchers (Allison 2013: 44, 358; Leach 1999: 191, 196). Despite its limitations, the archaeology of enslaved sites provides us with an opportunity to study the everyday that is absent from historical documentation (Higman 2014; Lenik and Petley 2014). It also encourages us to address other sources of evidence from an alternative angle (Lenik and Petley 2014). The study of material culture therefore remains a valuable contribution to the study of enslaved lifeways.

## **4.7 METHODOLOGY: OSTEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS**

### **4.7.1 Slavery in Osteology**

Human remains represent the most immediate evidence for people who lived in the past, and can provide information that is not available from other sources (Zuckerman and Armelagos 2011; Gowland and Knusel 2006: ix; Walker 1995; Larsen and Milner 1994). They are therefore essential in helping to answer questions about the lifeways of enslaved people.

Analysis of the skeletal remains of enslaved people in osteology has been carried out since the 1970s, although the total number of published studies is not large (Okumura 2011). Many of them attest to the adverse effect of discrimination and inequality on the health of enslaved individuals. These effects include high morbidity and mortality, evidence of occupational stress, malnutrition, high rates of infection, and poor dental health (Nystrom 2013; McCaa 2002; Steckel, Sciulli and Rose 2002; Steckel 1986b).

Most of these studies have been conducted in the United States (see for example Barrett and Blakey 2011; Lee et al. 2009; Margo and Steckel 1982), but there are also examples from Brazil (Cook, D. et al. 2012), South Africa (Ledger et al. 2000; Sealy et al. 1993), Ghana (Renschler and DeCorse 2016), Portugal (Wasterlain, Costa and Ferreira 2018; Wasterlain, Neves and Ferreira 2015), and the Caribbean.



**Figure 4.2:** Individual buried with an iron collar around the neck, from the cemetery at Raisins Clairs, Guadeloupe (after Matdus 2014).

One Caribbean population that has been studied extensively is that of Newton Plantation in Barbados (see Handler, Conner and Jacobi 1989). It has provided evidence on enslaved lifeways which is unavailable in any written record (Higman 2014). Isotopes have been used to demonstrate the origins of enslaved individuals in different parts of Africa, including the Gold Coast and Senegambia (Schroeder et al. 2009). Schroeder *et al* (2013) and Handler *et al* (1986) have compared skeletal lead levels between men and women, and between African and Creole individuals. Older studies addressed the relationship between dental pathologies and dietary changes such as weaning and starvation (Corruccini et al. 1987; Corruccini, Handler and Jacobi 1985). In 1982,

Corruccini *et al* described the Newton population as “the most metabolically insulted on record” (Corruccini et al. 1982: 456). A more recent study by Shuler (2011) has corroborated this, presenting evidence for high mortality, disease and malnutrition, abuse, injury and activity stress.

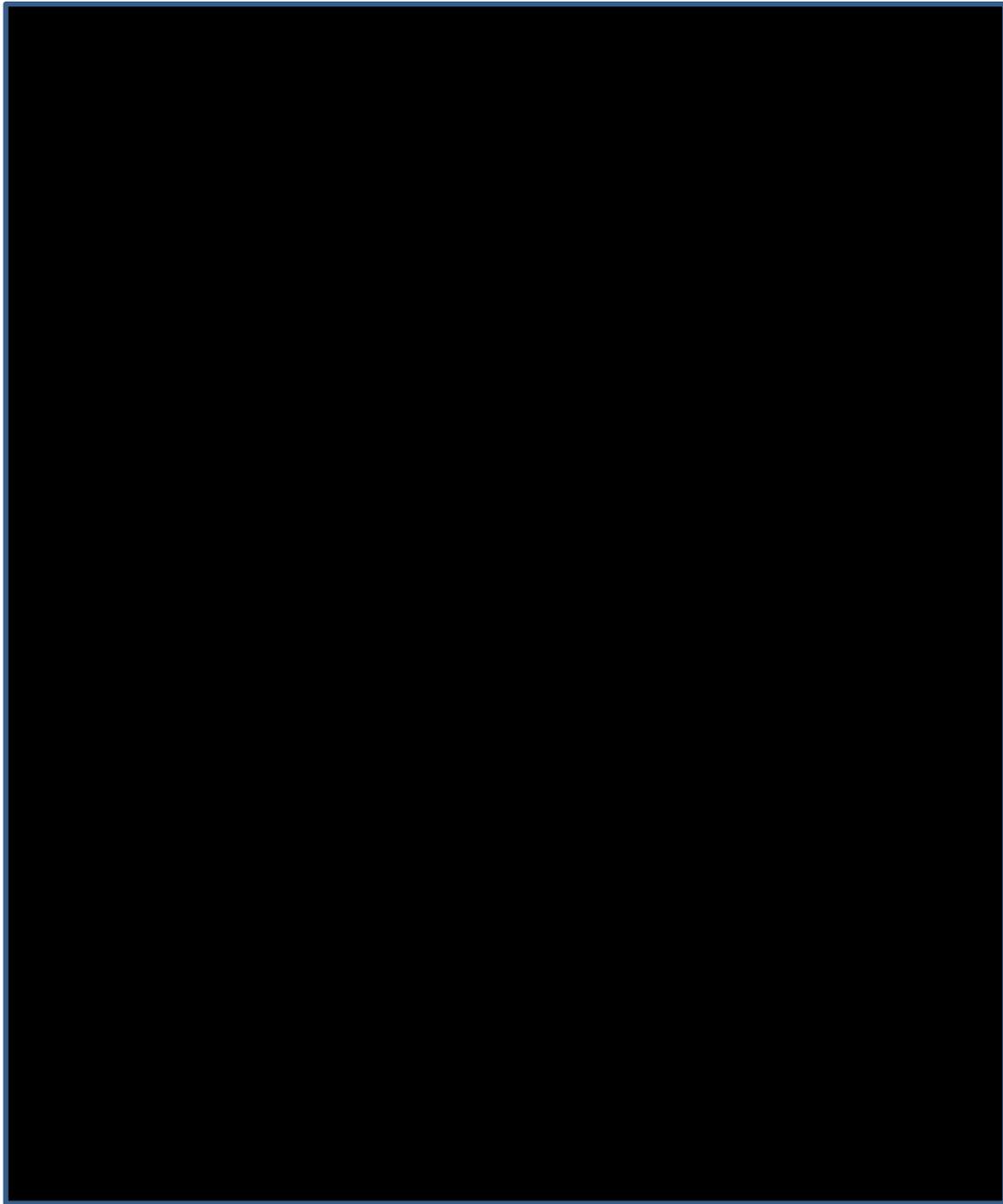
Enslaved populations have also been excavated elsewhere in the Caribbean region, although there are far fewer examples than in the United States. They include Plantation Waterloo in Suriname, where there was osteological evidence for high levels of physiological stress, poor oral health, and the use of tobacco pipes (Okumura 2011); and the cemeteries at Sainte-Marguerite (18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> century) and Raisins Clairs (17<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> century, see Figure 4.2 above) in Guadeloupe (Courtaud and Romon 2004; Delpuech 2001). However, such excavations may be conducted in rescue situations without the help of qualified osteologists and without the guidance of research questions (Bonnissent et al. 2017a; Delpuech 2001). Much work therefore remains to be done.

#### **4.7.2 The Osteobiographical Approach**

There are many ways to conduct bioarchaeology, but at its heart it is an approach that seeks to reconstruct the lives and deaths of people in the past through the examination of their burials and skeletons. It leads the way in holistic approaches to archaeology that combine many different types of data (Buikstra, Baadsgaard and Boutin 2012). One of the approaches that many osteologists use to address this is that of osteobiography. Osteological information, data from the burial context, history and oral history, mythology, and ethnography are used to construct a narrative of the individual’s life (an ‘osteobiography’ or ‘life narrative’) (Stodder and Palkovich 2012). Although the production of an osteobiography is often easier when the individual is part of a large buried population and can be compared to overall trends (see for example the 'life course analysis' approach taken by Glencross 2011; and Larsen 1997: 3), it can also produce

good results when the individual is excavated in isolation, and is sometimes the only course of analysis open to a researcher (as is the case in the Dutch Caribbean, where large cemetery populations are unavailable) (Baker, B., Terhune and Papalexandrou 2012; Stodder and Palkovich 2012; Gowland and Knusel 2006: ix). The data produced are very different from those of demography, but no less valuable. Single burials allow us to answer more personal and specific questions, and we are presented with few opportunities to get to know individual enslaved people from this perspective (Stodder and Palkovich 2012; Pelteret 1995: 40).

Osteobiographical examples from the Caribbean include those of Armstrong and Fleischman (2003) at Seville Plantation in Jamaica (see Figure 4.3), where the house-yard burials of four individuals (three males and one adolescent female) showed that enslaved people here during the 18<sup>th</sup> century led highly stressful lives: evidence for metabolic and infectious disease, labour intensive occupations, and complex ritual traditions, helped the archaeologists to develop a sensitive interpretation of the lives of these individuals in their social and historical context. Within the Dutch Caribbean itself, Laffoon *et al* (2018) have constructed a brief life narrative for an individual on Saba using five teeth. The teeth were found in a lockbox also containing Afro-Caribbean ritual items such as iron nails, shell, and animal bone. Isotopic analysis showed that this individual was probably transported from the Sahel region of north-central Africa to Saba as a child, evidenced by a change in diet.



**Figure 4.3:** Burial SAJ-B2 (a young adult male of African ancestry) from Seville Plantation, Jamaica, showing pattern of coffin nails (left) and position of the skeleton (right) (after Armstrong and Fleischman 2003: 45).

Osteobiographies can vary a lot depending on the goals of the researcher. There are very empirical, science-based examples (see for example Lovell and Dublenko 1999) and others which rely on fictional narratives (see for example Boutin 2012a). Fictional narratives can in some cases be a good way to engage the general public, because ‘affect’ is one way in which heritage can encourage people towards positive social and political action (Wetherell, Smith and Campbell 2018). However, overextrapolation in the context

of slavery may come dangerously close to speaking *for* the subaltern rather than *about* her (see section 4.4.4). A critical realist approach (see section 3.2) maintains that it is possible to reach meaningful understandings of enslaved lifeways but warns that these understandings can only ever be partial, because of our hermeneutic standpoints (see Braun and Clarke 2013: 27). Good examples of osteobiographies applying such an approach to enslaved individuals are those by Barrett and Blakey (2011) in New York.

In the current study, therefore, a critical realist approach to osteobiography is applied within the theoretical approach of the ‘state of dishonour’ (see section 3.5.1). Osteological, archaeological, ethnological, and historical data are used to produce a possible life narrative for each individual. The narratives produced aim to increase the accessibility of skeletal data for the general public and to engage an emotional association between the reader and the buried individual: the enslaved person is no longer only a number. It also allows the osteological data (which are often used in statistical studies) to be incorporated into a qualitative thematic analysis.

#### **4.7.3 The Skeletal Sample**

The author analysed all suitable skeletons available on each island. Criteria for inclusion were:

- date of burial (between 1640 and 1975);
- burial context associated with slavery e.g. plantation setting;
- sufficient skeletal remains preserved to conduct basic osteological analysis (age, sex, ancestry – this ruled out some disarticulated remains)
- and sufficient contextual information available to generate wider interpretations about the individual’s life (and thereby an osteobiography).

Although some skeletons from these islands have been previously analysed and published in peer-reviewed journals, others have not (see Schroeder, Havisser and Price

2014; Morsink 2012; Gilmore III and Raes 2011; Gilmore 2008). Most of the skeletons addressed in this study had only been subjected to preliminary analysis by non-specialists in the grey literature, and some had never been analysed at all. They are steadily deteriorating in the hot, damp Caribbean environment (see Mickleburgh 2015). A specialist is therefore in many cases desperately needed before the data are lost.

It was necessary for the author to re-analyse the published skeletons for two reasons: firstly, to address interpersonal error; and secondly, to include in the analysis any osteological advancements that had been made since the original analyses. Data were recorded using a custom-made recording form (see Appendix C) as well as the dental and completeness forms suggested by Brickley and McKinley (2004: 8, 57-59). Each site was given an identifying code consisting of the airport code, followed by OB for osteobiography and the number of the site followed by the number of the individual (for example, EUX-OB-01.1).

#### **4.7.4 Professional Standards for Osteology**

Professional standards for the excavation and curation of human remains (see BBAO Working Group for Ethics and Practice 2017b) were out of the author's control and often restricted by funding and staffing shortages, but she abided by the rules and guidelines of the host institutions in the Caribbean (St Eustatius Centre for Archaeological Research, St Maarten Archaeological Research Center, and National Archaeological-Anthropological Memory Management, Curaçao).

In order to develop the osteobiographies in this study, the author conducted human remains analysis according to established guidelines (Mitchell and Brickley 2017; Powers 2012; Brickley and McKinley 2004; Mays, Brickley and Dodwell 2004; Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994). Some adjustments were made for the geographical region, whose populations are profoundly understudied in osteology. Additionally, the fragmentary

nature of these archaeological human remains made some methods redundant. The following sections will therefore discuss the methods used in reference to the established professional guidelines and to the individual context.

#### **4.7.5 Sex Assessment**

Sex assessment is important in osteological analysis, not only because of the differing physical attributes of males and females (for example, the ability to bear children) which impacted the lives of enslaved people, but also because of the relationship between biological sex and the social construction of gender. Many interpretations relating to society and identity are intimately connected with gender, and biological sex is often used as a proxy for this (Hollimon 2011).

There are both metric and morphological methods for sex assessment. In this study, fragmentation of the pelvic bones made metric methods from this element redundant (Kjellstrom 2004; Walrath, Turner and Bruzek 2004; Murail, Bruzek and Braga 1999; Konigsberg and Hens 1998). Metric methods of sex assessment from the skull using discriminant functions or computer programs were also impractical in the field (see for example Kraniotti and Apostol 2015; Braz 2009; Gapert, Black and Last 2009; Murail et al. 2005; Murail, Bruzek and Braga 1999; Konigsberg and Hens 1998). Morphological traits of the cranium and pelvis were therefore assessed according to the methodology put forward by Buikstra and Ubelaker (1994), Herrmann *et al* (1990), and Ferembach *et al* (1980).

The pelvis is considered to be more accurate in sex assessment than the skull, as its morphology relates to functional aspects of the dimorphic body (Kjellstrom 2004; Bruzek 2002; Murail, Bruzek and Braga 1999). Some of the traits that they indicate are more reliable than others. For example, the greater sciatic notch is considered one of the

most reliable pelvic traits for sex estimation and can achieve 80% accuracy (Walker 2005; Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994).

When sex assessment could not be carried out using the pelvis, the author applied methods relying on cranial morphology instead. This can reduce the accuracy of sex assessment by around 15% (Murail, Bruzek and Braga 1999; Konigsberg and Hens 1998). This is because cranial traits are more population-specific, having a greater relationship with geographical ancestry (see section 4.7.7 below) (Stevenson et al. 2009; Murail, Bruzek and Braga 1999).

It is therefore important to take a wider viewpoint and consider all the factors which may affect sexual dimorphism. It is a spectrum within which males and females may overlap, and it also has an intricate relationship with age (Braz 2009; Kjellstrom 2004). Rather than focussing on one area, one should assess the skeleton as a whole, using both cranial and pelvic data (Kjellstrom 2004). For example, sexual dimorphism is less pronounced in individuals who are not fully biologically mature, making sex assessment more difficult (Brickley and Buckberry 2017). In some cases, this study included individuals who had an adult chronological age and a non-adult biological age (see section 4.7.6 below), which made additional non-adult methods necessary. The author therefore employed the Vance *et al* (2011) method of sex assessment from the morphology of the distal humerus, which can achieve up to 75.5% accuracy.

#### **4.7.6 Age Assessment**

In osteology there is a separation between chronological age (length of life) and biological age (stage of physical development) (Cameron 2015; Gowland 2007). In this study, most individuals were both chronologically and biologically adult. Dental development is often used as a proxy for chronological age as it is less sensitive to environmental disturbances than epiphyseal fusion (Liversidge 2008; Brickley 2004).

Epiphyseal fusion can be used to assess biological age for non-adults and young adults, but when skeletal development is complete age assessment methods rely on degeneration alone, which can vary significantly between individuals (Schaefer, Black and Scheuer 2009: 354-355; Buckberry 2015a). Such variations may be caused by factors such as occupation, disease, and genetics (Buckberry 2015a; Mays 2015; Falys and Lewis 2010; Rogers 2009b). Age brackets assigned in each case were therefore broad and tailored to the individual (O'Connell 2004).

Any age assessment methods that required specialist equipment, and were costly, time consuming, or population specific, were rejected for use in this study (see for example De Luca et al. 2010; Dorandeu et al. 2009; Meinl et al. 2008; Brothwell 1981). The most commonly used age assessment methods are those which rely on the pubic symphysis, auricular surface, sternal rib end, cranial sutures, and dental wear (Mays 2015). These can all be done easily in the field. Although the most accurate age estimations are generated from sample-specific reference standards that are not available for the Dutch Caribbean, the ageing patterns of European and African populations demonstrate little difference (Falys and Lewis 2010). This means that some methods developed on European populations can also be used for African populations (Martrille et al. 2007). Age assessment methods relying on dental wear are a notable exception to this (Falys and Lewis 2010; Brothwell 1981: 71-72).

Age assessment methods that use features of the auricular surface and the pubic symphysis can achieve up to 95% accuracy (Falys and Lewis 2010). In this study the Buckberry and Chamberlain (2002) method was employed because it is easy to use, equally applicable to men and women, African and European ancestry people, and because it is more accurate than the Lovejoy *et al* (1985) method for individuals aged between 50 and 69 years at death, with 86% accuracy overall (Mulhern and Jones 2005). Unfortunately, remains were too fragmentary to allow use of the methods for pubic

symphyseal and sternal rib end age assessment methods. For this reason, cranial suture closure was also utilised. Although the macroscopic examination of cranial suture closure is a less accurate method, there is a correlation with age and it has been useful in forensic contexts (Brickley and McKinley 2004: 20; Hershkovitz et al. 1997). It may be useful when a multifactorial approach is applied (Brickley and McKinley 2004: 20). Use of a combination of methods in this way can provide a more holistic and reliable assessment of age (Buckberry 2015a; Falys and Lewis 2010; Rogers 2009b).

#### **4.7.7 Ancestry Assessment**

Geographical ancestry and social race are two separate things (Sauer and Wankmiller 2009). However, in some contexts (such as osteoarchaeology and forensic science) it is necessary to make a link between them in order to provide socially meaningful interpretations (MacEachern 2011; Ossorio 2006; Gill, G. 1998; Sauer 1992). As mentioned in section 1.5.2, an association existed between African ancestry and enslaved status in the colonial Americas, although creole individuals with mixed ancestry (which could include African, European, and Amerindian ancestry) were increasingly included in the workforce over time (Rupert 2012: 66; Hall, G. 2010; Hawthorne 2010; Curtin 2003 [1968]; Manning 2003 [1990]; Schwartz, S. 2003a; Wood, P. 2003 [1975]). An ideology of race was used to encourage the dichotomy of slavery and freedom, and this masked other societal inequalities such as those between different groups of white people (Lucas 2010). It was a means of social control and therefore has relevance for osteobiographical interpretations.

Although other methods exist, morphological and metric assessment of the cranium are the most common forms of ancestry assessment (Sholts et al. 2011a; Sholts et al. 2011b; Sauer and Wankmiller 2009; Ossorio 2006; Ross, McKeown and Konigsberg 1999). In this study, morphological assessment was used to make interpretations in the

field, as well as allowing more fragmentary remains to be included in the analysis (Rhine 1990). The morphological methodology used was the ‘trait list’ method found in Byers (2011), which is easy, quick, does not require specialist equipment or software (Hughes et al. 2011; Hefner 2009; Gill, G. 1998).

Metric assessment was also carried out. The computer programme FORDISC 3.0 was used in preference to CRANID because it allows analysis of fragmentary remains (Wright 2008: 113, 117; Ousley and Jantz 1998). Its comparative dataset includes populations from across Africa as well as 19<sup>th</sup> century mixed ancestry individuals from the United States (Ousley, Jantz and Freid 2009; Howells 1989). It is important to remember that this program does not seek to identify the specific group to which an individual belongs: rather, it identifies the group to which the individual is most similar. The osteologist must take this into account in the interpretation process. For example, there is a lack of Amerindian populations in the comparative database. FORDISC 3.0 may assign individuals thought to have Amerindian ancestry to East Asian populations (see the reports for Fort Amsterdam and Veeris Plantation in Appendix C).

#### **4.7.8 Stature Estimation**

The terminal height of an individual is affected by both genetic and environmental factors, including disease, malnutrition, hormonal imbalances, and psychological stress (Roberts, C. and Cox 2003: 308; Larsen 1997: 8; Steckel 1986a). Demographic studies show that low stature correlates with increased mortality, and may be related to low immunity and poor general health (DeWitte and Hughes-Morey 2012; Watts 2011; Robb, J. et al. 2001; Saunders and Hoppa 1993). A significant relationship with social status is also observed (Vercellotti et al. 2011).

In this study, the Fully (1956) method was impractical due to the incomplete nature of the skeletons. Stature equations exist for single skeletal elements such as the

cranium, vertebrae, clavicle and scapula, but these are not as accurate as the equations based on the femur and tibia (Willey 2009). Formulae also differ between populations. The most appropriate ways to measure stature in this study were therefore the Wilson *et al* (2010) equations for African ancestry males and females and the del Angel and Cisneros (2004) correction for the Genoves (1967) equation for Mesoamerican males. The equation with the lowest standard of error, depending on the skeletal elements available, is the most accurate (Willey 2009).

Terminal heights for all individuals were compared to contemporary records describing the average heights of African ancestry individuals in the US state penitentiary system (Carson 2008a; Carson 2008b), labouring in British marginal and sugar colonies (Higman 1979), and from mid-19<sup>th</sup> century ship manifests (Margo and Steckel 1982), as well as the original Genoves (1967) data for Mesoamerican males. It was therefore sometimes possible to ascertain whether the individual was of low or high stature compared to contemporary populations. However, enslaved people in the Dutch Caribbean came from a large geographical region across which average heights varied widely (Carson 2008a; Patterson, O. 1967: 142-144). Additionally, the study contained one individual whose biological and chronological ages were so different that the standard adult stature formulae could not be used. The Telkkä *et al* (1962) formulae for non-adults with a biological age of up to 15 years were therefore applied where necessary.

#### **4.7.9 Palaeopathology with a Focus on Systemic Stress**

Palaeopathology is the study of past disease, and one of the ways to look at this in archaeology is to examine skeletal abnormalities. Skeletal abnormalities that are not due to taphonomic processes or normal variation should be described in detail, and then discussed in a differential diagnosis, using a wide literature base including clinical

examples (Roberts, C. 2017). In some cases, pathologies may indicate environmental conditions or events which help to build a life narrative.

Much of the focus in palaeopathological studies of enslaved individuals is on 'stress'. This is defined by Goodman and Martin (2002: 12) as "a measurable physiological disruption or perturbation that has consequences for individuals and populations". It is often the result of multiple interacting stressors, which can include cultural and environmental factors such as malnutrition and disease (Goodman and Martin 2002; Schell 1997; Larsen and Milner 1994). It is a useful concept in archaeological studies concerning differing social status (including slavery and freedom) (see Redfern et al. 2015b; Geber 2014; DeWitte and Bekvalac 2011; Vercellotti et al. 2011; Temple 2010; Obertova and Thurzo 2008; Cucina et al. 2006; King, Humphrey and Hillson 2005; Facchini, Rastelli and Brasili 2004; Lukacs and Nelson 2001; Clarke 1982).

The main osteological traits used to investigate health and disease (including stress) in archaeological populations are stature; linear enamel hypoplasia; porotic hyperostosis, cribra orbitalia and other evidence for deficiency diseases such as anaemia and scurvy; periosteal reactions and other evidence for infectious disease; trauma and patterns of trauma; degenerative diseases such as osteoarthritis; and dental disease such as caries (Goodman and Martin 2002). These pathologies were therefore addressed in this study (see Table 4.3). The author recorded all skeletal abnormalities or pathologies which could contribute to the osteobiography (i.e. she did not record non-metric traits which indicate normal variation, as these are more useful in population-level studies) (see for example Nakashima et al. 2010; Tyrell 2000). Observations included the location, distribution, size, texture, and healing status of the lesion (see Ortner 2003: 45-57).

Finally, Geber (2014) in his study of workhouse inmates during the Great Irish Famine, and Penny-Mason and Gowland (2014) in their study of children during the Reformation, amongst others (see Sorensen et al. 2009; Littleton 2005; Blackwell,

Hayward and Crimmins 2001; Goodman et al. 1988), have demonstrated that we should not underestimate the effect of sociocultural, socioeconomic and psychological stress on health. This work is supported by research conducted on modern populations in anthropology, sociology, and psychology, which also notes the adverse effect of social change and psychological stress on health (Crooks 1999; Schwartz, J. et al. 1995; Adler, N. et al. 1994). The observable skeletal changes experienced by enslaved individuals can therefore be addressed within the theoretical framework of the ‘state of dishonour’ (see section 3.5.1).

**Table 4.3:** Foci of palaeopathological analysis used to create osteobiographies in this study (Gowland 2016; Martin, D. and Harrod 2015; Schroeder, Haviser and Price 2014; Thompson, S. et al. 2014; Villotte and Knusel 2014; Wazir 2014; DeWitte and Bekvalac 2011; Walker et al. 2009; Goldenberg et al. 2008; Ogden 2008a; Ogden, Pinhasi and White 2007; Ortner 2003: 119-158, 227-318, 453-480, 545-588; Teaford and Lytle 1996; Turner II and Machado 1983).

Pathology	Description	Interpretations
Dental Pathology	These include wear (from use and from grit in the diet); damage to the enamel (including LSAMAT and carious lesions); infections (evidenced for example by abscesses and alveolar resorption); developmental anomalies (such as enamel hypoplasia); and ante-mortem tooth loss.	Some of these have been linked to diets high in sugars and/or carbohydrates, for example carious lesions and LSAMAT. Periodontal disease has a complicated aetiology and has been linked to other health concerns such as pre-term birth. Occlusal wear is often an indication of grit in the diet, which is introduced during food preparation. Linear enamel hypoplasia is used as an indicator of general systemic stress in childhood when the teeth are developing.
Joint Disease	Changes include contour change, osteophyte formation, porosity, and eburnation. If eburnation is present, or if two other changes are present, the individual is said to have osteoarthritis. Severe types of joint disease can lead to ankylosis.	Changes at the joint surfaces usually develop as a person ages, but in some cases they have also been linked to repeated movements, especially the arm joints because these are more likely to be used in occupation-related activities.
Metabolic Disease	Metabolic problems can cause pathological lesions such as sub-periosteal new bone formation (periostitis), ante-mortem tooth loss, bowing of long bones, porosity of the orbital roof (cribra orbitalia) and porosity of the cranial bones (porotic hyperostosis).	These include deficiencies in vitamin D (rickets and osteomalacia), vitamin C (scurvy), and iron (anaemia). In many cases it is difficult to identify exactly which deficiency is acting on an individual. This is because different deficiencies can cause similar lesions, and in archaeology incomplete skeletons can make overall lesion distribution impossible to observe. Some of these pathologies are therefore used as indicators of general systemic stress.
Infectious Disease	Infectious diseases can cause a variety of skeletal responses, often including periostitic lesions which may be localised or widely distributed across the skeleton. Some diseases also cause pathognomic lesions (e.g. leprosy, tuberculosis and syphilis).	Non-specific infections (evidenced for example by tibial periostitis) are sometimes used as an indicator of general stress, but infections such as leprosy and tuberculosis can suggest certain environments because they have a high occurrence in circumstances of poverty, for example.
Occupational Markers	These include joint disease (for example osteochondritis dissecans) and changes to muscle attachment sites.	Although changes at muscle attachment sites are often age related, they can also occur during repeated movement. Osteochondritis dissecans has been linked to activity in adolescence.
Trauma	Trauma includes fractures caused by blunt and sharp forces that can occur across the skeleton, and may be fresh, healing or healed at the time of death. If the individual did not have access to medical assistance, the bones can heal in a misaligned position. Other complications include infection leading to osteomyelitis.	Modern clinical literature indicates that there are certain fractures more likely to happen in certain situations. For example, facial fractures often occur during episodes of interpersonal violence. Injury recidivism may indicate that the individual experienced abuse.
Congenital Abnormalities	These can include, for example, sacralisation of the 5 <sup>th</sup> lumbar vertebra, spina bifida, and cleft palate.	These pathologies can cause a range of effects from mild discomfort to life-threatening complications and therefore impact quality of life.
Cultural Modification	Cultural modifications in this study were restricted to dental modifications of the anterior teeth. These can be achieved through chipping or filing.	West African dental modifications may be done for a variety of reasons, including aesthetics, coming-of-age rituals, and to promote group identity.

#### **4.7.10 Ethical Issues in Osteological Analysis**

*Ethics* is defined as “a body of principles or standards of human conduct that govern the behaviour of individuals and groups” (Blau 2009: 457). Because worldviews differ between groups, osteologists should be sensitive to the specific cultural, social, and political context in which they are working (BABAO Working Group for Ethics and Practice 2017a; Blau 2009). They have a number of ethical responsibilities.

Firstly, an osteologist should be properly qualified and adhere to ethical and methodological guidelines provided by her institution and discipline. This includes an understanding of the relevant legislation pertaining to human remains (Blau 2009). The present author achieved a Distinction in her Human Osteology and Palaeopathology MSc from the University of Bradford in 2012, as well as being awarded the Anne Manchester Prize for Palaeopathology. She is a member of the British Association for Biological Anthropology and Osteoarchaeology (BABAO), which promotes best practice, and she also received ethical approval for the project from the University of Kent.

Secondly, there should be respect for the deceased individual and respect to living descendants, which may include the restricted use of photographic images (Marquez-Grant 2015; Blau 2009). For example, the author did not post images of the human remains that she researched on social media. When she showed images of these remains in conference settings, this was in a context where the audience expected to see them (such as the BABAO 2016 conference, and the physical anthropology lecture series at the IACA congress, 2015). At public lectures, she advised the audience beforehand that they were about to see images of human remains (for example at the Caribbean Netherlands Science Institute (CNSI) Science Café in March 2016) and gave them an opportunity to leave the room if necessary.

Thirdly, there is a need for the researchers to justify their techniques, ensuring that the most appropriate methods have been employed, and to discuss the limitations of the

data that can be gained from the analysis (Marquez-Grant 2015; Blau 2009). There should be a clear distinction between what can and what cannot be inferred from the remains (Blau 2009). These justifications and explanations can be found in sections 4.7.5 to 4.7.9 as well as in Appendix C.

Research into human remains should be undertaken where there are specific goals: the study must therefore have clear research questions that can be answered through osteological analysis. Research should also be properly published and disseminated in appropriate ways (BABAO Working Group for Ethics and Practice 2017a; Blau 2009). This is particularly important when the researcher carries out their data collection in an environment that they must leave once the study is over or the funding runs out: the local community have a right to be involved and to gain from the research (Blau 2009). The involvement of the local community in oral history interviews allowed people to express their opinions on the subject, and dissemination was conducted in order to encourage research transparency and community ownership (see Appendix D).

There are often concerns in archaeology about the quality of data produced, for example in rescue situations such as that at Witten Hoek on St Eustatius (Gilmore III and Raes 2011; Blau 2009). There are also concerns related to the variable working conditions experience by osteologists operating in different areas of the world. However, this should not be allowed to compromise the respect with which human remains are treated (Blau 2009). Such considerations are especially important given that many skeletons are threatened with reburial soon after excavation, for example at Vineyard and Bishop's Hill in St Maarten (see Havisser 2004; Barka 1993). This severely limits the ability of osteologists to conduct a thorough analysis with which to contribute to the story of enslaved individuals in the Dutch Caribbean. It is therefore more important than ever that specialists can access the remains before their stories are lost.

#### 4.7.11 The Osteological Paradox

In any osteological study, the ‘osteological paradox’ must be taken into account. The paradox states that excavated individuals with many pathological lesions, rather than representing extremely ill people, may in fact represent individuals with strong immune systems who survived long enough for skeletal changes to take place. An individual with few pathological lesions, rather than representing a healthy person, may in fact represent an individual with a weaker immune system who succumbed to their illnesses before skeletal changes could occur (Roberts, C. and Manchester 2010: 7; Null et al. 2006: 362; Robb, J. et al. 2001; Wood, J. et al. 1992). Problems relating to demographic osteological studies include the fluctuating nature of the living population, of whom we see only the buried portion; the selective nature of mortality; the influence of differences in immune strength between individuals; and differences in lifestyle which affect disease susceptibility (Wood, J. et al. 1992). The osteological paradox has been used to turn established theories on their heads in the past. Wood *et al* (1992) argue that the change from hunter-gathering to subsistence farming in the Neolithic may actually have been beneficial in terms of population health. For example, the rise in infant mortality associated with the introduction of farming may actually represent an increase in population fertility (Wood, J. et al. 1992). On the other hand, many diseases that kill leave no trace on the skeleton, while diseases that are not fatal may cause bony changes, and increases in disease and mortality in certain situations are predicted and demonstrated by epidemiologists (Siek 2013; Cohen, M., Wood and Milner 1994; Cohen, M. 1992; McGrath 1992). The ‘osteological paradox’ is best observed in populations where the apparently good health of each individual seems at odds with the mortality data (Steckel, Sciulli and Rose 2002).

The best possible course may be to remain skeptical of all interpretations, and the application of the biocultural approach can be seen as an attempt to address this problem

by investigating complex and varying lines of evidence for health and disease, rather than dividing the buried population into two groups: the healthy and the unhealthy (Siek 2013; Cohen, M. 1992). Fortunately, the problem of the osteological paradox has little relevance for the ‘state of dishonour’ in this study. An individual with many pathological lesions as a result of violence, disease, and malnutrition, may indeed have had a strong immune system, but they still represent an individual who was subjected to particular stresses that relate to the ‘state of dishonour’. Additionally, a single individual or small group of individuals (as discussed here) cannot be statistically investigated, and therefore avoids some of the problems relating to the osteological paradox in demographic contexts. Exhortations to record the differences between healed and active lesions are important at the population level, where disease may often be recorded as merely present or absent (Eisenberg 1992). In individual case studies such as the ones used here, however, the survival of a disease is part of the ‘life history’ produced and is therefore naturally taken into account.

## **4.8 METHODOLOGY: ORAL HISTORY**

### **4.8.1 Oral Historical Research**

In 1917, Lowie discussed the usefulness of oral history in an article entitled *Oral tradition and history*. His main point is one that still holds a hundred years later: oral history, embellished, exaggerated and embroidered though it may be, often contains a kernel of truth (Lowie 1917). This point is upheld by scholars dealing with alternative narratives in the Caribbean, for example Trouillot (1995: 8), who discusses historical narratives which may cross and re-cross the boundary between fact and fiction.

In light of this, oral history is now a discipline in its own right, rather than merely a methodology (see Rolph and Walmsley 2016 [2006]; Shopes 2014), and archaeologists

often use it in tandem with documentary and material cultural data (see for example Reilly 2016b; Jones and Russell 2012). In Africa, postcolonial archaeology has a long association with the use of oral historical data and researchers have used these data sources successfully to deconstruct colonial narratives and discuss the subaltern (DeCorse 2014b; Schmidt, P. 2013; Schmidt, P. and Karega-Munene 2010; Miller, J. 2003). Oral history can allow us to access data missing from historical documents as well as information on meaning and emotion (James 2016 [2000]; Thompson, P. 2016 [1988]; Jones and Russell 2012). It enables research that is socially engaged and dialogical rather than observational, contributing to the democratisation of knowledge by involving multiple participants (Cunningham and MacEachern 2016; Thompson, P. 2016 [1988]).

In the context of the current study it is also important to note that oral history allows us access to collective memory that can be accurate at considerable time depth (Boeyens and Hall 2009; Fahlander 2004). There are different kinds of memory functional at different time depths: *recent* or *linear* time within three or four generations, or the 100 to 200 years suggested by Fahlander (2004) and Boeyens and Hall (2009), may provide accurate historical information, while *middle* or *cyclical* time can provide general information over the past four centuries, a qualitative palimpsest of historical events (Mason, O. 2012; Spear 1981). Greater time depths (*mythical* time) may provide information important for understanding a culture, but which is not necessarily factual (Spear 1981). However, some researchers have argued for the usefulness of oral history that refers to mythical time depth, for example to the 12<sup>th</sup> century in Ethiopia (Finneran 2009), and to 3000 BP in the Philippines (Maher 1975).

The time frame of the current study straddles the recent and middle/cyclical time periods. Most of the era of slavery belongs to ‘middle’ time before it becomes mythical. This does not necessarily represent a problem for the research, except regarding research questions about changes through time, which the cyclical nature of middle memory would

erase. Otherwise, middle memory should be sufficient to recall passed-down knowledge about the nature of enslaved lifeways at a distance of up to 400 years (back to the 1640s). Second and subsequent generations may indeed inherit narratives as a kind of 'postmemory' focused around the traumatic event (Jones and Russell 2012). Additionally, Mason (2000) has discussed seven arguments for using oral history in archaeological research (see Table 4.4 below).

**Table 4.4:** Arguments for using oral history in archaeological research (after Mason, R. 2000: 242).

#	ARGUMENTS FOR USING ORAL HISTORY
1	Oral tradition is as valid as any other kind of information about the past and deserves equal status.
2	Who should know their own history as well as, let alone better, than those who made it, even if they never wrote it down?
3	Oral traditions, being "emic" phenomena, are extraneously unchallengeable and must be accepted as independent information.
4	Much of the past survives exclusively in the spoken word.
5	Verbal traditions and Western historiography access uniquely different kinds of knowledge and thus address parallel realities, each as valid as the other.
6	Archaeology and oral traditions overlap and supply in their combination a richer view of the past than either offers alone.
7	Archaeology, a product of Western civilization, is ethnocentric and must be balanced if not replaced by "alternative histories."

#### 4.8.2 Oral History and Slavery

Oral history has been used in the study of slavery in the past (see also Chapter 2 for a discussion of such studies in the Dutch Caribbean). It allows the inclusion of multiple voices that can contribute to the narrative on slavery (Jackson 2012), and it can provide detailed information on aspects of culture that may be missing or elusive in the archaeological record (see for example Ensing 2012; Rosalia 1996b; Schmidt, M. 1996). For example, Alex Haley (2016 [1973]) describes the transmission of oral history about slavery in his family in the US. His family members remembered specific events about their ancestor known as 'The African' who lived during the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century. He was captured by four men whilst chopping wood and was transported to North America where he ended up enslaved on a plantation in Virginia. He tried to run away several times and had one of his feet cut off as punishment. These stories were passed down within the

family until they reached Alex Haley, around two centuries later. He was able to identify words passed down to him through his ancestors that were part of the Mandinka language, and ascertained that 'The African' must have come from Gambia (Haley 2016 [1973]). Similarly, Pérez-Sarduy (1999) describes knowledge passed down from his great-grandmother. She was taken from Africa as a child and enslaved in Cuba. Another example is Rodet's (2015) study on slavery in French West Africa (Mali and Senegal). She was able to access information on the social structures of isolation experienced by enslaved people and how these people subsequently practiced migration as a way to overcome its legacy and develop new identities using traditional patterns of chieftaincy and language. Oral history interviews therefore provide us with evidence for the lifeways of enslaved individuals, not only in terms of material lifeways, but also in terms of spiritual and intellectual lifeways.

In the current study, oral historical data provided additional information relating to enslaved lifeways. The information recorded included evidence for dancing, singing, storytelling, human relationships, rituals and other such activities known as 'intangible heritage' (Impey 2016; Stefano, Davis and Corsane 2012: 1). Archaeology and osteological remains do not often preserve evidence for this type of activity, and the only way to access such information is through passed-down knowledge. Interviews are a good way of accessing this data because they use the qualities of the "human instrument" - able to adapt, respond, handle sensitive matters, and clarify meanings and intentions at the point of data production (Cohen, L., Manion and Morrison 2000: 140).

#### **4.8.3 Recruitment and Sampling**

Unlike quantitative researchers, qualitative researchers do not know in advance how much data they will need to collect. Interviews are often conducted until 'saturation' is reached (including in the current study, see section 4.3.2) (Baker, S. and Edwards 2012;

Small 2009: 25; Morse 1994). However, researchers are often confronted with a misunderstanding of qualitative research in academic departments (Adler, P. and Adler 2012; Small 2009). Doctoral students therefore often use round numbers of interview participants, despite the fact that this negates the aim of qualitative research (Mason, M. 2010). Due to this confusion about qualitative research design and the quantitative demands made by universities, researchers have provided guidelines for the number of interviews to be used (see Baker, S. and Edwards 2012; Morse 2000). There are several factors which affect whether this number will be large or small. If the project is broad in scope; concerns a sensitive topic which people may be unwilling to talk about; is not producing good quality data; or requires only one interview per participant, then the number of participants needed will be larger. Some researchers indicate that a smaller number of interviews may be required when they are backed up by other datasets, such as historical documentation (Charmaz 2012; Jenson 2012; Miller, D. 2012). Above all, the number of interviews must be high enough to produce sufficient data to support the research conclusions (Becker 2012; Charmaz 2012).

In order to identify interview participants, the author became involved with local heritage organisations such as SIMARC, SECAR, NAAM, and the CNSI. She contacted members of these organisations, who recommended members of the public who they thought would be suitable for the research. These participants in turn recommended more people. This type of recruitment is called 'snowballing' (Trotter II 2012; Cohen, L., Manion and Morrison 2000: 144). Singleton and Orser (2003) agree that heritage professionals are often useful for gaining entrance to the community in these situations but suggest that it is best to make diverse contacts. Otherwise the sample population may consist of people who are more likely to be part of the same social network than would be the case if the researcher applied random sampling (Small 2009). One other way that the author recruited participants was through the publication of an article by Lisa Davis

Burnett in the local newspaper *The St Maarten Daily Herald* (see Davis Burnett 2016). It encouraged readers to contact the researcher by email.

Despite drawbacks, the snowballing method was chosen for the following reasons: firstly, it used the greater local knowledge of island archaeologists to select participants; and secondly, it provided interviewees who were ‘pre-approved’ which was important for the researcher’s personal safety as an isolated researcher. When interviewing strangers, it may be hazardous to conduct the interview in their home (Braun and Clarke 2013: 88). The author therefore implemented a ‘buddy’ system whereby someone always knew where she was and remained available by phone.

Criteria for participation were:

- participants must be over 18;
- participants must speak English or Dutch proficiently;
- participants must:
  - have ancestral ties to the island;
  - and/or be significantly involved in the local community (for example, as a heritage professional).

Interviewing was therefore undertaken with two groups of people: heritage professionals who were known to the researcher beforehand, and members of the public who were not. In qualitative research it is acceptable to interview acquaintances, but the researcher must bear in mind that they are then entering into a ‘dual relationship’ with that person: both as friends/acquaintances, and as interviewee/interviewer, which has a different power dynamic (Braun and Clarke 2013: 87; Garton and Copland 2010). The researcher should ensure that their prior relationship does not coerce the individual into participation, and that they maintain the confidentiality of the interview (Braun and Clarke 2013: 87). On the other hand, it may be more difficult to build rapport with

strangers. For this reason, the researcher can include a set of introductory questions at the start of each interview (Braun and Clarke 2013: 88).

#### **4.8.4 The Interview Process**

In this study, the author followed guidelines for successful qualitative research by Braun and Clarke (2013). She carried out semi-structured reflexive interviews, which are the most common form of interview in qualitative research (Braun and Clarke 2013: 78; Cohen, L., Manion and Morrison 2000: 146). They involve a list of questions determined by the interviewer but can deviate from these to expand on other topics according to the organic nature of the conversation (Braun and Clarke 2013: 78). A flexible rather than rigid interview structure is much less threatening for the interviewee (Terkel and Parker 2016 [1997]).

It is important to build rapport in an interview situation. The interviewee must be comfortable with the researcher if they are to answer questions on sensitive issues (Terkel and Parker 2016 [1997]; Yow 2016 [2015]; Braun and Clarke 2013: 81). It is important to consider that the interactions of the interviewer and the interviewee construct the data that are produced (Braun and Clarke 2013: 79; Portelli 2016 [1979]). As mentioned above, the interview opens with simple, introductory questions (Terkel and Parker 2016 [1997]; Yow 2016 [2015]; Braun and Clarke 2013: 81). The questions on the main topics should then flow logically and should not be closed (requiring one of restricted set of answers) or leading (pushing the interviewee towards a particular answer) (Braun and Clarke 2013: 84; Cohen, L., Manion and Morrison 2000: 140). Table 4.5 contains details of attributes which good questions should have.

It is important to follow answers up with complementary questions (how, what, where, why) to ensure that the maximum amount of information is gained (van der Dijs, N. 2011: 203). However, the interviewer should not insist on dates and facts - rather, the

interviewee should be allowed to proceed with their narrative. Otherwise there is the risk of 'symbolic violence' where the interviewer colonises the transcript (James 2016 [2000]). There may be stretches of silence which allow the interviewee space to think and answer (Terkel and Parker 2016 [1997]; Yow 2016 [2015]). The use of prompt questions, silence and non-evaluative 'guggles' (noises such as 'mm-hm') encourages the interviewee to speak without feeling judged (Braun and Clarke 2013: 95-96; Gorden 1969: 360). The researcher should have sensitivity towards the emotional state of the participant (Corbin and Morse 2003). For example, Anderson and Jack (2016 [1991]) describe how interviewing women (a subaltern group) may require sensitivity to the narratives which are emphasized or muted in order to conform to society.

**Table 4.5:** Qualities of interview questions (after Braun and Clarke 2013: 86-87).

<b>Type of Question</b>	<b>Description</b>
Open	These are questions designed to avoid yes or no answers.
Non-leading	These are questions which do not guide the interviewee towards an answer
Singular	Avoid questions about multiple things, or strings of questions one after the other.
Short	Long questions are confusing. For example, one should avoid double negatives.
Clear and precise	These questions avoid ambiguity and do not assume interviewee's understandings to be the same as those of the interviewer.
Linguistically appropriate	Do not use specialised vocabulary when talking to non-specialists.
Non-assumptive	Do not presume things about the interviewee eg. how they feel, how they act etc.
Empathetic	These are questions which are unthreatening and do not convey criticism or challenge.

The interviews conducted for this study were ethically approved by the University of Kent and followed the Faculty of Humanities' guidelines for interview preparation. The University of Kent principles for research ethics include a focus on non-maleficence

and beneficence towards participants, autonomy of participants, and justice towards society (Gill, R. and Norman 2004).

In order to comply with the university regulations, each participant was provided with a Participant Information Sheet and a Consent Form (see Appendix A) before the interview started. Each transcript was anonymised, and participants will be contacted if they are to be quoted directly in any publications. They will also be informed when results of the research became available. At each stage they were reminded of their option to leave the project if desired, and thus obtain ‘ongoing consent’ (Cutcliffe and Ramcharan 2002; Ramcharan and Cutcliffe 2001). These actions comply with the ‘ethics as process’ approach discussed by Cutcliffe and Ramcharan (2002; 2001).

The interviews were organised for a time and place convenient for the participant and lasted around an hour each. During the interviews the author used a notepad to record non-verbal signals and other information, such as comments she wished to follow up with further questions. Questions were adjusted according to who was being interviewed (heritage professional or member of the public) and according to the location, as each island has a different history. Interview structures for each island are shown in Appendix A. The exchanges were recorded using an Olympus dictaphone and transcribed as soon as possible after the interview had taken place so that the interaction was still fresh in the author’s mind.

In February 2016, the author conducted a pilot interview with an anonymous Curaçaoan acquaintance living in the Netherlands (code CUR-OH-01, see Appendix A). This pilot study provided feedback on the interview structure, process, and questions, and allowed the researcher to practice her interview technique and become comfortable with the recording equipment.

#### **4.8.5 Triangulation and Redundancy**

‘Triangulation’ is the comparison of data from multiple sources to assess their reliability (Trotter II 2012). In this study, triangulation of oral historical data occurred through a thorough appreciation of each island’s history; knowledge of previous oral historical studies such as that carried out by Julia Crane in the 1980s and more recently by Colet van der Ven and Francio Guadeloupe; perusal of secondary historical sources such as those written by Hartog in the 1950s and 1960s; and through evidence from the material cultural and osteological datasets (Braun and Clarke 2013: 285-286; van der Ven 2011; Guadeloupe 2009; 2006a; Crane 1999; Page, M. 1980; Hartog 1953-1964). Assessing the reliability of oral historical sources can also be done through the ‘redundancy test’, which means that if all the informants in a subgroup agree with each other on the given topic, one can be satisfied that the information is reliable (Trotter II 2012). When informants do not agree with each other (i.e. they are contradictory conversations) there is an opportunity to explore further the reasons for the discrepancies between narratives (Beck and Somerville 2005).

#### **4.8.6 Transcription**

Transcription was carried out using NVivo software (see section 4.9.3), which allows the researcher to slow the recording and divide it into sections (see Wiredu 2014). Although a transcript can never be a full record of the spoken discourse, it is possible to produce a text that preserves the natural nature of the exchange, for example the speech patterns of the participants (McLellan, MacQueen and Neidig 2003). There is an ethical issue in the tension between the creation of a readable account and faithfulness to the speech of the interviewee (Good 2016 [2000]). However, Mergenthaler and Stinson (1992) have developed a set of seven rules for thorough transcription that a researcher should bear in mind, and Braun and Clarke (2013: 161-170) also offer plenty of advice

on how this should be carried out. From a perusal of such resources the author developed the following rules for her transcriptions:

- Preservation of natural speech patterns and grammar. This was important because creole English is different from UK English
- Elimination of most thinking words such as *um* and *er* – these did not add value to the information provided and made the transcript difficult to read
- Anonymisation of living people by replacing names and places that could be used to identify the speaker with [withheld]
- Recording of laughs, which demonstrated rapport and tone, by using [laughs]
- Recording of unintelligible sections that were muffled or obscured by background noise using [unintell.]
- Use of individual codes (the airport code, followed by OH for oral history and the number of the transcript, for example EUX-OH-01)
- When there was more than one participant, each individual was given their own code, for example SXM-OH-07.1 and SXM-OH-07.2
- Use of FJF to identify the interviewer
- Use of ... to indicate pauses.
- Use of – to indicate cut off sentences.

#### **4.8.7 Member Checking**

Researchers may sometimes make interpretations with which the interviewee does not necessarily agree (Borland 2016 [1991]; Laguer Diaz 2013). For this reason, researchers may choose to conduct ‘member checks’ whereby the interview participants are asked whether the researcher has accurately represented their point of view (Cutcliffe and Ramcharan 2002; Ramcharan and Cutcliffe 2001). In the first phase of this study, the author emailed or posted copies of their transcript to each interviewee for approval, accompanied by basic instructions for alteration in order to ensure that all transcripts were altered uniformly (see Appendix A). Only two interviewees felt it necessary to adjust their transcripts, and the changes were in two main areas: removing personal information

which they felt was irrelevant; and correcting or adding information incorrectly transcribed by the researcher.

In August 2017, during the second phase of the study, the author provided interviewees with short draft thematic analyses in English and Dutch (see Appendix A) so that participants could observe how their testimony would be used in the thesis and offer feedback if they felt it was necessary. A longer draft thematic analysis (only available in English, see Appendix A) was provided to interviewees who wished to know more after reading the shorter version. The author received positive feedback and constructive criticism from two interviewees. In St Eustatius, the author was also able to give a public lecture at the CNSI presenting preliminary results of the thematic analysis. This lecture had a high attendance by local residents, who gave useful feedback about the thematic results.

#### **4.8.8 Ethical Issues in Oral History Interviewing**

Even when interviews are carried out in an ethical manner with full participant consent, there is still the potential for a negative participant experience. Drawbacks of qualitative interviewing may include the participants' fear of being identified through information they provided; fear of being misrepresented by the researcher; fear of being the cause of problems for themselves and others in the future; and finally the experience of emotional pain (Wolgemuth et al. 2015; Corbin and Morse 2003). Problems such as these ones can be solved by omitting specific pieces of information from transcripts, as well as conducting the interview in a private place. Participants who experience emotional pain might cry, but this can be emotionally cleansing (Wolgemuth et al. 2015).

The wellbeing of the researcher is also important. Risks are mainly psychological, such as fatigue, distress, and the feeling of responsibility in being a confidante (Dickson-Swift et al. 2007; Corbin and Morse 2003). These problems can be overcome by

allocating time off to avoid overwork, and talking to friends, family and professional counsellors if necessary (Dickson-Swift et al. 2007).

Many of the potential risks associated with interviewing are related to the topic of the interview (Wolgemuth et al. 2015; Corbin and Morse 2003). The main potential issues in the current study concerned the taboo of slavery, race, and persisting social inequalities. The development and collapse of Shell Oil in the Leeward Islands had a profound effect upon society in Curaçao, St Eustatius, and St Maarten/St Martin, and the changed political circumstances since 2010 have led some islanders to accuse the Netherlands of ‘recolonisation’ (Roitman 2013). There was a danger that participants might feel uncomfortable discussing issues of slavery and race. Indeed, Leslie (2018) found that Statians were often very uncomfortable discussing race and colonialism in her research. In the current study, the author addressed this by ensuring that participants knew their involvement was voluntary, that they could withdraw from the study at any time, and that their testimony would be anonymised. Additionally, the author was prepared to offer interviewees information about organisations that could help them deal with their distress, for example Anti-Slavery International which campaigns against modern slavery all over the world (see Anti-Slavery International 2016), or local health services able to refer the interviewee for counselling (such as the St Eustatius Health Care Foundation, St Maarten Medical Centre and the Curaçao Public Health Department). Indeed, Cutcliffe and Ramcharan (2002) and Corbin and Morse (2003) have noted that the potential drawbacks of interviewing are often outweighed by the benefits. These include catharsis, sense of empowerment, healing, and voice, and have also been noted by other researchers (Corbin and Morse 2003; Cutcliffe and Ramcharan 2002; Hutchinson, Wilson and Wilson 1994).

This study may therefore benefit local residents by allowing them to express their views on slavery heritage. This may be cathartic, emotionally cleansing, and may cause the participants to feel that they are contributing to a wider social benefit through the

provision of results to local tourism and heritage organisations and wider education in the Kingdom of the Netherlands. It may allow self-reflection, as well as opening up new avenues of knowledge (Wolgemuth et al. 2015). Additionally, those who find the subject of slavery too distressing to talk about are unlikely to have volunteered to be interviewed (Corbin and Morse 2003).

#### **4.8.9 Limitations of Oral Historical Data**

Like written history, oral history is sometimes subject to problems of bias, distortion, and omission (Perks and Thomson 2016: 4; Pandey 2012). There is also a danger that social memory may be romanticized, objectified, and naturalized (Jones and Russell 2012). It is therefore necessary to treat oral history critically (Browning 2016 [2010]; Frisch 2016 [1972]; James 2016 [2000]). For example, it is important to consider that social memory may have a recursive relationship with established narratives (Laguer Diaz 2013). It is therefore fortunate that oral historians can interrogate and observe their data source in a way that documentary historians cannot (Figs 2016 [2008]; Perks and Thomson 2016: xiii; Portelli 2016 [1979]). For this reason, many oral historians choose to see the subjective, dynamic nature of oral history as an advantage (Portelli 2016 [1979]; Jones and Russell 2012).

Limitations of the oral historical data were therefore centered around the nature of the sample population. The restriction of the author to the English or Dutch languages generated a bias in the sample, whereby individuals who did not speak English or Dutch were excluded from the study. On St Eustatius and St Maarten/St Martin this was not a problem, because English is the most commonly spoken language there (Roitman 2013). However, on Curaçao this requirement represented a considerable reduction in the pool of possible informants, excluding those who have been unable to learn Dutch or English (especially people of older generations). Papiamentu and Dutch are the main languages

spoken on the island, followed by Spanish and English (Curacao Tourist Board 2016; Fouse 2002: 1). Those who do speak English are likely to have been educated abroad or to have a job relating to the tourist industry. The sampled population may therefore represent a more privileged section of Curaçaoan society than would be the case if sampling was undertaken at random. Additionally, the researcher was not able to access the opinions of island inhabitants who were not interested in her research. Interviewees often mentioned that young people are no longer interested in their history, that they are more focussed on moving forward. However, these factors do not necessarily affect the validity of the study. Since all interview interactions are constructed by two individuals with shifting identities at one particular moment in time, each person will bring something new to the research (Portelli 2016 [1979]; Braun and Clarke 2013: 79). Communicating in one language may bring out certain points or attitudes that communication in another language cannot, as Susan Burton found when she interviewed Japanese women in English (Burton 2016 [2003]). These interactions are therefore valuable in their unique nature (Small 2009). The fact that certain sections of the population could not be included does not negate the value of the interactions that have taken place.

An additional concern was that of the population makeup of St Maarten/St Martin, 70-80% of which consists of first- or second-generation immigrants (Guadeloupe 2009: 11-12). Guadeloupe (2009: 13-15) found that much of the knowledge about slavery amongst the general population St Maarten/St Martin is transplanted from Jamaica. This was also noted by Albus (1996), who observed that immigration and commercialisation were contributing to urban-global culture being absorbed by the population of St Maarten/St Martin to the exclusion of its traditional culture. The current author was therefore concerned that accessing information about slavery would be almost impossible in St Maarten/St Martin. In reality this was not the case, as is demonstrated in the

following chapters. Despite the drawbacks, interviews are demonstrated to be important in the search for subaltern voices (Sangster 2016 [2013]).

## **4.9 DATA ANALYSIS**

### **4.9.1 Use of Thematic Analysis**

There are various approaches to the analysis of qualitative data. Often, they are tied to a particular theoretical approach, and certain types may be unsuitable for the study of enslaved lifeways. Grounded theory, for example, is best suited to questions regarding factors that underlie social processes, and is not normally used in small projects, while discourse analysis looks at patterns of social meaning across linguistic datasets, such as investigating how social realities are produced and how speech is constructed (Braun and Clarke 2013: 184, 186-188).

Thematic analysis, on the other hand, is a method widely used in qualitative research for “identifying themes and patterns of meaning across a dataset in relation to a research question” (Braun and Clarke 2013: 175). The approach was developed during the 1970s by Gerald Holton, a physicist and science historian (Braun and Clarke 2013: 174, 178). It is now used widely, especially within the social sciences, and has the advantage of being theoretically flexible, providing a method for data analysis without prescribing frameworks for theoretical approach or data collection (Pascoal, Narciso and Pereira 2014; Braun and Clarke 2013: 178; Schinke et al. 2013; and see for example Labadi 2013). Because of this, it can be used to answer a variety of different types of research questions (Braun and Clarke 2013: 178). It has been used before in a heritage context, and within a postcolonial theoretical framework, for example Labadi’s (2013) thesis addressing heritage values in the World Heritage Site applications, as well as in the investigation of marginalised communities (see Olmedo 2001).

#### 4.9.2 Coding the Data

Once the data have been collected, the researcher first needs to break the data into ‘units’ or ‘codes’. These are photographs or short sequences of words which represent one of the ‘themes’ or ‘sub-themes’ (Braun and Clarke 2013: 206-207, 224, 231; Cohen, L., Manion and Morrison 2000: 148). Examples of themes in this study included ‘labour’ and ‘foodways’. The researcher *constructs* such themes from the data and the existing literature, rather than sorting the data into pre-constructed themes (Braun and Clarke 2013: 174-180; Cohen, L., Manion and Morrison 2000: 148). It is important that interpretations truly *emerge* from the data (Morse 1994).

The author was careful to keep material culture themes broad in order to compensate for inevitable gaps in archaeological knowledge and interpretation (Allison 2013: 9-10, 43-44, 345). A similar methodology is used by Penelope Allison in her work on social factors in Roman households (see Allison 2013; Allison 2004). Her themes included *dress; metalworking; agriculture; commercial activities; leisure; toilet; and writing* (Allison 2013: 348-351). There is naturally a degree of imprecision in the interpretation of material culture, relating to the use of the artefact and the person or people who used it (Allison 2013: 43-44; Lazzari 2003).

Fletcher (1995: 16-17) argues that the material aspect of a community takes longer to change than other aspects such as speech and gesture. It is therefore important to separate the tangible and intangible aspects of a past community in order to avoid overextrapolation (Fletcher 1995: 16-17). For these reasons, the three datasets were first coded separately and then compared. After coding and re-coding to refine the themes and check for consistency, relationships between themes are then established as they often overlap with each other (Cohen, L., Manion and Morrison 2000: 148, 234). Areas where the datasets differed could also be identified.

### 4.9.3 Use of NVivo

Qualitative research quickly generates large amounts of data (Cohen, L., Manion and Morrison 2000: 147). They need to be organised with the assistance of electronic organisational programmes, which can help the researcher to quickly isolate the relevant data (Allison 2013: 9-10; Allison 2004: 34; Cohen, L., Manion and Morrison 2000: 147). This improves the efficiency of data analysis (Morse 1994). NVivo 10 is a computer database program designed to handle mixed media and mixed methods research, and is often used in thematic analysis (Pascoal, Narciso and Pereira 2014; Braun and Clarke 2013: 218-220; Schinke et al. 2013; Auld et al. 2007; Cohen, L., Manion and Morrison 2000: 148). It offers significant advantages in terms of data organisation, thereby increasing the integrity, reliability and validity of the results (Braun and Clarke 2013: 219; Cohen, L., Manion and Morrison 2000: 155-156). The user interface is similar to Microsoft Outlook (see Figure 4.4) and therefore has a layout already familiar to many users. The program also allows the user to query the data and create models and charts (see Wiredu 2014). These help to clarify and present the results (Cohen, L., Manion and Morrison 2000: 150).

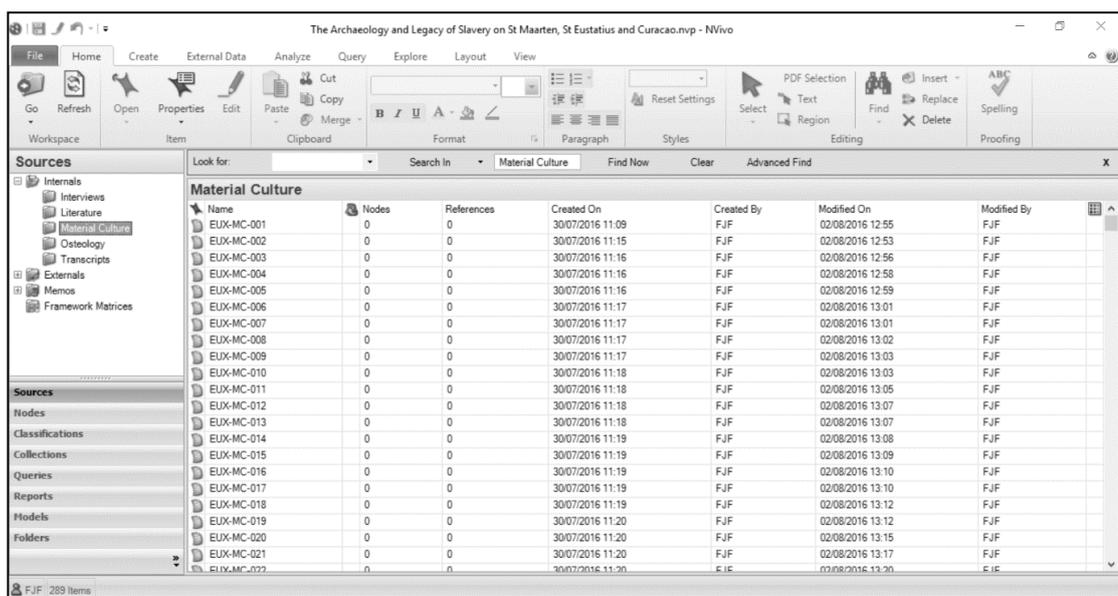


Figure 4.4: User interface of NVivo 10 (see QSR International Pty Ltd 2012).

Computer programs of this type have been used in the heritage sector before (see for example Labadi 2018; Prajnawrdhi, Karuppannan and Sivam 2015; Faniel et al. 2013; Loulanski and Loulanski 2011; Labadi 2005), as well as in other types of research that involve descendant communities (see for example Alfonso et al. 2015).

#### **4.9.4 Constructing a Narrative**

Through a thorough knowledge of the data and their context, the researcher can identify which themes are recurring or most important (Braun and Clarke 2013: 174-180). She can then use the themes to discuss the research topic (Braun and Clarke 2013: 234). Themes from different datasets can be compared (Braun and Clarke 2013: 174-180). This ‘triangulation’ helps to strengthen interpretations (Braun and Clarke 2013: 285-286; Morse 1994). Different datasets may yield complementary or opposing themes (Cohen, L., Manion and Morrison 2000: 149-150). In this study, comparison was possible between locations (St Eustatius, St Maarten/St Martin, and Curaçao) and between data sources (osteology, oral history and material culture).

It is important to remember that data collection and analysis often occur simultaneously in qualitative research, so that data collection can be informed by the analysis (Morse 1994). For example, in this study the parameters for data collection were altered when the oral historical interviews provided information that encouraged the author to extend the date range for the research until 1975 in Curaçao (rather than 1863) and until 1863 in St Maarten/St Martin (rather than 1848). (See Chapter 5: Materials).

## **4.10 CONCLUSION**

La Salle (2010) notes that even research with very well-intentioned ‘community collaboration’ may unintentionally uphold the power imbalance between researcher and

stakeholder. True collaboration requires: the conduct of research *with* people rather than *on* them; thorough reflection on the process of research; the formulation of research questions that are important for stakeholders; and the construction of group knowledge (La Salle 2010). In this study, the use of semi-structured interviews and reflexive interpretation of the themes generated from the oral history interviews allowed stakeholders to participate in the generation and interpretation of knowledge. Osteological and material cultural interpretations were harder to incorporate into a collaborative framework, partly due to the author's status as an independent researcher in the Caribbean, but also due to the nature of archaeology (particularly osteoarchaeology) as a specialist discipline requiring lengthy courses of education. Indeed, it is unethical to carry out osteological analysis without the appropriate qualifications (Blau 2009). Where possible, the author conducted public lectures with question-and-answer sessions that invited comment and involvement from the local community, as well as informal workshops at SECAR which allowed stakeholders to interact with the human remains and with the developing interpretations. Although there are limitations to a qualitative approach (see Denscombe 2010: 91), the author felt that a strong theoretical background, an ethical political agenda and an approach that was inclusive towards the local community allowed benefits of the research to greatly outweigh disadvantages (see Tracy 2010).

The methodology discussed in this chapter is diverse and original while adhering to the principles of ethnographic archaeology. The use of osteology, material culture, and oral history provides the means to address alternative narratives in a rounded fashion that provides scope for extensive triangulation. The following chapter will describe the results of the fieldwork conducted in 2016 and 2017.

## 5 MATERIALS

---

### 5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will provide information about the materials investigated. It will summarize the data collected; introduce each of the sites from which material cultural and osteobiographical data were taken; describe the demographic makeup of the interviewed population; discuss factors affecting the validity, reliability, and interpretation of the oral historical dataset; and justify the change in time period addressed which took place during data collection and allowed communities experiencing the *paga tera* labour system during the 20<sup>th</sup> century to be included in the analysis. Most of the data collection occurred between March and June 2016, but the author returned in August 2017 to conduct further work, especially in St Maarten/St Martin where data were more difficult to access.

### 5.2 MATERIALS: MATERIAL CULTURE

Material culture data were collected from nine sites, selected in advance of fieldwork. Table 5.1 below provides a summary of the material culture data collected. After data collection, some of these sites were omitted from the study because the author considered their association with enslaved people to be tenuous, because the artefacts had no stratigraphic provenance or because part of the dataset was missing. Such problems arise very often in the Caribbean because of sporadic funding provision, lack of staff, and the involvement of foreign institutions which often remove artefacts without leaving a record.

A detailed record of the material culture data collected (including rejected sites) can be found in Appendix B. Only those sites included in the final thematic analysis are

discussed below in order to provide information about the archaeological context of the materials used.

**Table 5.1:** Summary of artefacts recorded during data collection, with comments on their suitability for inclusion in the thematic analysis (Source: Author).

Island	Site	No. Artefacts	Comments
St Eustatius	Fair Play Feature 9	8	Not used – no secure association with enslaved people
	Fair Play Enslaved Village	56	Used in thematic analysis
	Schotsenhoek Enslaved Village	48	Used in thematic analysis
	Artefacts belonging to the museum and members of the public	3	Used in thematic analysis
St Maarten	Belvedere Enslaved Village	12	Not used – no secure stratigraphic provenance
	Golden Rock Enslaved Village	25	Used in thematic analysis
	Mont Vernon Enslaved Village	54	Used in thematic analysis
	Artefacts belonging to the museum and members of the public	7	Used in thematic analysis
Curaçao	<i>Zuurzak Slavencamp</i>	11	Not used – no secure association with enslaved people, many artefacts missing
	Plantage Kenepa, Structure 27	85	Used in thematic analysis
	<i>Kas di Pal'i Maishi</i>	42	Used in thematic analysis

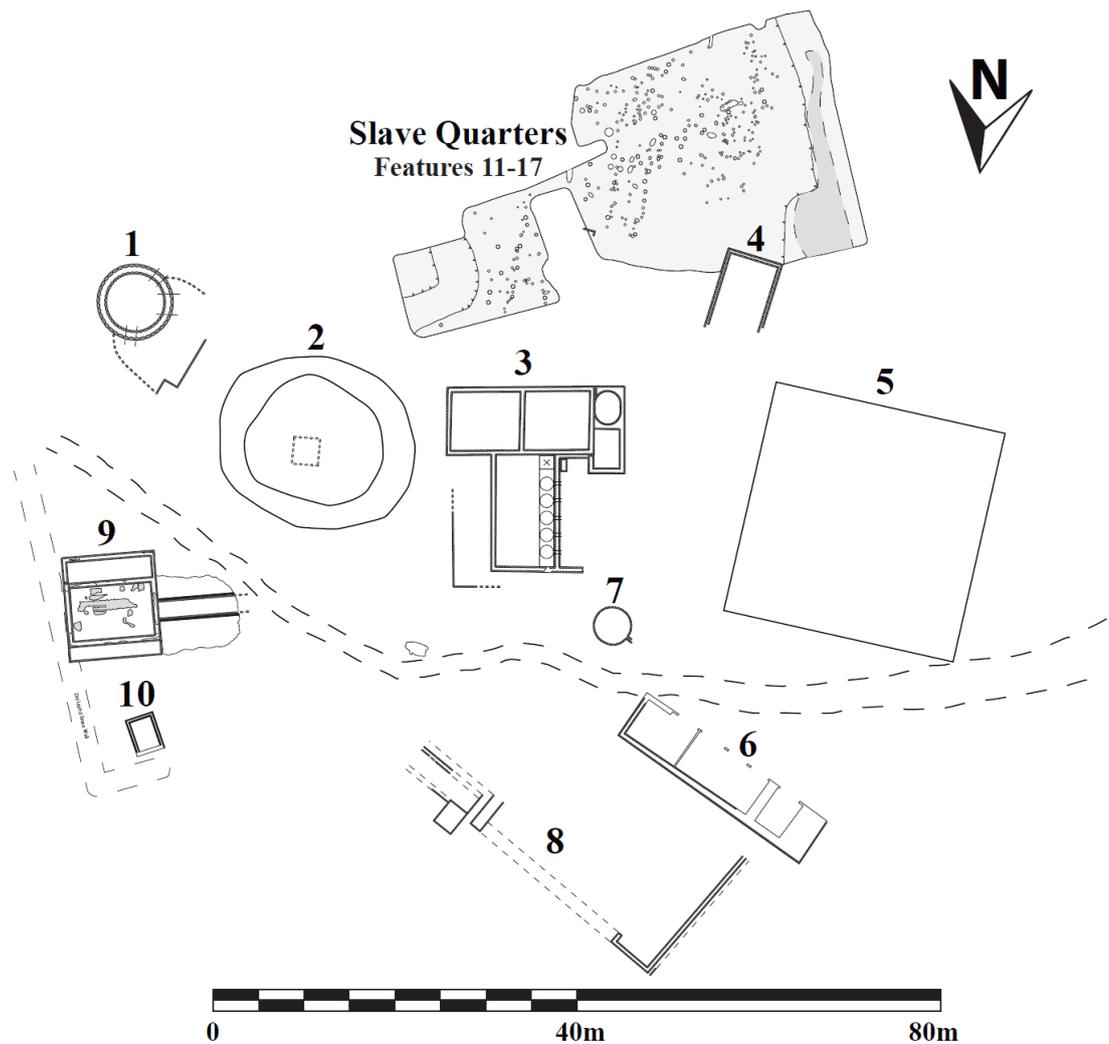
### 5.2.1 Fair Play Plantation, St Eustatius

Fair Play Plantation is located in the fertile middle region of St Eustatius (see Figure 5.1 below). It was one of the largest plantations on the island (Cook, R. and Stelten 2014: 10). Map evidence shows that it was in use from the early to mid-18<sup>th</sup> century and was abandoned by 1915 (Cook, R. 2015: 9, 11). During this time, it produced sugar and possibly also processed sugar from the surrounding islands in order to increase profits by evading taxes (Cook, R. 2015: 7-8).



**Figure 5.1:** Location of Fair Play Plantation on St Eustatius (after Cook, R. 2015: 3).

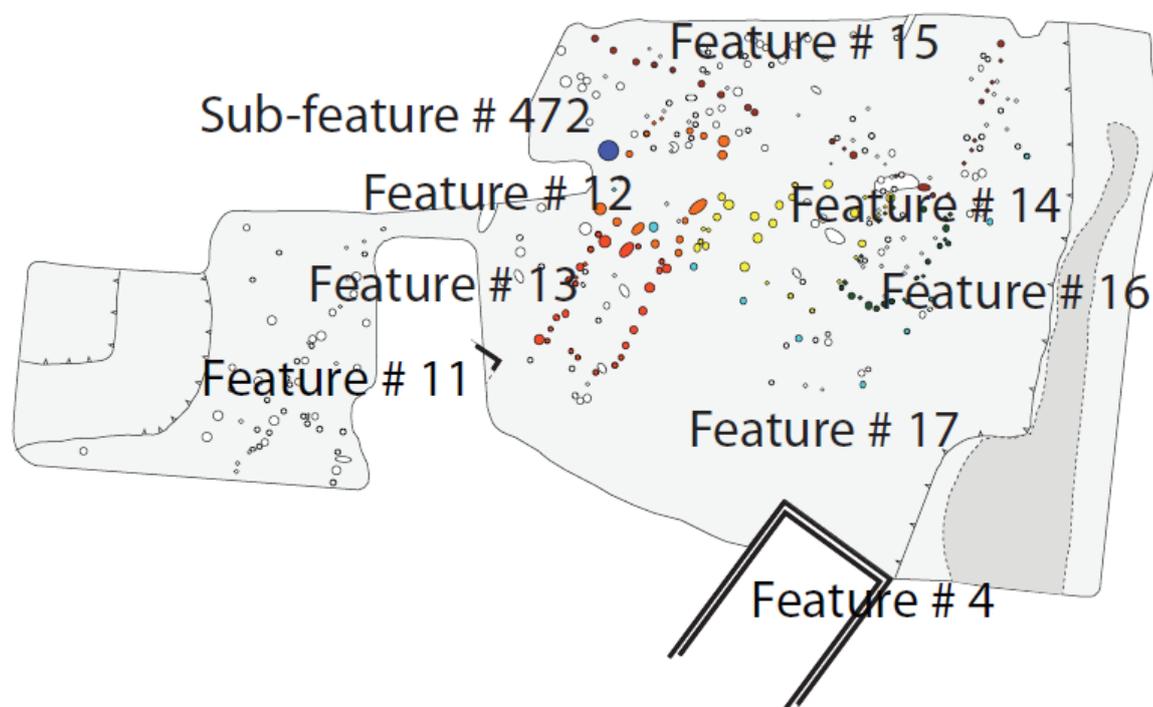
The enslaved village excavated in 2014 dates to the late 18<sup>th</sup> to early 19<sup>th</sup> century (Cook, R. and Stelten 2014: 32). It is located to the south of the sugar boiling house and adjacent to Feature 4, which may have been the overseer's house (see Figure 5.2 below) (Cook, R. 2015: 25). This ground plan conforms to Jeremy Bentham's *Panopticon*, and is common in plantation contexts (Gilmore III 2005: 290; Miller, J. and Miller 1987; Foucault 1977: 200-201; Bentham 1843). However, this layout is rare on St Eustatius, where enslaved villages were often located out of sight of the owners and overseers (Stelten 2013: 10). This supports the theories of various authors who postulate an increased freedom of movement and privacy of domestic life afforded to enslaved people on St Eustatius, when compared to other islands (Stelten 2013: 10; Gilmore III 2005: 291). Fair Play Plantation is therefore something of an anomaly in its local context.



**Figure 5.2:** Plan of Fair Play Plantation showing windmill (1), animal mill (2), boiling house (3), overseer's house (4), enclosure (5), warehouse (6), well (7), wall (8), workshop or Big House (9), outhouse or privy (10) and the enslaved village (11-17) (after Cook, R. 2015: 4).

The Fair Play enslaved village provided many well-provenanced artefacts (Cook, R. and Stelten 2014: 6). Four habitation structures and two fences were identified (see Figure 5.3) (Cook, R. and Stelten 2014: 4). The artefacts recovered were mostly from post-hole fills relating to the early 19<sup>th</sup> century phase of the site, around the time of abandonment, although some artefacts came from pits that were filled earlier in the period of habitation. No artefacts were recovered from occupation or accumulation deposits, which may have been truncated or removed by the mechanical excavator. Alternatively, the lack of artefact scatter may be due to the utilisation of the African tradition of yard-

sweeping, which renders the household area archaeologically sterile (Espersen 2015; Byrd 2014: 37; Lane 2006; Haviser 1997).



**Figure 5.3:** The enslaved village at Fair Play Plantation (after Cook, R. and Stelten 2014: 5).

The artefacts recovered from the village at Fair Play relate to a wide variety of activities, including food storage and preparation, drinking and smoking, personal adornment and clothing, fishing and foraging, and construction. Many of them are European imports which would have been more widely available and cheaper on St Eustatius than they were on other islands (Schaw 1921: 137-138).

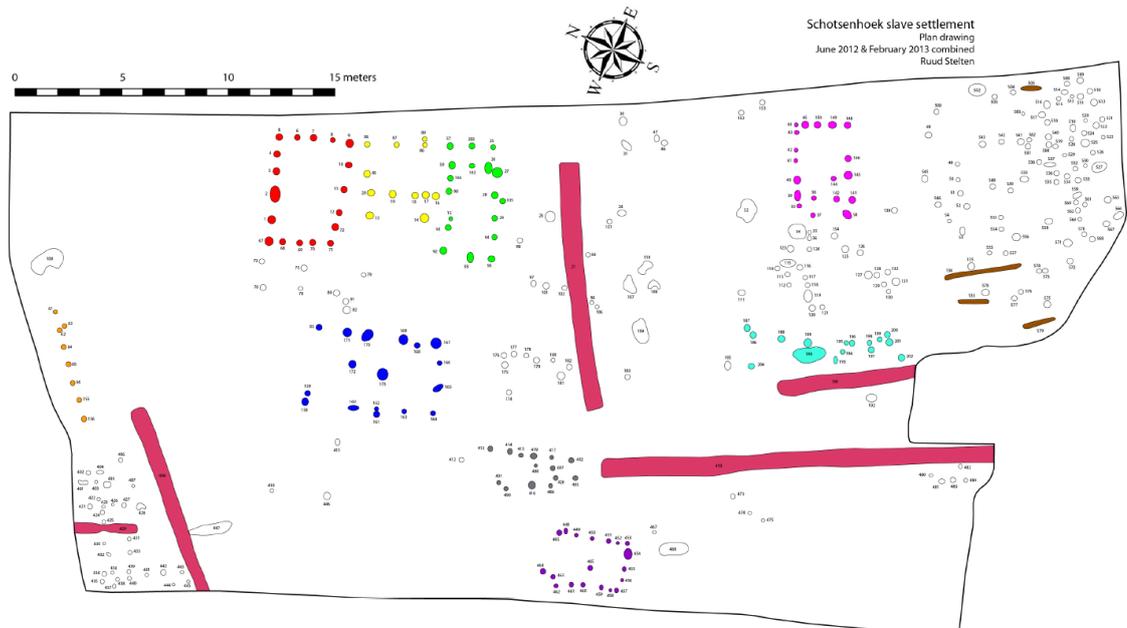
### 5.2.2 Schotsenhoek Plantation, St Eustatius

The Schotsenhoek sugar plantation is located in the flat, fertile Cul-de-Sac area of St Eustatius (Stelten 2013: 2). The enslaved village belonging to this plantation is located at a distance from the main plantation complex, out of sight behind Signal Hill (also known as Panga Hill) and downwind of the plantation house (see Figure 5.4) (Stelten

2015b; Stelten 2013: 19). This arrangement, giving enslaved people a degree of privacy and separation during non-working hours, is normal on St Eustatius but unusual elsewhere in the Caribbean, where plantations were designed to keep enslaved people under observation. The village dates from the early- to mid-18<sup>th</sup> century and may be one of a series of villages on the plantation that were occupied at different times (Stelten 2015b; Stelten 2012b: 20).



**Figure 5.4:** Historical map showing the location of the Schotsenhoek enslaved village (in circle) at a distance from the main plantation complex (in square) (after Martin, P. 1781).



**Figure 5.5:** Plan of the Schotsenhoek enslaved village showing ditches and habitation structures (after Stelten 2013: 37).

Part of the village was subjected to open-area excavation in 2012 and 2013 (see Figure 5.5 above). Nine structures were identified, including a fence and three buildings which may have been linked together to form a larger structure. The area was subdivided by five ditches and contained a central hearth (Stelten 2015b; Stelten 2013: 18-19, 37). Artefacts were found in ditch, pit and posthole fills, representing activity during both occupation and abandonment phases (Stelten 2015b; Stelten 2013). They belonged to a wide variety of categories including food storage and preparation, drinking and smoking, clothing, fishing and foraging, leisure activities and construction.

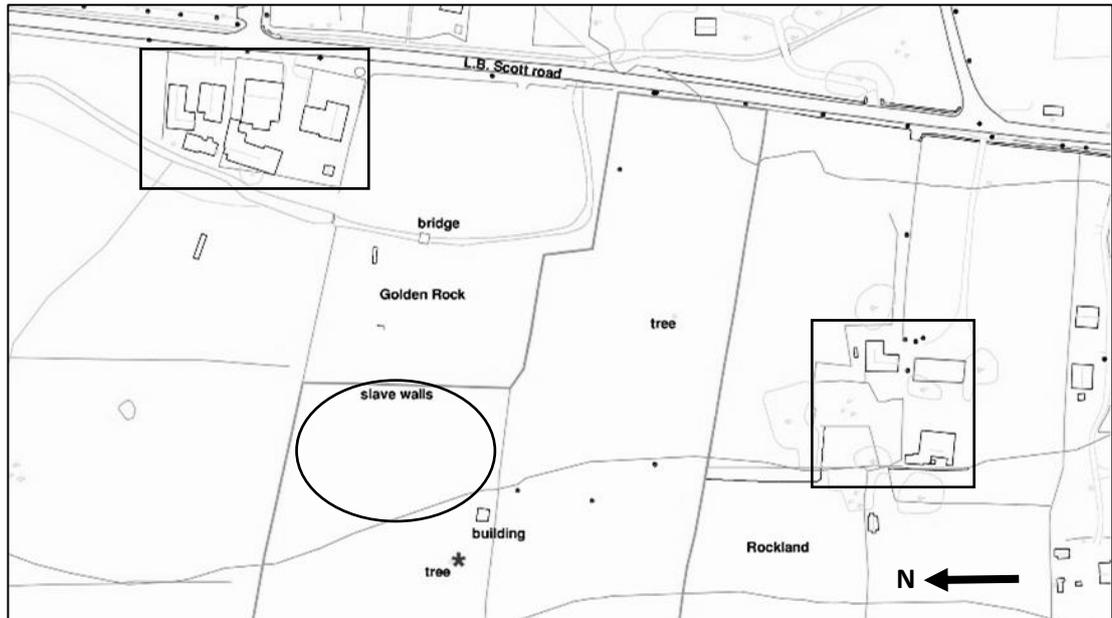
### **5.2.3 St Eustatius Historical Foundation Museum and Members of the Public**

In addition to the abovementioned well-provenanced artefacts, there are also a number of artefacts found on St Eustatius which have no archaeological context, but which can nevertheless provide valuable information about enslaved lifeways. For example, the hoard of blue beads recently discovered in an anonymous resident's garden (EUX-MC-105, see Chapters 6 and 8) provided many examples of Statia blue beads and other types of beads that have a close association with slavery (Stine, Cabak and Groover 1996; Karklins and Barka 1989). The fact that these beads are sometimes found in hoard-like contexts implies that they had some symbolic or monetary value, and this is supported by oral historical accounts (see Chapter 8) (Stine, Cabak and Groover 1996).

Additionally, the St Eustatius Historical Foundation Museum in Oranjestad has a number of interesting items in their 'Days of Slavery' exhibition. These include a gourd bowl of the traditional kind incised with the name 'Frances' (EUX-MC-106) and a fragment of pottery painted with the words 'Bring more Cane to Mill Negro' (EUX-MC-107, dated 1630-1790) (see Chapter 6 and Appendix B). Such artefacts provide us with a small glimpse into the everyday lives of enslaved individuals. The criteria for the

inclusion of these artefacts are similar to those for the inclusion of oral histories: these items are the physical manifestations of oral history (see section 4.6.4).

#### 5.2.4 Golden Rock Plantation, St Maarten



**Figure 5.6:** Plan of Rockland (right square) and Golden Rock (left square) estates and the enslaved village (in circle) (after Havisier 2012: 8).

Golden Rock Plantation is situated in the middle, hilly portion of Dutch St Maarten known as Cul-de-Sac. In 2012 an archaeological survey of the area was undertaken ahead of proposed development by Rainforest Adventures. The sequence of test pits revealed an artefact concentration in the area to the north of the Rockland plantation complex (see Figure 5.6). Oral historical accounts had already mentioned this area as the location of Rockland's enslaved village and/or cemetery and this therefore seemed a likely explanation for the artefact concentration. Rockland lies directly adjacent to Golden Rock Plantation, now known as the Emilio Wilson Park or the Industry Estate. Both of these plantations grew and processed sugar and it is unclear to which estate the village belongs. It could potentially have belonged to both (Havisier 2015b; Havisier 2012). Documentary evidence shows that Golden Rock Plantation did have an enslaved

village, and the names of the enslaved people in residence there are recorded. In 1832, for example, there were 51 enslaved people at Golden Rock and 24 huts in the village (Haviser 2012). Additionally, the prevailing wind (see section 5.37) may indicate that Rockland's village was more likely to be situated further to the south than this artefact concentration.

The artefact assemblage from the test pits at Golden Rock relates mostly to food consumption, smoking and construction activities, although there may also be artefacts that have a ritual purpose.

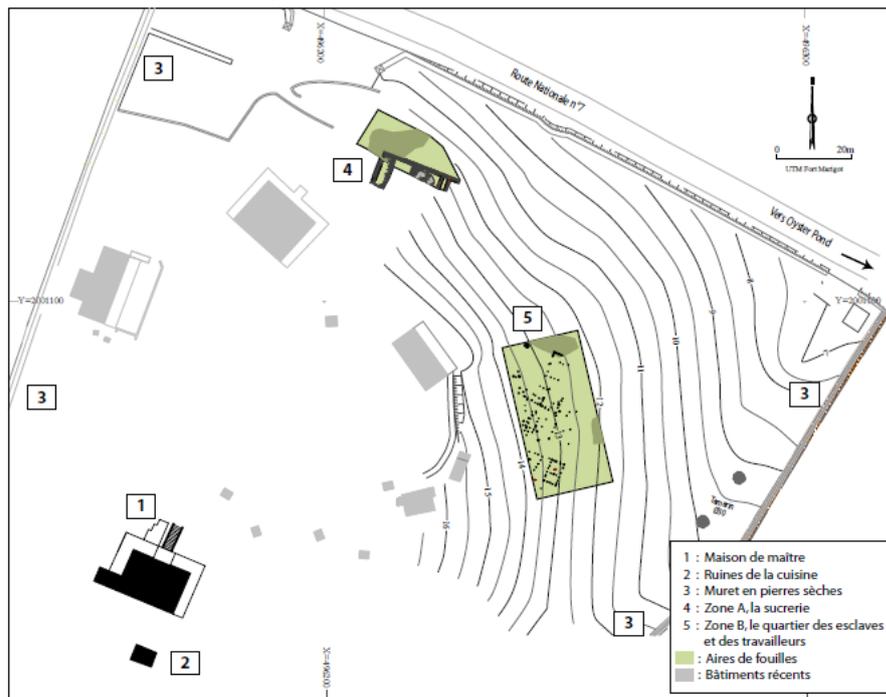
### **5.2.5 Mont Vernon Plantation, St Martin**

The Mont Vernon estate lies in the north-east part of French St Martin (see Figure 5.7 below) and operated as a sugar plantation between 1786 and 1789 and between 1814 and 1850 (Bonnissent 2012: 29, 31). Parts of the sugar boiling house and enslaved village were excavated in 2010 ahead of commercial development (Bonnissent 2012: 29). In contrast to other sites in the French Caribbean (such as la Mahaudière in Guadeloupe), the Mont Vernon plantation exhibits a remarkable level of organisation, with each building aligned 20° off north. This alignment extends even to the enslaved village and exists in order to take advantage of the prevailing wind (Bonnissent 2012: 87). Like most other plantations in the Caribbean (with the exception of those in St Eustatius), Mont Vernon conforms to Bentham's *Panopticon*, with the Big House on a raised area of ground overlooking the village (see Figure 5.8 below) (Stelten 2013: 10; Bonnissent 2012: 32, 87; Miller, J. and Miller 1987; Foucault 1977: 200-201; Bentham 1843).



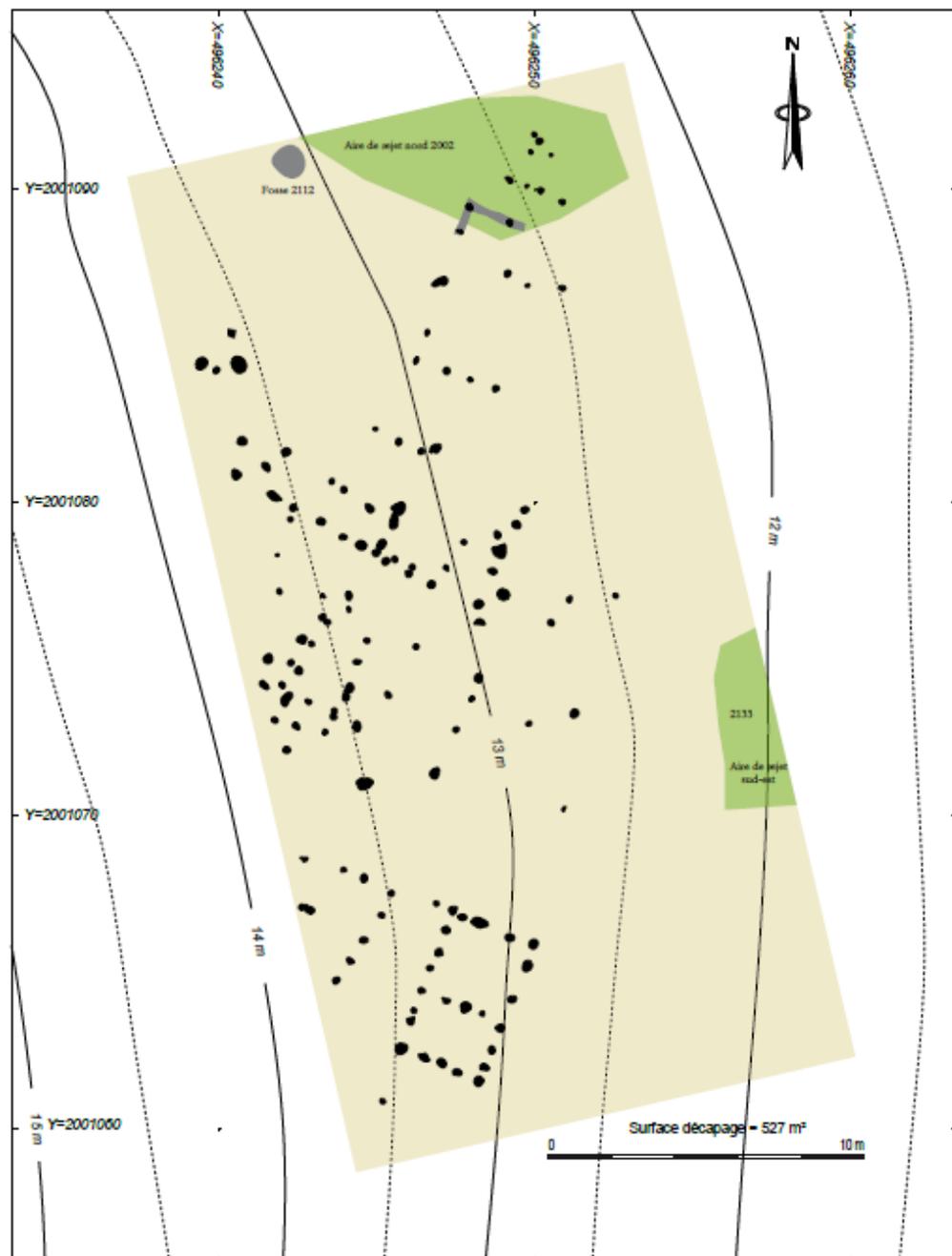
**Figure 5.7:** Location of Mont Vernon Plantation in St Martin (circle) (after Bonnissent 2012: 13).

The structures in the enslaved village are seen in plan as rectangles demarcated by lines of post holes. Rebuilding in several phases has made the outline of some buildings uncertain, but there are clear examples of rectangular houses with two rooms of unequal size, and it is probable that the other structures were also like this (see Figure 5.8) (Bonnissent 2012: 59, 87). The construction of these buildings is very similar to that of the huts at Fair Play and Schotsenhoek plantations on St Eustatius (see Cook, R. 2015; Cook, R. and Stelten 2014; Stelten 2013).



**Figure 5.8:** Plan of the Mont Vernon Plantation, showing the Big House (1), kitchen (2), drystone walls (3), sugar boiling house (4), and enslaved village (5) (after Bonnissent 2012: 33).

Artefacts recovered from the enslaved village at Mont Vernon dated to the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries and included ceramics (both imported European and locally produced), metal, animal bone, shell, and glass (Bonnissent 2012: 29, 87, 61, 69, 72, 78, 87, 89). These objects related to domestic, subsistence, commercial and leisure activities. Unfortunately, the author could not gain access to the collection herself and was therefore obliged to use the site report instead. This restricted analysis of the assemblage in that the author was not able to note properties of the material culture missed by members of the Inrap team. However, the site report was very detailed and provided a Harris Matrix which could be used to locate artefacts with secure contexts within the enslaved village.



**Figure 5.9:** Plan of excavation area in the Mont Vernon enslaved village (after Bonnissent 2012: 51).

### 5.2.6 St Maarten History Museum and Members of the Public

Several artefacts contributed by the St Maarten Historical Museum and members of the public also help to build a picture of enslaved lifeways in St Maarten. These include earthenware jars traditionally used to keep water cool (SXM-MC-043, 20<sup>th</sup> century) and coal pots used for cooking (SXM-MC-044, 20<sup>th</sup> century), as well as handmade pipes (SXM-MC-038, dated 1780-1820) whose construction echoes West African designs (see

Handler and Norman 2007; Ozanne 1962; McIntosh, Gallagher and McIntosh 1960; Shaw 1960). The criteria for the inclusion of these artefacts are similar to those for the inclusion of oral histories: these items are the physical manifestations of oral history (see section 4.6.4).

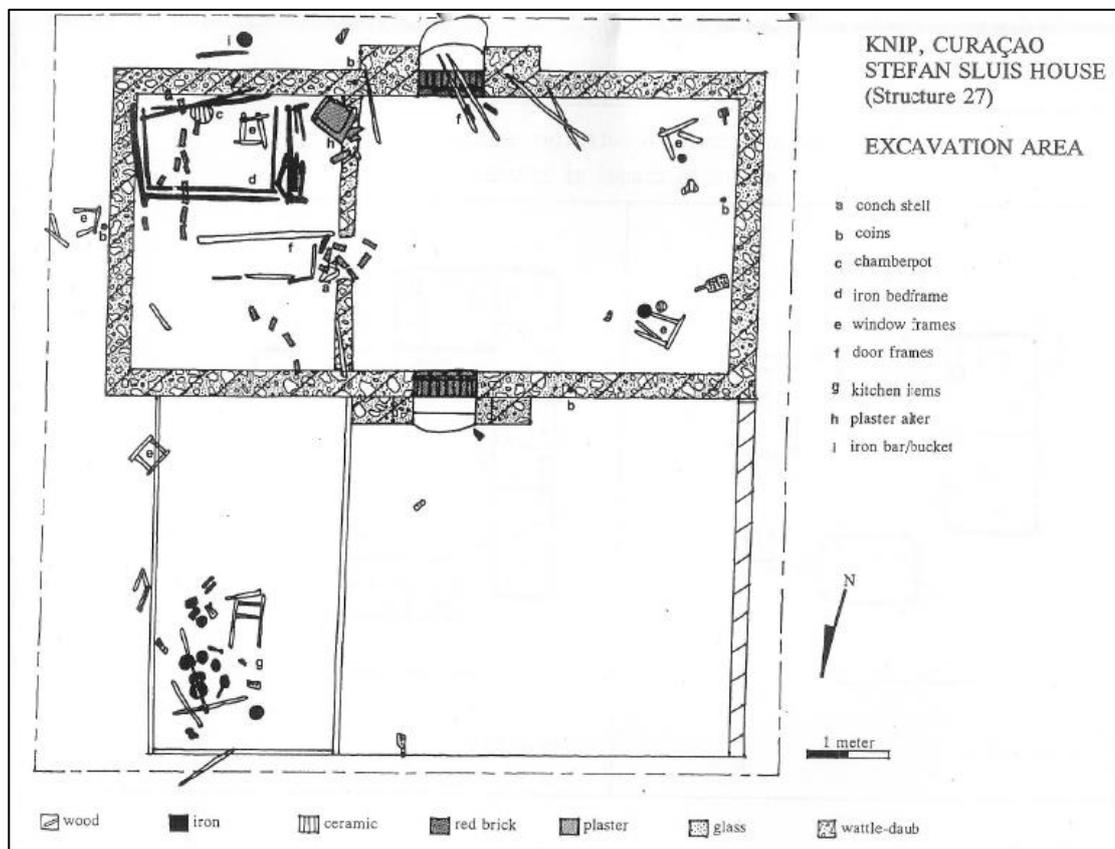
### 5.2.7 Plantage Knip/Kenepa, Curaçao

Plantation Knip (Plantage Kenepa) is situated in the western part of Curaçao, on the southern coast (do Rego 2009a) (see Figure 5.10 below). *Landbouw* (agriculture) and *veeteelt* (cattle breeding) probably began at Kenepa in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, but the large *landhuis* (plantation house) and outbuildings were constructed in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, with additions and alterations in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century (see Figure 5.11) (Kas di Kultura 2008; de Palm 1985: 291-293). Kenepa was one of the largest and most productive estates on the island, engaged in a diverse range of activities including animal husbandry (cows, sheep, goats, turkeys, chickens, geese and pigeons) for meat and wool; the growth of Brazil wood and indigo for export; and the cultivation of provisions such as sorghum, beans, pumpkins, watermelons, mangoes, and lemons. Some of the fruit trees can still be seen growing close to the *landhuis* (Kas di Kultura 2008).

Kenepa looms large in the national consciousness of Curaçao because it was the starting location of the 1795 Tula Revolt (do Rego 2009a; do Rego 2009b; Kas di Kultura 2008; de Palm 1985: 444-445). The enslaved village where Tula lived lay to the north of the plantation complex and has been continuously inhabited since that time (Kas di Kultura 2008; Havisser 1995b). The layout of this plantation conforms to Jeremy Bentham's *Panopticon*, with the *landhuis* overlooking the enslaved village (see Figure 5.11) (Miller, J. and Miller 1987; Foucault 1977: 200-201; Bentham 1843).



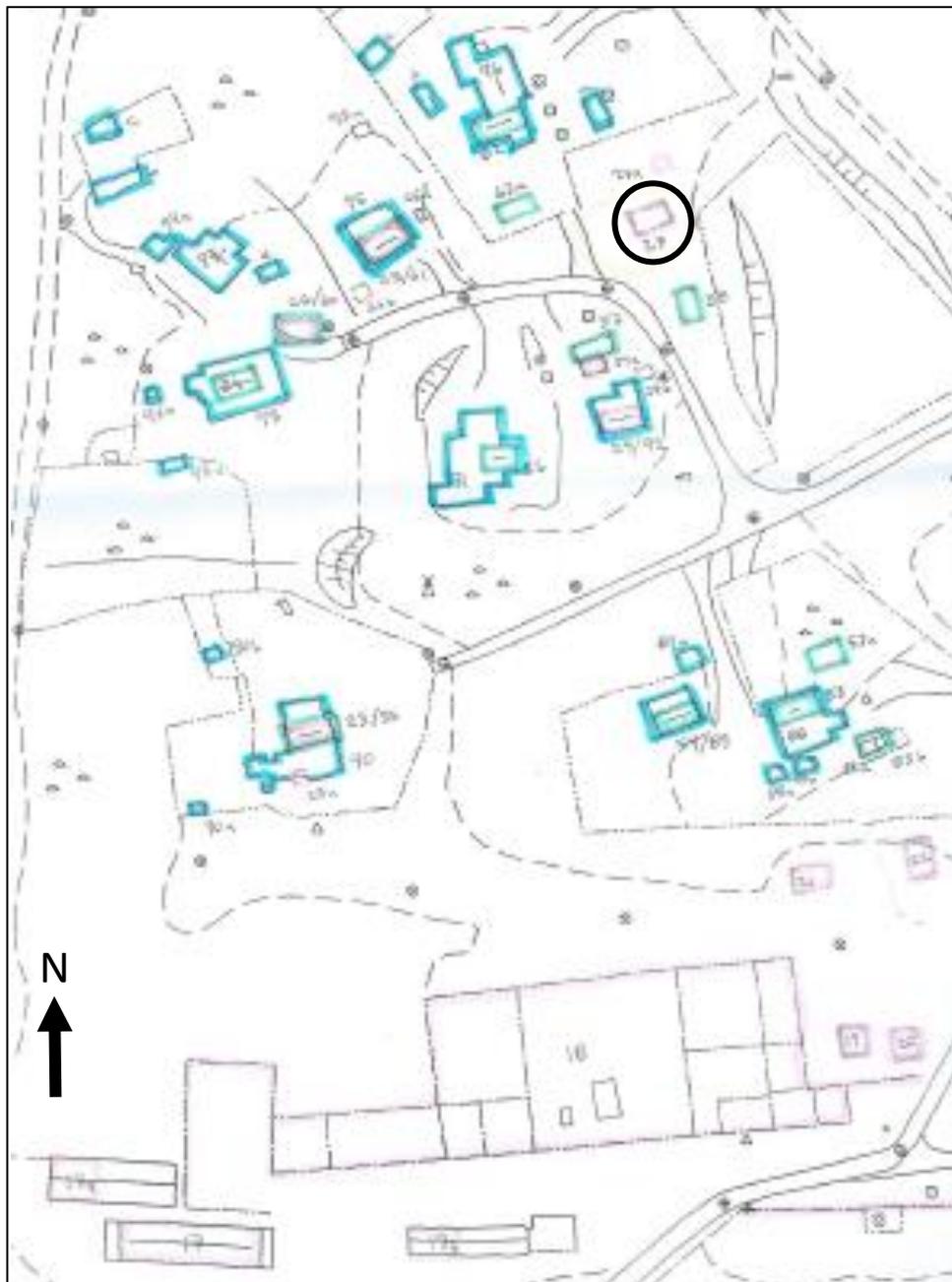
**Figure 5.10:** Map showing location of Knip/Kenepa on the west coast of Curaçao (after Werbata 1911-1912).



**Figure 5.11:** Plan of Structure 27 at Kenepa showing wattle and daub pre-1906 structure with later 20<sup>th</sup> century additions (after Haviser 1999: 234).

In the early 1990s Jay Haviser proposed a research project addressing the habitation of Kenepa from pre-colonial times to the present day. As part of this research, he excavated the traditional *kunuku* house known as Structure 27 (see Figure 5.11 above) (Haviser 1999). Built before 1906, Structure 27 represents material cultural evidence just

one generation after “emancipation” in 1863 (Haviser 1995b). (The question of emancipation and the end of slavery in Curaçao is discussed further in section 5.5 below.) The artefacts recovered from this structure are a mixture of traditional Afro-Curaçaoan and 20<sup>th</sup> century material culture. Some of them show strong continuity with pre-emancipation assemblages, as noted by Haviser (1999). These artefacts relate to domestic, leisure, personal adornment, and construction activities.



**Figure 5.12:** Map showing Structure 27 (in circle) and Kenepa village. The large buildings at the southern end of the map represent the industrial complex (the *landhuis* is located just off the map to the east) (image courtesy of NAAM).

### 5.2.8 Kas di Pal'i Maishi, Curaçao

The *Kas di Pal'i Maishi* (House of the Sorghum Stalks) is a living history museum located in the western part of Curaçao, on the *Weg Naar Westpunt*. It consists of a genuine early 20<sup>th</sup> century *kunuku* house (see Figure 5.13 below) and freestanding oven, which have been restored, and contains hundreds of everyday objects traditionally used by the Afro-Curaçaoan descendants of enslaved people. These include perishable materials (many dating from the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, see Appendix B) which do not survive in the archaeological record, and are therefore a valuable resource. The living history element of the museum also preserves songs and sayings that are lost in archaeology.

The survival of these cultural attributes may be due to several factors, including the comparatively large size of the island and the presence of Papiamentu as a first language. Traditional music, dance, and dress are still commonly observed in Curaçaoan society. Traditional implements are less often seen, and their survival into the 21st century owes itself largely to the work of the *Kas di Pal'i Maishi* Board of Directors (Jeanne Henriquez, pers. comm.). These circumstances lend a richness and diversity to the evidence for enslaved lifeways in Curaçao that is not seen elsewhere.



Figure 5.13: *Kunuku* house (CUR-MC-113) at the *Kas di Pal'i Maishi* (Source: Author).

An inventory of the artefacts at the *Kas di Pal'i Maishi* already exists (see Haviser 1999). Produced almost twenty years ago, this list provides a valuable way of triangulating the information gained by the author in 2016. These artefacts relate to domestic, ritual, leisure, and labour activities.

A limitation of this dataset may be that many of the artefacts from the *Kas di Pal'i Maishi* are modern replicas. Like the archaeological datasets, materials present here may not represent the whole assemblage to be found in the home of an enslaved person in Curaçao. The assemblage only refers with any confidence to the late 19<sup>th</sup> or 20<sup>th</sup> centuries (although as can be seen in section 5.5 below, it still falls within the time period of slavery). However, the knowledge of how to produce these materials is one that has been passed down by word of mouth. To a certain extent, then, we must apply the same logic to these materials as is applied to the oral historical data (see section 4.6.4): general information on lifeways may be accurate up to a distance of approximately 400 years (Mason, O. 2012; Spear 1981). Indeed, the replicas are often demonstrably similar to genuine historical artefacts from other areas of the Caribbean (see for example EUX-MC-106 and CUR-MC-099).

### **5.3 MATERIALS: OSTE BIOGRAPHY**

This section contains brief introductions to the sites which provided individuals for the osteobiographical analyses, as well as summarising some osteological information for each of the nineteen individuals studied. Most of the burials are late 18<sup>th</sup> century in date, but some are slightly later, buried at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> or the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Such late burials are included for two reasons, which are also detailed in the skeletal reports. Firstly, older individuals buried towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were likely to have been born before abolition in 1863; and secondly, it is argued in section 5.5

below that social slavery existed into the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Curaçao. Burials of these later dates can therefore help to answer the research questions.

The tables below include basic palaeopathological information. As mentioned in section 4.7.9, skeletal lesions should be described first, and then the osteologist considers potential diagnoses and life narrative interpretations. Descriptions of the palaeopathological lesions can be found in Appendix C, and these tables represent a mid-point in the analysis, with potential diagnosis included but no life narrative interpretations given. These interpretations will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

**Table 5.2:** Inventory of skeletons from Curaçao.

Site	Code	Sex	Age	Ancestry	Pathology
<b>Fleur de Marie</b> (area of waste ground near the Willemstad wharf) 1780-1800	CUR-OB-01.1	M	Old Adult (>50 yrs)	African	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 163.94cm ± 4.84 in stature (average or slightly below average)</li> <li>• Dental pathology: severe occlusal wear, one case of interproximal neck caries, widespread antemortem tooth loss, and periodontal disease</li> <li>• Joint disease at the hips, shoulders, and spine</li> <li>• Rugosity at the left ischial tuberosity of the ulna, left deltoid tuberosity of the humerus, and bilaterally along the soleal lines of the tibiae</li> <li>• Bilateral sinusitis; healing porotic hyperostosis on the occipital bone</li> </ul>
	CUR-OB-02.1	M	Middle to Old Adult (>35 yrs)	African/Amerindian	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 161.98cm ± 4.84 in stature (average or slightly below average)</li> <li>• Dental pathology: severe occlusal wear, periodontal disease, ante-mortem tooth loss, enamel hypoplasia, and calculus in several positions at the gingival margin</li> <li>• Sacralisation of the 5<sup>th</sup> lumbar vertebra; healed fracture to the right zygomatic arch; bilateral osteochondritis dissecans at the distal femora; widespread degenerative joint disease; blastic lesion at the second lumbar vertebra possibly due to a fracture</li> </ul>
<b>Veeris Plantation</b> (plantation raising animals and subsistence crops) Late C19th	CUR-OB-02.2	M?	Adult (>18 yrs)	African	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Dental pathology: moderate occlusal wear, LSAMAT, calculus, caries, and periodontal disease</li> <li>• Clavicular asymmetry (R more robust); bilateral new bone formation in the maxillary sinuses; severe osteomyelitis of the right tibia, possibly secondary to a fracture; porotic hyperostosis on the parietal bones</li> </ul>
	CUR-OB-03.1	F	Adolescent to Young Adult (12-25 yrs)	African	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 165.17cm ± 4.7 in stature (well above average)</li> <li>• Dental pathology: minimal occlusal wear, small deposits of calculus at the gingival margin, periodontal disease, enamel hypoplasia on all four third molars</li> <li>• Joint disease: contour change present at the left occipital condyle</li> <li>• Porotic hyperostosis on the left parietal and frontal bones; new bone formation at the femoral attachments of the vastus medialis and the antero-lateral margin of the left ilium</li> <li>• Large mastoid processes; porosity and granular new bone at entheses on the radii and femora; osteochondritis dissecans on the left distal femur</li> </ul>
<b>Kamer van Koophandel</b> (wealthy suburb of Willemstad) C18th-C19th					

**Table 5.3:** Inventory of skeletons from St Eustatius.

Site	Code	Sex	Age	Ancestry	Pathology
<b>Witten Hoek</b> (sugar plantation burial ground) Late C18th	EUX-OB-01.1	M?	Adult (>18 yrs)	African	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Dental pathology: periodontal disease, caries, ante-mortem tooth loss, calculus</li> <li>Periostic lesion at distal right humerus; cribra orbitalia</li> </ul>
	EUX-OB-01.2	?	Old Adult (>50 yrs)	Unknown	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Dental pathology: completely edentulous</li> <li>Porotic hyperostosis (occipital and parietals); bilateral tibial periostitis</li> </ul>
	EUX-OB-01.2	M?	Adult (>18 yrs)	Unknown	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Osteochondritis dissecans on the left distal femur; rugose soleal lines and lineae asperae</li> </ul>
	EUX-OB-02.1	?	Adult (>18 yrs)	Amerindian	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>None</li> </ul>
<b>Fort Amsterdam</b> (slave depot burial ground) 1720-1780	EUX-OB-02.2	F	Adult (>18 yrs)	African	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Dental pathology: periodontal disease, ante-mortem tooth loss, severe occlusal wear</li> <li>Caries sicca on the frontal and left parietal; porotic hyperostosis on the left parietal bones</li> </ul>
	EUX-OB-02.3	F	Young Adult (18-25yrs)	African	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>153.54cm in stature (average)</li> <li>Dental pathology: minimal calculus at the gingival margins; minor wear to occlusal surfaces of first and second molars</li> <li>Bilateral cribra orbitalia; contour change of the right occipital condyle; rugose costoclavicular ligament attachments on the clavicles</li> </ul>
	EUX-OB-02.4	F	Young to Middle Adult (18-45 yrs)	African	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Dental pathology: LSAMAT, periodontal disease, caries, calculus, minimal occlusal wear</li> </ul>
<b>Lazaretto</b> (leprosarium) Late C19th-Early C20th	EUX-IB-03.1	?	Adult (>18 yrs)	African	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>170.127cm ± 4.53 in stature (average or slightly higher)</li> <li>Dental pathology: ante-mortem tooth loss, caries</li> <li>Degenerative joint disease of the spine; leprosy</li> </ul>
	EUX-OB-03.2	?	Middle to Old Adult (>35 yrs)	African	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Dental pathology: caries, widespread calculus, abscess, ante-mortem tooth loss, linear enamel hypoplasia</li> <li>Degenerative joint disease of the spine; leprosy</li> </ul>

**Table 5.4:** Inventory of skeletons from St Maarten.

Site	Code	Sex	Age	Ancestry	Pathology
<b>Zoutsteeg</b> (beach next to salt pond) Mid to Late C17th	SXM-OB-01.1	M	Adult (>18 yrs)	African	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Dental pathology: calculus at the gingival margins, periodontal disease, minor occlusal wear, enamel hypoplasia</li> <li>Dental modification</li> <li>Periostitis on the phalanges; contour change at the distal articular surface of the left first metacarpal</li> </ul>
	SXM-OB-01.2	M	Adult (>18 yrs)	African	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>176cm ± 4.84 in stature (higher than average)</li> <li>Dental Pathology: periodontal disease, calculus, mild occlusal wear</li> <li>Dental modification</li> <li>Degenerative joint disease to the cervical vertebrae; porosity and granular new bone at muscle attachment sites on the left humerus and ulna; lytic lesions on the phalanges</li> </ul>
	SXM-OB-01.3	F	Adolescent to Young Adult (12-25 yrs)	African	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Dental pathology: minor occlusal wear, calculus at the gingival margin, porosity of the alveolar bone and some root exposure</li> <li>Dental modification</li> </ul>
	SXM-OB-02.1	F	Young to Middle Adult (18-45 yrs)	European	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Dental pathology: enamel hypoplasia, caries, minor calculus at the gingival margin, minor occlusal wear to the first molars</li> <li>Asymmetry of the mastoid processes (L larger); contour change at the left occipital condyle and articular facets of first and second cervical vertebrae</li> </ul>
<b>Rockland Plantation</b> (sugar and cattle plantation) Late C18th-Early C19th	SXM-OB-02.2	M	Adult (>18 yrs)	African	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Dental pathology: minor calculus at the gingival margins, periodontal disease, caries</li> <li>Dental modification</li> </ul>
	SXM-OB-02.3	F	Adult (>18 yrs)	African	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Dental pathology: periodontal disease, minimal calculus, LSAMAT, severe caries</li> <li>Contour change to the occipital condyles</li> </ul>
	SXM-OB-02.4	M	Adult (>18 yrs)	Unknown	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Dental pathology: ante-mortem tooth loss, periodontal disease, moderate occlusal wear</li> <li>Joint disease of the spine and right shoulder; rugosity of muscle insertions on the right humerus and clavicle</li> </ul>

### 5.3.1 Fleur de Marie, Curaçao

In 1993 the remains of two individuals (Sk. 186 and Sk. 187) were recovered at Fleur de Marie in Scharloo, a suburb of Willemstad (see Figure 5.14 below) (Haviser 1993). During the 2011 archaeological investigation by NAAM an additional skeleton (Sk. 428) was recovered (Victorina and Kraan 2012). All the remains were subjected to a preliminary analysis according to the standards by Maat and Mastwijk (2004). Unfortunately, Sk. 186 and Sk. 187 were too incomplete for this study. The more well-preserved Sk. 428 was therefore the only individual from Fleur de Marie included in this analysis. AMS dating showed that this individual died during one of four time periods, the mostly likely of which is 1780-1800 (please see the report in Appendix C for further discussion) (Victorina and Kraan 2012: 42).

The current neighbourhood of Fleur de Marie is situated on land that used to belong to Scharloo Plantation, established by the WIC in 1634 (Victorina and Kraan 2012: 14; Winkel 1987: 5). In 1729 this plantation was divided into pieces and sold off for housing because it was too dry for profitable agriculture (Victorina and Kraan 2012: 14; Jonkhout-Gehlen 2003: 125).

From the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the western part of Scharloo near Sint Annabaai was occupied by merchants, boatsmen and traders who benefitted from a position close to the waterfront (Victorina and Kraan 2012: 15; Winkel 1987: 97). A wooden fort was constructed nearby to protect their activities (Victorina and Kraan 2012: 15). Housing development further to the east did not take place until the 1850s, when rich Jewish families began to build houses there (Victorina and Kraan 2012: 15; Winkel 1987: 2). However, the neighbourhood was considered unsafe because it lay outside the town walls. In addition, a lack of easy access except by water meant that Scharloo developed more slowly than other suburbs of Willemstad (Victorina and Kraan 2012: 14; Jonkhout-Gehlen 2003: 125; Winkel 1987: 6).



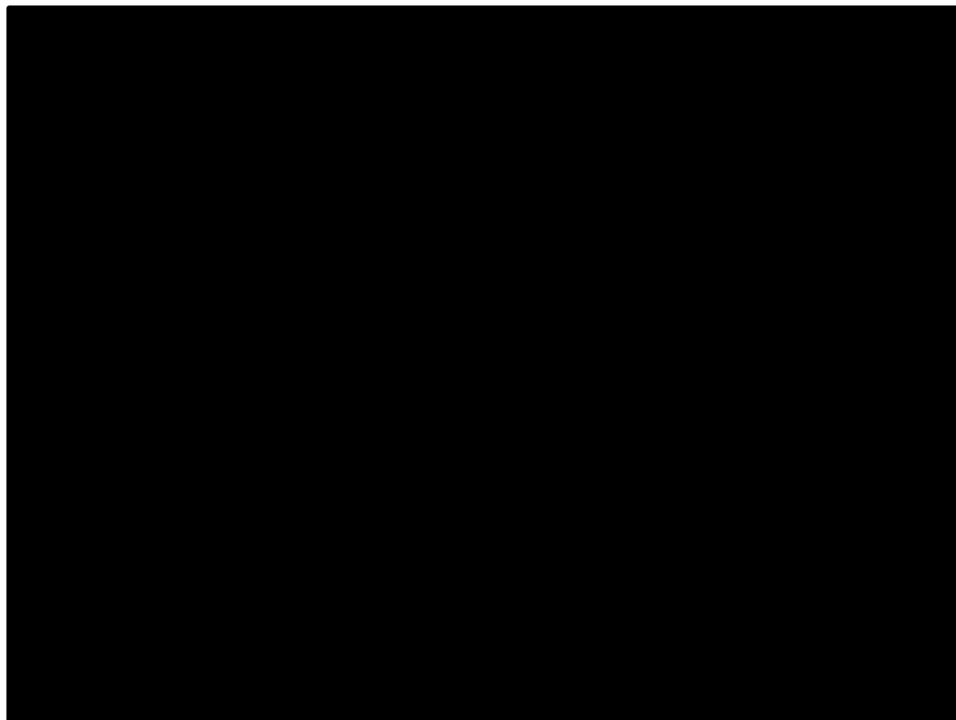
**Figure 5.14:** Map showing the area of Fleur de Marie (in circle) still largely undeveloped in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century (after van Keulen 1838).

This site is important for our understanding the lifeways of enslaved people in Curaçao because it helps to demonstrate the wide range of activities in which enslaved people were involved, and the social context in which these activities happened.

### 5.3.2 Kamer van Koophandel, Curaçao

In December 1985 construction workers encountered isolated human remains adjacent to the Kamer van Koophandel building in the southern part of Willemstad known as Pietermaai. Archaeologists from the AAINA arrived within fifteen minutes but were unable to view the remains *in situ* (Haviser 1985). The lack of artefactual evidence in association with Sk. 1 and the lack of stratigraphic information available makes a precise date for the burial impossible to ascertain (see Haviser 1985). However, an interpretation of African ancestry means that Sk. 1 was buried after 1526 when the Spanish took possession of Curaçao and brought the first enslaved Africans to the island (Rupert 2012: 21, 63). Additionally, the location of the burial may allow us to narrow the date range

further. Pietermaai developed as a suburb of Willemstad in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, and was a residential area for wealthy merchants who would have had enslaved people performing domestic tasks (Rupert 2012:129-130). It was common for enslaved people in Curaçao to be buried in unconsecrated ground, so Sk. 1 may have been enslaved in one of these 18<sup>th</sup> century houses (Jonkhout-Gehlen 2003: 31; Langenfeld and Langenfeld 1998: 31). However, in 1821 the island governor forbade burials outside official cemeteries (Langenfeld 2007: 129-130). Although we know that the practice continued, it makes it less likely that Sk. 1 postdates 1821 given that she was buried in a prosperous suburb. Other burials outside official cemeteries that postdate 1821 are often on areas of waste ground or in plantation settings (such as Fleur de Marie and Veeris Plantation). This burial at the Kamer van Koophandel is very important for our understanding of the lifeways of enslaved people in Curaçao because it demonstrates how the extreme environment of enslavement can have an impact on human biology.

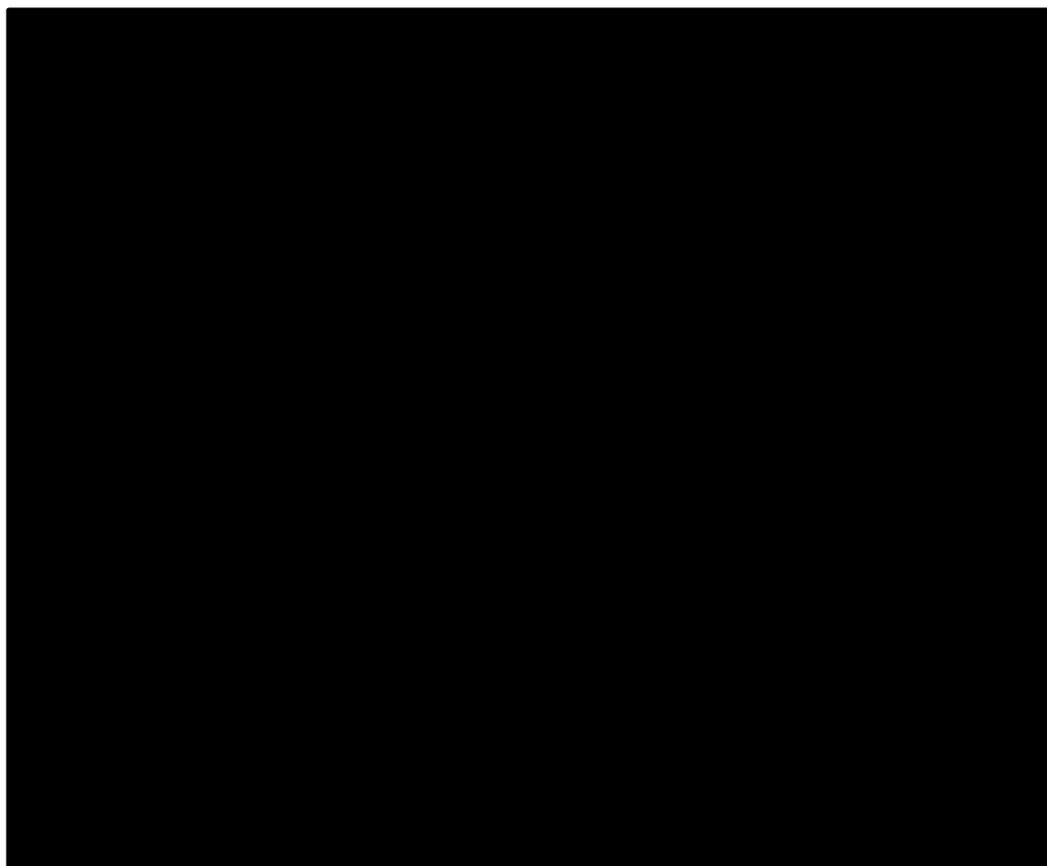


**Figure 5.15:** Willemstad in 1911, showing location of the Kamer van Koophandel burial (circle) (Werbata 1911-1912: 12).

### 5.3.3 Veeris Plantation, Curaçao

In April 1986 a skeleton known as Sk. 182 was rescued from an area where sand extraction was taking place (Haviser 1986). This area now lies under the large Sambil shopping centre to the northwest of Otrobanda, on the *Weg Naar Westpunt* (see Figure 5.16). In August 1986, the island archaeologist recovered Sk. 189 in the same area.

The land where these skeletons were found was part of Veeris or Union Plantation, an 1820s amalgamation of the plantations *Drie Gebroeders*, *Westerveld*, and *Eendracht*. ‘Veeris’ was the family name of the first known owners of *Drie Gebroeders* and *Westerveld* plantations (Curacao Monuments 2006). The current *landhuis* (plantation house) was probably built in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century and altered in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, and the plantation was known primarily for raising livestock (Huijers and Ezechiels 1992: 148).



**Figure 5.16:** Map of Curaçao in 1911, showing the location of Veeris Plantation (circle) (Werbata 1911-1912: 12).

Artefacts found in association with Sk. 182 allowed the island archaeologist to suggest that the individual was buried prior to 1880, wearing buttoned clothing and inside a wooden coffin with iron ring handles (Haviser 1986). A porcelain button found associated with Sk. 189 postdates 1830 (Lindbergh 1999). The context of Sk. 182 and Sk. 189 as individuals of African ancestry buried on plantation land just a five-minute walk from the *landhuis*, therefore makes it very likely that they were part of the plantation workforce. Enslaved cemeteries and enslaved villages were often close to each other, and if the village was located near to these burials then the plantation layout would conform to Bentham's *Panopticon*, with the enslaved community under the eye of the plantation owner (Stelten 2013; Watters 1994; Miller, J. and Miller 1987; Foucault 1977: 200-201; Bentham 1843). These individuals are important for our understanding of the lifeways of enslaved people because they date from the period immediately before or immediately after "emancipation", when the social state of slavery often persisted (see section 5.5). The various pathologies relating to the Curaçaoan work environment are useful in demonstrating the kinds of work-related dangers present in this kind of work environment.

#### **5.3.4 Fort Amsterdam, St Eustatius**

In 2012 archaeologists from SECAR conducted a rescue excavation at the site of Fort Amsterdam, to the north of Oranjestad. Nine graves were excavated from the cliff face, although collection was limited only to exposed remains in danger of erosion (Morsink 2012). Early in 2017, a team from Texas State University surveyed the cliff-top burial area and conducted the rescue excavation of human remains that were once more eroding from the sandy edge. In August of the same year, the current author visited St Eustatius and analysed three individuals from the site: two from Burial 6 and one from Burial 11. The following September, erosion from Hurricanes Irma and Maria exposed

more remains from Burial 11 and another burial (Burial 13) further to the south. These remains were rescued in September 2017 are therefore analysed from photographs rather than from an interaction with the remains themselves.



**Figure 5.17:** Fort Amsterdam viewed from the north (Source: Author).

Fort Amsterdam was constructed as a battery in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. Situated on a natural rise, its function was to protect the bay with cannon fire. It fell out of use during French and English occupations of the late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, and when the Dutch returned to the island in the 1720s it became a depot holding enslaved people for local distribution. At two storeys high and only 16.4 by 6.4 metres square, the building held 450 people at a time. Qualities of the location that had once made it a good defensive position now functioned to prevent escape. In 1780 erosion caused the southern wall of the depot to fall into the sea, but by this time the ‘slave trade’ had abandoned St Eustatius as an important nodal point (Hartog 1997b: 130-133).

The burial ground associated with Fort Amsterdam lies along the low cliff to the north of the depot building, extending for around 20 metres. It is probable that a significant number of graves have already been claimed by the sea over the past 250 years,

and that the graves currently exposed in the cliff face were once in the middle of the cemetery (Morsink 2012). The individuals buried here may have been prisoners from the slave depot, or alternatively they may have been enslaved on one of the neighbouring plantations (such as Godet) and buried in this location out of convenience. A document from 1738 does indeed mention individuals of African ancestry buried on the sea front close to the manchineel trees (which can be seen in Figure 5.17) and probably adjacent to Godet plantation (see Knappert 1932: 37). The skeletal evidence from Fort Amsterdam reminds us of the complexity of the Caribbean ‘slave trade’, which involved individuals of diverse identities from all over the Caribbean and West Africa.

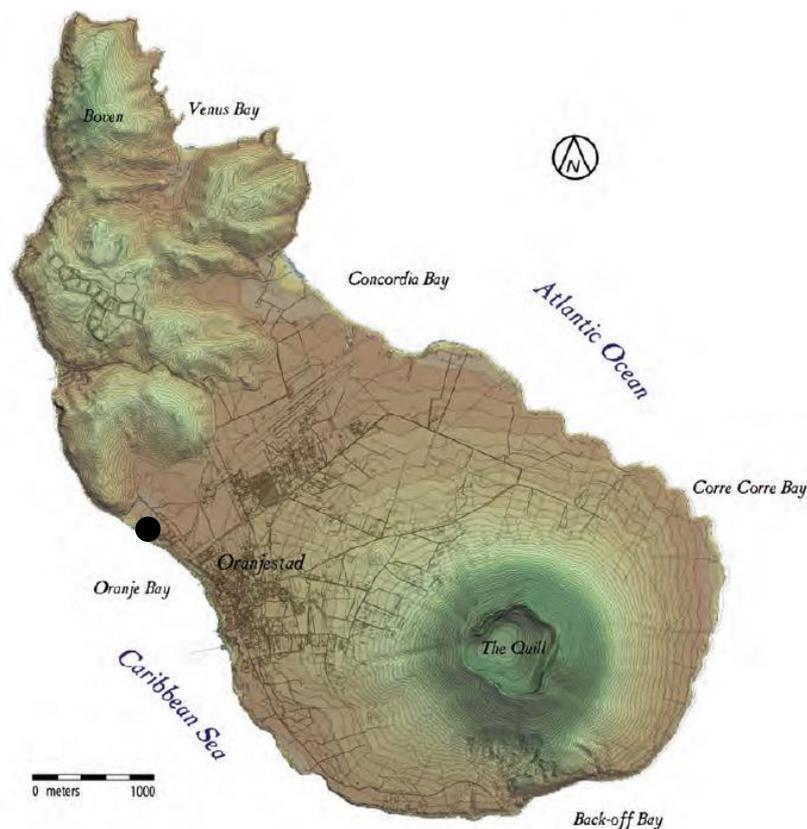
### **5.3.5 The Lazaretto, St Eustatius**

In 2004, Joanna Gilmore excavated and analysed the remains of six individuals (five adults and one infant) from the yard area of the Lazaretto (or leprosarium) located on the Godet property north of Fort Amsterdam, and close to the beach (see Gilmore 2004). The burials were located close to the building and marked with rows of rough stones (Gilmore 2004: 35, 41, 44). They can therefore be seen as house-yard burials, an African-American tradition found in other locations in the Caribbean, for example in Jamaica (Delle and Fellows 2014; Armstrong and Fleischman 2003). All were coffined, situated in a row and aligned east-west with the heads to the west, in the Christian fashion typical of the time period (Gilmore 2004: 44; Gordon 1971). The burial of these individuals in the house-yard of the Lazaretto represents the interaction of Christian and West African belief systems.

In 1798 and 1801 proclamations by the island government had exhorted slave owners not to abandon leprous enslaved people in the streets, but after 1863 formerly enslaved people were no longer the responsibility of their former owners (Gilmore III 2006a; Gilmore 2004: 15-16). The Lazaretto opened in 1866, three years after the

abolition of slavery (Gilmore 2004: 16). It allowed newly freed leprous individuals to be gathered in one place. This was not necessarily a kindness, but rather a way to remove them from the rest of society. Additionally, Stavian people were so afraid of leprosy that the Lazaretto inhabitants would have existed as social outcasts in a similar way to enslaved people (see Gilmore 2004: 18; Patterson, O. 1982). The building quickly became overcrowded and unsanitary (Gilmore 2004: 18).

Artefacts associated with the remains suggest that the burials took place before 1900, and the individuals analysed here have a minimum age-at-death of 40 years (osteological methods for age assessment often under-age older individuals), so it is highly probable that these individuals were born before 1863 (see Falys and Lewis 2010; Gilmore 2004: 18).



**Figure 5.18:** Map of St Eustatius showing the location of the Lazaretto (black dot) (after Gilmore 2004: 17).

Three of the six excavated individuals have now been reinterred. The remaining three individuals continue to be curated at SECAR because they represent such good examples of leprosy bone changes. Sk. 4 and Sk. 5 are examined here (the remaining individual is an infant and therefore inappropriate for osteobiographical analysis in this context, although it does help to inform interpretations of the other two individuals). These burials are important for our understanding of enslaved lifeways because leprosy is a disease that thrives in the conditions of poverty, overcrowding and malnourishment experienced by enslaved individuals (Gilmore 2004: 6). They also help us to understand syncretic interactions between different belief systems, and the social isolation associated with leprosy and enslaved individuals.

### **5.3.6 Witten Hoek, St Eustatius**

In May 2005 archaeologists from SECAR were called to a private property in the region of Upper Union Estate (also known as White Hook or Witten Hoek), southeast of Gallows Bay and north of Kay Bay (Chitchy Bay in Figure 5.19 below). The remains of three individuals had been uncovered during the excavation of house foundations (see Gilmore III and Raes 2011).

The burials contained artefacts of late 18<sup>th</sup> to early 19<sup>th</sup> century date, including creamware, Afro-Caribbean ware, the base of a sugar jar, and a pewter spoon (Gilmore III and Raes 2011). The land was situated either within Jan Gordon's plantation (seen on a 1775 map of the island) or on the border between Barnes' and Johnston's plantations (seen on a 1781 map of the island, see Figure 5.19 below) (Gilmore III and Raes 2011). These burials are therefore likely to be late 18<sup>th</sup> century or early 19<sup>th</sup> century in date.

The graves were positioned in line with each other, and oriented east-west with the head to the west (Gilmore III and Raes 2011). This is standard for Christian burials of the period, and also typical of enslaved cemeteries in the Caribbean (although there are

exceptions) (Delle and Fellows 2014; Gordon 1971). An enslaved village may have been located approximately to the north of the burial site, but there is currently a house in this location (Gilmore III and Raes 2011).

The skeletons from Witten Hoek were very incomplete and in poor condition. However, grave goods included the abovementioned pewter spoon, several dog teeth and an object interpreted by the excavators as a bosun's whistle, all of which probably served an *obeah* ritual function (see Fernandez Olmos and Paravisini-Gebert 2011: 155-171; Gilmore III and Raes 2011).



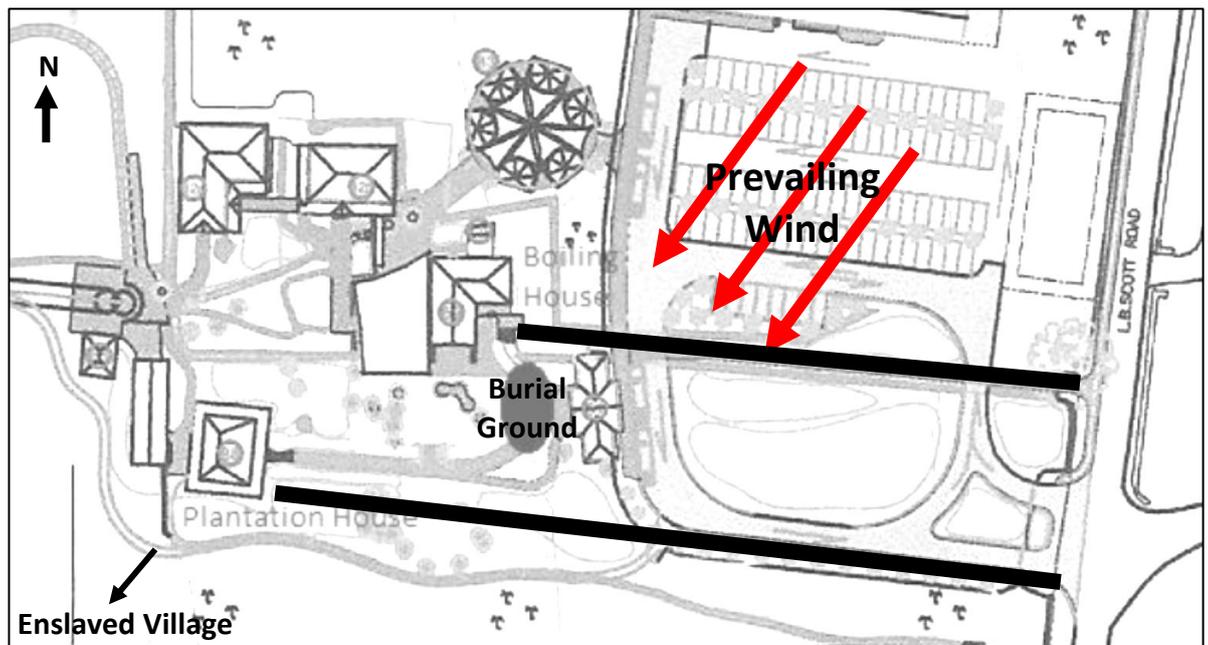
Figure 5.19: Map showing the Barnes and Johnston plantations (Martin, P. 1781).

These burials are important because they are the only human remains that have yet been excavated from a plantation cemetery on St Eustatius. Despite poor preservation they allow us to make interpretations about the lives of these individuals in terms of the work that they did and the belief systems that they employed.

### 5.3.7 Rockland Plantation, St Maarten

In January 2017 construction workers employed by Rainforest Adventures discovered human remains at Rockland Plantation, St Maarten. Those under immediate threat from construction activities were excavated by the island archaeologist and curated at SIMARC, while the rest of the site was preserved *in situ*. Because these skeletons were excavated in a rescue situation, they are only 10 to 15% complete. Although four individuals can be found in the report in Appendix C, only two of these individuals fulfilled the criteria set out in section 4.7.3 and were therefore included in the analysis.

Haviser (2017) identified artefacts found in association with the skeletal remains as belonging to the late 18<sup>th</sup> to early 19<sup>th</sup> century. They were uncovered from an area adjacent to the boiling house and within sight of the plantation house, directly between the two driveways leading from the road to each of these structures (see Figure 5.20 below). This is an unusually prominent location for a plantation burial ground. Enslaved cemeteries, for example, were more likely to be located next to the enslaved village, not immediately adjacent to the plantation house but within sight of it (according to Jeremy Bentham's *Panopticon*) and downwind (Watters 1994; Miller, J. and Miller 1987; Foucault 1977: 200-201; Bentham 1843). The prevailing wind in this area of St Maarten indicates that the enslaved village for Rockland Plantation was probably situated to the southwest of the plantation house, further up the slope where the land was less suitable for cash crop production (see Figure 5.20). The burial ground in this case was therefore much more closely related to the big house and industrial complex than it was to the enslaved village.



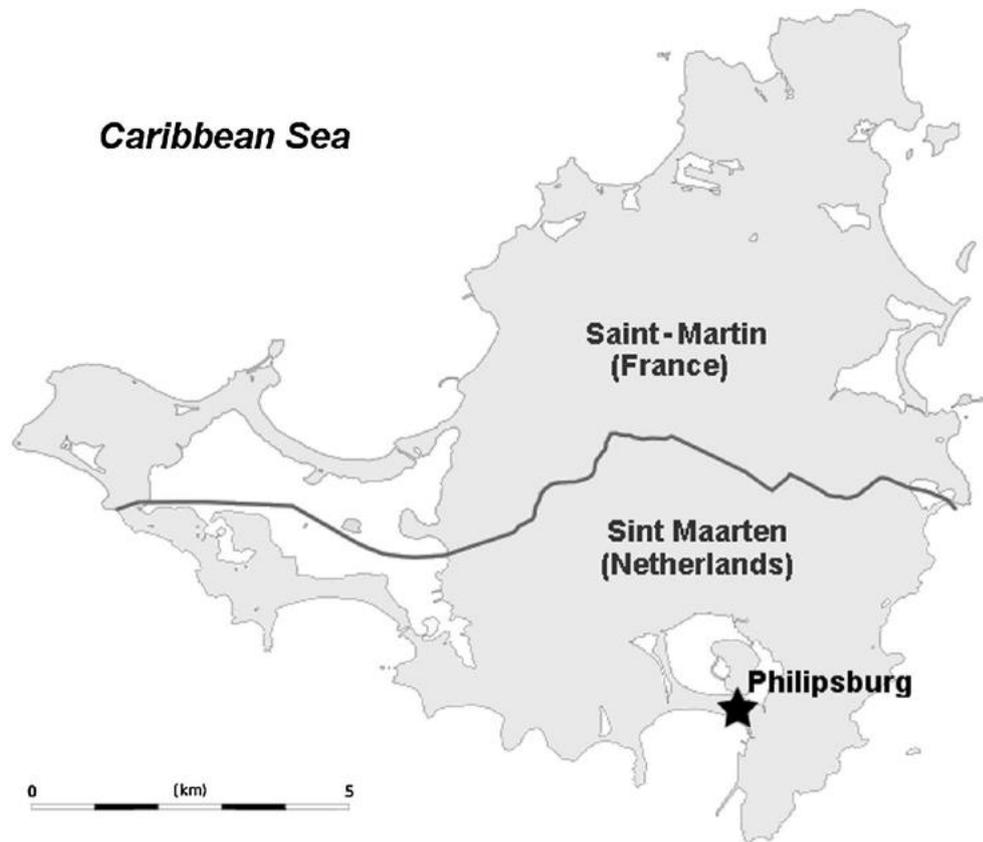
**Figure 5.20:** Map of Rockland Plantation showing burial ground between the two driveways, prevailing wind, and probable location of the enslaved village (after Haviser 2017: 2).

The graves are intercutting, probably indicating that the burial ground was in use for a long period of time (see Penny-Mason 2017 for examples of complex burial ground stratigraphy and; Romon and Fouilloud 2013 for an example of intercutting graves in an enslaved cemetery used over a long period of time), and the osteological analysis suggest use of the burial ground by both enslaved and free members of the plantation community (see Appendix C for skeletal report). As the only skeletons excavated from a plantation context in St Maarten, these individuals are very valuable in the investigation of the lifeways of enslaved people on the island.

### 5.3.8 Zoutsteeg, St Maarten

In 2010 construction workers in Zoutsteeg (Salt Alley), Philipsburg, uncovered three skeletons which were subsequently excavated by Jay Haviser at SIMARC. The remains were found in a layer of white sand, part of the original shoreline predating the 1968 expansion of Philipsburg into this area. There was no evidence for the use of coffins, but the skeletons were arranged side-by-side, supine, and with their heads to the east

(Haviser 2010c). Two articles have already been published focussing on the African dental modifications of these individuals (Schroeder, Haviser and Price 2014) and their genetic heritage (Schroeder et al. 2015).



**Figure 5.21:** Map showing location of the Zoutsteeg burials at the western end of Philipsburg (after Schroeder, Haviser and Price 2014: 689).

Artefacts associated with the remains date the burials to the mid to late 17<sup>th</sup> century, before the foundation of Philipsburg (Schroeder, Haviser and Price 2014). During this period ships from many different nations stopped in St Maarten to collect salt which they needed for food preservation. It is likely that these individuals were enslaved on one of these ships (Schroeder, Haviser and Price 2014). However, they may represent both privileged (Sk. 2) and stressed (Sk. 1 and Sk. 3) sections of West African populations (see Appendix C). As such they are a useful reminder of the heterogeneity of the enslaved population.

## **5.4 MATERIALS: ORAL HISTORY**

### **5.4.1 Anonymity**

During the interview process, participants were not asked to fill out a demographic form. This was because the author wished the focus of the exchange to be on the interview itself. Paperwork impeded the development of rapport and in one case completely destroyed the opportunity to interview. This may have been for a variety of reasons, including the type of English used in the University of Kent forms which is unfamiliar to people speaking creole English, as well as the previous negative experiences of potential interviewees with other researchers.

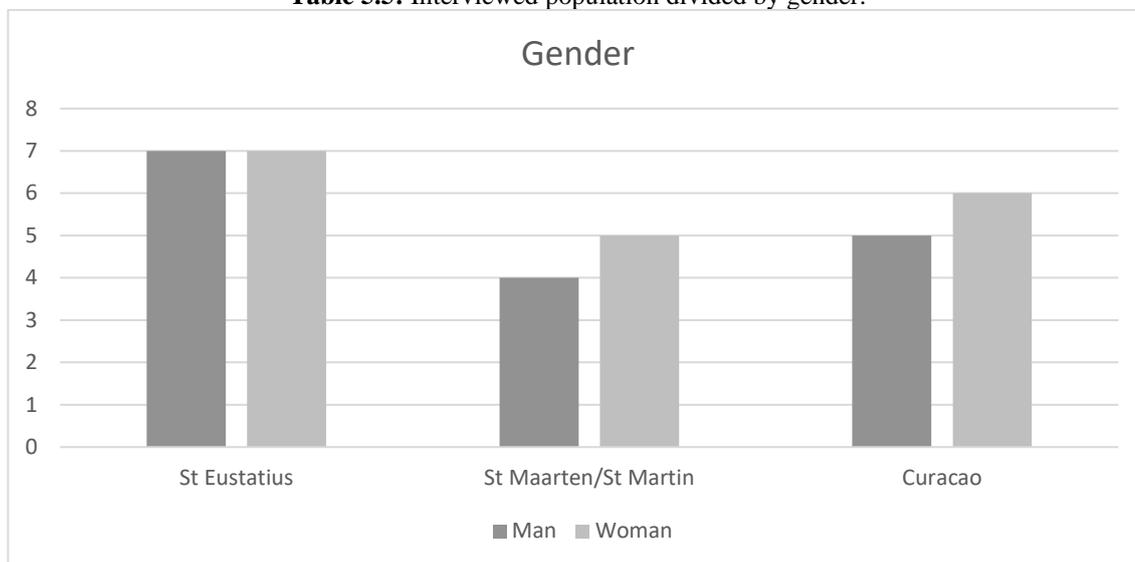
The following demographic information (gender, social race, occupation), therefore, is based on comments made by participants during the interview, as well as on social exchanges interpreted by the author. Lists of individual interviewees with their gender, social race, and occupation will not be provided in order to protect the identity of the participants. St Eustatius in particular is a very small island and it is thought that this type of information would too easily allow anonymous participants to be identified.

### **5.4.2 Gender Balance**

Gender identity was assessed through the social interactions of the interviewee with the interviewer, and how the interviewee presented themselves as a human being enacting a gendered role in society. The author did not encounter anyone who explicitly identified themselves as trans, intersex, or another gender identity, so the categories are limited to 'man' and 'woman'. Because the interviewees were recruited through the snowballing technique, the author had no control over the gender balance of her interviewed population. However, Table 5.5 below shows that gender balance was good

on all islands. The author would not therefore expect responses to be biased according to the over-representation of one gender.

**Table 5.5:** Interviewed population divided by gender.



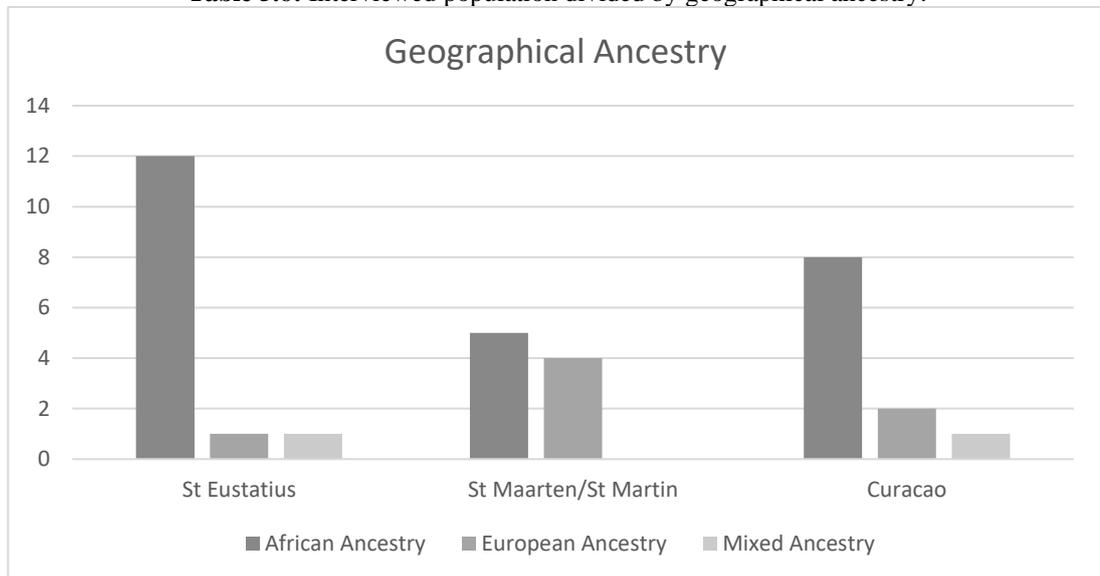
### 5.4.3 Geographical Ancestry and Social Race

It must be mentioned here that geographical ancestry (a genetic trait) and social race (a culturally produced identity) are different (MacEachern 2011; Fausto-Sterling 2010; Sauer and Wankmiller 2009). In most social situations, human beings use the physical appearance of an individual to make a judgement about social race, but this does not necessarily reflect the geographical ancestry of the individual in question. In the Caribbean individuals possessing any African feature (such as nasal shape, skin colour and hair texture) are often socially identified as Afro-Caribbean, even though they may in fact be genetically less than 50% African (see Marcha, Verweel and Werkman 2012).

In Table 5.6 below, one can see that the interviewed population has been divided into European ancestry, African ancestry, and mixed ancestry individuals. Using the concept of social race explained above, but also referring to comments made by interviewees, the author assigned individuals to one of these groups. Only individuals who specifically identified as mixed ancestry during their interviews were assigned to the

mixed ancestry group. However, it is likely that these individuals are also perceived as being of African ancestry in social situations (see Marcha, Verweel and Werkman 2012).

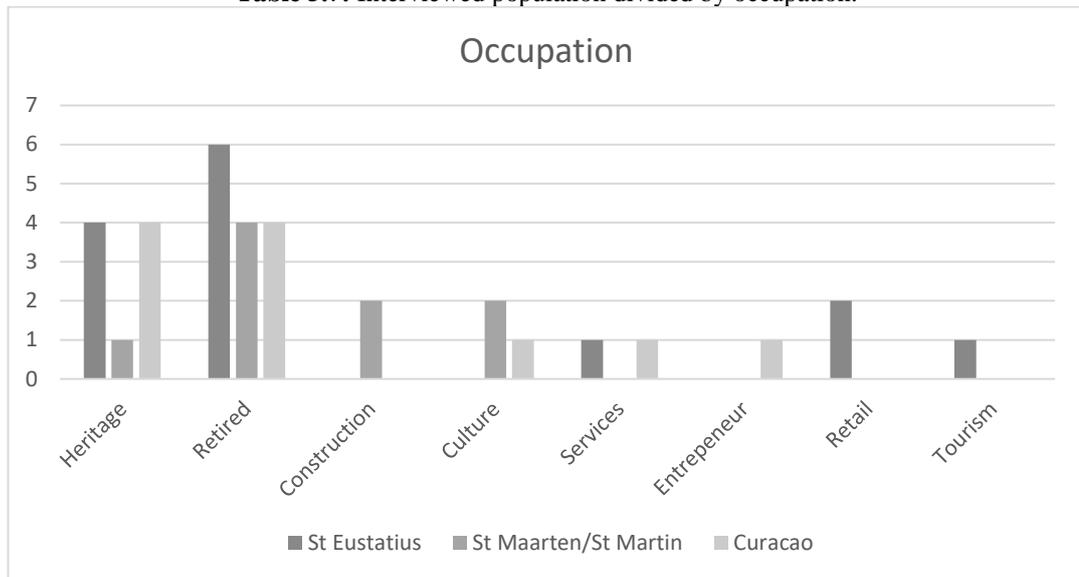
**Table 5.6:** Interviewed population divided by geographical ancestry.



St Eustatius and Curaçao had a majority African-ancestry population during the study period (Rupert 2012: 92-93, 122, 142-143). One would therefore hope to obtain majority Afro-Caribbean interviewees from these islands. As mentioned above, the author had no control over the social race of her interviewees because they were mainly recruited through snowballing. There were a high number of white individuals in St Maarten, and this may be an artefact of the inherent difficulties of conducting this kind of research on an island that has been so drastically affected by immigration during the last century (see Guadeloupe 2009: 11-12). It was easier for the author to make contact with high social status (often of European ancestry) members of the St Maarten population. Although the island actually had a majority white population during the 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries (Rupert 2012: 75; Heuman 2003b; Hartog 1981: 88), this is an imbalance that should be considered during the interpretation of interview data from the island.

#### 5.4.4 Occupation

**Table 5.7:** Interviewed population divided by occupation.



The occupation of each interviewee was ascertained from the prior knowledge of the author as well as from comments made by interviewees. As can be seen in Table 5.7, there is a noticeable bias towards retired individuals and those employed in the heritage sector. This was because the first point of contact on each island was often a small group of heritage professionals who provided the author with the contact details of other potential participants. This was a good way to find local inhabitants already known to be interested in island heritage. The bias towards retired individuals was deliberate, because older people are often more likely to have had meaningful exchanges about slavery with relatives who were alive in a time closer to the study period.

#### 5.4.5 Interview Data

The author recorded just over twenty-four hours' worth of interviews, as well as collecting a 7-minute video from the St Eustatius Historical Foundation (with three participants) and one written testimony from a participant in St Maarten (see Table 5.8). All the interviews were transcribed, and these transcriptions were approved by the

interview participants. They can be found in Appendix A. The amount of data collected is comparable to that of Olmedo’s (2001) oral historical study of Puerto Rican women, which included approximately 20 hours of recorded interview. Similar sample sizes have also been used before in qualitative, semi-formal interview studies from the Dutch Caribbean, for example van der Dijs’ (2011: 201) investigation of identity development in 15 ethnic groups in Curaçao had sample sizes of 10 to 20 individuals per ethnic group. Because the quality of the data generated was high, low numbers of interviews were sufficient (van der Dijs, N. 2011: 245).

**Table 5.8:** Oral history data collected.

<b>Island</b>	<b>No. Interviews</b>	<b>Total Hours</b>	<b>Average Length</b>	<b>Other Data</b>
Curaçao	10	8 hrs 55 mins	54 mins	None
St Eustatius	11	8 hrs 36 mins	52 mins	7 mins video
St Maarten/ St Martin	8	6 hrs 46 mins	51 mins	1 written testimony
<i>Combined</i>	29	<i>24 hrs 17 mins</i>	<i>50 mins</i>	<i>N/A</i>

The following sections will now discuss some of the challenges of the oral historical dataset, which can be overcome using a critical realist viewpoint and a thorough knowledge of the cultural, social, and political context of the study region. Because the oral historical datasets for all islands provided some information for which it was impossible to provide triangulating evidence from material culture or osteology, it is necessary to discuss the reasoning which the author applied in her interpretations.

#### **5.4.6 Construction of Themes and Sub-Themes**

A perusal of the semi-formal interview structure (see Appendix A) shows that some of the broader themes discussed in Chapters 6 to 9 were to some extent constructed by the interviewer prior to data collection. This was due to the nature of the semi-formal interview, which requires the researcher to know beforehand which aspects of the subject

they want to investigate. However, detailed sub-themes were produced only during data analysis.

#### **5.4.7 Gender and Slavery**

As Battle-Baptiste (2011: 117; 2010b), Wood (2011), and Franklin (2001) have noted, it is important that African-American women and other subjugated groups are specifically included in narratives about the past. In this study, the author has attempted to address some of these groups. Her dataset includes information on men, women, children, disabled people, and people of diverse ancestry. However, attempts to include gender in the analysis were not particularly successful. As can be seen in Appendix A, the interview structure did include asking interviewees about the experiences of men, women, and children, but this was an area in which participants were not able to provide a lot of detail beyond observing the double colonisation of enslaved women (see for example CUR-OH-02; SXM-OH-07) (see Battle-Baptiste 2011: 70; Wood, B. 2011; Oyewumi 2006 [1997]; hooks 1981: 22) and cruelty towards children (see for example EUX-OH-01; EUX-OH-11). The author would like to suggest that a lack of detail in this area may be one of the effects of cyclical time on memory, erasing some of the details of enslaved lifeways (see Mason, O. 2012; Spear 1981).

#### **5.4.8 Influence of 21<sup>st</sup> Century Culture**

When conducting oral historical studies, researchers should be aware of the influence of film, television, the media, other published literature, and the experiences of the interviewee on memory (Frisch 2016 [1972]; Portelli 1981). In Curaçao, the researcher observed that the film *Tula: The Revolt* which came out in 2013 (see Leinders 2013) had an impact on collective memories about this period in the island's history. It included a love story that is not (to the author's knowledge) supported by oral historical

or documentary evidence. It also represents Tula as impulsive and unlettered, despite the fact that documentary and oral historical evidence often refers to him as well-educated, well-connected and well-organised (see Leinders 2013; do Rego 2009b; do Rego and Janga 2009: 37, 46-47). The author was therefore careful to address references to this historical event with a certain amount of scepticism. One interviewee (CUR-OH-05) mentioned that people living in the village at Kenepa (where Tula was enslaved) did not pass down stories about the revolt, while others stressed the misleading or untruthful nature of some Tula stories (see CUR-OH-06; CUR-OH-10).

Additionally, Ensing (2012: 13) observes that globalisation has encouraged a dislocation between St Maarten/St Martin youth and oral tradition. Traditional music and singing were certainly mentioned much more frequently and in more detail by Menno Sypkens-Smit's (1981) interviewees almost forty years ago. The author is therefore aware that her dataset may be lacking in this area.

#### **5.4.9 Influence of Other Histories**

Secondly, modern methods of fast communication allow for the influence of non-local histories on collective memory. Jamaica and the United States both have very well-publicised historical narratives relating to slavery, with which Dutch Caribbean people are familiar. Although much of this discourse is in English and therefore inaccessible to certain members of the Curaçaoan population, all the interviewees in this study had a good understanding of spoken English. It is therefore possible that foreign narratives of enslavement have affected collective memory on all three of the islands included in this study. For this reason, the author was wary of vague statements about slavery that were not attached to the island in terms of culture or geography or supported by the other two datasets.

One interviewee (SXM-OH-06) mentioned that a lot of the traditions of St Maarten/St Martin has been influenced by traditions from other islands because of the influx of people during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This interviewee gave *obeah* as a specific example. Indeed, Menno Sypkens-Smit already noted in 1981 that Haitian Vodou in particular had had an influence on St Maarten/St Martin *obeah* (Sypkens-Smit 1981: 82). The author was therefore careful in interpreting references made to *obeah* in St Maarten/St Martin.

#### **5.4.10 Influence of the Dominant Narrative**

It is also possible that the collective memory of Dutch Caribbean people has been affected by print media such as newspapers and history books. Both of these sources still present history in a very colonial light (see for example Amigoe Express 2015). The author was therefore careful to ask the participants to state the source of their information, and only to analyse recollections that were based on word-of-mouth transmission or (rarely) on first-hand archival research allowing interviewees to interpret original historical documents in their own way.

When talking about the nature of slavery in general, interviewees provided contradictory evidence, for example mentioning that slavery on the island was not as bad as in other places, and then saying the opposite or expressing confusion, especially in Curaçao (see CUR-OH-01; CUR-OH-04.2; CUR-OH-10). The author considers this to be the effect of the dominant historical narrative having an impact on the way that Dutch Caribbean people view their own history.

In St Eustatius, it is interesting to note that local heritage professionals interviewed criticised the literature that identifies this island as a place where enslaved people had plenty of economic opportunity and freedom of movement, while non-heritage professional interviewees who seemed to have accepted the dominant narrative were

those whose ancestors had been privileged in the local community (for example landowners). Interviewees referring to slavery as milder on St Maarten/St Martin were white, privileged members of society. This leads us to question whose narrative we are studying and to take into account the effect of personal identities and experiences on collective memory.

#### **5.4.11 Influence of Post-Emancipation Traditions**

Although St Maartin/St Martin is sometimes referred to as Oualichi, an Amerindian word for ‘the island of women’ (see SXM-OH-01; SXM-OH-07) (de Goeje 1937), this focus on strong women likely postdates slavery on the island: during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century many men left the island to find work elsewhere (St Martin Tourist Office 2016b). The most famous strong woman of the island is One Tete Lokhay or Onetitiloke (see section 8.4.2), although she is likely a fictional character (Guadeloupe 2009: 14). Interviewees perceived her story to be partly truth and partly legend (see SXM-OH-01; SXM-OH-07.1). It is also possible that other traditions such as the *ponum* dance in St Maarten/St Martin may also date from after 1863, although referencing traditions that existed before that date (see SXM-OH-06).

### **5.5 A NOTE ON TIMESCALE: PAGA TERA AS SLAVERY**

What the state views as slavery and what the people living in that social system view as slavery may be drastically different. Rose Mary Allen (Allen 2007a: 105-115) has already discussed the difference in what authorities such as the Roman Catholic Church believed about freedom and what the people thought. It is much better for advocacy and activism to use vocabulary that responds to the experiences of the subaltern instead of accepting the definitions of the governing body (Hamilakis 2016).

Indeed, emancipation in the Caribbean was not complete when the legal status of enslaved people changed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Finneran 2016). Rather, a prolonged period of transition from enslaved to free began that, some would argue, is still continuing today (Haviser 2001b). Many of the social and economic structures of slavery persisted (Abraham-van der Mark 2001; Paula 1968: 43). One cannot therefore divide history into enslaved pre-1863 and free afterwards. A more nuanced approach is needed. Which structures of the slaving system persisted, and for how long? This section will discuss some of these issues regarding 20<sup>th</sup> century Curaçao.

Many of the residents of each island studied here would describe their current state as that of ‘mental slavery’, but in Curaçao this discussion has a much more tangible quality. The *paga tera* system of land rental introduced after 1863 is often described as slavery under another name, and it came to an end at Plantage Kenepa in 1974/1975 (Jeanne Henriquez, pers. comm.) (Allen 2007a: 132-141; Allen 2007b; Paula 1968: 44; Schiltkamp, Smit and Wachlin 2000). Under *paga tera*, ‘formerly’ enslaved individuals were required to work a certain number of days per week or per year for free in order to ‘pay’ for the land where they lived (Allen 2014a; Allen 2007a: 133). Similar labour systems replaced slavery elsewhere in the Caribbean, for example sharecropping in Montserrat which continued until the 1950s (Pulsipher and Goodwin 2001), and have also existed elsewhere in the world, for example in Kenya during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Harrison, R. and Hughes 2010).

Interviewee CUR-OH-02 mentioned that there were two contributing factors to this continued state of slavery after 1863 in Curaçao: firstly, the *paga tera* system; and secondly, the laws against idleness and vagrancy which allowed landowners to force the unemployed to labour for free (see Allen 2007a: 121-123). Additionally, universal suffrage did not occur until the 1940s (Allen 2017a; Anderson, W. and Dynes 1975: 41).

As the following interviewee points out, there was a conscious effort on the part of the ruling classes to maintain their position over the working population:

CUR-OH-07      The slave - slave? Kind of slave! [laughs] - had to work for the slave owner. So it's kind of slavery but in another way. You were free really but the problem was that you're free but you had nothing and so you had to come back to the *shon* ... it was like a kind of extension of slavery really, really. And I think that it was... [...] it was planned, it was conscious, it was... in the system. Part of the system.

One interviewee (CUR-OH-05) had first-hand knowledge of life on Plantage Knip/Kenepa, which was the last of the plantations to be released from the *paga tera* system. His testimony includes several aspects of the definition of slavery developed in Chapter 1: *the permanent, violent physical and psychological domination of socially isolated, generally dishonoured persons exploited by parasitic masters*. The author will now demonstrate how conditions at Kenepa until 1975 illustrate the persistence of Curaçaoan structures of slavery into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, using each of the parts of this definition of slavery.

### 5.5.1 Permanence

The permanence of the situation is implied through the legally ‘emancipated’ state of people living at Kenepa during this period. There was no escape because society at large no longer perceived slavery as a problem. Additionally, there was no pre-arranged end date for *paga tera*. The lack of universal suffrage until 1949 (restricted by income, level of education, and gender, which excluded large portions of the Afro-Curaçaoan population) removed the ability of residents to protest their working and living conditions using votes (Allen 2017a). To put this in context, universal suffrage was only gained in Curaçao thirty years after (mainly white) women gained the right to vote in the Netherlands (Atria 2017).

## 5.5.2 Violent Physical Domination

CUR-OH-05 ...people was not allowed to have dogs because the dogs can kill the goats [...] [withheld], he was allowed to fish at Knip, and he get a dog, he was from Lagun, and he came to Knip with his dog, and when he came to Knip with his dog, *Shon* [withheld] saw him with the dog [...] took his rifle and shot it dead. In his face, his dog, his soulmate, shot the dog.

Violent physical domination (particularly the threat of violence) is demonstrated by the shooting of the visitor's dog and the way that people addressed the landowner as *shon*, a word relating directly to the master-slave relationship. Examples of this terminology in use can be found in the Curaçaoan short story entitled '*Katibu di Shon* (Slave and Master)' by Carel de Haseth, published in 1988 (Rojer and Aimone 2012). Hartman (1997: 140-145) and JanMohamed (2005) have also mentioned the continued violence towards formerly enslaved people after abolition in the United States, so this was not an isolated occurrence in former slaving societies. Additionally, evidence from van der Ven's (2011: 32-33) study demonstrates how enslaved women living in the *paga tera* system were subjected to sexual abuse at Savonet plantation during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century:

Gilda Lourens The *shons* had the idea that they had the right to share the beds of all the beautiful girls of the plantation. At Savonet three women had a child with the *shon*. One day the *shon* called my great-grandmother to him. She was to go and get her daughter – my grandmother – because he desired her. My great-grandmother refused. But the *shon* persisted, upon which she grabbed him by the crotch and pulled on his genitals. Then he thought better of it<sup>1</sup> (van der Ven 2011: 33).

---

<sup>1</sup> “De *shons* hadden ook het idee dat ze het recht hadden om met alle mooie meisjes van de plantage naar het bed te delen. Op Savonet hadden drie vrouwen een kind van de *shon*. Op een dag liet de *shon* mijn overgrootmoeder bij zich reopen. Ze moest haar dochter – mijn oma – halen, want hij begeerde haar. Mijn overgrootmoeder weigerde. Maar de *shon* hield aan, waarop ze in zijn kruis greep en zijn geslachtdelen een slag draaide. Toen heeft hij er wijselijk vanaf gezien.” (van der Ven 2011: 33)

This story also includes an act of resistance, where the interviewee's great-grandmother exercises her agency to physically intimidate the *shon* and thereby ensure that he did not pursue her daughter. CUR-OH-05 also mentions ways in which the people of Kenepa resisted domination, even to the point of self-harm:

CUR-OH-05      And every Wednesday they have to work for free ... And what I was told before, for - we talk about resistance. This person, Mr [withheld], he didn't want to work on Wednesday, you know what he did? He put a nail in his foot to be, to make his foot bad so that he cannot work.

### 5.5.3 Violent Psychological Domination

The psychological effects at work in the testimony of CUR-OH-05 are very reminiscent of those encountered by enslaved people, for example 'divide and conquer' practised by separating the *vito* from the rest of the community and at times setting him against them:

CUR-OH-05      ...when my grandfather held that spot [*vito*] in the community, he go there and sit there at 3 o'clock in the morning to avert people coming to take [...] water. I mean, that's things that my grandfather was doing. Actually, to prove to the *shon* - to prove to [withheld], that, yeah, I'm taking care of your things. And what he was doing more is actually, he was punishing his own family more, let's say, his - his niece, his family that live in the community, to show them, not even his family he don't give a chance to do things.

### 5.5.4 Social Isolation and General Dishonour

This is demonstrated by a disconnection with the outside world, for example the lack of running water, electricity, and transport which hindered the interviewee's education (see CUR-OH-05). Social isolation and general dishonour are both apparent in the way that inhabitants of Kenepa had to work for the *shon* in a service role for no pay:

CUR-OH-05      So when Mr [withheld] has his people coming, his visitors, they will go with Bols ... And they will drink Bols with coconut water and these people, they will row the boat on the

water going up and down. And Mr [withheld] and his people that come to visit him, they will fish, they will drink, and he will row up and down, up and down at sea...

Additionally, members of the community were often forced to steal milk and water in order to support their families, demonstrating resource shortages that enslaved people in Curaçao certainly experienced (see CUR-OH-05).

### **5.5.5 Parasitic Masters**

Interviewees in Rose Mary Allen's (2007a: 105-115) study mentioned payment for work as one of the main things that separated slavery from freedom. As observed above, payment for work did not always happen after 1863: the *paga tera* system and the laws against idleness allowed the elites to continue exploiting the labour force for free (Allen 2007a: 121-123; Schiltkamp, Smit and Wachlin 2000: 21). Interviewees in this study also found lack of adequate remuneration for labour to be one of the most important in terms of maintaining the conditions of slavery (see CUR-OH-02; CUR-OH-05; CUR-OH-07). CUR-OH-08 and Jaap van Soest (1977) also mention the exploitative 20<sup>th</sup> century labour regimes at the oil and mining companies on the island. These conditions contributed to the 1969 May Movement in Curaçao, a very striking act of resistance against low wages, high unemployment, and institutionalised racism that led the government to resign and call a new election (Anderson, W. and Dynes 1975: 6).

### **5.5.6 Paga Tera as Slavery**

A blurring of divisions between enslaved and free before 1863 is mentioned by several authors, including Cohen and Greene (1972), Hoetink (1972) and Rupert (2012: 146). The local newspaper *Antilliaans Dagblad* has chosen to interpret the research of Roitman (2017) as a demonstration that even before 1863, free African-descendant people

in Curaçao were not legally particularly distinct from the enslaved population: “Finally, the free black people felt they were in a sort of ‘legal limbo’ in the Dutch islands, with no clear distinction between the rights of slave and free”<sup>2</sup> (Antilliaans Dagblad 2017). It is interesting to note that this viewpoint was put forward in a local newspaper when Curaçaoan people also seem to believe that *paga tera* was an extension of slavery. Blurred lines between the African-descendant population before and after 1863 make sense in a context where the free population was already experiencing social pressures similar to slavery before emancipation.

The social and economic conditions in Curaçao until 1975 represent a persistent and pernicious attempt by the ruling classes to maintain vastly unequal circumstances that prevented Afro-Curaçaoans benefitting from legal emancipation in many ways (see Nimako and Willemsen 2011: 97-98 on progressive control). These conditions also encouraged the traditional culture of enslaved Afro-Curaçaoans to persist in a living form. It is therefore important to view evidence from 20<sup>th</sup> century Curaçao (such as that from Structure 27 at Kenepa) within the context of slavery. The extension of the project timescale to 1975 is therefore very reasonable given the available evidence and would not have been possible without the oral testimonies.

## 5.6 CONCLUSION

The data gathered from these three sources (oral history interviews, material culture, and osteobiographical analysis) can be used to produce alternative narratives of the lifeways of enslaved people in Curaçao, St Eustatius and St Maarten/St Martin. Oral testimony from Curaçao has already demonstrated its effectiveness in redefining the

---

<sup>2</sup> “Tot slot, vielen de vrije gekleurde mensen in een soort van ‘legale limbo’ op de Nederlandse eilanden, met geen duidelijk onderscheid tussen de rechten van slaven en vrijen” (Antilliaans Dagblad 2017).

timescale of the study and reaffirming its commitment to the narrative of the subaltern. The following three chapters will explore the thematic analysis for each island separately, supported by both internal and external triangulation.

## 6 THEMATIC ANALYSIS: MATERIAL CULTURE

---

### 6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will discuss the thematic findings from the material cultural assemblages of Curaçao, St Eustatius and St Maarten/St Martin in order to construct alternative narratives of enslaved lifeways on each island. The data are organised into the following themes: labour; resistance; physical violence; medicine; psychological stress; coping mechanisms; the homespace; foodways; religion; and leisure time. Stelten (2015b) has already mentioned how objects such as fish hooks and grinding stones provide a window into the everyday life of enslaved people on St Eustatius. Here this will be taken a step further, using these objects, their physical properties, their contexts, and triangulatory information to examine enslaved lifeways. Triangulatory sources include Brenneker's (1969-1973) *Sambumbu* publications and Havisser's (1999) inventory of artefacts dating from between 1863 and 1940, which contains artefacts from the *Kas di Pal'i Maishi* and Structure 27 at Kenepa, many of which were still observable when the current author visited Curaçao in 2016. However, the list also includes artefacts from the da Costa Gomez Collection and the Juliana/Brenneker (*Fundashon Zikinza*) collection, which she did not see.

The reader will notice that some of the more intangible aspects of enslavement (for example resistance and psychological hardship) are less well represented in this dataset, but that material culture particularly excels in areas of homespace and foodways. Finally, there are fewer photographs in section 6.4 (St Maarten/St Martin) because the author did not have access to the physical artefacts from Mont Vernon<sup>3</sup>.

---

<sup>3</sup> Please note that tables containing lists of artefacts for each theme are not exhaustive: full lists of artefacts can be found in Appendix B.

## 6.2 CURAÇAO

### 6.2.1 Labour

Material culture from the *Kas di Pal'i Maishi* referenced labour in the form of the *ramanda* and *warda* (CUR-MC-124, see Figure 6.1), Amerindian-style huts that were used for sheltering from the sun and storing seeds safely (Jeanne Henriquez, pers. comm.), and additionally a 'slave wall' (CUR-MC-121, see Figure 6.1) of the kind found all over the island demarcating land boundaries and fields, and representing very hard labour in its construction. Items recorded by Haviser (1999) include a chisel (*wei pa koba pos*) which could be used during such construction activities. Before and after 1863 African-descendant people in Curaçao were able to make money from independent activities such as hat making (see straw hat CUR-MC-103 and hat measurer CUR-MC-104) (Allen 2007a: 73, 203; Brenneker 1969-1973: 986). Historians have observed that craftsmen and enslaved people engaged in independent labour such as fishing had more freedom of movement than those who were enslaved on the plantations (see for example Roitman 2017; Jordaan 2013: 52-53; van der Dijs, N. 2011: 123; Langenfeld 2010a: 126).



**Figure 6.1:** Artefacts relating to labour from Curaçao: 'slave wall' CUR-MC-121 (left); *ramada* and *warda* shelters CUR-MC-124 (right); (Source: Author).

**Table 6.1:** Artefacts relating to work and economic engagement in Curaçao (Source: Author).

Site	Code	Artefact	Date and Context
Kenepa	CUR-MC-033	Porcelain figurine fragments	19 <sup>th</sup> -20 <sup>th</sup> century Occupation
	CUR-MC-083	Copper alloy pendant with plastic stone	Mid C20th Occupation
<i>Kas di Pal'i Maishi</i>	CUR-MC-103	Straw hat	~1970
	CUR-MC-104	Hat measurer	Prior to 1930
	CUR-MC-110	<i>Knee</i> (cloth used for carrying things on the head)	Modern replica
	CUR-MC-114	Headscarves relating to different activities (fishing, harvest time, nannying)	Modern replicas
	CUR-MC-121	'Slave wall'	Modern replica
	CUR-MC-124	<i>Ramada</i> and <i>warda</i> (huts used for shelter in the field and for storing seeds, Amerindian influence)	Modern replicas

**Table 6.2:** Inventory of additional artefacts relating to labour from Havisser's (1999) chapter on post-emancipation material culture from Curaçao.

Theme	Artefact	Material	Function
Labour	<i>Chapi</i>	Metal/wood	Hoe/musical instrument
	<i>Machete</i>	Metal/wood	Machete
	<i>Wei pa koba pos</i>	Iron	Chisel
	<i>Siya di buriku I stribo</i>	Wood	Donkey saddle and stirrups
	<i>Kui</i>	Wood	Bird trap
	<i>Koto</i>	Palmleaf	Bags
	<i>Slengu</i>	Horsehair/cotton	Sling

### 6.2.2 Resistance

Resistance to slavery came in many forms. Luxury items in the Kenepa dataset, such as glass drinking vessels, fine porcelain, and meat in the diet, may indicate interaction in the economy (see Figure 6.2). The material assemblage at the *Kas di Pal'i Maishi* includes fewer luxury items than that of Kenepa. Instead, there is evidence for resource scarcity, indicated for example by clothing made from old rice and flour bags (CUR-MC-097), (a practice also observed in Saba, see Espersen 2019). These differences may indicate the increased accessibility of the economy to the African-descendant people of Curaçao after 1863. However, the possibility that luxury items at Kenepa were stolen, given as gifts or bought second hand must also be considered: other evidence from this assemblage also indicates resources scarcity, for example the worn steel knife CUR-MC-092. It has been used so often that the blade is extremely worn down on both sides,

indicating that the inhabitants of Structure 27 were not always able to replace old household items. Reuse is often thought to indicate resource scarcity and economic change in artefact biography contexts (see Swift 2012; Joy 2009; Wilson, D. 1995). All these diverse ways of obtaining or maintaining goods can be seen as acts of resistance because they involve not only defiance and resourcefulness but also the development of social and economic networks. The acquisition of luxury items by enslaved people in Curaçao is also observed by other researchers (Roitman 2017; Jordaan 2013: 52-53, 66-68; Allen 2007a: 83-86).



**Figure 6.2:** Copper alloy and plastic pendant CUR-MC-083 (top left); porcelain figurine CUR-MC-033 (top right); steel knife CUR-MC-092 (bottom) (Source: Author).



**Figure 6.3:** Slate and pencil CUR-MC-022 from Kenepa (Source: Author).

Lastly, scholars such as Abdul JanMohamed (2010) discuss literacy as an act of resistance. Artefacts relating to literacy have been found in contexts relating to enslaved people in the past, for example at Maria Franklin's (2017: 121) excavation of the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century enslaved quarters at Coke's Plantation, Virginia; from Buildings at Monticello, Virginia (artefact ID: 1002-998B-NOS—00193 and 1002-836C1-NOS--00017) (Hill 2003b); and from the Yard Cabin at the Hermitage, Jamaica (artefact ID: 1404-88-09-45-DRS—00132) (McKee and Cooper 2013). In the current study engagement with reading and writing was represented by the presence of slate and pencil fragments (CUR-MC-022) at Kenepa. The Catholic Church was instrumental in the education of the Afro-Curaçaoan population after 1863. Although it (intentionally) had a limited effect, it did allow some people to get jobs and earn money (Abraham-van der Mark 2001).

### 6.2.3 Physical Violence

Material cultural evidence for violence was seen at the *Kas di Pal'i Maishi* in the form of a rod made from a bull's penis (CUR-MC-098, Figure 6.4) with which the *vito*

(overseer) or *bomba* (slave driver) might beat enslaved people. Historical records also mention beatings with the *watapana* (the branch of a *Libidibia coriaria* or *divi divi* tree) or the bullwhip (Ellis 1981: 21). In *Sambumbu*, there are several examples of looped ropes which were used to restrain enslaved people, as well as further examples similar to the bull's penis rod (*boelpees*), and an image of the *watapana* (Brenneker 1969-1973: 338, 900, 992). Other volumes of the *Sambumbu* series describe how these objects were used to abuse enslaved people – the *boelpees*, for example, being a much more serious punishment because it opened the skin more easily, and caused such severe injuries that one individual could not walk properly for seven months afterwards (see Brenneker 2018: 14, 16).



**Figure 6.4:** Rod made from a stretched bull's penis CUR-MC-098 (Source: Author).

#### **6.2.4 Coping Mechanisms**

Alcohol consumption is often identified as a coping mechanism in modern studies (see for example Prost, Lemieux and Ai 2016; Merrill and Thomas 2013; Cooper, M. et al. 1992). The variety of alcohol-related objects at Kenepa Structure 27 was striking (see Figure 6.5 and Appendix B), and alcohol-related items were the only European imports observed at the *Kas di Pal'i Maishi*. Alcoholism on the island was noted by Brenneker (1969-1973: 856), and Haviser (1999) also recorded a stoneware gin bottle (*bòter di butishi*) in his chapter on post-emancipation material culture from Curaçao. However, it

is also possible that these bottles were used for other purposes such as carrying water (see Espersen 2019).



**Figure 6.5:** Artefacts relating to alcohol consumption at Kenepa: Haig’s whisky bottle CUR-MC-64 (left); jenever bottle CUR-MC-31 (centre); shot glass CUR-MC-76 (right) (Source: Author).

**Table 6.3:** Artefacts relating to resistance and survival in Curaçao (Source: Author).

Site	Code	Artefact	Date and Context
Kenepa	CUR-MC-022	Slate and pencil	19 <sup>th</sup> -20 <sup>th</sup> century Abandonment
	CUR-MC-081	Clear glass splash lotion bottle (“Alcolado Glacial - Refreshing – Invigorating – Wholesome”)	Post-1948 Occupation
Kas di Pal’i Maishi	CUR-MC-106	Dried cow dung used to repel insects	Modern
	CUR-MC-111	Wayaca (tree used for soap)	Modern
	CUR-MC-128	Chikucha and paniweri (implements used for carrying cacti)	Modern replicas
	CUR-MC-129	Cactus fence with double layer to deter goats	Modern replica

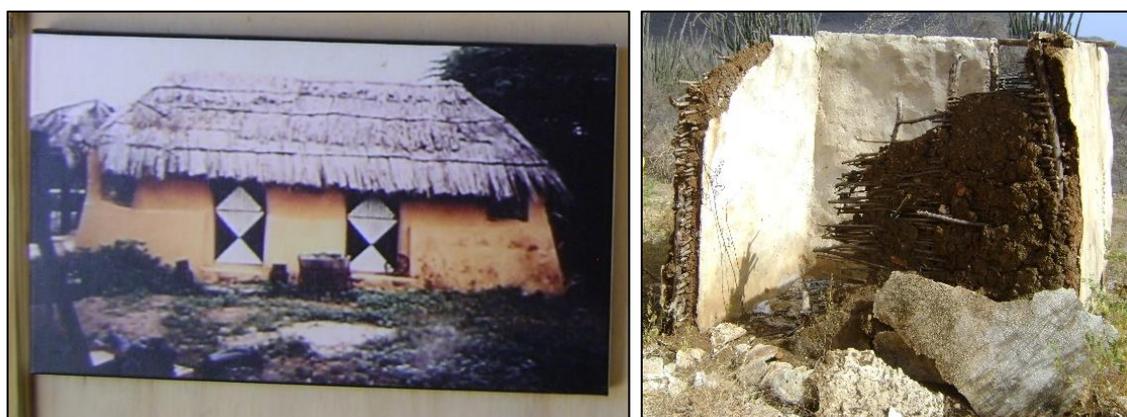
### 6.2.5 The Homespace

In her 2011 book *Black Feminist Archaeology*, Whitney Battle-Baptiste introduced the concept of the *homespace*, incorporating not only domestic structures but also the yard area which was a focal point for the enslaved community. It envisions the domestic arena as one of respite and independence, where enslaved people could resist, form communal identities and develop tools for survival (Battle-Baptiste 2011: 94-101). Yoruba houses, for example, were arranged around an open space where most of the

business of daily life was carried out, facilitating the development of close-knit families and communities (Vlach 1976a).

The *kunuku* house is a traditional type of house built on the islands of Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao, and made from plastered wattle and daub with a thatch roof (see Figure 6.6) (NAAM 2015; Haviser 1997; Paula 1968: 15). It closely resembles Yoruba two-room houses, although with an extra back door opposite the front door, allowing a through draught (Haviser 1997; Vlach 1976c). This shotgun house arrangement probably represents a syncretic interaction between Yoruba, Amerindian, and European housing traditions (Vlach 1976c).

A yard broom recorded by Haviser (1999) indicates that yard-sweeping was also practised in Curaçao (see Tabel 6.5). This is a West African tradition also found in other areas of the Americas, and perhaps intended to keep the homespace free of negative spirits as well as for hygiene (see Espersen 2015; Battle-Baptiste 2007a; Byrd 2014: 37; Lane 2006; Armstrong and Kelly 2000; Haviser 1997).



**Figure 6.6:** Display panel at the *Kas di Pal'i Maishi* showing traditional *kunuku* house (left) (image courtesy of the *Kas di Pal'i Maishi*); and an example of wattle and daub construction at Plantage Kenepa (right) (Source: Author).

As archaeologists have previously observed, enslaved villages often produce higher percentages of construction materials and kitchen wares as part of the overall assemblage than do other contexts (Armstrong 2009: 276; Garrow 1983). In this study, the objects recorded showed a wide variety of construction materials (see Tables 6.4 and

6.5). Although these changed through time, many characteristics of the *kunuku* house remained constant, including the basic rectangular shape of the building, the construction of the roof, and the placement of doors and windows on the long side of the structure (see NAAM 2015; and Haviser 1997 for supporting evidence). Diverse materials were used in their construction, for example Dutch brick, concrete, palm leaves, and bamboo (see Figure 6.7). This demonstrates how enslaved people adapted West African concepts of the household to a new Caribbean setting, using the materials available.



**Figure 6.7:** Artefacts relating to construction activities at Kenepa: yellow Dutch brick CUR-MC-13 (top left); modern concrete CUR-MC-15 (top centre); pink plaster with red paint CUR-MC-18 (top right); and organic building materials including palm leaf and bamboo stalk CUR-MC-51 (bottom) (Source: Author).

**Table 6.4:** Artefacts relating to the household in Curaçao (Source: Author).

Site	Code	Artefact	Date and Context
Kenepa	CUR-MC-012	CBM fragment	Early to mid C20th Occupation
	CUR-MC-013	Yellow Dutch brick fragment	Early to mid C20th Occupation
	CUR-MC-014	Pink plaster fragment	Early to mid C20th Occupation
	CUR-MC-015	Modern concrete fragment	Mid C20th Occupation
	CUR-MC-016	Modern red brick fragment	Mid C20th Occupation
	CUR-MC-017	Modern tile fragment	Mid C20th Occupation
	CUR-MC-018	Pink plaster with red paint	Early to mid C20th Occupation
	CUR-MC-019	Pink plaster with green paint	Early to mid C20th Occupation
	CUR-MC-051	Organic construction materials (bamboo, palm leaf, wood)	Early to mid C20th Occupation
	CUR-MC-052	Wooden window frame with Fe nails	Early to mid C20th Occupation
	CUR-MC-057	Coral fragment	Early to mid C20th Occupation
	CUR-MC-060	Window glass fragment	Early to mid C20th Occupation
	CUR-MC-088	Fe nail	Early to mid C20th Occupation
	CUR-MC-089	Iron furniture fitting	Early to mid C20th Occupation
	CUR-MC-091	Iron door/bed fittings	Early to mid C20th Abandonment
CUR-MC-092	Stainless steel knife, very worn	Mid C20th Occupation	
<i>Kas di Pal'i</i>	CUR-MC-097	Clothes made from rice and flour bags	1970s
<i>Maishi</i>	CUR-MC-113	<i>Kunuku</i> house	~1900

**Table 6.5:** Inventory of additional artefacts relating to the domestic environment from Haviser's (1999) chapter on post-emancipation material culture from Curaçao.

Theme	Artefact	Material	Function
Homespace	<i>Stul i banki</i>	Wood	Table and chairs
	<i>Baúl</i>	Wood	Storage trunk
	<i>Palu di bati pana</i>	Wood	Clothes beater
	<i>Stripan</i>	Wood	Thatch roof repair tool
	<i>Basora di bari kura</i>	Wood	Yard broom
	<i>Kolchón di maishi</i>	Cornhusks	Mattress
	<i>Heru di konfo</i>	Iron	Clothes iron

### 6.2.6 Foodways

Foodways are defined by Wallman (2014: 47) as "the system of food procurements, processing/preparation, distribution, preservation, consumption, and discard" practised by a group of people. This requires the researcher to consider each of these activities in relation to the data obtained.

Food remains from both Kenepa and the *Kas di Pal'i Maishi* indicate access to produce grown or reared in the domestic setting (for example meat and sorghum) but also to foods that had to be gathered or hunted in the wild, such as whelks and crabs (see Table 6.6). Haviser's (1999) inventory includes objects relating to fishing (see Table 6.7) and a certain type of head scarf observed at the *Kas di Pal'i Maishi* (see CUR-MC-114) was also associated with this activity. The head scarves could be worn in different ways depending on the occasion (Leonora 1996). Thornton (1998: 233) has suggested that this practice developed in West Africa through cultural contact with Christians who covered their heads.

The exploitation of multiple resources is observed in enslaved village contexts across the Americas (see for example Wallman 2014 in Martinique; and Bowes 2011 in Virginia, USA) as well as in Curaçao (see Allen 2007a: 85) so these findings are in keeping with the existing knowledge of resource shortage and methods of compensation in the lifeways of enslaved people. It is worth noting that Paula (1987: 19) has referred to the provision grounds where enslaved people in Curaçao grew their food as 'satisfying'. The current author would like the reader to consider an alternative aspect: that the provision grounds, while indeed allowing the enslaved people some control over their food production and therefore a certain degree of autonomy, may also have represented an extra level of stress and uncertainty on top of the other hardships that they were already enduring, especially given that Curaçao is very prone to drought.

There was a wide variety of objects relating to food preparation and consumption in the material culture dataset. A wooden box used to measure rice and flour rations (CUR-MC-102) from the *Kas di Pal'i Maishi* highlights food scarcity. Fragments of ceramic and glass such as those seen in Table 6.6 below originally belonged to jars, bottles, plates, bowls, and drinking vessels representing kitchen activities including storage, and serving and consuming food and drink. The early to mid-20<sup>th</sup> century inhabitants of Structure 27 at Kenepa had access to imported European ceramics and Afro-Caribbean wares produced locally using West African techniques (see Hauser and Lenik 2014; Hauser and DeCorse 2003; Heath 1999; Meyers 1999). However, it must be remembered that artefacts such as bottles and jars can change function. CUR-MC-074, for example, may no longer have contained cherry pop by the time it arrived at Kenepa and may have been used for an alternative function instead, such as carrying water. The reuse of glass bottles for water and stoneware jenever bottles for lamps is observed on the Dutch Caribbean island of Saba (Espersen 2019).

Although artefacts from the *Kas di Pal'i Maishi* did include jenever and beer bottles, they were more often made from perishable materials, especially calabash. The use of calabash as an important traditional resource is discussed by Dinah Veeris (2017). Wooden spoons similar to CUR-MC-099 can also be seen in *Sambumbu* (Brenneker 1969-1973: 330). There were also utensils made from natural or found objects, such as the food mixer CUR-MC-118. These objects demonstrate a higher level of self-sufficiency than the assemblage from Kenepa because they are almost all constructed, grown or gathered by the inhabitants.

Such resourcefulness in the domestic sphere is also indicated through the use of found objects such as sticks and coral (see Table 6.6) as household items. Havisser's (1999) study supports this diversity in domestic items, including homemade as well as imported materials (see Table 6.7).

**Table 6.6:** Artefacts relating to foodways in Curaçao (Source: Author).

Site	Code	Artefact	Date and Context
Kenepa	CUR-MC-023	Crab shell fragment	Early to mid C20th Occupation
	CUR-MC-024	Charcoal fragment	Early to mid C20th Occupation
	CUR-MC-025	Nut shell fragment	Mid C20th Abandonment
	CUR-MC-027	Bovine long bone fragment with butchery marks	Early to mid C20th Occupation
	CUR-MC-028	Caprine tibia	Early to mid C20th Abandonment
	CUR-MC-037	Ceramic fragments (transferprint, glazed coarseware)	18 <sup>th</sup> -19 <sup>th</sup> century Occupation
	CUR-MC-038	Ceramic fragments (stoneware, whiteware)	18 <sup>th</sup> -20 <sup>th</sup> century Occupation
	CUR-MC-039	Ceramic fragments (Delftware, tin enamel)	17 <sup>th</sup> -19 <sup>th</sup> century Occupation
	CUR-MC-040	Afro-Caribbean ware fragment	18 <sup>th</sup> -19 <sup>th</sup> century Occupation
	CUR-MC-048	Porcelain plate fragment	17 <sup>th</sup> -20 <sup>th</sup> century Occupation
	CUR-MC-056	Cittarium pica (whelk) shell fragment	Early to mid C20th Occupation
	CUR-MC-069	Blue drinking glass fragment	18 <sup>th</sup> -19 <sup>th</sup> century Abandonment
	CUR-MC-074	Clear glass cherry pop bottle	Early to mid C20th Occupation
	CUR-MC-087	Enamel dish with flower pattern	Early to mid C20th Occupation
	CUR-MC-095	Two burner rounds	Mid C20th Occupation
<i>Kas di Pal'i Maishi</i>	CUR-MC-099	Spoon and cups made from calabash	Modern replica
	CUR-MC-100	Gourd bowl	Modern replica
	CUR-MC-102	<i>Kana</i> (wooden box for measuring flour rations)	~1970
	CUR-MC-107	<i>Mano</i> and <i>metate</i> (Amerindian tradition)	1940s
	CUR-MC-108	Large wooden pestle and mortar	~1970
	CUR-MC-109	<i>Maishi chikitu</i> (sorghum)	Modern
	CUR-MC-115	<i>Kadushi</i> and <i>datu</i> (cacti)	Modern
	CUR-MC-117	Sea coral used as a flour sieve	Modern replica
	CUR-MC-118	<i>Pal'i lele</i> (stick used as a food mixer)	Modern replica
	CUR-MC-119	<i>Konfo</i> (coal pot)	2010s
	CUR-MC-120	<i>Tres piedra di fogon</i> (three fire stones)	Modern replica
	CUR-MC-125	Charcoal burner	Modern replica
	CUR-MC-126	Traditional bread oven	1930s
	CUR-MC-131	Cooking outhouse with tin roof	Modern replica
CUR-MC-134	<i>Sakado</i> (cow horn used to carry fire)	~1970	



**Figure 6.8:** Artefacts relating to foodways in Curaçao from top to bottom, left to right: *mano* and *metate* CUR-MC-107; *tres piedra di fagon* CUR-MC-120; *konfo* CUR-MC-119; spoon and cups CUR-MC-99; Afro-Caribbean ware CUR-MC-40; assorted refined earthenware fragments CUR-MC-34; *kana* used to measure flour rations CUR-MC-102; large wooden pestle and mortar CUR-MC-108; jenever and beer bottles CUR-MC-133; crab shell CUR-MC-23; nut shell CUR-MC-25; *cittarium pica* shell CUR-MC-56; *maishi chikitu* CUR-MC-109; *datu* and *kadushi* CUR-MC-115; and bovine long bone fragment with butchery marks CUR-MC-27 (Source: Author).

**Table 6.7:** Inventory of additional artefacts relating to foodways from Havisser’s (1999) chapter on post-emancipation material culture from Curaçao.

Theme	Artefact	Material	Function
Foodways	<i>Poron</i>	Ceramic	Water bottle
	<i>Wea di awa</i>	Ceramic	Cups
	<i>Tinashi</i>	Ceramic	Water storage vessel
	<i>Chi ku cha</i>	Wood	Stick tools
	<i>Labizjan</i>	Glass	Dark bottle for seed storage
	<i>Dakwe</i>	Wood	Basket used for maize
	<i>Lansa</i>	Wood	Spear
	<i>Baki di galiña</i>	Limestone	Fowl feeding trough
	<i>Kanaster</i>	Palmleaf	Fish trap
	<i>Reda</i>	Twine	Fish net
	<i>Pal’i funchi</i>	Wood	Stirring tool
	<i>Chambuku</i>	Wood	Stirring tool
	<i>Bati kadushi</i>	Coral	Grinder
	<i>Koko di awa</i>	Coconut	Ladle
	<i>Kanikanan di granit</i>	Enamelled tin	Vessel
	<i>Traha di blekero</i>	Oil cans	Coffee pot, oil lamp, cups
	<i>Wea di sòpi</i>	Iron	Cooking pot
	<i>Kasuela</i>	Iron	Griddle
	<i>Mesa di awa</i>	Wood	Water table
	<i>Banki di tinashi</i>	Wood	Water pot holder
<i>Serámika importá</i>	Ceramic	Imported tableware/figurine	
<i>Serámika trahá lokal</i>	Ceramic	Afro-Caribbean ware	

### 6.2.7 Religion

There were several artefacts relating to religious beliefs at both Kenepa and the *Kas di Pal’i Maishi*, many of them related to Catholicism (see Figure 6.9). Indeed, religious artefacts in Havisser’s (1999) inventory include several that are specifically Catholic, for example the rosary beads (*rosario traha di bonchi*) (see Table 6.9).

One of the most interesting artefacts from Structure 27 at Kenepa is a candle holder showing the image of Our Lady of the Valley (“*La Virgen del Valle*”, see Figure 6.9), an incarnation of the Virgin Mary associated with bringing rain, and very popular in nearby Venezuela (Venezuela Tuya 2017; Gobierno Bolivariano de Venezuela 2014). Coro had strong trade links with Curaçao and a large population of Afro-Curaçaoans (Rupert 2012: 197-198). Indeed, trade contacts between the island and the mainland continue to this day. The candle holder therefore represents cultural ties between different

groups of people as well as a preoccupation with drought, reflecting the local environment (van Buurt 2010; Jordaan 2003).



**Figure 6.9:** Artefacts relating to religion in Curaçao: Joseph, Mary and Jesus shrine CUR-MC-136 (top left); shell bead CUR-MC-054 (top right); *La Virgen del Valle* candle holder CUR-MC-61 (bottom left); and glass perfume bottle stopper CUR-MC-65 (bottom right) (Source: Author).

**Table 6.8:** Religious artefacts from Curaçao (Source: Author).

Site	Code	Artefact	Date and Context
Kenepa	CUR-MC-054	Shell bead	17 <sup>th</sup> -20 <sup>th</sup> century Occupation
	CUR-MC-058	Whole conch shell	17 <sup>th</sup> -20 <sup>th</sup> century Occupation
	CUR-MC-061	Glass candle holder with “La Virgen del Valle”	Mid C20th Occupation
	CUR-MC-065	Glass perfume bottle stopper	Mid C20th Abandonment
	CUR-MC-086	Copper alloy bell	Early to mid C20th Occupation
<i>Kas di Pal'i Maishi</i>	CUR-MC-136	Household shrine (Jesus, Mary and Joseph)	~1970
	CUR-MC-122	Pig skull used to get rid of bad energy	Modern
	CUR-MC-127	Traditional breed frizzled chickens	Modern
	CUR-MC-130	Aloe vera used to attract good energy	Modern
	CUR-MC-135	Blue colour from indigo used for protection	Modern

**Table 6.9:** Inventory of additional artefacts relating to religion from Havisser's (1999) chapter on post-emancipation material culture from Curaçao.

Theme	Artefact	Material	Function
Religion	<i>Krusafiká</i>	Wood	Crosses and crucifixes
	<i>Kaha di ramakoko</i>	Palmleaf	Coffin
	<i>Rosario traha di bonchi</i>	Beans	Rosary
	<i>Ofrenda</i>	Metal	Amulets and charms
	<i>Rosario</i>	Glass	Rosary
	<i>Estatuanan di santu</i>	Plaster	Statue

Shiny, reflective glass perfume bottle stopper (CUR-MC0-65) from Kenepa may have functioned as an amulet to attract positive spirits (Lima, de Souza and Sene 2014; Farris Thompson 1990). Alternatively, such objects can be intended as *apotropaics* (objects that repel evil) (Wilkie 1997). Items (particularly glass objects or quartz crystals) like this one have been interpreted as amulets in similar archaeological contexts across the Americas (Lima, de Souza and Sene 2014; Rivera 2005; Russell 1997; Wilkie 1997; Samford 1996; Adams 1994; Farris Thompson 1990). The glittery surface may resemble water which in some West African cultures (and in the Americas) is seen as a liminal medium where life and death meet (Kamash 2008; Leone and Fry 1999; Samford 1996). Copper objects are also recorded as potential amulets, for example at Valongo in Brazil (Lima, de Souza and Sene 2014). Copper bell CUR-MC-086 may also therefore have been used as an amulet with an additional auditory dimension.

White conch shells (see CUR-MC-58) can also have a particular symbolism, for example as a representation of time and the cosmos, and of the Angolan world of the ancestors in and beyond the sea (Farris Thompson 1990). Havisser (1999) observes that the *karkó* (conch shell) may be used for other more mundane things, such as a wind instrument or doorstop (*wanta porta*), as well as an amulet for spiritual protection (Havisser 1999; Brenneker 1969-1973: 364). Shell bead CUR-MC-054 (see Figure 6.18) may also have been an amulet: an almost identical one from Zanzibar can be found in the British Museum collection (Museum number: Af1922,0413.28).



**Figure 6.10:** These photographs demonstrate the balance of good and bad energy at the *Kas di Pal'i Maishi*: pig skull CUR-MC-122 (top left) and aloe vera plants CUR-MC-130 planted around the *kunuku* house to attract good energy (top right); traditional breed chickens with curly feathers CUR-MC-127 (bottom left) used to dispel bad energy; and the protective colour blue CUR-MC-135 from indigo (bottom left) (Source: Author).

Finally, the colour blue is associated with protection in Curaçaoan traditional culture (Jeanne Henriquez, pers. comm.) (see CUR-MC-135). This is a belief held both elsewhere in the Americas and in West Africa (Stine, Cabak and Groover 1996). The use of objects as protective amulets can be seen as a coping strategy because it provides the illusion of agency in situations where it would be impossible for an enslaved person to have any: it therefore counteracts the inherent uncertainty of the state of enslavement (see Lima, de Souza and Sene 2014; Chan 2007: 163). Other objects used as amulets (for example string bracelets) are to be seen in *Sambumbu*, and Figure 6.10 shows objects (such as pig skull CUR-MC-122 and aloe vera CUR-MC130) that are used to balance good and bad energy around the Curaçaoan homespace, several of which are also noted by Brenneker (1969-1973: 476, 924, 934, 938, 956). When all of this evidence is taken together, the homespace therefore appears saturated with religious meaning.

## 6.2.8 Leisure Time

Evidence from the material cultural dataset indicated that enslaved people in Curaçao played games, smoked tobacco, and played music in their spare time. Objects included European kaolin pipe stem fragments, glass marbles from Kenepa, and West African-style clay pipes from the *Kas di Pal'i Maishi* (see Handler and Norman 2007; van der Meulen 2003; Noel Hume 1969: 303; Ozanne 1962; McIntosh, Gallagher and McIntosh 1960; and Shaw 1960 on pipes). They may indicate continued engagement with the economy, as not only the pipe but also the tobacco would need to be regularly obtained. Commercially produced glass marbles are also recovered from enslaved villages in North America and the Caribbean, for example from the Triplex at The Hermitage, Tennessee (artefact ID: 1400-TXM3.2C-DRS—00370) (McKee and Kellar 2018). Toy artefacts like marbles can indicate the presence of children in the homespace (Franklin 2004: 218).



**Figure 6.11:** Artefacts relating to leisure time in Curaçao: African style traditional pipe CUR-MC-132 (top left); kaolin pipe bowl fragment with basket weave design CUR-MC-021 (top centre left); glass marble CUR-MC-062 (top centre right); *benta* CUR-MC-105 (top right); *kachu* CUR-MC-101 made from a cow horn (bottom left); *gogorobi* CUR-MC-138 made from calabash (bottom centre); and a glass jar with a ridged surface CUR-MC-73 from Kenepa (bottom right) (Source: Author).

Although music and dance themselves are intangible and therefore difficult to observe in an archaeological context, the assemblage at the *Kas di Pal'i Maishi* did provide evidence for these activities. Horn, flute, and string instruments made from natural materials echo those used by West African communities (see CUR-OH-09 and Table 6.10) (Braithwaite 2003; Evans 1999). The *benta* (CUR-MC-105), for example, is almost identical to the mouth bow found in Vlach's (1978: 23) book on the Afro-American decorative arts, and is also shown in use in Brenneker's *Sambumbu* (Brenneker 1969-1973: 348). Evans (1999) in his chapter on musical instruments in the United States notes that household items can also be used as musical instruments, for example jars or cans with a ridged surface such as CUR-MC-073 (see Figure 6.11) from Kenepa, which may have performed several different functions also including food storage before its deposition in an abandonment deposit inside Structure 27. Haviser (1999) includes drums and other percussion instruments in his inventory, including a ploughshare which can also function to produce music.

**Table 6.10:** Artefacts relating to leisure time in Curaçao (Source: Author).

Site	Code	Artefact	Date and Context
Kenepa	CUR-MC-021	Kaolin pipe bowl, basket weave design	Around 1800 Occupation
	CUR-MC-062	Glass marble	Early to mid C20th Occupation
	CUR-MC-073	Clear glass ridged jar	Mid C20th Abandonment
Kas di Pal'i Maishi	CUR-MC-101	Kachu (cow's horn)	~1990
	CUR-MC-105	Benta (string instrument)	Modern replica
	CUR-MC-132	African-style traditional pipe	1990s
	CUR-MC-138	Gogorobi (calabash flute)	Modern replica

**Table 6.11:** Inventory of additional artefacts relating to music from Haviser's (1999) chapter on post-emancipation material culture from Curaçao.

Theme	Artefact	Material	Function
Music	<i>Tambú i barí</i>	Wood	Drums
	<i>Agan</i>	Iron	Ploughshare/musical instrument
	<i>Triangulo</i>	Iron	Musical instrument
	<i>Matrimonial</i>	Metal/wood	Musical instrument

## 6.3 ST EUSTATIUS

### 6.3.1 Resistance

In terms of independent labour and economic engagement, one might expect the material culture of enslaved people on the island to reflect the cosmopolitan environment and wide variety of cheaply available goods described by Janet Schaw (see section 1.8) (Schaw 1921: 137-138). The material record does include many items of foreign (Dutch, English, Spanish, Chinese) manufacture or influence as well as items that may have been considered 'luxury', for example porcelain dishes such as EUX-MC-043 and drinking glass EUX-MC-037. These items may have been acquired through engagement with the economy, for which there is evidence from historical and archaeological sources (see for example Ahlman et al. 2008; Equiano 1999 [1814]). However, it is important to remember that items such as the eight matching polychrome plates (EUX-MC-037) found in the fill of a ditch at Schotsenhoek enslaved village may have come to be deposited there in one of a number of different ways, for example by theft, trade, or gift exchange (Stelten 2015b). It is perhaps unlikely that eight identical plates would be broken simultaneously unless they were carried in a stack and then dropped. However, it is impossible to say whether the person carrying the stack of plates owned them or was carrying them for the plantation owner. They may then have been disposed of in the enslaved village for convenience or to avoid punishment. Other potential luxury items such as the glass perfume bottle stopper EUX-MC-016 may also have had alternative meanings (see section 6.3.8 below). Diverse methods of goods acquisition are part of the daily resistance of enslaved people.



**Figure 6.12:** Artefacts relating to economic engagement in St Eustatius: drinking glass EUX-MC-36 (left); one of eight Delftware polychrome plates EUX-MC-37 (centre) (Source: Author); and the gravestone of freedman Juan Pedro EUX-MC-109 (right) (image courtesy of the St Eustatius Historical Foundation Museum).

**Table 6.12:** Luxury items from St Eustatius (Source: Author).

Site	Code	Artefact	Date and Context
Schotsenhoek	EUX-MC-036	Drinking glass	1705-1715 Ditch fill
	EUX-MC-037	Eight matching polychrome Delftware plates	1730-1740 Ditch fill
Fair Play	EUX-MC-043	Porcelain sherd with orange rim decoration	C17th-C20th Posthole fill
	EUX-MC-098	Etched blue refined earthenware bowl fragment	C18th-C19th Posthole fill

The enslaved population of St Eustatius utilised Afro-Caribbean wares alongside imported European ceramics (see EUX-MC-009 and EUX-MC-038). Some scholars have suggested that Afro-Caribbean wares indicate the perpetuation of African ceramic traditions as these Afro-Caribbean wares were probably produced by enslaved people in St Eustatius or on one of the neighbouring islands (Ahlman, Schroedl and McKeown 2009; Ahlman et al. 2008; Heath 1999). The use of Afro-Caribbean wares as trade items may indicate trade and communication between different groups of enslaved people (Gilmore III 2010a; Ahlman et al. 2008). Other scholars have described this as a proto-peasant economy (see Craton 2003a [1997]; Tomich 1991 [1990]: 305). It demonstrates the inability of slave owners to completely control all aspects of the enslaved people's lives.

### 6.3.2 Physical Violence



**Figure 6.13:** Iron shackles EUX-MC-108, adult sized (image courtesy of the St Eustatius Historical Foundation Museum).

The shackles (EUX-MC-108) in the St Eustatius Historical Museum give physical shape to some of the punishments described (see Figure 6.13). They are adult sized and would have restricted the gait of the person who wore them. Shackles could also cause sores to develop on the skin of the ankles: Olaudah Equiano (1999 [1814]: 33) refers to the “galling of the chains” he wore as a captive on a slave ship.

### 6.3.3 Medicine

Material cultural evidence for perishable items such as bush medicines were not available in the assemblages examined here, but medicine bottle fragment EUX-MC-023 may indicate that the enslaved people at Fair Play occasionally had access to European medicines (see Figure 6.14 below). Handler (2000) and Reifschneider (2018) have noted that there were western medical professionals sometimes available to treat enslaved people, although this was primarily in order to maintain the health of the workforce and may have neglected elderly, disabled or chronically ill individuals.



**Figure 6.14:** C17th-C19th medicine bottle fragment EUX-MC-023 from Fair Play enslaved village (Source: Author).

### 6.3.4 Psychological Stress

A ceramic fragment (EUX-MC-107) demonstrates how the upper classes on the island saw the enslaved people: firstly, referring to them as “Negro”, thereby reinforcing the racial divide between free and unfree; and secondly, the fact that this harsh, demanding sentence (“Bring more cane to mill, Negro!”) was normalised to the point where it decorated a piece of tableware (see Figure 6.15).



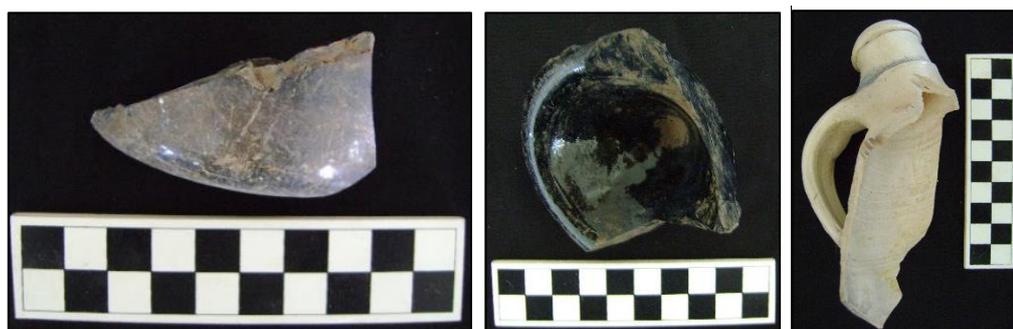
**Figure 6.15:** Ceramic fragment EUX-MC-107 with the words “Bring more Cane to Mill Negro”, dated 1630-1790 (image courtesy of the St Eustatius Historical Foundation Museum).

### 6.3.5 Coping Mechanisms

Possible coping mechanisms employed in St Eustatius to help enslaved people deal with their circumstances may have included alcohol consumption, also identified as a coping mechanism in modern studies (see for example Prost, Lemieux and Ai 2016; Merrill and Thomas 2013; Cooper, M. et al. 1992). A variety of vessels originally holding wine and jenever were found in the assemblages from Schotsenhoek and Fair Play (see Table below). However, as discussed in section 6.2.4, it is important that we consider alternative uses for these vessels, for example as water bottles (see Espersen 2019).

**Table 6.13:** Artefacts from St Eustatius relating to alcohol consumption (Source: Author).

Site	Code	Artefact	Date and Context
Schotsenhoek	EUX-MC-069	Clear glass wine bottle base	C18th-C19th Ditch fill
	EUX-MC-087	Stoneware jenever bottle neck	C18th-C19th Ditch fill
	EUX-MC-088	Possible brown glass wine bottle bases	C18th-C19th Ditch fill
Fair Play	EUX-MC-024	Dark glass wine bottle base	C17th-C19th Posthole fill
	EUX-MC-026	Dark glass gin case bottle base	C17th-C19th Posthole fill



**Figure 6.16:** Artefacts from St Eustatius relating to alcohol consumption: clear glass wine bottle base fragment EUX-MC-69 (left); dark glass wine bottle base fragment EUX-MC-24 (centre); and stoneware jenever bottle neck EUX-MC-087 (right) (Source: Author).

### 6.3.6 The Homespace

Excavations have shown that the houses built by enslaved people on St Eustatius were constructed in wattle and daub, or with posts and boards (Stelten 2015b; Cook, R.

and Stelten 2014; Stelten 2013). More expensive, European-style, stone and mortar houses were constructed in other areas of the Caribbean so that the landowner could project an image of prosperity and benevolence, especially during the 19<sup>th</sup> century when the abolition movement put pressure on landowners to improve the living conditions of enslaved people (Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005: 148; Farnsworth 2001b). However, the wattle and daub houses often seen on Caribbean plantations have a decidedly African influence (see for example NAAM 2015; Haviser and Antoin 2004; Haviser 1997; Vlach 1976b; Vlach 1976c), were constructed of cheap materials, and were therefore probably principally designed and built by the enslaved people themselves. These structures probably represent syncretic interactions between African (for example Yoruba), Amerindian, and European house designs (Vlach 1976c). The material culture recorded here includes lime mortar and diverse other construction materials such as stone, CBM, brick, coral, and iron nails which would have been used to keep boards in place. The construction methods in evidence appear very similar to those used in Curaçaoan *kunuku* houses (see section 6.2.5).



**Figure 6.17:** Iron nails EUX-MC-17 (top left); lime plaster EUX-MC-95 (top centre); ceramic building material EUX-MC-055 (top right); volcanic stone door wedge EUX-MC-084 (bottom left); Dutch yellow brick EUX-MC-68 (bottom centre); and possible door latch EUX-MC-86 (bottom right) (Source: Author).

The site plans from the enslaved villages at Schotsenhoek and Fair Play plantations also show open spaces around the buildings that were devoid of finds. One of Julia Crane’s interviewees mentioned the importance of keeping these outdoor domestic spaces clean (Crane 1999: 362). This is a practice echoed in similar African Diaspora contexts in the Americas and referred to as yard-sweeping (Battle-Baptiste 2007a; Armstrong and Kelly 2000). Battle-Baptiste (2010b) has observed that this practice has a spiritual aspect (intended to keep away bad spirits) and that it may have been primarily the responsibility of older enslaved women. In general, the outdoor area may represent a space in which the community came together and formed close social bonds, as observed in Yoruba examples (Vlach 1976a). House-yard burials also emphasise the importance of this domestic space, linking the community to the place where they lived through the burial of community members (Delle and Fellows 2014; Armstrong and Fleischman 2003), and house-yard burial is indeed observed on St Eustatius and on the neighbouring island of Saba (Espersen 2015; Gilmore 2008; Gilmore 2004).



**Figure 6.18:** Shell button EUX-MC-010 (top left); shell beads EUX-MC-013 (top centre); buckle fragments EUX-MC-032 (top right); white glass bead EUX-MC-012 (bottom left); milk glass button EUX-MC-096 (bottom centre); and beads EUX-MC-105 (bottom right) (Source: Author).

Evidence for resource shortages in the homespace also came from the types of personal adornment or clothing from the St Eustatius assemblages, which included buttons and beads. Some of these (including button EUX-MC-010 and shell beads EUX-MC-013) may have been home-made, considering they were made of freely available natural materials and were not completely symmetrical. Indeed, Wallman's (2014) Martinique study showed that naturally available materials or food remains such as bone were used by enslaved people to produce domestic items such as dice, buttons, needle cases, and personal decorations.

Milk glass button EUX-MC-096 was probably a shirt or underwear button, according to studies of clothing worn by enslaved people elsewhere in the Americas (see Marcel 1994). Metal buckle EUX-MC-032 may not have been a shoe buckle: rather, it could have been a belt buckle, or a buckle attached to some form of equipment. It does not necessarily indicate that enslaved people were allowed to wear shoes, as was the case in Curaçao (see van der Dijs, N. 2011: 127; Romer 1977: 58).

**Table 6.14:** Artefacts relating to the domestic sphere in St Eustatius (Source: Author).

Site	Code	Artefact	Date and Context
Schotsenhoek	EUX-MC-055	Imported CBM	C18th-C19th Abandonment
	EUX-MC-061	Iron nail	C18th-C19th Abandonment
	EUX-MC-068	Yellow Dutch brick	C18th-C19th Ditch fill
	EUX-MC-073	Coral fragment	C18th-C19th Abandonment
	EUX-MC-079	Possible iron hinge	C18th-C19th Ditch fill
	EUX-MC-084	Volcanic stone doorstep	C18th-C19th Ditch fill
	EUX-MC-086	Possible iron latch	C18th-C19th Ditch fill
Fair Play	EUX-MC-017	Two iron nails	C18th-19 <sup>th</sup> Posthole fill
	EUX-MC-028	Iron hook	C17th-C20th Posthole fill
	EUX-MC-095	Fragment of lime plaster	C17th-C19th Posthole fill
	EUX-MC-097	Iron lock	C18th-C20th Posthole fill

**Table 6.15:** Artefacts relating to personal adornment and clothing from St Eustatius (Source: Author).

Site	Code	Artefact	Date and Context
Schotsenhoek	EUX-MC-032	Copper alloy and iron buckle	1720-1800 Ditch fill
Fair Play	EUX-MC-010	Shell button with uneven holes	C17th-C19th Posthole fill
	EUX-MC-012	Small white glass bead	C18th-C19th Posthole fill
	EUX-MC-013	Small shell beads	C18th-C19th Posthole fill
	EUX-MC-096	Milk glass button	C18th-C19th Posthole fill
Miscellaneous	EUX-MC-105	Selection of beads (including blue glass beads)	Unknown

### 6.3.7 Foodways

Because previous conversations about slavery in St Eustatius have tended to focus on the favourable (albeit fluctuating) economic conditions of the island, aspects of the lifeways of enslaved people such as food scarcity and independent provisioning have been overlooked. Here, food remains recovered from the archaeological sites did include whelk (*Cittarium pica*) shells (EUX-MC-018 and EUX-MC-057), indicating that enslaved people here supplemented their grown, given, or bought diet with foods that could be gathered in the wild (Stelten 2015b). These diverse subsistence strategies were employed by enslaved people across the Americas, for example in response to poor provisioning by the plantation owner, demonstrating independence and resistance (Bowes 2011).

At the Hermitage in Tennessee, Battle-Baptiste (2007a) observed that enslaved people were more likely to have eaten the cheap cuts of meat (head, spine, ribs, feet), cracking the skull to extract the brain. Bones representing these parts of the animals (pig, cow and caprine) were also observed on St Eustatius (see EUX-MC-042; EUX-MC-059; EUX-MC-081).

The types of ceramic recorded on St Eustatius could have been used for cooking these foods over an open fire, for example EUX-MC-056, the dish with legs. The

assemblages also included bowl, plate, and storage jar fragments (EUX-MC-039 is a particularly good example), as well as grindstone EUX-MC-035.



**Figure 6.19:** Artefacts from St Eustatius demonstrating foodways: Afro-Caribbean ware sherd EUX-MC-009 (top left); bone knife handle EUX-MC-027 (top centre left); grindstone EUX-MC-035 (top centre right); iron fish hook EUX-MC-034 (top right); storage jar EUX-MC-039 (centre left); transfer print sherds EUX-MC-021 (centre middle); and serving dish fragment with leg EUX-MC-056 (centre right); pig cranium and tooth fragments EUX-MC-42 (bottom left); *Cittarium pica* (whelk) shell EUX-MC-18 (bottom middle); and fragment of crab shell EUX-MC-67 (bottom right) (Source: Author).

The knives at both Fair Play and Schotsenhoek (see Table 6.16) indicate that enslaved people possessed potentially dangerous items. Franklin (2017: 118) has observed that enslaved people in Virginia probably bought knives from commercial vendors. Indeed, there are several sites in the Digital Archaeological Archive of

Comparative Slavery where knives have been recovered, for example from a subfloor pit in the Yard Cabin at The Hermitage, Tennessee, probably dating to after 1840 (artefact ID: 1404-88-09-45-DRS—00137) (McKee and Cooper 2013). They would have been a practical necessity for food preparation but in some cases may have played a role in resistance and revolt (see Brenneker 1969-1973: 382-383 for example of a stabbing weapon used in the 1795 Tula revolt in Curacao).

**Table 6.16:** Artefacts relating to foodways in St Eustatius (Source: Author).

Site	Code	Artefact	Date and Context
Schotsenhoek	EUX-MC-021	Blue, black and brown transferprint sherds	C18th-C19th Abandonment
	EUX-MC-033	Two folding iron knives	1600-1800 Abandonment
	EUX-MC-034	Iron fish hook	1600-1800 Ditch fill
	EUX-MC-035	Grindstone	C18th-C19th Abandonment
	EUX-MC-038	Afro-Caribbean ware sherds	C18th-C19th Abandonment
	EUX-MC-039	Coarse earthenware storage jar	C18th-C19th Ditch fill
	EUX-MC-056	Serving dish base fragment with leg	C18th-C19th Abandonment
	EUX-MC-057	<i>Cittarium pica</i> (whelk) shells	C18th-C19th Ditch fill
	EUX-MC-059	Bovine tooth fragment	C18th-C19th Pit fill
	EUX-MC-062	Stoneware fragment	C18th-C19th Abandonment
	EUX-MC-064	Storage jar fragment with handle	C18th-C19th Abandonment
	EUX-MC-067	Crab shell fragment	C18th-C19th Ditch fill
	EUX-MC-080	Colander fragment	C18th-C19th Ditch fill
EUX-MC-081	Heat-affected animal bones including caprine metacarpal	C18th-C19th Ditch fill	
Fair Play	EUX-MC-009	Afro-Caribbean ware sherd	C17th-C19th Posthole fill
	EUX-MC-011	Gold décor blue and white porcelain base fragment	C18th-C19th Posthole fill
	EUX-MC-018	<i>Cittarium pica</i> (whelk) shells	C18th-C19th Posthole fill
	EUX-MC-022	Spanish glazed earthenware fragment	C17th-C20th Posthole fill
	EUX-MC-025	Iberian storage jar fragment	C17th-C20th Posthole fill
	EUX-MC-027	Bone knife handle with criss-cross pattern	C17th-C19th Posthole fill
	EUX-MC-042	Fragments of pig tooth and mandible	C18th-C19th Posthole fill
	EUX-MC-091	Bovine tooth	C18th-C19th Posthole fill
	EUX-MC-099	Staffordshire style yellow and brown slipware fragment	C17th-C19th Posthole fill
Miscellaneous	EUX-MC-106	Calabash bowl incised with the name 'FRANCES'	Unknown

### 6.3.8 Religion

Material culture relating to *obeah* was scarce in the assemblage from St Eustatius. One artefact possibly associated with such belief is the glass perfume bottle stopper EUX-MC-016 (see Figure 6.20). As mentioned in section 6.2.7, glittery and shiny objects may have an association with water, a liminal medium of the ancestors, and may therefore function as an amulet to attract positive spirits (Kamash 2008; Rivera 2005; Leone and Fry 1999). One possible interpretation of this artefact might be engagement in the monetary economy of the island. However, in the wider context of the oral historical evidence it seems likely that this object had a function other than that of its manufacture. It was found in a storage pit (Cook, R. and Stelten 2014: 28) and may therefore have been a prized possession that was deliberately stored rather than a lost or discarded item.



**Figure 6.20:** Glass perfume bottle stopper EUX-MC-016 deposited in a storage pit between 1780 and 1800 at Fair Play enslaved village (Source: Author).

The most heated debate over Stavian material culture concerns the many blue beads found on the island. They had an intimate relationship with the Dutch ‘slave trade’. Manufactured in the Netherlands and traded on the west coast of Africa, they may have made their way to St Eustatius as ballast or arrived with the enslaved people themselves (Stine, Cabak and Groover 1996; Karklins and Barka 1989; Hartog 1978: 51). Stine *et al* (1996), Samford (1996), and Russell (1997) have suggested that they may have functioned protective or curative charms. This echoes the importance of the colour blue

as protective in Curaçaoan traditional culture (see section 6.2.7) and elsewhere in the Americas and West Africa (Stine, Cabak and Groover 1996). High percentages of glass beads that are coloured blue (although not necessarily the same as the Statia blue beads) are often found at enslaved sites, for example at Rich Neck, Virginia (Franklin 2004: 127).



**Figure 6.21:** Blue glass beads from St Eustatius (after Karklins and Barka 1989: 82) (left); and different types of blue bead found at the Old Gin House, Lower Town: marble bead at top left and five-sided beads on bottom two rows (after Soffers and Zahedi 2013: 37) (right).

Internationally, blue beads of the type found in Statia (see Figure 6.21) are rarely found in large numbers directly associated with enslaved individuals (one notable exception being the burial of an *obeah* man at Newton Plantation in Barbados) (Karklins and Barka 1989). Single blue beads are sometimes found in enslaved quarters, as evidenced by the Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery, for example at the Field Quarter KES site, The Hermitage, Tennessee, during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (artefact ID: 1403-90-01-119-DRS—00063) (McKee and Bates 2013). The highest concentrations of beads excavated in St Eustatius come from potential hoard contexts, for example amongst the warehouses of Lower Town (see Soffers and Zahedi 2013). Although the presence of other kinds of beads in certain contexts (supported by

documentary evidence, and also see EUX-MC-012 and EUX-MC-013) indicates that personal adornment did occur amongst the enslaved population, no blue bead has yet been found in a Statian enslaved village (see Stine, Cabak and Groover 1996; Karklins and Barka 1989; Barka 1985).

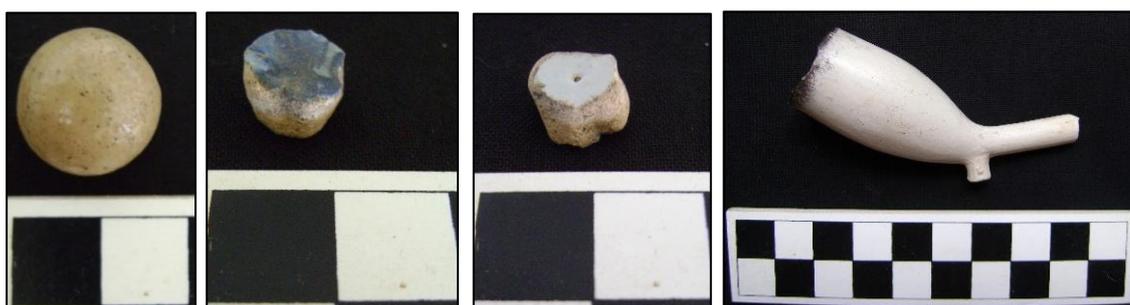
Given the complicated and controversial nature of the topic, the question of how the blue beads were used in Statia is not one that can be answered through archaeology alone. However, in the past archaeologists have only briefly mentioned oral histories about the blue beads on the island, without conducting thorough studies or properly recording their oral historical findings. Much of what local people say about the beads has been dismissed as lucrative (in terms of the tourist trade) but mythological. It is therefore very important that properly recorded oral historical accounts of blue bead usage are carefully examined (see section 8.3.9).

### **6.3.9 Leisure Time**

The frequent presence of kaolin pipe fragments in enslaved village contexts may indicate a kind of syncretism. Pipe smoking was common not only among European contemporary populations, but also among African ones (see Handler and Norman 2007; Ozanne 1962; McIntosh, Gallagher and McIntosh 1960; Shaw 1960). It may therefore have been one way in which the enslaved population of St Eustatius were able to continue the traditions of their homeland. Pipe fragments were recovered from the enslaved villages at Fair Play and Schotsenhoek (EUX-MC-031; EUX-MC-094) as well as from the Lazaretto burial ground (see Appendix C).

**Table 6.17:** Artefacts from St Eustatius relating to leisure (Source: Author).

Site	Code	Artefact	Date and Context
Schotsenhoek	EUX-MC-020	Ceramic game piece (blue and white)	C18th-C19th Abandonment
	EUX-MC-031	Kaolin pipe bowl	1820-1860 Abandonment
Fair Play	EUX-MC-015	Glazed earthenware marble	C18th-C19th Posthole fill
	EUX-MC-030	Delftware game piece (pattern and white with dot)	C17th-C20th Posthole fill
	EUX-MC-094	Kaolin pipe bowl (27)	1731-1898 Posthole fill



**Figure 6.22:** Artefacts from Fair Play enslaved village demonstrating leisure activities: ceramic marble EUX-MC-015 (left); both sides of game piece EUX-MC-030 made from recycled Delftware (centre); and kaolin pipe bowl EUX-MC-031 (right) (Source: Author).

Other evidence for leisure activities included homemade ceramic discs that have been interpreted elsewhere as game pieces or two-sided dice (see Panich et al. 2017). Indeed, the discs seem to have been deliberately manufactured to have two distinctively different faces (see EUX-MC-030). Documentary evidence from St Eustatius mentions enslaved people gambling, so this is one possible activity that these discs could have been used for (Gilmore III 2006a). Alternatively, they may have been used for an African type of *mancala* game or other board game (see Abdulcarimo 2001: 116-117; Samford 1996). The assemblages also included ceramic marbles such as EUX-MC-015 (probably commercially produced, as it is glazed, see Chan 2007: 178).

## 6.4 ST MAARTEN/ST MARTIN

### 6.4.1 Labour

Historians at the Territorial Archives in Marigot have been researching the ‘slave walls’, and have produced an information booklet which discusses their function in field clearance and water management, and their construction, which differs from the construction of ‘slave walls’ in Curaçao (see Archives Territoriales 2015 and CUR-MC-121 from the *Kas di Pal'i Maishi*). Figure 6.24 shows an example of a St Maarten slave wall and some large sugar boiling pans from Rockland Plantation. Both of these activities (sugar boiling and wall building) were labour intensive and dangerous. Historical documents record how enslaved people often lost limbs during the sugar production process, specifically by being drawn into the cane crusher (Dunn 1987).



**Figure 6.23:** Artefacts relating to labour in St Maarten/St Martin: ‘slave walls’ built to contain cattle SXM-MC-040 (left) and sugar boiling pans SXM-MC-039 (right) at Rockland Plantation (Source: Author).

### 6.4.2 The Homespace

Construction of houses by enslaved people in St Maarten was much the same as that of St Eustatius (see section 6.3.6): they were wattle houses with lime and manure daub (see SXM-OH-05; SXM-OH-07). Their ground plan resembled other African-American homes from the same period, which are thought to represent syncretic practises of homebuilding which incorporated Amerindian, African, and European types of

construction method and ground plan (Haviser 1997; Vlach 1976b; Vlach 1976c). Artefacts included in this study (see Table 6.18) represented a variety of construction materials used by enslaved people, both locally produced (see plaster fragment SXM-MC-029 and mortar fragment SXM-MC-067) and imported (see Dutch brick fragments SXM-MC-015 and SXM-MC-016). Other potential construction materials included coral (SXM-MC-013) and iron objects such as nails (both square SXM-MC-054 and round SXM-MC-065) and metal straps (SXM-MC-077).



**Figure 6.24:** Artefacts from St Maarten relating to construction activities: Dutch red brick SXM-MC-016 (left); iron nail SXM-MC-025 (centre left); fragment of pink plaster SXM-MC-029 (centre right); and coral fragment SXM-MC-013 (right) (Source: Author).

What the nails potentially indicate is a construction method including the application of wooden boards to a wooden frame (see Stelten 2013: 22 for this interpretation made in St Eustatius; also Handler and Bergman 2009 in Barbados). Ensing (2012: 116) notes that there was some temporal and spatial difference in enslaved housing on the island: 17<sup>th</sup> century huts were constructed of volcanic stone, wood, and reused Dutch bricks as well as of wattle and daub, with the wattle houses located mostly in Dutch Upper and Lower Prince's Quarter and French St James, and subsequently replaced by wooden huts. Mont Vernon is located between Cul-de-Sac and Green Cay on the French side and the wooden huts here were built in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century (see Bonnissent 2012) so they fit into Ensing's (2012: 116) timeline and spatial information.

**Table 6.18:** Artefacts from St Maarten/St Martin demonstrating construction activities (Source: Author).

Site	Code	Artefact	Date and Context
Golden Rock	SXM-MC-013	Coral fragment	C18th – C19th Occupation
	SXM-MC-015	Dutch yellow brick fragment	C18th – C9th Occupation
	SXM-MC-016	Dutch red brick fragments	C18th – C19th Occupation
	SXM-MC-025	Iron nail	C18th – C19th Occupation
	SXM-MC-029	Pink plaster fragment	C18th – C19th Occupation
Mont Vernon	SXM-MC-045	Brick fragment	Late C18th – C19th Posthole fill
	SXM-MC-054	Square iron nail	Late C18th - C19th Posthole fill
	SXM-MC-065	Round iron nail	Late C18th – C19th Waste pit
	SXM-MC-067	Mortar fragment	Late C18th – C19th Posthole fill
	SXM-MC-077	Iron fitting (furniture or architectural)	Late C18th – C19th Posthole fill

### 6.4.3 Foodways

One interviewee mentioned the traditional ceramic pot used to keep water cool through evaporation (SXM-OH-05). This was supported by material evidence (see SXM-MC-043) and is a tradition that does have African parallels (see for example the Spring 2009: 118 water pot from Botswana) and parallels on other Caribbean islands, for example Curaçao (see Brenneker 1969-1973: 890) and St Eustatius. Such water pots can also be used in *obeah* activities (Heath 1999). Other household ceramics included imported wares (see SXM-MC-027; SXM-MC-057) as well as those that had been made more locally (see SXM-MC-052). There are many ways in which enslaved people may have acquired these European and Afro-Caribbean ceramics, for example inheriting, stealing, or purchasing them, but the presence of Afro-Caribbean wares may also indicate engagement in a local economy (see Hauser 2011; Ahlman et al. 2008; Otto 1977).



**Figure 6.25:** Artefacts from St Maarten/St Martin demonstrating domestic activities: porcelain fragment SXM-MC-20 (left); transfer print fragment SXM-MC-28 (centre left); traditional water pot SXM-MC-043 (centre right); and iron coal pot SXM-MC-044 (right) (Source: Author).

The ceramics observed indicated variety in colour (blue, green, brown, purple, yellow, red, orange and white were all observed) but also in form, including plates, cups, and bowls and larger vessels (see Tables 6.19 and 6.20 below and Appendix B). The assemblages are consistent with the practice of one-pot cooking afforded by the three-stone fireplace or the coal pot and then sharing out the food into individual plates or bowls (as in St Eustatius and Curaçao, see sections 6.2.6 and 6.3.7). Glass and stoneware fragments observed may have belonged to bottles of various different kinds, for example beer, wine and jenever. As in Curaçao and St Eustatius, the presence of these vessels does not necessarily indicate that the enslaved people were consuming alcohol: rather, they may have reused the bottles for water (see Espersen 2019). However, Sypkens-Smit (1981: 61) has mentioned the 20<sup>th</sup> century importance of the local guavaberry liqueur on special occasions such as Christmas. This drink is made from rum, cane sugar and guavaberries (Ensing 2012: 93). Proverbs recorded by Sypkens-Smit (1981: IV 3-IV 4) also record traditional advice relating to alcohol consumption: “If you follow the bottle, you’ll be in a battle”, and “When I drink I cannot think, so I think I will not drink”. Alcohol consumption has been recorded as a coping mechanism in modern populations (see for example Prost, Lemieux and Ai 2016; Merrill and Thomas 2013; Cooper, M. et al. 1992).

Luxury items such as the fluted glass drinking vessel (SXM-MC-078) did not demonstrate as much variety as those on St Eustatius or Curaçao. This may be related to

the history of the island in terms of commerce: by 1700 nearby St Eustatius had become more important than St Maarten/St Martin as a trade island (Hartog 1981: 51-52).

**Table 6.19:** Artefacts from St Maarten demonstrating foodways (Source: Author).

Site	Code	Artefact	Date and Context
Golden Rock	SXM-MC-020	Porcelain fragment with blue decoration	C18th – C19th Occupation
	SXM-MC-024	Glazed earthenware fragment	C18th – C19th Occupation
	SXM-MC-027	Tin enamelware	C18th – C19th Occupation
	SXM-MC-028	Brown transfer print fragments	1780-1840 Occupation
	SXM-MC-032	Coarse earthenware	C18th – C19th Occupation
	SXM-MC-033	Shell fragment	C18th – C19th Occupation
	SXM-MC-037	Stoneware sherd	C18th – C19th Occupation
Miscellaneous	SXM-MC-043	Traditional water pot	C20th
	SXM-MC-044	Metal coal pot	C20th – C21st

**Table 6.20:** Artefacts from Mont Vernon, St Martin, demonstrating foodways (Source: Author).

Site	Code	Artefact	Date and Context
Mont Vernon	SXM-MC-046	Bovid distal phalanx	Late C18th – C19th Posthole fill
	SXM-MC-047	Acanthopleura granulata (fuzzy chiton)	Late C18th – C19th Posthole fill
	SXM-MC-048	Cittarium pica (whelk)	Late C18th – C19th Posthole fill
	SXM-MC-049	Blue shell edged- faience plate fragment	Late C18th – C19th Posthole fill
	SXM-MC-050	Green shell edged-faience plate fragment	Late C18th – C19th Posthole fill
	SXM-MC-051	Charcoal fragment	Late C18th – C19th Posthole fill
	SXM-MC-052	Afro-Caribbean ware body fragment	Late C18th – C19th Posthole fill
	SXM-MC-053	Pig teeth	Late C18th – C19th Posthole fill
	SXM-MC-057	Cup/plate faience (green, brown, orange)	Late C18th – C19th Posthole fill
	SXM-MC-060	Black transferprint	Late C18th – C19th Waste pit
	SXM-MC-066	Spoon or fork handle with round end	Late C18th – C19th Waste pit
	SXM-MC-068	Green glass bottle neck fragment	Late C18th – C19th Posthole fill
	SXM-MC-073	Body fragment white slip on red, French	Late C18th – C19th Posthole fill
	SXM-MC-075	Arca zebra (ark clam)	Late C18th – C19th Posthole fill
	SXM-MC-076	Astraea tuber (sea snail)	Late C18th – C19th Posthole fill
	SXM-MC-079	Carpine humeral fragment	Late C18th – C19th Posthole fill
	SXM-MC-081	Pearlware base fragment	Late C18th – C19th Posthole fill
	SXM-MC-082	Creamware base fragment	Late C18th – C19th Posthole fill
	SXM-MC-083	Glazed stoneware fragment	Late C18th – C19th Posthole fill
	SXM-MC-084	Caprine metacarpal	Late C18th – C19th Waste pit
	SXM-MC-085	Caprine radius	Late C18th – C19th Waste pit
SXM-MC-086	Caprine scapula	Late C18th – C19th Waste pit	
SXM-MC-087	Caprine pelvis	Late C18th – C19th Waste pit	
SXM-MC-088	Caprine maxilla	Late C18th – C19th Waste pit	
SXM-MC-094	Strombus gigas (queen conch)	Late C18th – C19th Posthole fill	

#### 6.4.4 Religion

The material cultural assemblage from Mont Vernon included a blue glass bead (see Figure 6.26). As mentioned above, beads thought to be amulets are often found in enslaved village contexts in the Americas, and they are often blue (Stine, Cabak and Groover 1996). It is certainly interesting to note the appearance of this bead in an enslaved village context so close to St Eustatius, where blue beads had enormous cultural and economic significance for enslaved people (see section 6.3.1 and 6.3.8). It should also be noted that during archaeological survey at Rockland Plantation in 2012, the island archaeologist recovered several blue glass beads with a white centre and an irregular pattern of facets reminiscent of the Mont Vernon bead, so SXM-MC-071 is not an isolated phenomenon (see Haviser 2015b).



**Figure 6.26:** Multifaceted blue glass bead SXM-MC-071 from Mont Vernon (Bonnissent 2012: 130; image courtesy of Dominique Bonnissent and Inrap).

Artefacts that may relate to *obeah* practices were scarce on St Maarten/St Martin. Although queen conch (*Strombus gigas*) fragments were recovered at Mont Vernon, the inability of the current author to access the collection herself means that it is difficult to ascertain how complete these shells were and therefore whether their use was culinary,

practical (for example, as a doorstep), symbolic, or all three (Haviser 1999; Farris Thompson 1990). Recent excavation at the Frontstreet Cemetery uncovered *obeah* offerings at the grave of a Dominican priest called Father Jordanus Onderwater who was a supporter of the African descendant community during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. These offerings included conch shells, dolls, cigars, coins, razors, and bottles, although some of the more recent offerings made since the 1960s may have been influenced by Haitian Vodou (Haviser 2010a). The deposition of such objects on grave sites is a tradition also found in African American contexts in the US (Wilkie 1997).



**Figure 6.27:** Premaxillary region of a porcupine fish (*Diodon spp.*) from waste pit 2112 at Mont Vernon (SXM-MC-089) (Bonnissent 2012: 73; image courtesy of Dominique Bonnissent and Inrap); and rock crystals from Golden Rock (SXM-MC-022) (Source: Author).

Further, the premaxillary region of a very large porcupine fish (*Diodon spp.*) was recovered from Mont Vernon (SXM-MC-089, see Figure 6.27). Porcupine fish can be poisonous (van Gorcum et al. 2006) so these remains may not represent the exploitation of a food source. An alternative explanation may be that the fish was involved in an *obeah* ritual. Curet and Pestle (2010) have also noted that the neurotoxin in porcupine fish was used in ceremonies in the pre-Columbian period, and Fernández Olmos and Paravisini-Gebert (2011: 157) have mentioned poisons such as manchineel being used to incapacitate slave masters. Poison was one of the only ways for enslaved people to harm their owners (DuBois 2011; Frey and Wood 2003).

Finally, the test pitting at Golden Rock recovered several rock crystals (SXM-MC-022, see Figure 6.27) which as multifaceted, glittery, attractive objects may perhaps have functioned as amulets that attracted positive spirits (Lima, de Souza and Sene 2014; Leone and Fry 1999; Russell 1997; Farris Thompson 1990). As mentioned by Chan (2007: 163), such amulets can be thought of as part of resistance and survival mechanisms, allowing people to believe they have some control over their circumstances. Similar crystals (artefact ID: 1000-186C-NOS—00092) have been found at the Building o enslaved quarters at Monticello, Virginia (Hill 2003a).

#### 6.4.5 Leisure Time



**Figure 6.28:** Leisure artefacts from St Maarten: kaolin pipe stem fragment SXM-MC-026 (top left); African style clay pipes SXM-MC-038 (right); nickernuts used as game pieces SXM-MC-100 (bottom left) (Source: Author); and faïence game piece from Mont Vernon (Bonnissent 2012: 68; image courtesy of Dominique Bonnissent and Inrap).

Leisure activities on St Maarten/St Martin involved smoking and game playing. The two West African-style pipes on display at the St Maarten Historical Museum (SXM-MC-038), as well as the many kaolin pipe fragments from Golden Rock (SXM-MC-026) and Mont Vernon (SXM-MC-092) may demonstrate that this was a syncretic practice: Europeans were also accustomed to pipe smoking, so this was one tradition that enslaved people were able to continue in the Caribbean (see Handler and Norman 2007). However, it should be borne in mind that some indigenous groups in the Americas also manufactured pipes that resemble the West African ones from St Maarten/St Martin, so this may in fact be a syncretic tradition that spans many cultures in some areas (Waselkov 2017).

**Table 6.21:** Artefacts from St Maarten/St Martin relating to leisure activities (Source: Author).

Site	Code	Artefact	Date and Context
Golden Rock	SXM-MC-026	Kaolin pipe stem fragment	C18th – C19th Occupation
Mont Vernon	SXM-MC-058	Neck of violet glass bottle	Late C18th – C19th Waste pit
	SXM-MC-078	Sherd of fluted glass drinking vessel	Late C18th – C19th Stakehole fill
	SXM-MC-092	Kaoline pipe stem/bowl fragment	Late C18th – C19th Waste pit
	SXM-MC-097	Blue transferprint game piece	Late C18th – C19th Posthole fill
Miscellaneous	SXM-MC-038	African style clay pipes	C17th-C19th
	SXM-MC-100	Nickernuts ( <i>Giulandina</i> spp.) used as game pieces	Modern

There were two objects recorded on St Maarten/St Martin that were used as game pieces: modified ceramic sherds (see SXM-MC-097), but also nickernuts (SXM-MC-100), freely available in the local environment. Ceramic discs can be used as two-sided dice or to play games such as backgammon and African types of *mancala* (see Panich et al. 2017; Abdulcarimo 2001: 116-117; Samford 1996). Nickernuts do not have sides, but they do exist in a variety of colours (grey, cream, orange, brown – see Figure 6.28 above) so could be used to play games that require pieces belonging to different people. Although

the material record in St Maarten/St Martin did not yield any marbles, interviewees in the early 1980s did mention the importance of this pastime and other games with English, Dutch and African influences (Ensing 2012: 68-69; Sypkens-Smit 1981: 53). It is also interesting to note that the Dutch word for “marble” is “knikker” – tracing a connection between the activity and the nuts (see SXM-MC-100).

## 6.5 CONCLUSION

The material culture dataset demonstrates the variety of survival mechanisms that enslaved people here developed to counter the extreme hardships that they endured. They creatively adapted to the local environment through the use of locally available resources.

The evidence demonstrates the incorporation of diverse cultural traditions into the lifeways of enslaved people in Curaçao. Amerindian, European, and African traditions all contributed to the ways that enslaved people lived their lives, as well as a resourcefulness which allowed adaption to a new environment and developed distinctive Curaçaoan lifeways. This resourcefulness, adaption, and syncretism is observed in foodways (for example the use of a *mano* and *metate* and the consumption of local cacti), agriculture (for example the small shelters used to keep seeds off the ground and to protect workers from the noonday sun), economic engagement, religion, domestic architecture, and musical instruments. The richness of this dataset and its broad temporal scope allow our understanding of enslaved lifeways to enter the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The material cultural dataset from this island therefore represents an important addition to our understandings of continuing oppression and resistance on the island.

Documentary sources investigated by other researchers have already indicated that enslaved people in St Eustatius may have had greater access to the economy than enslaved people on other islands (Gilmore III 2010a; Gilmore III 2006a; Equiano 1999

[1814]). What the data recorded here contribute is an understanding of the quality of this engagement with the economy. Enslaved people in St Eustatius did have access to high quality imported goods, and were sometimes able to conduct their domestic life out of view of the plantation overseer (Stelten 2015b; Stelten 2013: 10). However, the artefact assemblages at Fair Play and Schotsenhoek also indicate that fishing and foraging took place, and that artefacts such as bricks, tiles and potsherds were reused in the household, for example as leisure objects. Additionally, the layout of Fair Play Plantation indicates that the separation of enslaved people from the overseer was not universal. The presence of both luxury and recycled goods may indicate a situation where enslaved people had increased but irregular access to the monetary economy, made possible by the role of the island as a free port, but unreliable due to their enslaved status. The evidence for fishing and foraging activities may indicate an equally unreliable provision of food by the plantation owners, who were often keen to save money by making their enslaved people fend for themselves (Tomich 1991 [1990]: 304).

The artefacts from St Maarten/St Martin are noticeably 'poorer' than those recovered from St Eustatius. There is not a wide variety of imported ceramics and there are few luxury items. However, neither of the archaeological investigations carried out by Havisser (2012; 1996) on the Dutch side involved open-area excavation of an enslaved village. Given the differences between French and Dutch administration of enslaved people (see Roitman 2016b) it is important that enslaved villages on the Dutch side of the island are properly investigated in the near future. Despite this restricted dataset, the material culture could still provide a window into St Maarten/St Martin enslaved lifeways, providing evidence for hardship, creativity, and a complex private life. It is therefore vital that this island is not overlooked in wider studies of enslaved material culture in the future.

# 7 THEMATIC ANALYSIS: OSTEOBIOGRAPHY

---

## 7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will discuss the thematic findings from the osteobiographical datasets of Curaçao, St Eustatius and St Maarten/St Martin in order to construct alternative narratives of enslaved lifeways on each island. The data are organised into the following themes: labour; physical violence; medicine; foodways; and religion, in order to allow comparison with the information in Chapters 6 and 8. However, osteological datasets are very different to material cultural and oral historical datasets and osteologists have their own vocabulary. For this reason, each section also has an alternative name which more accurately describes the type of information that the osteobiographies provide. These are: activity; trauma; infectious disease and systemic stress; diet and metabolic disease; and burial context. Each section will discuss the skeletal evidence, probable disease aetiologies and archaeological contexts of the individuals. Full skeletal reports with osteobiographies can be found in Appendix C.

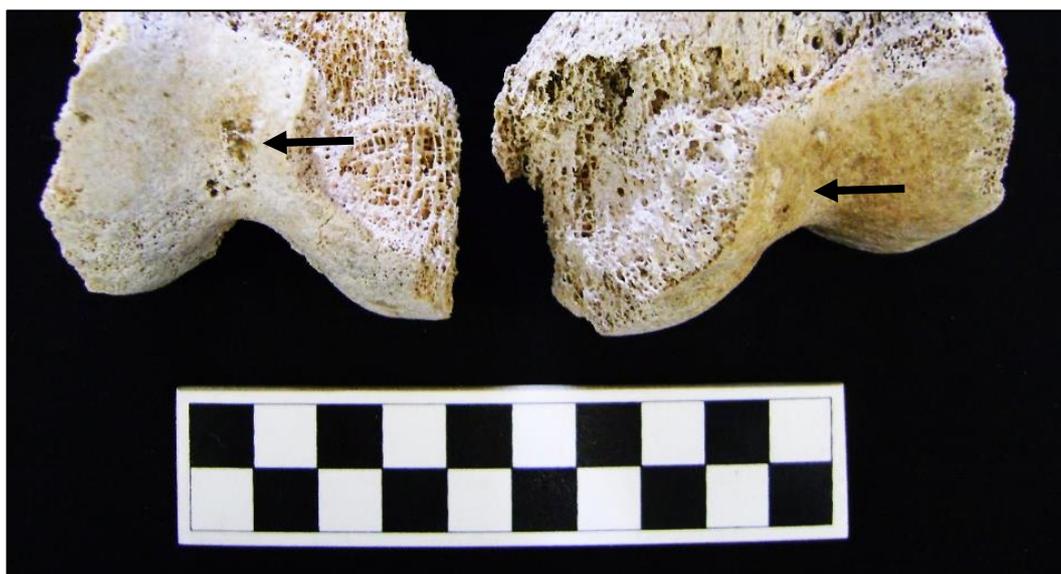
## 7.2 CURAÇAO

### 7.2.1 Labour/Activity

Investigating evidence for occupation or labour on the human skeleton is notoriously difficult, and skeletal changes that can be caused by activity can also often be caused by normal skeletal degeneration as a person ages (Jurmain et al. 2012). However, there were some pathologies observed in Curaçao which may be related to activity.

CUR-OB-01.1 (an old adult male from Fleur de Marie) did not exhibit widespread severe enthesophytic action, but this may have been due to the poor preservation of the skeleton. However, he did exhibit rugosity at the left deltoid tuberosity of the humerus

and bilaterally along the soleal lines of the tibiae, which may indicate trauma or repeated microtrauma to the muscles attaching in these areas (Jurmain et al. 2012). These muscles are involved in flexing, extending, rotating and abducting the arm, and the plantarflexion of the feet (Stone and Stone 2009: 123, 197). The arms in particular are involved in ‘voluntary’ movements associated with occupation (Villotte and Knusel 2014; Ponce 2012; Mays 1999). Bilateral osteoarthritis of the hip joints (porosity, contour change and new bone formation) and contour change at other joints may also be associated with age rather than occupation (Ortner 2003: 545-547). The hips are one of the most common sites for osteoarthritis because they are weight-bearing (Roberts, C. and Manchester 2010: 138; Waldron 1997). However, the presence of osteoarthritis (whether exacerbated by activity or not) would have affected his quality of life, causing pain and stiffness (Ortner 2003: 545).



**Figure 7.1:** Distal femora of CUR-OB-02.1 showing bilateral *osteochondritis dissecans* (Source: Author).

CUR-OB-02.1 (a middle to old adult male) and CUR-OB-02.2 (an adult possible male) were buried on the land of a 19<sup>th</sup> century livestock plantation called Veeris (Huijers and Ezechiels 1992: 148). Both individuals have pathologies that may relate to the work done on this type of plantation. CUR-OB-02.1 had bilateral *osteochondritis dissecans* (an

irregularity of the joint surface) at the distal femora (see Figure 7.1). This condition may have caused his knees to swell, catch and become stiff (Thompson, S. et al. 2014). In modern populations, these lesions are most prevalent in young males of African ancestry and have also been linked to excessive activity during adolescence (Kessler et al. 2014). Other evidence from the skeleton shows that hard labour may have continued throughout his life, as he developed widespread arthritis and degenerative joint disease (Roberts, C. and Manchester 2010: 143). A congenital anomaly at the base of his spine may also have caused him pain and discomfort, and in later life a large blastic lesion restricted movement between the first and second lumbar vertebrae which would have had an impact on his mobility (Wazir 2014; Roberts, C. and Manchester 2010: 56; Ortner 2003: 570-581).

CUR-OB-02.2 had slightly asymmetrical clavicles, which may indicate physical labour including uneven loading across the shoulders (Mays, Steele and Ford 1999). As a labourer on a plantation that specialised in *veeteelt*, there are many tasks that could have required such asymmetrical loading. These include carrying and restraining animals. Close encounters with these animals could also have caused the misaligned healed fracture to his right tibia (see Figure 7.2). In modern populations, fractures of the tibia are caused by direct force or by twisting forces in individuals who run, dance, or jump to excess (Dandy and Edwards 2003: 256-258). This fracture was subsequently complicated by an osteomyelitic infection, which would have considerably affected his quality of life by causing pain and restricting movement (Djuric-Srejjic and Roberts 2001). This individual also had new bone formation in both maxillary sinuses (see Figure 7.2). This is known as sinusitis, and is an infection that may have been caused by the inhalation of smoke and dust in the dry Curaçaoan environment (Roberts, C. and Manchester 2010: 174-176; Ezzati and Kammen 2001; Boocock, Roberts and Manchester 1995). Such infections may cause headache and unpleasant nasal discharge in modern populations (Edvardsson 2013; Hansen and Lund 2010).



**Figure 7.2:** Anterior view of right tibia of CUR-OB-02.2 from Veeris Plantation showing osteomyelitic infection (left); and superior view of maxilla of CUR-OB-01.1 from Fleur de Marie showing location of new bone formation (maxillary sinusitis) (right) (Source: Author).

Finally, the young woman CUR-OB-03.1 buried at the Kamer van Koophandel in Pietermaai demonstrates the dire potential consequences of hard labour during the growth period. Like CUR-OB-02.1 she exhibits *osteochondritis dissecans*, in this case unilaterally at the femoral surface of the left knee joint. Further, porosity and granular new bone formation were observed at the femoral attachments of the *vastus intermedius*, and at the attachments of the *biceps brachii* on the radii. The ulnar attachment site for the *pronator teres* was also clearly defined. These muscles are involved in balance on the legs and in flexion and pronation of the arms (Stone and Stone 2009: 114, 132, 180; Abrahams, Boon and Spratt 2008: 129, 298). There was also contour change at the left occipital condyle and massive development of the mastoid processes (attachments of the *sternocleidomastoid* muscle, used in neck and head movements, see Figure 7.3) (see Saini et al. 2012; Stone and Stone 2009: 62; Abrahams, Boon and Spratt 2008: 16). These pathologies may indicate involvement of the neck in strenuous activities, for example the carrying of loads on the head, a West African and Caribbean tradition (Stahl 2016;

Blakely 2006; Sypkens-Smit 1981: 73-74). It is interesting to note that this individual, a young adult at the time of death, also experienced delayed puberty (see section 7.2.3). This can be caused by many factors including illness, malnutrition and poisoning as well as hard labour (Lewis, M., Shapland and Watts 2016a; Schroeder, Shuler and Chenery 2013; Louis et al. 2008; Handler et al. 1986). Delayed development has also been observed in enslaved children at the New York African Burial Ground (Goode-Null, Shujaa and Rankin-Hill 2009; Blakely 2006).



**Figure 7.3:** Inferior view of left occipital condyle of CUR-OB-03.1 from the Kamer van Koophandel showing contour change (left); lateral view of the same cranium showing large mastoid process (centre) (Source: Author); and a Curaçaoan woman demonstrates the carrying of a load on her head, CUR-MC-114 (right) (image courtesy of the *Kas di Pal'i Maishi*).

## 7.2.2 Physical Violence/Trauma

CUR-OB-02.1 (a middle to old adult male from Veeris Plantation) had a healed misaligned fracture to the right zygomatic arch (see Figure 7.4). Fractures to the facial region like this have been associated with episodes of abuse in both modern and archaeological populations (Redfern 2015; Gowland 2016; de la Cova 2012; Walker 1997), and with hand-to-hand combat (Redfern 2015; Gowland 2016; Samsel, Kacki and Villotte 2014; de la Cova 2012; Roberts, C. and Manchester 2010: 108-109; Walker 1997). In a plantation context, this injury does not necessarily indicate that CUR-OB-02.1 did any fighting himself. He may have been subjected to these injuries as punishment by a *vito* (overseer), *bomba* (slave driver) or *shon* (master) (see Paula 1987: 27; and Ellis

1981: 21). Alternatively, the injury could have been inflicted during an accident, for example an encounter with a large domestic animal (Huijers and Ezechiels 1992: 148).



**Figure 7.4:** Healed but misaligned fracture of the right zygomatic arch of CUR-OB-02.1 from Veeris Plantation (left) vs. normal left zygomatic arch from the same individual (right) (Source: Author).

As mentioned in section 7.2.1 above, the misaligned healed fracture to the right tibia experienced by CUR-OB-02.2 (the adult possible male from Veeris Plantation) could also have been caused by a work accident. One must not rule out the possibility, however, that injuries like this can be caused deliberately in order to punish enslaved individuals. Gomez (2005: 88) amongst others has mentioned that punishments could be extremely violent, including chopping off extremities such as hands and feet.

### **7.2.3 Medicine/Infectious Disease and Systemic Stress**

Osteological evidence from Curaçao does indicate that enslaved people here were in some cases able to survive into old age: CUR-OB-01.1 was probably over 50 years of age at death, while CUR-OB-02.1, was probably over 35 years of age at death. One must consider that older enslaved people may have been dependent on others for their survival, or at risk of abandonment by their masters, which could contribute to psychological stress (van der Dijs, N. 2011: 128; Oostindie 2011a).



**Figure 7.5:** Mandibular anterior dentition of CUR-OB-02.1 from Veeris Plantation showing linear enamel hypoplasia (left); left mandibular molars of CUR-OB-03.1 from the Kamer van Koophandel showing linear enamel hypoplasia on the third molar (right) (Source: Author).

There is also evidence that some of the individuals included in this study survived stressful periods during childhood. This is demonstrated by the presence of linear enamel hypoplasia (in CUR-OB-03.1 and CUR-OB-02.1, see Figure 7.5), a visible interruption in the growth of dental enamel caused by stressful episodes such as malnutrition or disease (Humphrey 2008; King, Humphrey and Hillson 2005). In the case of CUR-OB-03.1 (a young woman from the Kamer van Koophandel), the linear hypoplastic defects occurred at the same position on all four of her third molars, strongly suggesting systemic stress (for example, the transatlantic passage) during late childhood or early adolescence (Hassett 2012; Ogden, Pinhasi and White 2007; Emmer 2006: 68-71).

Indeed, CUR-OB-03.1 appears to be one of the most highly stressed individuals in the skeletal sample. She also exhibited areas of new bone formation at the antero-lateral margin of the left iliac bone and the attachment sites of the *vastus medialis* on the femora. As mentioned in section 4.7.9 above, periostitis (sub-periosteal new bone formation) is often used as an indicator of general systemic stress (DeWitte and Bekvalac 2011; Larsen 1997: 84). The overcrowded conditions of poverty and malnutrition experienced by many enslaved people would have depleted their immune systems and contributed to the spread of disease (Blakey et al. 2009; Gilmore 2008).

CUR-OB-03.1 was probably the property of a rich merchant inhabiting Pietermaai during the eighteenth or nineteenth century, when the suburb was developing (Rupert 2012:129-130). As a young adult at the time of death, one would expect her to have attained physical maturity. Instead, she was still undergoing puberty at the time of her death, with a discrepancy of around three years between her chronological and biological ages. As mentioned above, such developmental delays can be caused by different types of stressors including malnutrition, disease, and hard labour (Lewis, M., Shapland and Watts 2016a; Schroeder, Shuler and Chenery 2013; Louis et al. 2008; Handler et al. 1986). It may have had a profound affect upon her social interactions and psychological wellbeing. Physical immaturity would probably have prevented her from bearing children, but would not have protected her from the sexual abuse often perpetrated against enslaved women (Madrigal 2006: 19; Burnard 2004; Patterson, O. 1982: 6).

#### **7.2.4 Foodways/Diet and Metabolic Disease**

There are several dental pathologies that can contribute to a discussion of enslaved foodways, because the consumption of certain food types can have an impact on the pathologies that develop. In particular, the consumption of gritty carbohydrates combined with poor oral hygiene can contribute to the development of calculus, carious lesions, periodontal disease, ante-mortem tooth loss, and abscesses (Ogden 2008a; Teaford and Lytle 1996). Additionally, the widespread consumption of sugar cane in the Caribbean region may contribute to a condition known as LSAMAT (lingual surface attrition of the maxillary anterior teeth) (see Irish and Turner II 1997; Robb, N., Cruwys and Smith 1991; Turner II, Irish and Machado 1991).

Potential evidence for metabolic disease included porotic hyperostosis in several individuals. Porotic hyperostosis is porosity of the external table of the cranial bones caused by expansion of the diploë in order to increase red blood cell production when

there is blood loss or the red blood cells are not functioning properly, for example in cases of anaemia, vitamin C deficiency, or malaria (Snoddy et al. 2018; Smith-Guzman 2015; Roberts, C. and Manchester 2010: 229-231; Walker et al. 2009; Salvadei, Ricci and Manzi 2001; Stuart-Macadam 1989). In the environment of Curaçaoan slavery it is not unexpected that these individuals display porotic hyperostosis. There is plenty of evidence that the enslaved diet was often inadequate (Walker et al. 2009; Kiple and Kiple 1991 [1980]; Dunn 1987). This section will discuss each of these pathologies in relation to the Curaçaoan dataset.



**Figure 7.6:** Mandible of CUR-OB-02.1 from Veeris Plantation showing severe occlusal wear on all remaining teeth and ante-mortem tooth loss (left); lingual view of maxillary left incisors of CUR-OB-2.2 from Veeris Plantation, showing severe erosion (centre); and occipital bone of CUR-OB-01.1 from Fleur de Marie showing porotic hyperostosis (right) (Source: Author).

CUR-OB-01.1 (an old adult male from Fleur de Marie) had lost all but one of the observable teeth at the time of death. The only remaining tooth (right mandibular second premolar) had severe occlusal wear and interproximal neck caries. Occlusal wear occurs over time due to the consumption of gritty food, and is therefore also related to age (see Teaford and Lytle 1996; Brothwell 1981: 71-72). In Curaçao, food such as the *maishi chikitu* (sorghum) is traditionally prepared using a stone *mano* and *metate* which introduce grit into the diet (Jeanne Henriquez, pers. comm.; see also CUR-MC-107). Healing (smooth) porotic lesions were visible on the occipital bone of CUR-OB-01.1. From the context of the burial on waste land near to the St Annabaai wharf, it is possible

that this individual was involved in the life of the wharf, for example as a sailor. Enslaved people in Curaçao were sometimes granted temporary manumission to go to sea, and sailors were vulnerable to vitamic C deficiency (scurvy) due to a lack of fresh fruit and vegetables on board ship (Rupert 2012: 103-104; Baron 2009; Schiltkamp, Smit and Wachlin 2000: 21). Ante-mortem tooth loss is also associated with scurvy (Geber and Murphy 2012; Ortner 2003: 387).

CUR-OB-02.1 (a middle to old adult male from Veeris Plantation) suffered from several dental pathologies including ante-mortem tooth loss and periodontal disease indicating poor oral hygiene. Periodontal disease is an inflammation of the gums resulting in destruction of the periodontal ligament and alveolar bone. It can result from poor dental hygiene and lead to ante-mortem tooth loss (Ogden 2008a). The severe occlusal wear shown on every remaining tooth demonstrates that this individual also consumed a diet high in grit(see Teaford and Lytle 1996).

CUR-OB-02.2 (an adult possible male from Veeris Plantation) also suffered from a variety of dental pathologies. These included occlusal wear as well as wear on the lingual surfaces of both maxillary first incisors. The presence of dental wear may be caused by the crowns of the teeth grinding against each other, or abrasion by a foreign object when the teeth are used as tools (Roberts, C. and Manchester 2010: 78; Ortner 2003: 604; Pietruszewsky and Douglas 2002: 73-74). However, in the context of the Caribbean it is likely that this type of wear represents LSAMAT (lingual surface attrition of the maxillary anterior teeth), perhaps caused by eating acidic or sugary food such as sugarcane or manioc, although other possible causes such as repeated vomiting have also been put forward (see Irish and Turner II 1997; Robb, N., Cruwys and Smith 1991; Turner II, Irish and Machado 1991). CUR-OB-02.2 also suffered from periodontal disease, which can lead to ante-mortem tooth loss as the alveolar bone recedes (Ogden 2008a). Indeed, he lost the maxillary right first premolar and left canine and the mandibular right second

incisor, right first molar and left first molar ante-mortem. Calculus (mineralised dental plaque) was present at the gingival margin. Calculus has a complicated aetiology, but diets high in carbohydrate (such as *maishi chikitu*), poor oral hygiene and individual variation are all contributing factors in its development (Ogden 2008a; Lieveise 1999). Diets high in carbohydrates and sugars can also affect the enamel, causing cavities (carious lesions) to develop which can sometimes penetrate to the pulp chamber of the tooth and allow infections to develop (Hillson 2001). In this case, a large carious lesion of the mandibular right second molar probably allowed infection to take hold, causing an abscess at the tooth root. These form when infection of the pulp cavity necessitates the development of a sinus that will drain pus (Roberts, C. and Manchester 2010: 70; Ogden 2008a; Ogden 2008b). This individual also had the porous lesions of porotic hyperostosis on the parietal bones, which as mentioned above can be related to various metabolic, inherited or infectious disease and is also used as a marker of systemic stress (Botha and Steyn 2014; Walker et al. 2009; Goodman and Martin 2002; Salvadei, Ricci and Manzi 2001).

CUR-OB-03.1 (an adolescent to young adult female from the Kamer van Koophandel) had only minimally worn occlusal surfaces, with the second and third molars entirely unaffected. This is likely due to her young age: she may not have had enough time to develop significant wear to the second and third molars, which are the last adult teeth to erupt (see Ubelaker 1989b; Brothwell 1981: 71-72). She also had the smooth lesions of healed or healing porotic hyperostosis on the anterior portions of the left parietal bone and the superior portion of the frontal bone.

### **7.2.5 Religion/Burial Context**

The burial contexts of the individuals from Curaçao indicate that there was probably a Christian influence on the belief systems employed by enslaved people. CUR-

OB-02.1 and CUR-OB-02.2 from Veeris Plantation were both buried clothed, shrouded (see Figure 7.7) and coffined. Christian burial traditions were widespread in enslaved communities across the Caribbean during this period (McCarthy 2006; Gordon 1971). It should also be mentioned, however, that the burials from Fleur de Marie (CUR-OB-01.1) and the Kamer van Koophandel (CUR-OB-03.1) were not buried in a plantation burial ground context. CUR-OB-01.1 was buried on waste land, while CUR-OB-03.1 was buried in a wealthy suburban back yard. In 1821, the governor of Curaçao forbade burials from taking place outside of official burial grounds, although this appears not to have been strictly enforced (Langenfeld 2007: 129-130). This may reflect that enslaved people did not have the resources to bury members of their community in official burial grounds, or alternatively that they preferred to bury their loved ones in close proximity to their living quarters, which is an Afro-Caribbean tradition (see for example Armstrong and Fleischman 2003). Lampe (2001: 140) has also noted that ceremonies such as the *ocho dia* funerary ritual allowed the Afro-Curaçaoan people to gather in solidarity and were therefore part of a resistance strategy.



**Figure 7.7:** Left tibia and fibula of CUR-OB-02.2 from Veeris Plantation showing green copper staining, possibly indicating the use of a shroud pin which has corroded away (Source: Author).



**Figure 7.8:** Facial region of CUR-OB-02.1 showing Amerindian features such as flared zygomatic arches, round orbits, and a pinched nasal bridge (left); and facial region of CUR-OB-03.1 from the Kamer van Koophandel showing African facial features such as a wide nasal cavity and square orbits (right) (Source: Author).

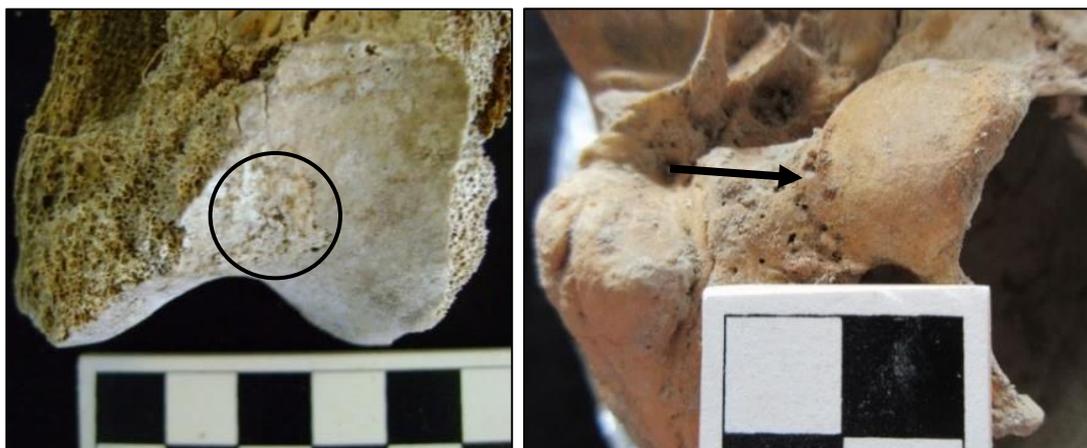
Osteological evidence indicates that people of both African and Amerindian ancestry were indeed present in the workforce (all the analysed individuals were of African ancestry, apart from CUR-OB-02.1 from Veeris Plantation who had Amerindian facial features, see Figure 7.8). Amerindians were enslaved by Europeans in the Americas, and there was a Caquetio population present in Curaçao when the Dutch took the island from the Spanish in 1634 (Hoonhout and Mareite 2018; Rupert 2012: 3, 21, 36). Beliefs in the enslaved community surrounding death and burial could therefore have been influenced by Amerindian as well as European and African beliefs.

## **7.3 ST EUSTATIUS**

### **7.3.1 Labour/Activity**

EUX-OB-01.3 (an adult possible male from Witten Hoek) may have undertaken hard labour during adolescence causing the development of a blastic lesion on the distal

articular surface of the left femur which may be *osteochondritis dissecans* (see Figure 7.9 below), which (as mentioned in section 7.2.1 above) can develop in adolescence during hard manual labour (Kessler et al. 2014; Thompson, S. et al. 2014; Wells 1974). It may cause stiffness, swelling, pain and an abnormal gait which may impact the lifeways of the individual by making some tasks more difficult to perform (Thompson, S. et al. 2014). Rugose soleal lines on the tibiae and *linea asperae* on the femora may indicate that strenuous activity continued into later life, as such rugosity can be caused by trauma or frequent microtrauma to the muscle (Jurmain et al. 2012). Muscles that attach in these particular areas are involved in rotating and extending the leg, and plantarflexion of the foot, for example during walking and running (Stone and Stone 2009: 173-189, 197).



**Figure 7.9:** Distal articular surface of left femur of EUX-OB-01.3 from Witten Hoek showing blastic lesion, possibly *osteochondritis dissecans* (left); and right occipital condyle of EUX-OB-02.3 from Fort Amsterdam showing contour change (right) (Source: Author).

EUX-OB-02.3 (a young adult female from Fort Amsterdam) had rugose areas of bone bilaterally at the clavicular attachments of the costoclavicular ligament, which can be caused by trauma or repeated microtrauma to the shoulder girdle region (Jurmain et al. 2012; Abrahams, Boon and Spratt 2008: 121). She also exhibited contour change at the occipital condyles, suggesting repeated use of the neck. Although these lesions are related to age in many individuals, in this case (given her young age) there is a possibility that such lesions (as discussed in section 7.2.1) may be related to carrying loads on the head,

a West African and Caribbean tradition (Stahl 2016; Blakely 2006; Madrigal 2006: 19; Sypkens-Smit 1981: 73-74).

### 7.3.2 Medicine/Infectious Disease and Systemic Stress

There was evidence for several different kinds of infectious disease in the osteobiographical dataset from St Eustatius, as well as evidence that enslaved people here survived episodes of systemic stress in childhood, and in some cases attained middle to old age. EUX-OB-03.2 (a middle to old adult from the Lazaretto) has linear enamel hypoplastic lesions present on all visible molars (although the maxillary left second molar is obscured by calculus) (see Figure 7.10) and both maxillary right premolars. As mentioned above, these lesions develop when stressful childhood events such as malnutrition or disease interrupt the production of enamel while the tooth crowns are developing (see Schaefer, Black and Scheuer 2009: 82-83; Lewis, M. and Roberts 1997; Hillier and Craig 1992).



**Figure 7.10:** Left side of the mandibular and maxillary dentition of EUX-OB-03.2 from the Lazaretto in occlusion, showing linear enamel hypoplastic defects (Source: Author).

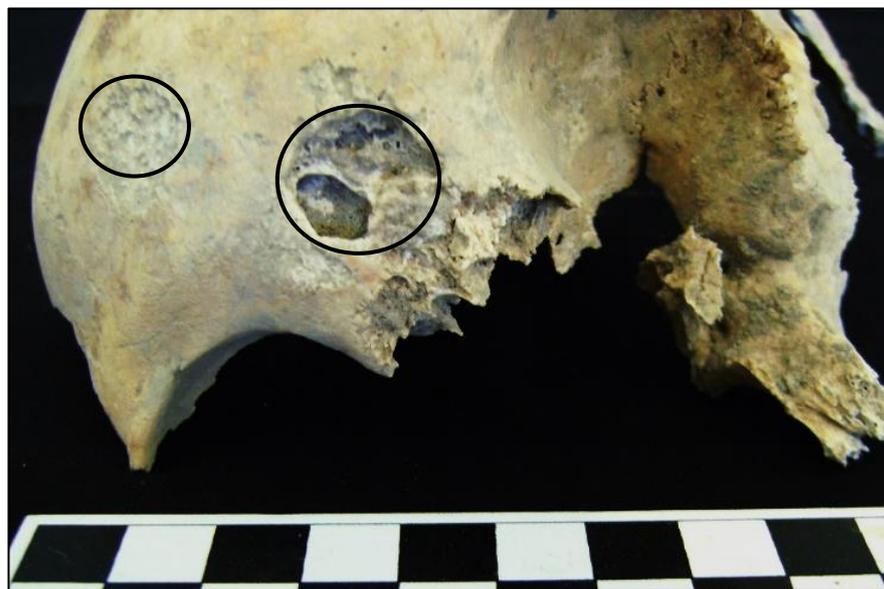
This individual and the other individual from the Lazaretto (EUX-OB-03.1, also an adult at the time of death) provide evidence for a disease that is often associated with poor living conditions and flourishes in the context of malnutrition and overcrowding: leprosy (Gilmore 2004: 4). The disease was so common on the island before 1863 that the government issued proclamations forbidding slave owners to let leprosy-enslaved people out in the street (Gilmore III 2006a). It is one of the few infectious diseases that have pathognomic palaeopathological lesions, and these have already been detailed in Joanna Gilmore's (2008) article. An example of the destructive lesions affecting the extremities can be found in Figure 7.11.



**Figure 7.11:** Metatarsals belonging to EUX-OB-03.1 from the Lazaretto showing palaeopathological changes associated with leprosy: medial view of left MT1; lateral view of right MT3; and right MT5 (Source: Author).

Additionally, EUX-OB-02.2 (an adult female from Fort Amsterdam) had several lytic lesions on the parietal and frontal bones of the skull. They are approximately 1.5 to 2cm in width and most of them have uneven, rounded, sclerotic edges indicating healing. They strongly resemble the pathognomic lesions of *caries sicca* described by Ortner (2003: 280). *Caries sicca* develops as part of the tertiary phase of acquired syphilis, within two to ten years of infection (Ortner 2003: 279). It is therefore a chronic condition that does not kill the individual immediately. However, the open sores associated with these lesions may become infected, potentially causing blood poisoning and death (Ortner

2003: 282; Sheth et al. 1994). The lesions on the cranium of EUX-OB-02.2 are mainly healed or healing, but one may have been active at the time of death. This lesion is located at the glabella and has perforated the frontal sinus (although this may have been obscured slightly by post mortem damage). Frontal sinusitis (and osteomyelitic sinusitis) can cause a purulent discharge in modern populations, and osteomyelitic infections can be fatal (Yu-Te, Chien-Tzung and Jui-Ping 2010). Infection therefore represented a very serious health problem for EUX-OB-02.2 and may even have been the cause of death (Sheth et al. 1994).



**Figure 7.12:** Lesions of *caries sicca* (syphilitic lesions) visible on the frontal bone of EUX-OB-02.2 from Fort Amsterdam (Source: Author).

Young men were the preferred cargo for transatlantic slave ships and EUX-OB-02.2, an adult woman with a chronic infection, would not have been amongst the first choice for West African slave traders (Manning 2003 [1990]; Schwartz, S. 2003a; Wood, B. 2003; Thomas, H. 1997: 169). Many of the enslaved people held at the Fort Amsterdam depot were part of the inter-island trade (*kleine vaart*) rather than arriving directly from Africa (Gilmore III 2006b). This may mean that EUX-OB-02.2 had already survived decades of enslavement in the Caribbean region, as syphilis (probably acquired two to ten years before her death) was a disease that flourished amongst the enslaved population due

to crowded living conditions and poor sanitation, as well as the sexual abuse of enslaved women by their owners (de la Cova 2011; Madrigal 2006: 23-24; Burnard 2004).

Finally, there is evidence for the presence of non-specific infections which may be acquired through open wounds. EUX-OB-01.1 (an adult possible male from Witten Hoek) has an area of new bone formation approximately 6cm long (although the element is fragmented so the full extent is unknown) on the anterior aspect of the right humerus, at the distal end of the shaft. Such blastic lesions develop when there is an insult to the periosteum, such as infection (Weston 2008). EUX-OB-01.2 (an old adult from Witten Hoek) has striated (healing) new bone formation bilaterally on the tibiae (known as tibial periostitis). These lesions are often linked to non-specific infections as well as to metabolic disease (Geber and Murphy 2012; Weston 2008). However, the shins are also very vulnerable to infection due to their exposure to bumps while walking, running etc. and are often affected by periostitis in stressed individuals whose immune system is under pressure (see also section 4.7.9) (Roberts, C. and Manchester 2010: 172-174).

### **7.3.3 Foodways/Diet and Metabolic Disease**

Osteological information concerning diet comes mainly from the analysis of dental pathology (see section 7.2.4). On St Eustatius, EUX-OB-01.1 (an adult possible male from Witten Hoek) exhibited porous alveolar bone and a periodontal sill, which are indicative of periodontal disease (inflammation of the tissues surrounding the teeth), which is connected to poor dental hygiene and can lead to ante-mortem tooth loss (Ogden 2008a). Other dental pathologies in this individual did indeed include ante-mortem tooth loss, as well as carious lesions affecting five teeth, and moderate to severe occlusal wear on all teeth. It is therefore likely that this individual was consuming a gritty, high-carbohydrate diets (Ogden 2008a; Teaford and Lytle 1996). In a Statian context, food was probably prepared using a grinding stone like EUX-MC-035 (see section 6.3.7).

Similar dental pathologies were also observed in the other individuals from St Eustatius. EUX-OB-01.2 (an old adult from Witten Hoek) has a completely edentulous mandible. Ante-mortem tooth loss can also be linked to diseases such as vitamin C deficiency (scurvy) (Snoddy et al. 2018). As mentioned in section 7.2.4 above, scurvy has an association with sailing because of fresh food shortages on board ship (Ortner 2003: 387), which is interesting in the context of EUX-OB-01.2, who was buried with an object resembling a bosun's whistle (Gilmore III and Raes 2011). Documentary evidence does show that enslaved men in St Eustatius were sometimes permitted to work at sea (Gilmore III 2006a).

EUX-OB-02.2 (an adult female from Fort Amsterdam) exhibited periodontal disease, occlusal wear and ante-mortem tooth loss. EUX-OB-02.3 (a young adult female from Fort Amsterdam) had small deposits of calculus at the gingival margin on the maxillary anterior dentition and the mandibular premolars and molars (with the exception of the third molars). Calculus can develop due to the practise of poor oral hygiene and the consumption of a high carbohydrate diet, although there is also a component of individuals susceptibility (Ogden 2008a; Lieverse 1999). This individual also exhibited very minor occlusal wear to the canines, premolars and the first and second molars, which is probably related to the consumption of grit in the food (see Teaford and Lytle 1996).

EUX-OB-02.4 (a young to middle adult female from Fort Amsterdam) suffered several dental pathologies. There was calculus present at several areas on the labial surfaces of the teeth at the gingival margin. Additionally, on the left side of the mouth the mandibular molars there was a periodontal sill. Porosity of the alveolar bone and root exposure indicated periodontal disease (infection of the gingival tissues) at other positions. The maxillary left first molar had lost the entire crown, probably due to a large carious lesion (Ogden 2008a). There was minimal occlusal wear caused by grit in the diet (Teaford and Lytle 1996). And finally, the maxillary incisors exhibit LSAMAT (lingual

surface attrition of the maxillary anterior teeth) probably caused by the consumption of sugary or acidic foods such as sugar cane that come into contact with these teeth (Irish and Turner II 1997; Robb, N., Cruwys and Smith 1991; Turner II, Irish and Machado 1991).

EUX-OB-03.1 (an adult from Witten Hoek) also exhibited two carious lesions and calculus affecting all observable teeth. Additionally, the maxillary right first incisor appears to be infected: the crown has been lost and there is an apical abscess. These are sometimes better understood as granulomas or cysts, which occur with pulp death and aseptic autolysis. These lesions can be asymptomatic, but have the potential to develop into septic abscesses if left untreated (Ogden 2008b). There was also alveolar resorption at all positions, perhaps demonstrating the presence of widespread periodontal disease. This develops due to poor dental hygiene and can lead to tooth loss (Ogden 2008a). However, resorption of the alveolar bone can also be caused by *Mycobacterium leprae* (leprosy) amongst other diseases (see Gilmore 2008; Ortner 2003: 266-268).



**Figure 7.13:** Inferior view of left part of maxilla of EUX-OB-01.1 from Witten Hoek showing occlusal wear, carious lesion and ante-mortem tooth loss (left); and skeletal elements from EUX-OB-01.2 showing pathologies possibly related to scurvy: edentulous mandible (centre), and skull fragment showing expansion of the diploë (right) (Source: Author).

Potential evidence for metabolic disease was also present. EUX-OB-01.1 had a small area of porosity in the anterior region of the left orbital roof, while EUX-OB-02.3

also exhibited the porous lesions of bilateral *cribra orbitalia*. In EUX-OB-01.2, expansion of the occipital diploë and porosity of the outer table of the parietals were observed (porotic hyperostosis). EUX-OB-02.2 also had smooth porous lesions on the left parietal bone adjacent to the sagittal suture on the outer table. As mentioned above, these lytic lesions are formed when the marrow expands in response to increased need for red blood cells, for example due to iron-deficiency, haemolytic or megaloblastic anaemias during childhood (Walker et al. 2009; Salvadei, Ricci and Manzi 2001).

#### 7.3.4 Religion/Burial Context

The way enslaved people were buried on St Eustatius often conformed to Christian practice: individuals from Witten Hoek, Fort Amsterdam and the Lazaretto were all buried on an east-west alignment with the head to the west (Morsink 2012; Gilmore III and Raes 2011; Gilmore 2008; Gilmore 2004). However, it should be remembered that burial rites are performed by the living community and do not necessarily reflect the beliefs of the buried individual (Parker Pearson 1999: 3). At Fort Amsterdam, for example, enslaved people being held captive in the depot would probably not have had much influence on burial practices, while those living at the Lazaretto may have been subject to Catholic traditions that they did not necessarily agree with (Gilmore 2004: 45, 72). The burials at Witten Hoek probably reflect most accurately the choices of the enslaved population because they occurred in the context of an enslaved community on a plantation, and these burials exhibit both Christian and *obeah* beliefs, as do the burials at the Lazaretto.

At the Witten Hoek site, EUX-OB-01.1 was buried with several dog teeth, an iron nail, a whelk (*Cittarium pica*) shell, potsherds, a sherd of glass, and a circular iron object (see Figure 7.14) (Gilmore III and Raes 2011). These artefacts are reminiscent of ritual deposits nearby in the Caribbean as well as elsewhere in the Americas, for example the

lockbox from Saba which contained nails, animal remains, and shells (Laffoon, Mickleburgh and Espersen 2018) and the bundle found under the floor of an 18<sup>th</sup> century town house in Annapolis, Maryland which contained nails and glass objects (Rivera 2005). Such deposits have been interpreted as relating to magic practices, deterring evil spirits and bad luck or bringing healing and protection (Leone 2008; Rivera 2005; Orser 1994). At the same site on St Eustatius, EUX-OB-01.2 was buried with a pewter spoon and an iron object that may have been a bosun's whistle (see Figure 7.14) (Gilmore III and Raes 2011).



**Figure 7.14:** Objects associated with EUX-OB-01.1 from Witten Hoek including dog teeth, iron nails, shells, pottery and glass fragments, and an iron disk (top left and right); pewter spoon and iron object, possibly a bosun's whistle, associated with EUX-OB-01.2 from Witten Hoek (bottom left); and bone, copper and porcelain buttons, clay pipe, and iron sunburst found in association with EUX-OB-03.1 at the Lazaretto (bottom right) (Source: Author).

At the Lazaretto, EUX-OB-03.1 was buried with a kaolin pipe which may have been a personal possession (see Figure 7.14) (Gilmore 2004: 45). Indeed, spoons and

other personal items are also found in African-American burials from elsewhere during this period (Samford 1996; Edwards 1995). These may have been objects which may have been significant to the deceased person in terms of their occupation or identity (Armstrong and Fleischman 2003; Wilkie 1997; Washington Creel 1990). Alternatively, at Rich Neck in Virginia, Franklin (2004: 215) has interpreted spoons, including one incised with a pentagram, as protective charms or amulets. Finally, these items may be the last things that the buried person touched in life, a way of preventing the spirit from wandering (Farris Thompson 1990).



**Figure 7.15:** Facial region of EUX-OB-02.3 (left) (Source: Author); and facial region of EUX-OB-02.4 (right) (courtesy of SECAR), both from Fort Amsterdam and demonstrating African morphological features such as the short, wide nasal aperture (see Ousley and Jantz 2005; Byers 2011).

Grave goods like these were not recovered at Fort Amsterdam. While the excavation there is not complete, it could also be the case that individuals buried at the slave depot did not have grave goods because they were not being buried by their community. A document from 1738 mentions individuals of African ancestry buried on the sea front close to the manchineel trees which still grew at Fort Amsterdam in 2016 and 2017 when the author conducted her fieldwork (see Knappert 1932: 37). This description probably does refer to the Fort Amsterdam burial ground, but it does not

mention where these people came from. They could conceivably have included captives from the depot as well as enslaved people labouring on nearby plantations such as Godet, which is only a short walk along the coastline.

EUX-OB-02.1 (an adult individual from Fort Amsterdam) was probably of Amerindian descent. Most of the original inhabitants of the islands near St Eustatius had already left when they were settled by Europeans (Guadeloupe 2009: 20; Barka 2001). However, Amerindian people were the first to be enslaved in the Caribbean so this individual may have been a creole enslaved person from elsewhere in the region (Heuman and Walvin 2003: 79; Page, W. 1997: xxviii). It is also possible that this individual was involved in the life of the depot, port, or nearby plantations in some way without being a member of the enslaved population, for example by being a sailor. EUX-OB-02.3 and EUX-OB-02.4 (see Figure 7.15) from Fort Amsterdam were both younger women of African ancestry, and are therefore likely to have fallen within the demographic desired by buyers in the Caribbean, who preferred enslaved women for domestic tasks (Madrigal 2006: 30). They may therefore have arrived directly from Africa and died at the depot soon after the ship transporting them arrived in St Eustatius. If so, they represent victims of the transatlantic slave trade who did not live long enough to be sold. A similar interpretation has been made for African ancestry individuals buried at Zoutsteeg in Philipsburg, St Maarten, in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (see also sections 5.3.8 and 7.4) (Schroeder et al. 2015; Schroeder, Haviser and Price 2014). The presence of both Amerindian and African ancestry individuals at the Fort Amsterdam burial ground is physical evidence of the diversity of Stian population during this time period. Diversity in geographical ancestry supports evidence for the diversity of belief systems which is also observed in burial contexts.

## 7.4 ST MAARTEN/ST MARTIN

### 7.4.1 Labour/Activity

There is evidence that enslaved people in St Maarten/St Martin engaged in hard labour. SXM-OB-01.2 (an adult male of African ancestry buried at Zoutsteeg) exhibit porosity and granular new bone formation bilaterally at the humeral insertion of the left *deltoid* muscle, as well as at the insertion of the *brachialis* muscle on the left ulna. These muscles are involved in flexing, extending, and rotating the arm (Stone and Stone 2009: 115, 123). Enthesal changes like these are often used as an occupational marker, but unless they are very severe their aetiology may be age rather than occupation related, (Jurmain et al. 2012). However, involvement of the arms is sometimes considered a good indicator of activity, because these limbs are heavily involved in occupational movements (Villotte and Knusel 2014; Ponce 2012). The burial context for these individuals suggests that they may have been involved in activities such as salt picking (Schroeder, Haviser and Price 2014).

SXM-OB-02.4 (an adult male from Rockland Plantation) had rugose attachment sites of the *deltoid* and *coracobrachialis* on the humerus (which are involved with flexing, extending and rotating the arm and steadying the bone during these movements), and the *subclavius* muscle (involved with steadying the clavicle during shoulder movements), and the costoclavicular and *trapezoid* ligaments on the clavicle (Stone and Stone 2009: 112, 113, 123; Abrahams, Boon and Spratt 2008: 120-123). This individual also had contour change at the glenoid fossa of the right scapula, and contour change, porosity and osteophytic action at the fourth cervical and first and second thoracic vertebrae was also indicative of joint disease (Ortner 2003: 549-550; Waldron and Rogers 1991). These lesions are indeed all in the region of the arm, shoulder, and upper back.



**Figure 7.16:** Left humerus of SXM-OB-01.2 from Zoutsteeg showing rugosity at the attachment site of the *deltoïd* muscle (top left); occipital condyles of SXM-OB-02.3 from Rockland Plantation showing contour change (top right); and inferior view of right clavicle of SXM-OB-02.4 showing rugosity at the *subclavius* muscle and *trapezoid* ligament attachment sites (bottom) (Source: Author).

SXM-OB-02.3 (an adult female buried at Rockland Plantation) exhibited contour change at the left occipital condyle and the articular facets of the first and second vertebrae. Such joint disease may be related to carrying loads on the head, which is a West African and Caribbean custom (see also sections 7.2.1 and 7.3.1) (Stahl 2016; Zampetti et al. 2016; Blakely 2006; Knusel, Goggel and Lucy 1997; Sypkens-Smit 1981: 73-74).

#### 7.4.2 Foodways/Diet

SXM-OB-01.1 (an adult male from Zoutsteeg) exhibited widespread periodontal disease and deposits of dental calculus at the gingival margin. Occlusal wear was minor, except on the first molars where it is more severe. SXM-OB-01.2 (an adult male from

Zoutsteeg) had minor deposits of calculus on the anterior teeth, and a periodontal sill was observed at the maxillary right first molar. There was also mild occlusal wear. SXM-OB-01.3 (an adolescent to young adult female from Zoutsteeg) exhibited little dental pathology, with minor occlusal wear present at the maxillary left second premolar and left first molar, as well as more significant wear to both maxillary canines and the maxillary left first premolar. Deposits of calculus (possible evidence of a high carbohydrate diet and poor dental hygiene) were present at the gingival margin on the labial surfaces of the maxillary left second incisor and maxillary left canine. Porosity of the alveolar bone and root exposure in the region of the maxillary incisors and canines in this individual may indicate the early stages of periodontal disease.

SXM-OB-02.2 (an adult male from Rockland Plantation) had small deposits of calculus present on the buccal surface at the gingival margin across the maxilla. and a periodontal sill is observed on the right side of maxilla and the mandible. Left untreated, such infections can lead to ante-mortem tooth loss which occurred at the mandibular right first molar, and both mandibular first incisors (although there may be an alternative cultural explanation for the loss of these incisors, see section 7.4.3) (Stewart and Groome 1968). There is also a carious lesion (often present in individuals consuming a high carbohydrate diet) present on the distal surface of the mandibular right second molar (Ogden 2008a; Hillson 2001). Occlusal wear to these teeth is slight, with the first molars most severely affected.

SXM-OB-02.3 (an adult female from Rockland Plantation) suffered from periodontal disease on the right side of the mouth at all molar positions. Deposits of calculus were minimal, observed only on the buccal surface of the mandibular right first premolar at the gingival margin(Ogden 2008a). This individual also exhibited minimal occlusal wear on nearly all teeth, with the first molars affected most. LSAMAT (lingual surface attrition of the maxillary teeth, see section 7.2.4) was present on all maxillary

incisors. Additionally, there were five carious lesions visible on the labial aspects of the incisors and the right canine of the maxillary dentition (see Figure 7.17). Turner II and Machado (1983) have noted the correlation between carious lesions and LSAMAT, concluding that they have a related aetiology. Labial surface caries is indeed found in modern populations when individuals consume large amounts of sugary drinks (see Cheng et al. 2009). Finally, there is some minor chipping at the incisal edge of the two maxillary first incisors. This may be caused by the use of the teeth as tools, but can also arise during mastication if the enamel is weak (Larsen 2015: 288-298).



**Figure 7.17:** Maxillary incisors of SXM-OB-02.3 from Rockland Plantation (lingual view) showing LSAMAT (left); and maxillary incisors and canines of the same individual showing carious lesions on the labial surface (right) (Source: Author).

SXM-OB-02.4 (an adult male from Rockland Plantation) suffered ante-mortem tooth loss at five positions, especially on the right side of the mouth, causing the right mandibular third molar to migrate mesially. The remaining anterior teeth have several millimetres of exposed root which may indicate that periodontal disease was indeed present (Ogden 2008a; Ogden 2008b). Occlusal wear is observable on all the observable anterior teeth, but especially the mandibular left second premolar. Lastly, large deposits of calculus were present on every face of the mandibular right third molar.

The individuals from St Maarten/St Martin therefore encountered diets high in carbohydrates and sugars (probably from sugar cane), and also ingested grit which was

introduced during food processing. The pathologies arising from this type of diet may have been exacerbated by the practice of poor dental hygiene.

### **7.4.3 Religion/Burial Context**

Evidence for diverse and complex communities was also observed in the osteological dataset from St Maarten/St Martin. All three of the individuals found at Zoutsteeg in Philipsburg (SXM-OB-01.1; SXM-OB-01.2; SXM-OB-01.3) displayed different types of dental modifications (see Figure 7.18) and were found to originate from disparate areas of West Africa, according to DNA analysis (Schroeder et al. 2015; Schroeder, Haviser and Price 2014), demonstrating the diversity of the victims of the trans-Atlantic 'slave trade'. SXM-OB-02.2 (an adult male from Rockland Plantation) had dental modifications to the maxillary right first incisor (see Figure 7.18) which resemble those observed in an adult male buried at Newton Plantation in Barbados (Handler, Corruccini and Mutaw 1982). Dental modifications were not advantageous for enslaved people in the Americas, and the practice did not therefore continue on this side of the Atlantic: these individuals are therefore likely to be first generation enslaved Africans (van der Dijs, N. 2011: 117; Goodman et al. 2009; Handler 1994).

As for the burial context, the Zoutsteeg graves were dug into the sand of the beach, and these individuals were buried without coffins, side-by-side, supine, and with their heads to the east (Haviser 2010c). This arrangement is compatible with Christian beliefs, although the location, date, and lack of a coffin or any grave goods suggest that they were buried hurriedly, cheaply, and probably not by the community or communities to which they belonged (McCarthy 2006; Gordon 1971).



**Figure 7.18:** Maxillary right first incisor of SXM-OB-02.2 from Rockland Plantation showing dental modification (left); and maxilla of SXM-OB-01.2 from Zoutsteeg showing modified maxillary incisors (right) (Source: Author).

At Rockland Plantation, the skeletal remains were discovered in an unusually prominent location on the plantation, very close to the big house and away from the probable location of the enslaved village (see section 5.3.7). Because the burials were excavated in a rescue situation from the side rather than from above, it is difficult to ascertain the original burial position of each of these individuals. However, the available evidence seems to indicate that some of the remains are disturbed, either due to secondary burial or to grave intercutting. Elements that remain in anatomical position do conform to a Christian east-west burial alignment, which was common in the 18<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> century Caribbean (see for example Romon and Fouilloud 2013; Shuler 2005; Courtaud and Romon 2004). Additionally, the graves contain both African (in one case, probably a first-generation enslaved African, see SXM-OB-02.2) and European (SXM-OB-02.1, a young to middle adult female) ancestry people, indicating an interaction of funerary traditions between diverse members of the population. Given the location of the graves and nature of the burials, it is likely that this burial ground was used by both enslaved and free people of Rockland Plantation. Further excavation would be beneficial in order to fully understand this complex site.

## 7.5 CONCLUSIONS

Osteobiographical data indicate that enslaved people were exposed to metabolic, psychological and physical stresses on each of the islands. The physical stressors that they encountered were dependent on the context in question, although there were aspects which remained similar between the islands, for example the consumption of gritty, high carbohydrate, and/or high sugar diets. This chapter has demonstrated that osteological information does help us to situate enslavement in a real body. Each site contributed valuable and diverse stories: in Curaçao, enslaved people buried on waste land, backyard, and plantation settings allowed us to observe lifeways in several different contexts, and with differing types of hazards. The Kamer van Koophandel individual is a particularly excellent example of stressful circumstances having profound biological ramifications, and she also allows the facet of gender to be included in discussions of enslavement on the island.

In St Eustatius, the inclusion of a plantation, a depot, and an institution allowed differing restrictions in freedom of religious expression to be observed; the presence of leprosy and syphilis was a good illustration of the interactions of enslaved bodies with the conditions of poverty and abuse; and the inclusion of grave goods informed us about the individual lifeways of these people, who may for example have enjoyed tobacco smoking or had the opportunity to go to sea.

In St Maarten/St Martin, the results of the osteobiographical analysis challenge the notion that enslaved people here were creole individuals brought to the island from elsewhere in the Americas, and therefore forming a docile population that was disinclined to rebel (Guadeloupe 2009: 27): one of the individuals from Rockland Plantation was probably a first generation enslaved African. The site at Rockland is further complicated by the inclusion of a European ancestry individual in a burial ground very close to the plantation house, requiring further research. Finally, the individuals buried at Zoutsteeg

represent a time period before the development of Philipsburg and contribute time depth to the narrative on enslavement here.

## 8 THEMATIC ANALYSIS: ORAL HISTORY

---

### 8.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter will discuss the thematic findings from the oral historical datasets of Curaçao, St Eustatius and St Maarten/St Martin in order to construct alternative narratives of enslaved lifeways on each island. The data are organised into the following themes: labour; resistance; physical violence; medicine; psychological stress; coping mechanisms; the homespace; foodways; religion; and leisure time.

The reader will notice that many of the oral historical examples below come from transcript EUX-OH-01. This interviewee was particularly knowledgeable about slavery in St Eustatius because of family connections. The report by Menno Sypkens-Smit (1981) is also mentioned often, providing oral historical information from almost forty years ago which in many cases support the findings of the current study. Other important triangulatory sources include Julia Crane's (1999) oral historical study in St Eustatius and much of the work of Dr Rose Mary Allen (University of Curaçao).

### 8.2 CURAÇAO

#### 8.2.1 Labour and Economic Engagement

Interviewees mentioned agriculture, animal husbandry, and salt picking as activities that enslaved people undertook in a plantation context in Curaçao (see for example CUR-OH-09; CUR-OH-10). They particularly emphasized the hardships of working in a salt pan: "Working in the sun the whole day, barefoot, that is inhuman too, eh? Because you have the heat of the sun and you have the salt which gets into your skin

and your eyes. So the people became blind.<sup>4</sup>” CUR-OH-09. This was such a horrible experience that it was used as a punishment: “I heard that when they punished the slaves it was very hard, they cut the feet and put them in the salt...” CUR-OH-10. The use of salt picking as punishment is also mentioned by Rupert (2012: 142) and Langenfeld (2010a: 86) although the information about cutting people’s feet is an extra detail found only in the oral history interviews.

Agriculture on the island was made especially difficult by the climatic and geological conditions (see CUR-OH-07). One interviewee also referred to the sharp nature of the rocks and plants in Curaçao:

CUR-OH-06     The soil is very hard, our soil is very hard to dig in [...and] we've got a lot of spikes. If you don't have shoes - that must have been very painful! And even the rocks, a lot of the rocks of course are very pointy. How does one walk on these things?

This comment reveals that the practice of allowing enslaved people in Curaçao to wear shoes was probably not precisely a kindness (as it is presented in the historical literature) (see van der Dijks, N. 2011: 127; Romer 1977: 58) but rather a necessity to avoid enslaved people becoming injured and unproductive. Oral historical evidence therefore turns the established narrative on its head. Traditional post-emancipation material culture recorded by Jay Haviser (1999) includes leather sandals called *sambarku*.

Although some historians have classified domestic labour as preferable to plantation labour (Craton 2003a [1997]), this type of work was likely to bring enslaved people into close contact with their owners (Guerreiro Ramos Bennett 1999; Patterson, O. 1982: 175) and this was not advantageous, as demonstrated by the following story (*shon* is the Papiamentu word for master):

---

<sup>4</sup> “Working in the sun the whole day, barefoot, that is *onmenselijk ook, eh? Want je heb de heet van de zon en je heb het zout wat inwerkt op je huid en op je ogen. Dus die mensen werden blind ook nog.*” CUR-OH-09.

CUR-OH-03     the *shon*'s family was having visitors, and the slave that was a forefather of my mother, she was helping one of the children from the visitors. And apparently she wasn't doing it well or working fast enough and [...] the child moved the arm as if to strike the slave. And at that moment the lady from the *shon* she said, she said, no, no, no, we do not hit our slaves here.

Although this story puts the *shon*'s wife in a good light, the fact that this instance was remarkable probably indicates that physical punishment for domestic enslaved people was common on other plantations. It is especially striking that a child felt justified in hitting the enslaved woman helping him to dress. This demonstrates an extraordinary level of entitlement and thoughtless punishment that creates an atmosphere of uncertainty for the enslaved person. Various authors have discussed the damaging psychological effects of constant uncertainty (Bar-Anan, Wilson and Gilbert 2009; Chan 2007: 162). Additionally: "the ones in the house were more accessible, you know, so they were there, so they could do anything, the owners could do anything with them." CUR-OH-06. Increased psychological and sexual abuse in similar circumstances is also discussed by other authors (Guerreiro Ramos Bennett 1999; Patterson, O. 1982: 175). In van der Ven's (2011: 19-20) study, interviewees also mentioned that enslaved women might be able to use the circumstances of sexual abuse to increase their standing in the enslaved community or to obtain resources for themselves and their families.

Finally, domestic labour was not necessarily light labour: "You probably clean every day, you have to cook every day, you have to [...] bring water every day, you had to dress the people every day, you had to take care of the kids every day [...] it might sound as if it's better [than field work], but maybe they got slapped and hit the whole time in there - you don't know!" CUR-OH-06. Langenfeld (2010a: 63) mentions different domestic activities that enslaved people may have done, including washing, sewing, and cooking, while Paula (1987: 16-17) mentions that creole enslaved people like CUR-OB-02.1 from Veeris Plantation (see Appendix C) were more likely to be employed in

domestic labour, perhaps because their often lighter skin was perceived as more attractive (see also Guerreiro Ramos Bennett 1999).

Interviewees in this study (see CUR-OH-02; CUR-OH-06; CUR-OH-07) stated that those with certain occupations such as carpenters, sailors, vendors and messengers could earn some money, engage in the economy (see section 8.2.2 below) and be more independently mobile (see for example Langenfeld 2010a: 63; Schiltkamp, Smit and Wachlin 2000: 21). However, they stressed that this did not necessarily improve the conditions of slavery as a whole: “[the artisans] had a slight different experience because they could earn their own money, but of course they had to give some of the money to their owners. But it's, again, I'm not saying it was better. I'm just saying it was different.” CUR-OH-06.

### **8.2.2 Resistance**

Through economic engagement, enslaved people were occasionally able to buy their own freedom and that of their family members: “there were fathers and grandfathers who would buy the freedom of a son or a nephew or whatever, a family member. And that is very interesting, to see how men have, you know, through the process of enslavement they have not succumbed, you know, have been very resilient.” CUR-OH-02 (see also Jordaan 2013: 66-68; Allen 2007a: 89). This was of course an important part of resistance.

Enslaved people relayed information across these networks using music: “they had songs that they sang while they were working or in the evening, and so through those songs in their language they communicate to the other slave...” CUR-OH-04; (see also CUR-OH-07). Allen (2017c) has also noted the importance of music in communication and resistance. This undermined psychological attempts to dominate and divide enslaved people (see section 8.2.5 below) and was therefore related to survival as well as the ability

to organise rebellions such as the 1795 Tula Revolt: “I understood that [Tula] was aware of, he had the knowledge that in Haiti, for instance, they rebelled against the slavery and they became even independent...” CUR-OH-04.2 (see also Leinders 2013; do Rego 2009b; do Rego and Janga 2009: 37).

Enslaved people also took the opportunity to run away, even when the prospect of freedom was just around the corner: “a brother of my grand-grand-mother also, let's say he run away and he run away, I think, just two years before abolition of the slavery.” CUR-OH-05. Advertisements for the recapture of runaway enslaved people were indeed posted in the local newspaper *De Curaçaosche Courant* (Langenfeld 2010a: 68). The desire of enslaved people to run away even when abolition was so close indicates that to the enslaved people of Curaçao, the absence of a sugar economy like that of Suriname was not sufficient reason to stay. As Paula (1968: 24) has observed, enslaved people did not experience their circumstances in relative context.

Resistance to enslavement could also be cultural. Joubert and Perl (2007) note the influence of Portuguese Jews on the development of Papiamentu, but this was not mentioned by the interviewees in this study, while Ansano (2014) also mentions Muslim influences on language. However, interviewees in the current study did mention African influences on Papiamentu: “[it] is a western pidgin language, so you know, if you see Cape Verde, we can understand each other. You know? So I think we have a lot, a lot from West Africa.” CUR-OH-06. Such observations are supported by academics studying the development of Papiamentu such as Gary Fouse (2007; 2002: 94-95), Bart Jacobs (2012), and Mikael Parkvall (2000: 154), who states that African influences on the language are mainly Kwa and Bantu. Interviewees also observed Amerindian influences: “*Awacati* is an Amerindian word [...] *Hamaca* is an Amerindian word.” CUR-OH-09.

Other types of resistance included deliberately undermining the goals of the masters by working slowly: “For example, so you have to work hard [...] then they

protested, they worked at a lower level, more slowly<sup>5</sup>.” CUR-OH-09 (see also do Rego and Janga 2009: 39).

### 8.2.3 Physical Violence

Much of the physical violence perpetrated against enslaved people was punishment inflicted by slave masters. Gibbes *et al* (2015: 67-71) say that extreme punishments were infrequent in Curaçao and were intended to frighten the rest of the enslaved population into obedience. The current author would like to refer the reader to section 1.5, where she explained that enslavement has both physical and psychological aspects: the frequency of these occurrences is therefore less important than their psychological function in the lives of enslaved people.

In Curaçao, an area of Otrobanda called Scavot was known as the place where enslaved people were punished (see CUR-OH-08), and these punishments could be very cruel:

CUR-OH-07 I remember that that was one of the things that my mother told me, that her mother, my grandma, told her. [...] she said, can you imagine that they dig a hole and when a woman is pregnant and she has to be beaten, [...] they dig a hole, she is going to lie down in the hole, and then they beat her on her back and head. That's why we asked, but why a pregnant woman in that hole? Because they wanted to, kind of protection of the baby.

The same story has been recorded by Rose Mary Allen (Allen 2007a: 81). Archival material available at the *Nationaal Archief* in Willemstad also support stories of hard punishments, for example the *Gestrafde Slaven* document which records that an eighteen-year old girl was punished for running away by being hung from a tree for two days (*Nationaal Archief inventarisnummer 8, arbeid 8*). Additionally, CUR-OH-04

---

<sup>5</sup> “Bijvoorbeeld alszo dus je moet hard werken [...] dan gingen ze om to protesteren, ging ze dus op een lagere niveau werken, dus langzamer” CUR-OH-09

mentioned that enslaved people were whipped up to 20 times, although Langenfeld (2010a: 9, 11; 2007: 57, 72) mentions punishments up to seventy-five strokes of the whip, having the nose or ears cut off, and being burned to death, while Paula (1968: 26) records one individual who was dragged around the gallows by his legs, had his hands cut off, and was then killed by a blow to the head with a sledgehammer. Enslaved people were sometimes so afraid of these punishments that they attempted suicide (Langenfeld 2007: 57, 72; Paula 1987: 27).

#### **8.2.4 Medicine**

It was necessary for enslaved people to develop survival mechanisms that helped them to cope with their situation both physically and mentally. Cultural practices such as bush medicine using aloe vera, oregano, rosemary, passionflower (*corona de la birgen* in Papiamentu) and *Cordia cylindrostachya* (*basora pretu* in Papiamentu), amongst other plants, helped with this: “*Corona de la birgen* that's a very good plant, you can boil it, you can use it on your skin” CUR-OH-06; “But the *basora pretu* was very good if you have, let's say, diarrhoea. And it will help you. So my grandfather for instance, the moment that he saw a bush of *basora pretu* he used to take off his hat, tip his hat, because he had a kind of respect for the plant.” CUR-OH-04.2; “They use it also for the women when they have a baby, after they have the baby birth, then they drink it and then they take out all the old blood and so. Cleans up your womb.” CUR-OH-04.1. The medicinal use of these plants is also mentioned in the work of Julia Morton (1968) and Dinah Veeris (2017).

Recovery from illness was linked to beliefs about the balance of good and bad energy: “I know a lot people that do it, that work with energy, with water, with sun and everything to heal someone's body.” CUR-OH-06. This approach addressed the individual as a whole, rather than focussing on physical ailments alone: “it is not only to

feel better like physically, but also at home that some problems, quarrels, people having conflicts, then you have to use that herb, you put it in the dining room or in the sitting room and it will help to clean up the air. So it's not only physical it's spiritually” CUR-OH-07. Rose Mary Allen (2010c) discusses the African influences on this approach, including the presence of bush doctors or *curanderos* who helped sick people: “Because *curanderos*, the origin is really Africa and so they came with that science, that knowledge. And they used it among each other. So when there is something happened with a slave, maybe he has been beaten very bad, they knew what herbs they have to use to help him.” CUR-OH-07. The practice of bush medicine is therefore related to the beliefs of *brua* and *montamentu* which are discussed further in section 8.2.9 below. However, material culture recorded by Haviser (1999) includes two glass medicine bottles (*bòter di remedi*), one of which originally contained Clorox. These may indicate the incorporation of western medicine into beliefs about health and disease, at least after 1863.

### **8.2.5 Psychological Stress**

One of the most severe forms of psychological hardship in Curaçao mentioned by interviewees was that of cultural violence, with the state and the Catholic Church repressing cultural practices and putting pressure on the enslaved population: “the Catholic Church has made us very docile. You know? Very passive. And that in that aspect the Catholic Church has collaborated with the colonial power.” CUR-OH-02. Although this may not have been the case at the beginning of the colonial period when enslaved people were primarily converted by priests or Amerindians from the mainland, it is probable (based on historical evidence) that this negative association developed during the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century when a Dutch priest called Martinus Niewindt introduced a new structure of Catholic community living which was designed to control the enslaved population by restricting social movement and encouraging obedience, continuing into

the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Oostindie 2005: 19, 40-41; Broek 2001; Lampe 2001: 131-135). In particular, the Catholic Church had an oppressive impact upon Afro-Curaçaoan women, who suffered social exclusion if they did not conform to the Church's idea of *bida drechi* (respectability) (Allen 2017b). African-descendant women have been similarly targeted elsewhere in the Americas, for example being presented as bad mothers if they did not conform to certain ideals (Ono-George 2017). Interviewees also identified part of this oppressive Catholic system as the destruction of Curaçaoan traditional culture: “[The Catholic Church] also tried to change their mind, to change their religion, to break their drums, instead of helping them, standing by them, to do their culture.” CUR-OH-07.

This was part of a wider trend of cultural violence that already existed. Erotic and political *tambú* dancing and singing, for example, was forbidden: “when the master heard them singing and dancing sometimes he send the *bomba* or the *vito* to stop them” CUR-OH-07 (also see CUR-OH-03); and although it was spoken at every level of society, Papiamentu was excluded from official business and not allowed in schools (see CUR-OH-09) (also Severing and Weijer 2010; Eckkrammer 2007). However, the persistence of these cultural traditions discouraged by the Catholic Church as well as by law (Allen 2007a: 150; Rosalia 1996b) demonstrates that Afro-Curaçaoans were able to resist cultural domination.

New cultural traditions in Curaçao would also have put first generation enslaved people under a lot of psychological pressure, for example European notions of the household: “the slaves coming from Africa, that they were - in their own culture, the women and males were living apart and when they were here they were, *ja*, forced to live together.” CUR-OH-03. Indeed, there are many cultures where social structures focus on age or gender rather than family (Potthast-Jutkeit 1997). This culture shock is part of the natal alienation that Orlando Patterson discusses in his book *Slavery and Social Death* (1982: 7-8).

Other psychological hardships included treatment as a perpetual minor and as an inferior being: “when somebody demeans you and speak to you like you're a stupid person, that that hurts also [...] I mean, you make a race hate themselves.” CUR-OH-06; “You couldn’t speak, because you couldn’t be yourself, because you were nothing, so it was in the slavery time<sup>6</sup>.” CUR-OH-09. This applied also to the way in which the appearance of African-descendant people was negatively portrayed (see CUR-OH-06 and Allen 2007a: 74) and can also be observed in the Papiamentu language, referring to African-descendant individuals as *hende di tristu color* (a person of the sad colour) (Paula 1968: 75). When an individual is consistently treated in such a manner, they may internalise these views and come to believe themselves inferior and ‘dishonoured’ (see section 1.5.6) (see Patterson, O. 2012; Allen 2001; Haviser 2001b; Akbar 1996: 11-19; Paula 1968: 49). This had the potential to benefit slave owners by making a docile and resigned workforce of people who were not inclined to rebel. In modern times this may have translated into a belief that people will not succeed, and mistrust of or anger towards those who do succeed (Clemencia 1996; Lasker and Strodbeck 1975; Paula 1968: 73-74), although this is probably also related to the functions of the Catholic Church after 1863, which purported to offer social advancement through education but really served to control the Afro-Curaçaoan population through adherence to strict morals and the valorisation of poverty (Broek 2001). Such a psychological effect has been noted in sociological studies by Marcha and Verweel (2003) and Allen (2015b). Allen (2014b: 148) has also recorded a Papiamentu song which conveys a feelings of hopelessness, domination, and the inevitability of being judged harshly whatever the individual attempts to do:

<i>Ora mi hasi bon,</i>	When I behave well,
<i>Pekadó di m'a hasi malu,</i>	Sinners say that I misbehaved,

---

<sup>6</sup> “*je mocht niet praten, want je mocht jezelf niet zijn, want je was niks, zo was het in de slaventijd*” CUR-OH-09

*Ora mi hasi malu,  
Pekadó ta marmorá mi.*

When I behave badly,  
Sinners talk scandal of me. (Allen 2014b: 148)

Passivity and lack of confidence are also present in the following story about emancipation at Landhuis Ascencion, where the *bomba* is so afraid of the *shon* that he does not understand the instructions he has been given about emancipation:

CUR-OH-05 ... the *shon* was, he was not married and he hadn't had children so he called the *bomba*, the one that was actually seeing about the slaves and he gave him all the keys and he told him, tomorrow you will call all the slaves together and tell them that they are free and that they are free to go, and he gives all the keys from every, all those, from the whole *landhuis* and in the morning the *shon* didn't wake up so the *bomba* became nervous, he don't see the *shon*, he don't wake up, so he ran from Dokterstuin to St Willibrordus and get the *shon* from there - the *shon* didn't wake up! And what the *shon* told him to do, to tell the slaves that they are free. So he didn't understand that. He - and the *shon* didn't come out and he has to go and tell them that they are free. So he went and called the *shon* from Willibrordus and they came back to Dokterstuin, to Ascencion, and when the *shon* from Willibrordus break the room open, the *shon* committed suicide. And he collected all the keys from the *bomba* and he became the owner of the *landhuis*. So actually it was given to the *bomba* but he didn't understand that and, you know, he didn't know what was going on, and there was no - actually - real explanation.

The concept of divide and rule was also used to prevent enslaved people uniting: “and so the manager could be a white person, but there are different *vitos* or managers who were black people. And in that sense, the aspect of divide and rule, which is from ages, you know, was also used. So you get a person, give him a bit more than the rest, and he thinks he is a king or a queen, you know? And in that sense he or she will do exactly what you want him to do.” CUR-OH-02. Gordon Lewis (1983) has described aspects of psychological warfare perpetrated against enslaved people, including the concept of ‘divide and rule’, as has Na'im Akbar in his book *Breaking the Chains of Psychological Slavery*. In his discussion of lasting ‘mental slavery’ he also mentions the negative effects of racism on community cohesion and feelings of personal or group

inferiority, which have resounding echoes in the oral historical data from Curaçao (see Akbar 1996: 16-22).

Finally, although at first glance the figure showing high rates of manumission on the island might seem to indicate benevolence, Gert Oostindie (2011a) and Natasha van der Dijs (2011: 128), amongst other scholars, have noted the dire circumstances of enslaved people (particularly those who were elderly, unwell or disabled) manumitted out of convenience rather than benevolence. One interviewee stated: “if you are too old to work, that they then just abandon you in the bush, in the *mundi...*” CUR-OH-07. Freed individuals might continue to experience high levels of uncertainty associated with the threat of re-enslavement (see Hoonhout and Mareite 2018). Berlin (2003b) has noted that manumission by the WIC in New Netherland (on the east coast of North America) was often of elderly people who were required to pay them an annual fee thereafter and could not hope for the freedom of their children, who remained in slavery. Manumission therefore included additional forms of psychological stress and did not necessarily indicate an escape from the social structures of enslavement.

### 8.2.6 Coping Mechanisms

Psychological coping mechanisms centred on release and escapism. Music and dance, for example, acted as a form of release: “singing give you also power to forget the bad moments of the day. While you sing you can express your feelings [...] *Tambú* I think the second thing that was important in their lives to survive.” CUR-OH-07; “we call it the *tambú*. [...] you would always, you know, bring an anecdote or something that your master did. But they put it in a kind of a song and everyone thought, oh, that's nice, it sounds nice, but it was a way of, you know, expressing violence, aggressiveness.” CUR-OH-04. The role of *tambú* in social and political commentary is similar to that of calypso in other areas of the Caribbean such as Trinidad (see Finden-Crofts 1998). Allen (2001)

has also noted that enslaved people in Curaçao sang songs that might provide encouragement and help to counteract or temporarily escape internalised negative self-image. Songs could mention a variety of topics, such as escape, emigration, leisure and work activities, and scandal, and could also be lullabies (Brenneker 2017c: 17-20; Allen 2001).

Storytelling provided education, hope and escapism (also noted by van der Ven 2011: 111-112). The most well-known stories told in Curaçao are those about the spider Kompa Nanzi, a West African canon of tales that have enormous cultural importance within and beyond Curaçao (see van Duin 2007 and CUR-OH-01). Hausa stories (from Niger and Nigeria) include those about a spider and his wife, while the Fante Twi people (Ghana and Ivory Coast) also tell Anansi stories (Dalphinis 1985: 165). Similar stories can be found in many parts of the Caribbean, for example Bro Monkey and Bro Lion in the SSS islands (St Eustatius, St Maarten/St Martin and Saba) (Albus 2001; Sypkens-Smit 1981: 46) and Brer Rabbit in St Lucia (Dalphinis 1985: 165).

Lampe (2001) has noted that the use of stories like these can be part of a survival strategy. They are often concerned with the triumph of the spider over larger animals through the use of clever tricks, which must have resonated with enslaved people wishing to triumph over their owners: “[Nanzi] is always winning. He would fool his wife and kids! [laughs] He is too smart. Yeah, maybe - let's say, maybe I think for instance let's say the *baka pinta*, how just a common person can fool a king.” CUR-OH-05 (please see Appendix A for the full story of the *baka pinta*, or piebald cow). Stories also had moral functions relating directly to the circumstances of slavery, for example:

CUR-OH-05      Cha Tiger and Kompa Nanzi they asked Cha Candela - Cha Candela is the Cha Fire - Cha Fire, dance for me, I want to see you dance! And Cha Candela, Fire, said, no I will not dance because my dance is very, very ugly. No, just once, just once! Dance, dance! Look at we all dancing. Cha Fire said no I will not dance because my dance is very, very dangerous, it's very, very ugly. So they force him to dance then they start to dance and

then he burn down the whole community. [laughs] So. Don't force people, if they say no, OK, fine. So. That came not from my mother, it was grandmother.

One particular story describes a return to Africa: “Well, the slave that flies away of course. That story is always told about wanting to go back to Africa and not eating salt to be able to fly back.” CUR-OH-03. This story was also recorded by Paul Brenneker (2018: 19-20) and Rose Mary Allen, whose interviewee noted: “I heard that the Guenes had wings, but this lady did not have any. All those who had wings flew away. She stayed and worked in Santa Barbara. She stayed back because she had eaten salt. That is why she stayed back.” (Allen 2007a: 69). This story is symbolic of escape, either physically or perhaps spiritually in the form of suicide (Allen 2017c).

Religion could also be therapeutic: “It gives you hope and I mean [...] let's say you're being beaten every day and then somebody tells you [...] you have to go through all these beatings every day and then at the end of it you go to paradise. You know and that gives people strength.” CUR-OH-06. Rose Mary Allen (2017b) has also mentioned that psychological coping mechanisms used by Curaçaoan descendants of enslaved people included dissemblance (i.e. avoiding talking about painful subjects) and humour. Paula (1987: 31) notes that laughing at the slave owners behind their backs was a method of resistance. Indeed, interviewees in the current study also mentioned dissemblance by the older generations who were temporally closer to the study period (see for example CUR-OH-07) (also noted by Paula 1968: 61).

### **8.2.7 The Homespace**

Oral historical evidence indicated that *kunuku* houses built by enslaved people in Curaçao were constructed one behind the other as the old house fell out of use: “the custom was to just build the new house in front of the old house...” CUR-OH-03. This

practice can also be observed at Kenepa (see Figure 5.12) where the old house might be used for storage (see CUR-OH-05).

Interviewees also mentioned an emphasis on outdoor space: “daily life was actually around the house and so the cooking especially was done at the back of the house. Also because of danger of fire.” CUR-OH-03. This is supported by the work of archaeologists examining the lifeways of enslaved people elsewhere in the Americas, for example in Jamaica and Tennessee (Battle-Baptiste 2007a; Armstrong and Kelly 2000). However, no archaeological work has been undertaken that specifically looks at this phenomenon in Curaçao. The testimony of these interviewees may therefore indicate an important line of future research on the island. Finally, it is important to visualise the homespace as the arena for many of the other activities described in this chapter.

### **8.2.8 Foodways**

In Curaçao there was an emphasis on one-pot meals (see CUR-OH-02), cooked on three stones over a fire (see CUR-MC-120 and CUR-OH-03) and then shared out. This cuisine developed under Jewish (see CUR-OH-06), African and Amerindian influences in the use of iguana, goat, sorghum, fish, pumpkin, papaya, and okra. Although many of these foods were not necessarily restricted to the enslaved community, their development was influenced by the resourceful African-descendent population (see CUR-OH-04). Many of these foodstuffs were freely available in the *mundi* (countryside), for example cacti: “*kadushi* is a cactus. And they also they take the spines out and then they grind it and then you can make the soup out of it also.” CUR-OH-04. Independent researcher Dinah Veeris (2017) mentions the consumption of cacti, as does Brenneker (1969-1973: 452). Finally, interviewees mentioned the altruistic nature of foodways in Curaçao, specifically a sharing culture (see CUR-OH-02). A communal approach to foodways is often observed amongst groups with limited resource access (see for example Wallman

2014). Interviewees did mention fishing as an activity that enslaved people were engaged in (see CUR-OH-08), and the use of found objects as domestic items (see CUR-OH-02)

### 8.2.9 Religion

Religion included both European and African influences (see Lampe 2001): “it's a form of syncretism. African and Roman Catholic elements are being meshed together, you know?” CUR-OH-08. In modern-day Curaçao celebrations such as the day of St Anthony (see CUR-OH-08 and Brenneker 2017a: 15) show strong elements from both Catholicism and *brua* or *montamentu*, part of an African-influenced belief system similar to that of *obeah* in the SSS islands (see Fernandez Olmos and Paravisini-Gebert 2011: 155-171; Frey and Wood 2003). Interviewees in van der Ven's (2011: 87) study also mentioned that *brua* is used in tandem with Catholic religious practices in modern day Curaçao. *Brua* is associated with witchcraft and was portrayed very negatively by interviewees (see for example CUR-OH-06; CUR-OH-07; CUR-OH-08) while *montamentu* is seen as more benevolent and linked to the ancestors:

CUR-OH-07     ...*montamentu* is a ceremony in which people come together and they seek contact with their ancestors. And they come together and they drink and they eat and they dance and [...] then some of them would get really completely possessed by that ancestor, they began to speak different languages and begin to dance like snakes, and also that through *montamentu* you can help people who are sick.

Interviewees also noted the African influence on traditions such as the *ocho dia* (eight days' mourning) and rituals such as putting money into house foundations as an offering to Mother Earth (see CUR-OH-09) (see also Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005: 203). Rose Mary Allen (2010c) also indicates that bush medicine is connected to the use of *brua* and *montamentu* and an attitude of holistic medicine incorporating spiritual and

physical health and the balance of good and bad energy (see also CUR-OH-06 and CUR-OH-07 and section 6.2.7).

### **8.2.10 Leisure Time**

Curaçao has a rich heritage of music and dance, including the *wapa* dance belonging to the *séu* harvest festival and conducted to the *simadan* music, and the *tambú* which was often erotic and frowned upon by the Catholic Church and other European authorities (CUR-OH-03). *Tambú* in particular has received a lot of attention because of its repression (see Rosalia 1997; Rosalia 1996b; Rosalia 1996a). Interviewees noted that the style of dancing and the musical instruments used had strong African influences: “the way they dance you know, especially women, it's so African...” CUR-OH-08; “...West African music instruments like the *tambú* [drum], the barrel, and you look at it in, from West Africa, you compare it with Curacao, it's the same.” CUR-OH-02. Songs were used to communicate as well as to give strength during work (see CUR-OH-09).

## **8.3 ST EUSTATIUS**

### **8.3.1 Labour and Economic Engagement**

Interviewees described much variety in the occupations of enslaved people in St Eustatius. They mentioned animal husbandry, carpentry (for example building boats), agriculture, construction, and domestic labour: “you had the sugar plantation slaves, you had the slaves on the cattle plantations, and you had what they called the town slaves.” EUX-OH-10. Plantations grew not only sugar, but also sisal for making rope, cotton, coffee, tobacco, and indigo (see EUX-OH-01; EUX-OH-02; EUX-OH-04). Other tasks included building the ‘slave walls’ made to divide fields and plantations and to prevent soil erosion (see EUX-OH-01; EUX-OH-09; EUX-OH-12); the enormous tasks of

moving cannons uphill (see EUX-OH-06; EUX-OH-09); and loading and unloading ships (see EUX-OH-10; EUX-OH-12). This diversity of plantation and mercantile activities is supported by documentary evidence (see Oostindie 2005: 12-13; Barka 2001).

Interviewees expressed a sense of danger relating to some of these tasks: “constructing wells and cisterns and you know, working in the wells was a dangerous job. So they literally had to go down in the wells via ropes or chains, some of them died...” EUX-OH-01, but enslaved people doing different jobs were likely to have had a varied experience of slavery: “there was a big difference between various categories of slave [...] on the cattle plantations the slaves had the freedom to walk about, move about and everything [...] slaves had trades, slaves were a blacksmith, were carpenter, were a cabinet maker, a tailor and so forth, so they could earn a bit of money.” EUX-OH-10. This included the division between enslaved people employed in the domestic arena and those who worked in the fields: “that is where the difference, some of them felt they were better than the other slaves. Because they were treated differently, they were dressed differently, et cetera. But still they were a slave, whichever way you put it.” EUX-OH-01. Such antagonism between different sections of the enslaved community may have been encouraged by slave owners to prevent the organisation of rebellions (see also section 8.3.2).

However, legal manumission could also lead to extra hardships because the old or disabled individual had no way to support themselves: “They [the slave owners] gave them their freedom because then they didn't have to look after them anymore” EUX-OH-10 (see also EUX-OH-01). It also did not necessarily decrease levels of uncertainty and associated psychological stress related to the state of slavery and to African ancestry in the Americas during this period (Hoonhout and Mareite 2018). Documentary evidence does support this view of manumission in St Maarten/St Martin and Curaçao, but Roitman (2017; 2016b) does not specifically mention this practice with reference to St Eustatius,

although she does say that manumission in St Eustatius was more expensive for slave owners than exporting the enslaved individual (Roitman 2016a).

Oral historical evidence indicates that enslaved people also conducted labour for themselves, for example selling things, and could acquire personal wealth:

EUX-OH-01 ... it was so prospering here that sometimes too that slaves were even able, some of them were lucky enough to move up through the ranks in obtaining a piece of land. They would also manage slaves or be head over slaves. And some of them even owned like little shops and did little trade among themselves [...] it will most likely be shops maybe with selling little provisions or probably sugar or like little nicknacks.

This interviewee added that a man called Juan Pedro, probably of Portuguese origin and a freedman at the time of his death, owned one of these shops. His gravestone can be seen in the St Eustatius Historical Foundation Museum (see Figure 6.12). Written testimony by Olaudah Equiano, an enslaved man and sailor who sold livestock and bought glassware in Lower Town, also supports these statements (Equiano 1999 [1814]: 78, 85).

Several interview participants highlighted the use of blue beads as currency within the enslaved community: “when they worked, this is what they were paid with, they wasn't really paid with currency, it's the beads...” EUX-OH-01. Although this allowed them to trade amongst themselves, it also had a negative side, as it replaced real money and therefore inhibited enslaved people from participating directly in the monetary economy: “what can you [do] with that if you can't trade it anywhere else? [...] I think it was unfair [...] if they wanted to pay them then pay them in real money, but I think that was still sort of a disrespect towards them” EUX-OH-02. There are two types of Statia bead: the multifaceted bead, and the round marble bead (see Figure 6.21). According to oral tradition, these beads had differing worth in the ‘bead economy’ of the island. The larger marble beads were worth more and were more likely to be given to more socio-economically ‘important’ enslaved people, mainly men – for example artisans (see EUX-OH-01).

The beads also came to perform important social function in marriage: “in order for me as a slave to get married to you, I have to work for as much blue beads so that they can tie around your waist. Then I can have the opportunity to get married to you. So if you are fat, I work harder.” EUX-OH-06. Frey and Wood (2003) have noted that marriage of enslaved people could occur through receiving gifts in the American South. The example from St Eustatius also highlights the importance of health and plenty in the enslaved community, since by this logic it was less desirable to marry a thin woman. Cross-culturally, a plump but not obese ideal is preferred (aesthetically, but also in terms of health) over a skinny body (Madrigal 2006: 42-44). Additionally, Russell (1997) and Chan (2007: 140-141) have also mentioned enslaved people wearing strings of beads around the waist, possibly associated with concepts of womanhood, although Chan does also stress that West African traditions include men wearing beads for a variety of reasons relating to status, identity and aesthetics. Indeed, the importance of blue beads in West Africa is indicated by their continued use as items of personal adornment in Ghana today: “a lot of the enslaved Africans that came to Statia were shipped from the Gold Coast, from Ghana, what is now Ghana. And lo and behold, when I was in Ghana, what do they sell on the market? Blue beads! They are still a normal item of everyday use...” EUX-OH-10.

The oral historical data collected for this study provide a level of detail concerning the Statia blue beads that is unavailable in archaeology. If blue beads were as important to the enslaved population as the interviewees say, it may be unsurprising that they are seldom found in enslaved village contexts. In this case, people abandoning a village would have taken their highly valued blue beads with them. The current author believes that the detailed accounts in her oral history interviews are different from the myths told to tourists. One such mythical story is the notion that the blue bead “finds you” rather than the other way around (see for example EUX-OH-02). The bead stories discussed

here fit well within the overall picture of slavery in St Eustatius, including West African cultural influences, a sense of resource unreliability, and psychological manipulation.

### **8.3.2 Resistance**

Responses to the hardships of life as an enslaved person in St Eustatius included escape and revolt. Communication channels such as drumming and religious meetings (see EUX-OH-01; EUX-OH-05) were useful for organising these events. Interviewees mentioned the revolt in 1848 the French abolished slavery, thereby calling the status of slavery in Dutch St Maarten into question: “they started a revolt and some lost their lives [...] when they discovered [the situation in St Maarten] they were anxious to be free too.” EUX-OH-03 (see also EUX-OH-10 and EUX-OH-11). This event is also mentioned by the sociologist Armando Lampe (2001: 143-144). Documentary evidence also records that during the same year, the Lieutenant Governor of the island read a proclamation stating that the enslaved people of St Eustatius were certainly not free (Roitman 2016a). That it was necessary for him to do this shows how much of an impact the political situation in nearby St Maarten was having on the enslaved people of St Eustatius.

Enslaved people attempted to escape by sea, especially from the northern, Atlantic side of the island: “slaves tried to escape through there, to go to St Kitts. 'Cause they get on the back [of the island], then maybe they can take a stick or a piece of wood and go across to St Kitts, it's just seven miles from point to point.” EUX-OH-06. This was very often fatal for enslaved people who could not swim. This might happen secretly at night, or during the day while out fishing (see EUX-OH-01). Documentary sources also mention escapes, for example that of London, Friday, and Rosaline who attempted to escape to St Kitt's with six children in a boat on the night of 27<sup>th</sup> April 1844 (Roitman 2016a). Alternatively, enslaved people might try and escape to another plantation if they thought that circumstances there were preferable:

EUX-OH-01 ... if the plantation Benner's is treating their slaves good, some of the slaves will try to escape from Solomon's, who was treating them bad [...] And if [Benner] says well hey, more slaves coming by me, OK I gonna try hide them, they going to work for me.

These examples and others demonstrate that while St Eustatius did not support a plantation economy of the kind seen on large sugar islands, enslaved people were still desperate to be free: “Now, you don't run away if you're happy.” EUX-OH-10.

Finally, as mentioned in section 6.2.2, literacy could be an act of resistance for enslaved people: “if you were caught that even make a markings on the ground, even in the dirt and it comes up looking like an alphabetical letter you will be severely beaten and punished.” EUX-OH-01. However, historical evidence described by Gilmore III (2006a) indicates that there may have been some enslaved people in St Eustatius who could read, and that their masters were aware of this fact.

### **8.3.3 Physical Violence**

One figure who looms large in the collective memory of Statia is that of Mr Moore, a plantation owner whose punishments were infamously cruel: “It was said he was severe for beatings [...] The way he spoke and treated the slaves was very rough.” EUX-OH-01; “Mr Moore was a cruel slave owner who - yeah, who had slaves whipped and punished and so forth, just because he felt like it.” EUX-OH-10. A Ph.H. Moore is mentioned in historical documents as one of the owners of enslaved people who attempted to escape to St Kitt's in 1844 (Roitman 2016a). Interviewee EUX-OH-10 also mentioned that Mr Moore survived as an old man beyond emancipation in 1863 – the timeline is certainly right for Ph.H. Moore to be the man these stories refer to.

Punishments for running away could be severe, demonstrating the urgency of the project: “they caught the two men, two of the slaves, they were, they said they were the instigators, and they were hung... they were caught and they were hung.” EUX-OH-11.

Lashes could be given with the *pondu* bush (see EUX-OH-02), sometimes even to children: “Some lashes go up to thirty. So imagine if it was not an adult but a child, and the child, the children especially used to get a lot of brutality [...] they grew into adults who passed through a lot of trauma.” EUX-OH-01. This interviewee also mentioned lashes given to enslaved people when they arrived in St Eustatius to test how strong they were. This kind of evidence highlights the importance of information on the psychological effects of slavery (see sections 1.5 and 8.3.5 below). Documentary sources confirm that lashes (sometimes as many as fifty, twenty more than stated by interviewee EUX-OH-01) were given as punishment for crimes such as trying to escape (Roitman 2016a).

Interviewees mentioned the extra hardships often experienced by women in slavery, for example sexual abuse: “the master picks a woman, though she is a domestic in the house he picks her, though he have his wife he still use the slave, he use her rather.” EUX-OH-03 (see also EUX-OH-01; EUX-OH-05; EUX-OH-10). It is also possible that enslaved children also suffered sexual abuse in the circumstances of enslavement. EUX-OH-01 in particular mentioned the dire physical and psychological conditions that they suffered. Women were also beaten whilst pregnant, and interviewees were very specific about the way this was done, by digging a hole in the ground so that the woman could lie flat. This was one of the stories associated with Mr Moore (see EUX-OH-01; EUX-OH-08; EUX-OH-10).

Other episodes of violence included branding “which was placed in the category of very cruel because branding is what they used to do to animals...” EUX-OH-01, cutting off fingers and toes and being tied to a tree on top of an ants’ nest for crimes such as trying to escape (see EUX-OH-01). Captives transported by the WIC were indeed branded with the company logo at Elmina (Johnson, W. 1987: 31), so the branding that this interviewee refers to may have taken place before arrival in St Eustatius. Alternatively,

enslaved people taken to Curaçao were branded at the depots on arrival (van der Dijs, N. 2011: 116) so this may also have occurred at the Fort Amsterdam depot on St Eustatius.

#### **8.3.4 Medicine**

Bush medicine may be associated with *obeah* (see section 8.3.9) in the English-speaking Caribbean islands, and often practised by religious specialists (Frey and Wood 2003). This is because episodes of illness or injury may be connected to supernatural events such as spirits or curses (Fernandez Olmos and Paravisini-Gebert 2011: 155-170; Handler 2000). However, interviewees in St Eustatius did not directly associate bush medicine with *obeah*. Rather, they referred to it as something practised by the individuals on a day-to-day basis: “there was this bush they call slippery bush, I know it well 'cause we all suffered in the house with measles they [unintell.] get it and they'll rub it on your skin and it truly eased the itch...” EUX-OH-02 (see also EUX-OH-01; EUX-OH-12). Research into bush medicine on the nearby islands of Saba and St Maarten/St Martin support these accounts (see Veeris 2017; Nielsen and Schnabel 2007), but there has been little such research on St Eustatius.

#### **8.3.5 Psychological Stress**

There were many factors affecting the mental health of enslaved people in St Eustatius. Such psychological hardships included being treated like a perpetual minor or ridiculous, ugly, or inferior being:

EUX-OH-01      And also some of the masters used to watch the slaves entertaining themselves for recreation [...] they think it's funny [...] if you are a child or you are adult you still be treated as a child, you are told what to do, you are treated less than an animal [...] you will be ridiculed for your own colour, your skin.

The loss of personal identity (“when you come from Africa no one will know what your last name was. [...] You get a new name.” EUX-OH-01) and constant stress and uncertainty (for example the fear that families would be broken up when the slave owner decided to sell) also put pressure on enslaved people (see EUX-OH-01; EUX-OH-06). Enslaved people might try and cultivate a good relationship with their master in the hope of receiving rewards such as food and status, but this was a dangerous strategy because it was such an unequal relationship (see EUX-OH-01).

Divisions amongst the enslaved community arose due to occupation (see section 8.3.1 above) “house slaves feel they are better...” EUX-OH-03); and provenance in Africa: “those from Congo couldn't get along with those from Nigeria...” EUX-OH-01. This worked against the altruism (see section 8.3.6) that enslaved people needed to survive: “That's Africa. Destroyed by self, that pride by self, and they said they brought it down here with them...” EUX-OH-05, and was likely exploited by the slave owners, who seem to have employed a ‘divide and rule’ approach to their enslaved people, for example by favouring some over others: “mulatto origin slaves. And they still we call slaves, but they were treated differently.” EUX-OH-01. These divisions and fractures fostered resentment, prevented unity and made it less likely that communities would be able to organise escape and revolt (Lewis, G. 1983).

Interviewees observed that these circumstances are still affecting people in St Eustatius today: “we're scared to take risks and do things because we are looking for the master non-stop to tell us what to do, and I think that in that sense in that dynamic yes it still exists and we call that one the ‘mental slavery’ where you still act as your ancestors” EUX-OH-02. The phrase ‘mental slavery’ was echoed by EUX-OH-03 and other interviewees did allude to the concept without using this particular vocabulary. Akbar (1996: 3-25), Araujo (2014), and Guerreiro Ramos Bennett (1999) amongst others discuss the various lasting effects of slavery, but these are not applied directly to the island of St

Eustatius. The testimony of these interviewees therefore provides an important psychological aspect that is not found in other sources of information from the island.

### 8.3.6 Coping Mechanisms

Coping mechanisms may also have included the use of humour to convey serious subjects. Mr Moore, for example, is often referred to in terms of ridicule because of his tomb in the Old Church Cemetery, which has a ball on the top (see Figure 8.1). Interviewees joke that this ball is made of *funchi*, rather than stone: “And it has a roof shaped like a pyramid and on top of it is a ball and they would tell me yeah, that's a *funchi* - you know what *funchi* is, right? - the cornmeal, like polenta kind of stuff. That was a corn meal ball that [...] was put on there because instead of it being monumental and stone, you know, to the glory of Mr Moore they made it a corn meal ball so it was not this prestigious thing, just to get back at him” EUX-OH-10 (also see EUX-OH-04). Interviewees also mentioned their relatives talking about slavery in humorous terms: “We heard about them, but for my sake - I heard them as a joke. As - they was talking about it, but making fun of it or something like that. But it was very serious.” EUX-OH-08. As Rose Mary Allen (2017b) has noted in Curaçao, humour is a form of release that can be used as a coping mechanism.

Although none of the interviewees mentioned storytelling as a coping mechanism, the author would like to suggest that this is indeed the case considering the ways in which interview participants mentioned this activity, for example: [INFORMATION REDACTED] EUX-OH-09; “I used to love to sit and hear his stories 'cause he has a wealth of information on all the things” EUX-OH-02; “as a little boy you, sometimes you sit out with the older folks and they’ll be speaking about slavery” EUX-OH-05; and see EUX-OH-10 and EUX-OH-11 for example of stories that people tell today. These interviewees give storytelling an important role in the community, a form of education

and escapism. A similar role was played by the Methodist religion (see section 8.3.9 below).



**Figure 8.1:** The tomb of Mr Moore in the Old Church Cemetery, St Eustatius, showing the ball on top which interviewees often referred to (Source: Author).

Indeed, St Eustatius was a “melting pot” (EUX-OH-01) of different cultures and therefore a nexus of communication. Interviewees mentioned those of English (EUX-OH-03), Dutch and Danish (EUX-OH-02), and Amerindian (EUX-OH-05) descent, and documentary resources also state that the island hosted people from all over the world (Schaw 1921: 137-138). That English came to be adopted as the dominant language in St Eustatius was a mark of the island’s cosmopolitan environment (Oostindie 2011b: 9, 19; Havisser 2001a).

### **8.3.7 The Homespace**

Interviewees described the domestic circumstances of enslaved people in St Eustatius in detail, emphasizing adaptation to the climate and the use of outdoor space as the main social arena (see EUX-OH-02; EUX-OH-08).

EUX-OH-01 ... our huts was built more or less to accommodate, you know, the weather, because also here was hot and humid, so some of them was built in the sense for ventilation and some of them was also plastered with manure and cattle dung [...] manure with a mixture with lime or trass [...] They would sleep on the naked ground or they will place skins or mats for resting, or cane trash, you know, grass.

The oral history interviews add to our archaeological and documentary understanding of the intangible (i.e. social) and organic (for example the cane trash used as a mattress) elements of Stavian homespaces that do not survive elsewhere. One practice producing organic remains that do not survive is that of using found objects as domestic items: “*maran*. [...] they would get a whole bunch of them, tie them to a stick, and that they will use to sweep out the oven with the extra ashes or they'll, you know, put it on a longer stick and it was used as a broom to sweep the streets...” EUX-OH-02. This activity is also recorded on Saba (Nielsen and Schnabel 2007: 57).

### **8.3.8 Foodways**

Interviewees describe a culinary tradition in which ground food is cooked in one pot and then shared out individually (see EUX-OH-02) (supported by archaeological evidence, see Heath 1999), and where fish and meat were preserved in salt for storage (see EUX-OH-01). Fire stones used for cooking were often mentioned by interviewees (see EUX-OH-02; EUX-OH-06, EUX-OH-08). The culture that accompanied these foodways was one of altruism which encouraged the community to work together to survive by sharing food and clothing within and between families (see EUX-OH-07.2; EUX-OH-05). The interviews therefore provided a social context for the material assemblages recovered by archaeologists.

Interviewees also mentioned specific types of food that enslaved people ate, particularly soldier crabs (see EUX-OH-01; EUX-OH-02; EUX-OH-08), bush tea, johnny (or journey) cakes, dumplings, red bean soup, sweet potatoes, and yams grown in

provision grounds (see EUX-OH-02; EUX-OH-05; EUX-OH-07; EUX-OH-08; EUX-OH-12), demonstrating a diet based on carbohydrates. One interviewee (EUX-OH-07.2) stated that these foods, still eaten today, are deliberately filling. Culinary practices based around filling carbohydrates are often found in contexts of resource scarcity or food insecurity (see Pariona 2017; ChatsBin statistics collector team 2011). Food was sometimes acquired through fishing and foraging: “Some of them go fishing [...] and they hunt for shell - like crabs and other things from the sea.” EUX-OH-01 (see also EUX-OH-02; EUX-OH-08). EUX-OH-02 also mentioned that traditional foodways include the use of less desirable meats, for example the head.

### **8.3.9 Religion**

Religion was another important cultural practice mentioned during the interviews, centring round Methodism and *obeah*. Interviewees in St Eustatius associated *obeah* with ‘superstition’, which is defined by the Oxford English Dictionary as: “religious belief or practice considered to be irrational, unfounded, or based on fear or ignorance” (OED Online 2017). The word therefore has a negative connotation, and this viewpoint is probably related to modern Christian beliefs since interviewees also associated *obeah* with the devil (see for example EUX-OH-06) and described it as shameful and secret: “Obeah is really something people don't want to talk about [...] I realised I was seeing something that I wasn't supposed to see.” EUX-OH-10. A similar reluctance to discuss or advertise the topic has been observed by Wilkie and Farnsworth (2005: 199) in the Bahamas.

*Obeah* could be used to manipulate other people and is associated with good and bad influences, for example: “And even with husbands and wives, I want to fall in love with you, I try to get you through *obeah* [...] people believe in when you come to the house if I stand in the door and I going backwards [...] they believe I'm taking out

somebody in the house by death.” EUX-OH-06 (see also Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005: 199-200 who note harm, love, and protection as the three most important functions of *obeah* spells or amulets). Statia blue beads, for example, could have been used as amulets (see section 6.3.8).

Methodism was described much more positively by interviewees. It was brought to St Eustatius by an enslaved man, a preacher called Black Harry, during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Interviewees stated that he came to the island on a ship from the US (EUX-OH-01; EUX-OH-03; EUX-OH-10), and seems to have played an important role in the enslaved community, providing hope, support and escapism but also a way to communicate and resist authority: “They looked for this sort of - of deliverance from their problems...” EUX-OH-07; “his preachings was so powerful that some of the slaves used to go in[to a] trance...” EUX-OH-01. It became very difficult for the masters and overseers to remove enslaved people once they had entered this state, and it was therefore a way in which the plantation agenda could be undermined (see EUX-OH-03 and section 8.3.2 on resistance). The effect of Black Harry on the island of St Eustatius was also mentioned by Julia Crane’s interviewees in the 1980s (Crane 1999: 12), although there was no supporting evidence for this in the material assemblage. Because Methodism was confined mainly to the enslaved population (Gilmore III 2005: 292), it is very important to address alternative narratives on this topic. Black Harry’s story ends with him being expelled from the island for causing a disturbance, and interviewees were sometimes reluctant to talk about him because there is a belief that he cursed the island, and that this caused the island’s lasting poor economic circumstances (see EUX-OH-01; EUX-OH-10).

### **8.3.10 Leisure Time**

Interviewees mentioned marbles as a popular game for children, both boys and girls, in the post-emancipation period (see EUX-OH-05; EUX-OH-09). According to

documentary evidence, this was also a popular pastime for children in the US before and after abolition (Chan 2007: 178-179). This assemblage therefore includes leisure items used by both adults and children in St Eustatius, information that is supported by the oral historical accounts.

Statian music was influenced by European and African cultures: “dances and music and stuff like that. There were musics that they brought here... some of them also learned to play the fiddle and other instruments, but they also made their own instrument. One thing I know for sure that they were well known for is the drumming. The drumming tradition [...] The conch shell, where they blow, the cow horn where they will blow.” EUX-OH-01. Such information is particularly important considering that the material cultural and osteological records in St Eustatius did not provide any evidence for musical instruments. It is also interesting to note that musicality is now a trait associated with the Congo people, who had a distinct identity on the island. Interviewees mentioned that they lived in a certain area of Upper Town, had darker skin than other people, and that the term was seen as derogatory until recently (see EUX-OH-03; EUX-OH-05).

## **8.4 ST MAARTEN/ST MARTIN**

### **8.4.1 Labour**

Sypkens-Smit’s (1981: 45, 68, 71) interviewees mentioned sugar growing and processing, salt picking, and animal husbandry, and these activities are also recorded in historical documents (Hartog 1981: 90-91). In particular, St Maarten/St Martin was an important salt island (de Palm 1985: 435-440, 532-534). Salt was harvested at Grand Case on the French side of the island (SXM-OH-02) and at the Great Salt Pond in Philipsburg (SXM-OH-05). These oral historical observations are supported by historical documentation and other oral historical sources (see for example Ensing 2012: 83-86;

Johnson, W. 2012; Voges 2010; Speetjens 2002: 47) and the remains of the ponds can still be seen today. Indeed, one of the Amerindian names for the island was *Soualiga*, meaning ‘land of salt’ (Ensing 2012: 83; Hartog 1978: 6). Interviewees emphasized the hardship of salt collection, which was done by children as well as adults (SXM-OH-04) and involved danger to eyesight from sun glare; strain from carrying heavy loads; injury from wading barefoot on the sharp crystals (see SXM-OH-05; SXM-OH-09); and the ability of the salt to [REDACTED] (SXM-OH-01). These effects are corroborated by contemporary writers, for example the enslaved woman Mary Prince who worked in a salt pan on Grand Turk in the Turks and Caicos Islands (Prince 2008: 25).

However, salt panning also allowed enslaved people from different parts of the island, and from other islands (such as Anguilla and St Kitts), to meet and communicate with each other and with free people (see SXM-OH-01; SXM-OH-06; SXM-OH-08; SXM-OH-09). This formed an important part of resistance to bondage (see section 8.4.2).

Plantation work on the island included growing sugar cane, mangoes, tobacco, indigo, cotton, and hay for export (SXM-OH-01; SXM-OH-02; SXM-OH-07; SXM-OH-09), as well as the husbandry of livestock such as cows and goats (SXM-OH-05) and the building of ‘slave walls’, which can still be seen all over the island (SXM-OH-06), although they are being torn down in many places to make way for building projects (see EUX-OH-12). These tasks were described as hard, with one interviewee telling a story in which working in the fields was used to punish a domestic enslaved person (see SXM-OH-07.2).

Domestic tasks included looking after the owners’ children (see SXM-OH-04; SXM-OH-07) and other chores such as cleaning (SXM-OH-08). Although domestic work may have put enslaved women in particular in danger of sexual assault, it may also have allowed enslaved people to seek approval from the slave owner and contribute to their survival (SXM-OH-07.1).

#### 8.4.2 Resistance

The enslaved people of St Maarten/St Martin resisted their enslavement through escape and revolt. It is difficult to tell whether the popular story about a runaway enslaved woman called One Tete Lokhay (Onetitiloke, who had one of her breasts cut off) is factual, but at its core it suggests that the enslaved population of the island entertained escape and hiding on the island as an option (see SXM-OH-01; SXM-OH-02; SXM-OH-05; SXM-OH-06; SXM-OH-07; SXM-OH-08). Although some authors believe this story to be factual (see Ensing 2012: 20, who says that her name is recorded in historical documents), Guadeloupe (2009: 14) writes that the story of escape and punishment was deliberately invented by the Larosso brothers, intellectuals who wanted to encourage island nationalism. Documentary sources do indicate that other escapes certainly happened (Roitman 2016b). However, there is a similar story from Curaçao: an enslaved individual named Lekesi escaped and hid in a cave (Brenneker 2017b: 12; Ansano 2014). The story may therefore be qualitatively rather than literally true.

Interviewees also mentioned attempts to get to Anguilla where they would be free (presumably after 1833 when the British abolished slavery) (Thomas, H. 1997: 659; Blackburn 1988: 451). Sometimes escapees would be assisted by passing pirates: “The pirates, no, that's because my grandfather on mother's side, he was a pirate [...] So they helped slaves back and forth.” SXM-OH-07.1. SXM-OH-09 also mentioned that St Maarten was one of the islands that pirates had a particular interest in. Although this type of story is of the sensational kind very much enjoyed by tourists, and may therefore be subject to embellishment (see Guadeloupe 2009: 28-31) the author is willing to consider that these narratives have a kernel of truth, especially the narrative from SXM-OH-07.1 whose ancestor was a pirate. Documentary sources do mention enslaved people escaping from St Maarten/St Martin to Anguilla, for example a woman called Quashiba in 1835

(Roitman 2016a). Such escapes played an important psychological role in the enslaved population: they gave people hope (Roitman 2016b).

In terms of resistance and revolt, the period between 1848 (when enslaved people in French St Martin were legally emancipated) and 1863 (when enslaved people in Dutch St Maarten were legally emancipated) is a particularly important timespan in the history of the island (see also section 1.9). In 1848 enslaved people from the Dutch side of the island were able to walk to freedom on the French side: “1848 when the French side got their freedom, abolition of slavery, with the French, a lot of slaves tried to from here and go to the French side where they would be free.” SXM-OH-08. This had wide-ranging repercussions in St Maarten society (evidenced in documentary sources) (Roitman 2016b; see for example Oostindie 1995; Paula 1993: 186; Johnson, W. 1987: 36). Paula (1993) has referred to enslaved people during this period as “*vrije slaven*” (free slaves), citing the freedom of movement and the increased rights that enslaved people allegedly experienced. Roitman (2017; 2016a; 2016b) has also described the enslaved population during this period as ‘*de facto* free’. However, after 1848 more restrictive practices were gradually reintroduced (Paula 1993: 186). The author has therefore taken the opportunity to consult the people of St Maarten/St Martin on this topic and to listen preferentially to their narrative of slavery during the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century.

Oral historical evidence indicates that French emancipation may have resulted in a change in the nature of slavery rather than its dissolution “on paper it was so but in daily life it wasn't.” SXM-OH-07.1; “They were treated better due to the fact they were freed on the French Side and they were afraid they will flee to the French Side [...] But that doesn't mean that they were free.” SXM-OH-08 (also see SXM-OH-05). A paradoxical situation where enslaved people were told they were free, and then manipulated into living the very same existence that they had always inhabited, seems likely considering the continued sale of enslaved people on the island and the lack of legal improvement in

their rights (see SXM-OH-08). Documentary evidence does mention the sale of enslaved people in Dutch St Maarten between 1848 and 1863 (Voges 2006: 10). This situation was also likely to increase the inherent uncertainty of the enslaved person and their psychological hardship (see SXM-OH-02 and section 8.4.5). The threat of sale was one way in which masters would exert control over enslaved people (Chan 2007: 162). Interviewees also mentioned the gradual deterioration of slavery as being linked to economic circumstances on the island: “It's not that they said you know, this is it and it's from today slavery stopped and it - we don't have slaves anymore and I don't think it went like that. I think it was a gradual something.” SXM-OH-07.1. In this case, the oral testimony of interviewees provides not only new information but also a new perspective on the documentary evidence.

Interviewees also mentioned cultural resistance, including the persistence of African cultural influences, which can also be seen as a form of resistance to the dominant culture, parts of which were imposed on the enslaved population: “at a given moment they had to follow their slave, their slave masters. So was the slave master Anglican, Protestant, they were. Were they Catholic, they were.” SXM-OH-07.1. In particular, SXM-OH-06 suggests that the *ponum* dance or dances like it were enacted before emancipation in 1863 but only performed in public afterwards (see section 8.4.10) indicating that these cultural activities may have been done primarily in secret by enslaved communities.

Interviewees also suggested that some fragments of West African societal structure survive on the island, for example the *griot* who remembers the community's history; families that do a particular job such as music making (SXM-OH-06); and people who are particularly linked to *obeah* and the supernatural (SXM-OH-09). Such figures have a long history in West Africa and the Diaspora (see Tang 2012; Kaschula 1999; Hale 1997; Panzacchi 1994), and Curaçaoan society also includes people called *labarianos*

who play a similar role (Ansano 2017). Additionally, St Maarten/St Martin traditional dress (see Figure 8.2) still includes a head scarf which is indeed common across the Caribbean and West Africa (Thornton 1998: 233; Leonora 1996).



**Figure 8.2:** Doll purchased at the market in Philipsburg, St Maarten, showing a woman in traditional dress SXM-MC-099 (Source: Author).

Language used by the African descendant population of the island also demonstrates resistance to language colonisation, for example: “the double use of words to accentuate something dramatic being said, stems from African languages. That is used here quite often, you can hear that.” SXM-OH-02. This aspect is also mentioned by Sypkens-Smit (1981: 81) who gives examples such as “far-far” and “hot-hot”. Interviewees in this study also mentioned specific words such as *buckra* (white person), names such as Quacheba (meaning a girl born on a Saturday), and creole English syntax which is now only found in a few areas of St Maarten, especially Columbier and French Quarter (see SXM-OH-06). Indeed, Albus (2001) also remarks that some aspects of St Maarten/St Martin language are related to the African creole language Guene (spoken in

Curaçao, see section 1.7). It is remarkable that African names survived because slave owners discouraged this practice (Voges 2006: 3, 36).

### 8.4.3 Physical Violence

As in Curaçao and St Eustatius, much of the violence perpetrated against enslaved people was in the form of punishment. One story in particular referred to an enslaved man being beheaded:

SXM-OH-09 I do know about the incident here in St Maarten with a slave, a giant slave called Gudder. Gudder. A giant slave was condemned to death, to hang, in the eastern flamboyant tree on the square, the square had four flamboyant trees, now I know them personally. What I didn't know is that the one we used to play under was the gallows for Gudder, a giant slave, because he molested a white woman. The white - the book tell you that, archive told you that. This white girl fell in love with Gudder and he probably had sex with her or something and they found out and they condemn him to hang by his neck until dead in the courthouse, and his head had to be cut off and put out where the Prins Bernhard Bridge is now on a post and it had to remain there for three days, that when the other slaves pass and see it, they know, oh boy, let me steer clear of white women. Yeah. And that's why over there today they have the name Gudder Head, 'cause his head was planted there on a pole. And he was hung on the square on Frontstreet on the eastern flamboyant tree, nearest to the street.

This interviewee had found this story in the archives, but a similar account is also mentioned by Menno Sypkens-Smit (1981: 48) in his preliminary report on the culture of St Maarten/St Martin. However in this context it is mentioned as a ghost story:

Of course there were also ghost stories. There are places associated with long grizzly stories, like 'Gudder's Head' between Fresh- and Saltpond. The story goes that Gudder was the son of a slave woman and a plantation owner. He got an outstanding education and could play the violin very well. But he was still not declared free. He stayed a house slave with the associated privileges. When his father died, his half-brother became his owner, his half-brother who was always envious of Gudder because of those capacities which he did not have himself. He threw Gudder out of the house and made him a field slave. This could not stop Gudder from making nice music, which so

irritated his boss and brother that one evening he murdered him and fixed his head on a pole. Since then the place where it happened is called ‘Gudder’s Head’. (Sypkens-Smit 1981: 47-48)<sup>7</sup>

The reader will observe that these stories are qualitatively different, proposing different explanations for Gudder’s murder and the display of his head. However, both stories agree that Gudder was perceived to have transgressed in some way and his punishment by death also served as a warning to the rest of the enslaved community: the display of his head in a public place, one that still bears his name today, was a violent physical assault on Gudder and a violent psychological assault on the rest of the enslaved population.

Enslaved women (as elsewhere in the Caribbean) endured violence and sexual abuse at the hands of their owners (see SXM-OH-07). Oral testimonies included the same story that interviewees told in St Eustatius and Curaçao:

SXM-OH-03 I remember also the tales of my mother telling me that when the slave woman had to be whipped and she was pregnant, they would dig a hole, so she can go down in that hole and her belly was protected. And they would whip her. So terrible that was. But they did not want to damage the child because that was another slave. And if you kill her or kill the child, you lose a slave.

Stories of physical violence also included cutting out the tongues of enslaved people and then sacrificing them so that they couldn’t tell anyone where treasure was hidden (SXM-OH-03) and tying people to trees (SXM-OH-06).

---

<sup>7</sup> “Natuurlijk kwamen er zo ook spookverhalen aan de order. Er zijn plaatsen waarmee al heel lang griezelige verhalen verbonden zijn. Zoals ‘Gudder’s Head’ tussen Fresh- en Saltpond: Het verhaal gaat dat Gudder de zoon was van een slavin en een plantageeigenaar. Hij kreeg een uitstekende opvoeding en kon prachtig op de viol spleen. Toch werd hij nooit vrij verklaard. Hij bleef huisslaaf met de nodige privileges. Toen zijn vader overleed, werd zijn halfbroer eigenaar over hem, zijn halfbroer die altijd ontzettend jaloers op Gudder was geweest vanwege diens capaciteiten welke hijzelf niet bezat. Hij goodie Gudder het huis uit en maakte hem veldslaaf. Dit kon Gudder er niet van weerhouden om nog prachtig muziek te maken hetgeen zijn baas en halfbroer zodanig irriteerde dat deze hem op een avond vermoorde en zijn hoofd on een paal vastpende. Sindsdien heet die plek waar dat geschiedde: ‘Gudder’s Head.’” (Sypkens-Smit 1981: 47-48).

#### **8.4.4 Medicine**

Bush medicine is often associated with *obeah* in the English speaking Caribbean (see Fernandez Olmos and Paravisini-Gebert 2011: 165; Handler 2000). As on other islands, the use of traditional medicine was one way in which enslaved communities in St Maarten/St Martin survived the hardships of slavery: “People say you would take soursop [*Annona muricata*] tea for relaxing, for getting some sleep, like kind of a sleeping potion.” SXM-OH-02. This is also recorded on the nearby island of Saba (Nielsen and Schnabel 2007: 52). Ensing’s (2012: 97-98) study of intangible heritage in St Maarten also mentions the medicinal use of plants such as soursop (for calming the nerves, as SXM-OH-02 confirmed), wild sage, coralita, lemongrass (for reducing fever), mauby tree bark, sarsaparilla, coconut oil, canker berries, and aloe vera. Proverbs recorded by Menno Sypkens-Smit (1981: IV 3-IV 4) refer to physical infirmity: “A man is never dead, until he dies”; and “I grumbled of getting up early until the day I could not get up”. They suggest that one should persevere without complaining, possibly part of a coping strategy (see section 8.4.6).

#### **8.4.5 Psychological Stress**

Psychological hardships experienced by enslaved people in St Maarten/St Martin included fear, uncertainty, isolation, dishonour, and dependence (see SXM-OH-01; SXM-OH-02; SXM-OH-03; SXM-OH-07) which the coping mechanisms described in section 8.4.6 were intended to counter. Interviewees mentioned the status of enslaved people as not only that of a lack of rights and legal recourse, but also as one of contempt, for example having their names recorded incorrectly on official documents (see SXM-OH-08; SXM-OH-09). Albus (2001: 446) mentions that enslaved people in St Maarten/St Martin internalised a negative self-image which encouraged “chronic submissiveness”. This was part of the process of enslavement (see section 1.5) (see Patterson, O. 1982: 12-

13). Akbar (1996: 14-15), amongst others, has discussed the relationship between enslavement and feelings of personal inferiority (see also section 8.2.5 and 8.3.5).

#### **8.4.6 Coping Mechanisms**

Escapist activities such as alcohol consumption and storytelling were used as coping mechanisms by the enslaved people of St Maarten/St Martin. Interviewees mentioned the importance of storytelling for the people of St Maarten/St Martin: “Stories were told under the big trees, stories were told on moonlight nights. [...] storytelling was always an enjoyable and exciting occupation among the people of the island.” SXM-OH-03. Sypkens-Smit (1981: 46), Ensing (2012: 16), and Albus (2001) mention stories about Bo Monkey, Bo Lion and Nansi the spider told in St Maarten/St Martin which resemble those told in other areas of the Caribbean, and in West Africa (Dalphinis 1985: 165). These stories have escapist themes that contribute to their usefulness as part of psychological survival strategies.

Additional coping mechanisms included religion (see also section 8.4.9). Although the Quakers allowed enslaved people into their churches (SXM-OH-01), Methodism was the religion that had the most impact on the enslaved people of St Maarten, even allowing them to get married and be baptised (SXM-OH-07; SXM-OH-08). This is supported by documentary evidence (see Roitman 2016b). Interviewees suggested that the church had a supportive effect upon the community, allowing them to gather and speak to each other as well as providing hope and encouragement: “I think a lot of mental strength, and their communication with each other. And another thing, I think their faith. They had to have big, a very large, very strong faith in survival.” SXM-OH-07.1 (also see SXM-OH-09 and Ensing 2012: 18). Johannes Hartog (1981: 111) and Sanny Ensing (2012: 70) agree on the importance of Methodism for enslaved people, indicating that by around 1850 all the enslaved people of the island were Methodists.

Proverbs recorded by Menno Sypkens-Smit (1981: IV 3-IV 4) also demonstrate the resilience of the enslaved population of St Maarten/St Martin, for example: “A live beggar is better than a dead king”; “Don’t look at your mountain, rather climb it”; “Mind your own business and you’ll stay out of trouble”; “It’s better to give than to receive”; and “Meekness does not always mean weakness”. These refer to survival strategies such as sharing and obedience, and to determination in the face of adversity. Enslaved people in St Maarten/St Martin were often left to fend for themselves (see SXM-OH-01). Sharing food within and between families was one way in which members of the community supported each other (see SXM-OH-01; SXM-OH-04; SXM-OH-07). Jollification (a practice where people would come together to complete a task such as building a house) also fostered community spirit which helped enslaved people to survive (see Ensing 2012: 58; Sypkens-Smit 1981: 53-54). Evidence of this aspect of traditional culture is difficult to access in St Maarten/St Martin today, because of significant social change on the island during the 20<sup>th</sup> century (unlike in St Eustatius where any decline in community spirit seems to be more recent, see EUX-OH-07).

#### **8.4.7 The Homespace**

Regarding the structure of the families and communities inhabiting these areas, one interviewee (SXM-OH-03) mentioned that stories on the island often involve a man travelling to see a woman. This image fits in well with the “*rondzwervende man*” (roaming man) described by Menno Sypkens-Smit in his report (1981: 82). In this type of relationship, the woman remains with the children and the man lives elsewhere. This may indicate greater freedom of movement for enslaved men. However, caution must be applied when interpreting such family structures as matrifocal. Non-western family structures may have come about due not only to African traditions of matrifocality, but also to the circumstances of slavery, such as the sale or death of the father, and are not

therefore truly matrifocal in the literal sense of the word (Battle-Baptiste 2007a; Gerber and Rasmussen 1975).

Interviewees also mentioned a focus on the outdoor area for domestic activities, and the existence of provision grounds (see SXM-OH-07.1). Provision grounds have been extensively studied across the Caribbean (Marshall 2003; Tomich 1991 [1990]), but little research in this area has been conducted in St Maarten/St Martin. One example is that of Roitman (2016b), who mentions that enslaved people on the Dutch side had provision grounds and could use them to earn money, but enslaved people on the French side were not allowed to do this. The Inrap excavation at Mont Vernon located several domestic structures and two areas of waste disposal in the enslaved village, but did not identify potential areas where the enslaved people may have grown their food (see Bonnissent 2012). Other archaeological investigations into enslaved villages at Belvedere and Golden Rock did not engage in open area excavation and are not therefore well equipped to answer detailed questions about the domestic arena (see Haviser 2012; Haviser 1996). The focus on the outdoor arena and provision grounds mentioned by interviewees is therefore a useful addition to our knowledge on the lifeways of enslaved people in this context.

Domestic items used by enslaved people were often made from freely available natural resources, such as cushions made of man-beard fibres from the silk cotton tree (*Ceiba pentandra*). This was also supposed to keep jumbies away (see section 8.4.9) and therefore served a dual purpose (see SXM-OH-07), highlighting the supernaturally charged nature of the landscape.

#### **8.4.8 Foodways**

Interviewees in St Maarten/St Martin placed particular emphasis on the tradition of cooking on three stones, later superseded by the iron coal pot (see SXM-OH-05; SXM-

OH-08 and SXM-MC-044) and the eating of fish, which was sold per ‘strap’ (see SXM-OH-02; SXM-OH-05; SXM-OH-07; SXM-OH-08). They also mentioned making an oven out of iron pots to bake johnny (journey) cakes in (SXM-OH-05); baking bread in a traditional oven (see SXM-OH-02); and the consumption of cassava, sweet potatoes, corn, pumpkins, and beef and pork salted for storage (see SXM-OH-02; SXM-OH-05; SXM-OH-08) (see also Speetjens 2002: 204-209). One interviewee also mentioned eating horse meat (see SXM-OH-07). This evidence indicates consumption of less desirable/low status meats by enslaved people (also observed in St Eustatius, see section 8.3.8). Material assemblages did demonstrate the presence of bone elements relating to cheaper meat cuts, for example the feet (SXM-MC-046) and head (SXM-MC-053; SXM-MC-088). One of Sypkens-Smit’s (1981: 50, 54) interviewees also mentioned these food traditions, including soup, fish, johnny (journey) cakes, potatoes, and cooking on the three fire stones or with the coal pot as well as the preparation of foodstuffs using an African-style wooden mortar, as in Curaçao (see section 6.2.6). He also recorded proverbs refer to hunger, for example: “The only thing that’s worse than hunger, is not to have an appetite” (Sypkens-Smit 1981: IV 3-IV 4).

#### **8.4.9 Religion**

Wilkie and Farnsworth (2005: 198-208) and Fernández Olmos and Paravisini-Gebert (2011: 155-170) both discuss *obeah* beliefs in the wider English speaking Caribbean, and the findings from St Maarten/St Martin support their observations as well as those from St Eustatius discussed in section 8.3.9. Interviewees in St Maarten/St Martin emphasized the taboo nature of *obeah* (see SXM-OH-06). It was spoken of negatively and described as harmful, particularly linked to prophecies and putting curses on people, for example: “So he did disappear like how that *obeah* woman told him he will disappear and will be never found.” SXM-OH-09 (see also SXM-OH-03). These stories are echoed

in an interview recorded by Elis Juliana in Curaçao in 1989: “‘Katalina, your well will dry, your crop will die, you will loose [sic.] everything you have.’ That’s what he said [...and] everything he had predicted, came true.” (Clemencia 1996: 85).

On the other hand, *obeah* was also linked with the use of medicine (see SXM-OH-01), the importance of the ancestors (SXM-OH-04) and storytelling: “Storytelling was very much linked to the ancestors. It was stories about the dead, it was stories about the spirits.” SXM-OH-03. Other *obeah* practices included pouring libations (SXM-OH-06) and a belief in jumbies, which interviewees found difficult to define:

SXM-OH-06     You have different types, you got the succaneers, you have the jumbies, you have the ones - I guess ghosts is a simple way of saying it. But jumbies have never been associated with positivity. They've always been associated with negativity, you know. Spirits is one way of saying ghosts and jumbie is something else. It's still kind of ghost, but it's like - one is scary and one is spirits [...] A lot of people, they see spirits, they are not - they tend to be associated with something positive. But when you say you see a jumbie, then it's like, oh, scary. Jumbie gonna get you or jumbie gonna come for you. If you say spirit you think, we think about ancestors, like something close. Jumbie is an undefined space.

These stories are echoed by Menno Sypkens-Smit (1981: 49) whose report includes an account of a man communicating with ghosts. His interviewees mentioned beliefs about people who could be in two places at once (Sypkens-Smit 1981: 49), also recorded by Ensing (2012: 17). Sypkens-Smit’s (1981: 48) interviewees mentioned that might get into the house in the evening if the windows and doors were not closed properly. People might also put red “jumbie beans” (*Abrus precatorius*, very poisonous red and black seeds only a few mm in diameter) in oil lamps to repel ghosts (Sypkens-Smit 1981: 50). This practice is also recorded on Saba by Suzanne Nielsen (2007: 46, 57) although she says that this made the oil last longer and does not attach it to any supernatural meaning.

Jumbies were said to live in silk cotton trees (SXM-OH-07.1), which as the tallest trees on the island are very visible. As SXM-OH-03 mentioned, all trees have a particular

significance in St Maarten/St Martin storytelling: “the stories always talk about under a tree. [...] As they used to say, my head raised. I got a feeling when I passed under that tree.” Trees were also important as sites of punishment and places for communal gatherings (see sections 8.4.3 and 8.4.10) and therefore acted as diverse nodal points in the island landscape. One therefore has an impression of the island landscape as saturated with the supernatural (similar to the landscape in Curaçao, see section 8.2.9). Documentary evidence does indicate that European or European-descendant people in St Maarten/St Martin also believed in witchcraft and the supernatural during this period: in 1711, the Vice Commander of St Maarten conducted a witch trial of two women, one of whom was thrown into the water to see whether she would float while the other had her hair cut off and boiling water poured over her feet (Hartog 1981: 53).

Interviewees also mentioned traditions surrounding the burial of enslaved people, which happened all over the island, including on un-consecrated ground in Philipsburg (see SXM-OH-09, corroborated by the osteological data in Appendix C). SXM-OH-08 stated that “they were buried with their head to Africa” and a conch shell marked the head of the grave (a practice also seen on other islands, for example Guadeloupe, Reinhardt 2006; and observed in more recent times on St Maarten, Haviser 2006b). The interviewee cited Vineyard burial ground as one example of this practice. Indeed, Khudabux (1991: 37) states that 68% of burials at Waterloo Plantation, Suriname, were buried with their head to the east (towards Africa) while 32% had their head to the west, representing the Christian tradition. However, a perusal of the Vineyard site report indicates that these individuals were buried on a northwest-southeast orientation with the heads to the northwest (Haviser 2004). This is in keeping with the Christian burial tradition (see McCarthy 2006; Gordon 1971). Historical (Ensing 2012: 70; Hartog 1981: 111) and oral historical (SXM-OH-07) evidence does demonstrate that the Methodist religion was particularly important for enslaved people in St Eustatius, so Christian burial traditions

are not unexpected. Preliminary findings from excavation of the burial ground at Rockland Plantation also suggest that Christian burial alignments may have been adopted by enslaved people (see Appendix C for skeletal report). This is an area in which it is prudent to conduct further research.

However, these beliefs were sometimes used against enslaved people. Some were involved in smuggling rum from the French side to the Dutch side to avoid taxes:

SXM-OH-08 ... the police was waiting on them hidden in the dark because it used to happen in the morning hours, hidden in the dark, but they used to put on white sheets over their head so when they came down they used to frighten them and then come out with the sheet. They thought it was all kind of ghost, so they ran and left everything behind.

This story not only demonstrates the belief that enslaved people had in ghosts or jumbies but also the contempt with which the police treated enslaved people: rather than arresting them for unlawful behaviour, they scared them because they thought it was funny.

Interviewees did not mention poison directly, but some of the effects of *obeah* that they describe (see SXM-OH-03; SXM-OH-09) could be achieved in this way: the poison of a porcupine fish (see section 6.4.4) can in small doses cause numbness, headache, muscular weakness, and a burning, itching or tingling sensation (van Gorcum et al. 2006). Interestingly, in 1981 Menno Sypkens-Smit observed that chickens with curly feathers ('frizzled' hens) were bred because they were believed to be able to detect poisons left by malicious people, so this was clearly a concern for the people of St Maarten/St Martin (Sypkens-Smit 1981: 50). The belief that frizzled hens destroy harmful magic is found across the Caribbean (including in Curaçao, see section 6.2.7) as well as in West Africa and the American South (Wilkie 1997).

#### **8.4.10 Leisure Time**

In addition to leisure activities such as storytelling (see section 8.4.2), dancing was also frequently mentioned by interviewees. This is due to the recent revival of the traditional *ponum* dance by local researcher Clara Reyes (see National Institute of Arts 2015). Interviewees agreed that the *ponum* and other St Maarten/St Martin dances were African in origin (see SXM-OH-02; SXM-OH-05; SXM-OH-06), and that they might be influenced by everyday activities enslaved people did, such as salt picking or fetching water (see SXM-OH-02; SXM-OH-06). Sypkens-Smit's (1981: 59) interviewees also mentioned the *ponum* dance (although he uses the alternative spelling of *panam*). These accounts demonstrate the importance of oral testimony for the investigation of enslaved lifeways in the Dutch Caribbean: this type of information is completely unavailable in material cultural and osteological data.

Instruments described by interviewees included not only drums and flutes but also domestic utensils and found objects such as stones and reeds (see SXM-OH-02; SXM-OH-05; SXM-OH-06; SXM-OH-07; SXM-OH-09). Although the material assemblages did not contain any specialised musical instruments, it is possible that some of the domestic items recovered could have been used as instruments, for example glass bottles or water pots (see SXM-MC-043). The use of water pots in this way is a West African/American syncretism mentioned by Evans (1999) in the US. One interviewee (SXM-OH-09) mentioned the use of a marimba, which has parallels across Africa (Sypkens-Smit 1981: 81).

### **8.5 CONCLUSION**

This rich oral historical dataset has provided ample information about the religious and creative lives of enslaved people that is a stunning complement to the

material cultural and osteobiographical data. In particular, oral historical testimonies allow insight into the internal and intangible lifeways of enslaved people: their beliefs, their music and dance, the stories that they told each other, and the ways in which they experienced and resisted psychological hardships.

The lifeways of enslaved people in Curaçao were intimately associated with a natural environment from which they obtained resources for survival, and which interacted with diverse beliefs, although the relationship of enslaved people with the Catholic Church was one of ambivalence. In St Eustatius, interviewees emphasized coping strategies and physical and psychological stressors which are not usually mentioned in an established body of literature which focusses mainly on the island as an economic success. Finally, although data collection in St Maarten/St Martin presented a number of challenges, this chapter has demonstrated that it is still possible to access valuable alternative narratives on the island. The evidence indicates a St Maarten/St Martin landscape that was saturated with meaning, and that the supernatural was a part of everyday life and death.

Contrary to accounts that describe the enslaved population as wholly “passive” and “submissive” (see for example Paula 1968), enslaved people on all three islands were creative in finding ways to survive and resist the adverse social and environmental circumstances into which they had been forcibly introduced. The body of evidence for physical and psychological hardship described above is remarkable considering historians’ preoccupation with the ‘mild’ and ‘tranquil’ state of slavery on these islands (see Oostindie 2005: 13, 38-39; Oostindie 1995: 161, 163; Goslinga 1990: 4; de Palm 1985: 444-445; Romer 1977: 33-35; Hoetink 1972). This analysis therefore provides ample support for a reappraisal of the vocabulary used to discuss slavery on the island, as well as the data sources given priority in this field.

## **9 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS**

---

### **9.1 INTRODUCTION**

The last three chapters have answered Research Question 1 by discussing the themes that can be generated for each dataset and island. They demonstrate that although they have much in common, the islands of St Eustatius, St Maarten/St Martin and Curaçao are environmentally and culturally diverse, and this had an impact on the lifeways of enslaved people there. In order to answer Research Questions 2, 3, and 4, these similarities and differences in enslaved lifeways between the islands, as well as the extent to which the different datasets (oral history, material culture, and osteobiography) support or contradict each other, will be discussed below. Regarding the osteobiographical data, the interpretations mentioned below are the most likely or most context-appropriate from a list of potential diseases or aetiologies (for full discussions, please see Chapter 7 and Appendix C). The author will also refer to studies on the lifeways of enslaved people at other locations in the Americas, for comparison. Thereafter, she will answer Research Question 5 by briefly describing of any discernible changes through time, and then discuss the significance of the study for research into the legacy of slavery, and modern slavery studies. The chapter will end with a section describing future research goals, a summary of the main points to be gained from the research, and a statement on the effectiveness of the approach.

### **9.2 COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS**

#### **9.2.1 Labour**

The occupations of enslaved people on each of the three islands were very diverse, with evidence for agriculture, animal husbandry, construction, and domestic labour. Local

variation related to the geography and economic activities of each island. In St Maarten/St Martin and Curaçao, salt picking was an important activity because the landscape provided good opportunities for it. St Maarten/St Martin and St Eustatius also engaged in sugar cultivation on a small scale, but Curaçao had a climate that would not support cash crops. On the other hand, St Eustatius and Curaçao were both free ports. Here, sailing and other activities related to commerce had a much more important role. It also seems that the commercial nature of these two islands allowed enslaved people increased opportunities for independent labour (such as hat making in Curaçao) which could provide a small income to be spent on luxury items, medicine, other domestic essentials, and in some cases to buy their own freedom or that of their family members. On all three islands, enslaved people constructed 'slave walls', although the method of construction differed: the walls in St Maarten/St Martin having a pyramidal structure with facing stones and capstones surrounding a rubble fill, while the walls in Curaçao were constructed from larger stones only.

Evidence for labour carried out by enslaved people was most detailed in the oral historical dataset, which allowed information to be gathered not only on the types of labour done, but also on the quality of the labour and its physical effects. The material culture dataset, while less eloquent in this regard, was able to support the statements of interviewees by providing evidence for activities such as fishing and agriculture. The osteobiographical dataset provided further physical context for labour activities, with individuals exhibiting pathologies that could be related to their working environment. Enteseal changes and joint disease in young individuals, cases of trauma, possible evidence for scurvy, and sinusitis may have been related to hard physical labour, encounters with domestic animals, prolonged absences at sea, and dusty working environments respectively. All three datasets indicated that labour activities on the three

islands (including domestic labour) were physically intensive and carried out in physically and psychologically violent, unsafe, or unhealthy environments.

In the wider Caribbean, historians and archaeologists have observed these tasks carried out by enslaved people and emphasized their difficulties (see for example Hicks 2007; Dunn 1987; Higman 1979). Narratives written by enslaved people such as Mary Prince and Olaudah Equiano also discuss these tasks (Northup 2014; Prince 2008: 25; Jacobs, H. 2001; Equiano 1999 [1814]; Quarles 1960). Additionally, pathologies observed on skeletons in the current study were consistent with evidence from buried populations at sugar plantations in Suriname and Barbados (Shuler 2011; Handler 2006; Khudabux 1991), this despite the fact that the Dutch Caribbean islands never became full plantation or sugar economies and have therefore often been regarded as requiring a lighter labour load. Finally, the impact of domestic labour tasks on the human skeleton has been observed by Lovell and Dublenko (1999) in 19<sup>th</sup> century Canada. They discuss trauma and repeated microtrauma to muscle attachment sites that are comparable to the evidence in the current study.

Regarding labour in the study area, therefore, it can be said that differences between the three islands were mainly related to economic, geographical, and environmental factors; that the three datasets in the study complemented each other well; and that the results are reasonable within the wider research context.

### **9.2.2 Resistance**

Craton (1982: 11-13) has noted that we should view resistance to enslavement as endemic rather than occasional. Additionally, numerous authors in North America and the Caribbean have referred to the state of slavery continuing after legal emancipation (see for example Nystrom 2013; Abraham-van der Mark 2001; Angel et al. 1987; Martin, D., Magennis and Rose 1987). Resistance to slavery therefore also continued (Craton

1982: 324-325). In this study, acts of resistance can be observed in the dataset from all three islands and across different time periods.

In general, modes of resistance differed little between the three islands: all enslaved communities practised escape; revolt; cultural resistance; and small day-to-day episodes of disobedience that undermined the goals of the slave owner, such as working slowly and learning to read. The main differences in resistance between the islands were temporal, geographical, and cultural: after the British and French abolished slavery, enslaved people in St Eustatius and St Maarten/St Martin had more opportunities for escape to St Kitts and Anguilla, while enslaved Catholics in Curaçao were able to find freedom in Venezuela after 1750 when the Spanish offered them protection (Hoonhout and Mareite 2018; Oostindie 2005: 40; Lampe 2001: 143). These different destinations necessitated different modes of transport in the escape attempt, for example swimming, walking, or sailing. In each case, the intended destinations were those with which enslaved people would have had the most opportunity for communication, for example through sailing activities and working together in the salt pans. Communication in general was shown to be an important act of resistance, for example through songs.

With the importance of communication in mind, it also becomes apparent that episodes of revolt were intimately linked to wider political developments: the 1795 uprising in Curaçao was a response to the French Revolution, while the 1848 revolts in St Maarten and St Eustatius were a response to French emancipation. What this evidence therefore indicates is a resilient population of enslaved people, constantly resisting, and engaged with the outside world.

Resistance could also be cultural: in a system that discouraged the continuation of African traditions as unattractive (for example dental modification), backward (for example religious traditions), or lewd (for example dancing the *tambú*), many cultural traits in fact persisted either openly or in secret. On each island, evidence for African

cultural heritage is still present today. Examples of this include language structure and the persistence of the *griot* tradition in St Maarten/St Martin; the use of *obeah* in St Eustatius; and a wide range of activities in Curaçao, including parts of the Papiamentu language and *brua* and *montamentu* religious beliefs. These last examples are particularly impressive considering conscious and systematic attempts made by the Catholic Church (in co-operation with the island government) to destroy the traditional culture of African-descendant people in Curaçao. Examples of *obeah* belief systems at work in the burial environment (at Witten Hoek and the Lazaretto on St Eustatius) are particularly poignant.

The wider literature on African material culture and language combined with the known areas of Dutch trading does allow some links between Dutch Caribbean enslaved communities and African cultures to be made, although this must always be done with caution (DeCorse 1999). In the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century the Slave Coast (Togo, Benin, Nigeria, São Tomé, and Príncipe) and the Gold Coast (Ghana) were the main regions where the Dutch obtained captives for slavery in the Americas (van der Dijs, N. 2011: 113). Ashanti people (from the area of Ghana) were preferred by American buyers because they had a reputation for strength (Johnson, W. 1987: 34). Indeed, the Nanzi stories from Curaçao probably have Ashanti heritage and Statia blue beads were (and still are) used in Ghana (Allen 2012a; Russell 1997; Stine, Cabak and Groover 1996). The word *obeah*, as previously mentioned, probably comes from the Ashanti words *obayifo* (wizard) and *obeye* (witch) (Sypkens-Smit 1981: 81; Fernandez Olmos and Paravisini-Gebert 2011: 155). Akan (also in the region of Ghana) traditions include the importance of the extended family (van der Dijs, N. 2011: 118-119), which can be observed in altruistic community traditions on the three islands. In the late 17<sup>th</sup> century the focus of the Dutch ‘slave trade’ shifted south to Angola and Congo (Heath 1999: 196). Angolan influences may include Curaçaoan stick fighting (van der Dijs, N. 2011: 122; Rosalia 1996b) and Papiamentu words such as *makamba*, meaning a foreigner (van der Dijs, N. 2011: 122).

In Curaçao there was also a strong Amerindian cultural dimension (with an influence on foodways, language, and hut construction, for example). This is in keeping with the differing history of this island: when Europeans colonised the SSS islands, the Amerindians had already left, whereas in Curaçao the Spanish imported Amerindian enslaved people from the mainland after removing the original inhabitants (Rupert 2012: 21, 25, 36). Its role as a free port with a diverse population ensured that enslaved people in Curaçao also incorporated Dutch, English, Portuguese, and Jewish elements into their cultural traditions. It is also interesting to note that English rather than Dutch became the *lingua franca* in St Eustatius and St Maarten/St Martin. This demonstrates the importance of location and trade, which overwhelmed the culture of the administrative powers.

Most of the evidence for resistance here comes from the oral historical dataset: only collective memory was able to provide the detail needed for a thorough understanding of resistance, although basic facts were often verifiable through triangulation with information from historical documents. However, in certain respects the material cultural and osteobiographical datasets were able to make a contribution: the area of cultural resistance was very clearly visible in these types of evidence, for example the material evidence for literacy amongst the enslaved populations of Curaçao and St Eustatius.

Internationally, other authors have noted the importance of acts of resistance in the lifeways of enslaved people, for example Wallace (2014) on literacy in the US South; Leone and Fry (1999) on African-influenced belief systems in Virginia; Wood (2003) on differing opportunities for escape between men and women in Georgia; and Schwartz (2003b) on revolt in Brazil. The ways in which enslaved people in the Dutch Caribbean resisted enslavement were therefore in keeping with acts of resistance elsewhere in the Americas. However, the specific ways in which they were carried out were original to the geographical, political, and cultural circumstances of the islands themselves.

### 9.2.3 Physical Violence

Enslaved people endured physical violence as punishment for perceived offences. This was part of the process of enslavement discussed in section 1.5, and punishments did not need to be frequent to have a profound psychological effect upon the community. It was interesting to discover that interviewees on all three islands mentioned the same story about pregnant enslaved women being beaten with their belly in a hole. In St Eustatius, this story is linked to a slave owner called Mr Moore. Many of the stories about cruelty towards enslaved people in St Eustatius are attributed to him, and he seems to have taken on a mythical or symbolic quality. The story is also recorded on other Caribbean islands, such as Jamaica, for which there is documentary evidence (Altink 2002: 42). It may therefore have been a Caribbean-wide phenomenon, either literally true or representative of the experiences of cruelty that enslaved people endured, and which are still present in the Caribbean collective memory.

Sometimes punishments related to the distinct nature of each island, for example being sent to the salt pans in Curaçao or being sent from the house to the field in St Maarten/St Martin. On both these islands there were particular areas used for public punishments (Scavot, Otrobanda in Curaçao and Gudder's Head, Philipsburg in St Maarten), and these areas are still noted in the collective memory of the island inhabitants. Enslaved people might also be whipped, beheaded, branded, beaten, hung from trees, or have their tongues cut out.

Most of the evidence for physical violence in this study came from the oral historical dataset. Items that might have been used for punishment were encountered in Curaçao (a rod made from a bull's penis) and St Eustatius (a pair of shackles) but many of the punishments described would not have left skeletal evidence because they exclusively affected soft tissues. The only likely skeletal evidence for interpersonal violence in this study came from Veeris Plantation, Curaçao, where one individual

suffered a fractured zygomatic arch. Facial injuries are often associated with abuse and interpersonal violence in modern populations (Redfern 2015; Gowland 2016; Samsel, Kacki and Villotte 2014; de la Cova 2012; Roberts, C. and Manchester 2010: 108-109; Walker 1997).

In general, punishments inflicted upon enslaved people in Curaçao, St Eustatius, and St Maarten/St Martin were similar to those documented in other areas of the Caribbean. Gomez (2005: 88, 94) describes burning, amputation, solitary confinement, and whipping as types of violence perpetrated in the English-speaking Caribbean, while those in the French-speaking Caribbean also included mutilation of the genitals, being buried alive, and covering people in sugar to be devoured by insects. Craton (1991 [1976]) states that enslaved people in Jamaica sometimes died from the punishments inflicted upon them. Again, the absence of a sugar economy in the Dutch Caribbean islands seems to have done little to shield enslaved people from extreme violence.

#### **9.2.4 Medicine and Disease**

Osteological evidence from the three islands indicated exposure to diseases of poverty and sexual intercourse such as leprosy and syphilis respectively, as well as evidence for metabolic insult (for example due a shortage in vitamin C or iron), dental disease, trauma, delayed puberty, and hard labour. Handler (2006) has discussed the physical insults encountered by enslaved people at Newton Plantation, Barbados, and these do indeed include nutritional deficiencies and trauma. Khudabux (1991: 39-48) also observed treponemal disease, metabolic disease, trauma, and evidence for general systemic stress in a population from Waterloo Plantation, Suriname. Craton's (1991 [1976]) perusal of documentary evidence for the deaths of enslaved people at Worthy Park, Jamaica, contains similar information: leprosy, treponemal disease, and tuberculosis were all present, as well as other bacterial infections, accident, and suicide.

He describes the level of health of the enslaved population here as “dismally low” (Craton 1991 [1976]: 190). Although the osteological evidence cannot demonstrate the ways in which enslaved people attempted to cure physical ailments, it does indicate that enslaved people in the Dutch Caribbean encountered threats to their health that were comparable to those of other enslaved populations in the region, despite the lack of a true plantation economy.

Oral historical evidence showed that enslaved people on all three islands employed bush medicine (the use of grown or foraged plants as remedies, especially in the form of tea) as a way to counter threats to their health. In Curaçao, bush medicine had a strong association with *brua* and *montamentu* beliefs and functioned as a holistic approach to body and mind that included the balance or imbalance of good and bad energy. It is likely that bush medicine had a similar association with *obeah* in St Eustatius and St Maarten/St Martin, but this was not something interviewees went into detail about. In the booming economic environment of St Eustatius, a European style medicine bottle fragment found at Fair Play may indicate that enslaved people here also used bought medicines. All three datasets therefore provided information on the landscape of health and disease in the lives of enslaved people, particularly in Curaçao where artefacts from the *Kas di Pal'i Maishi* illustrated the ways in which good and bad energy could be balanced in the homespace (see also section 6.2.7).

In the wider Caribbean, bush medicine is often a part of African-influenced belief systems such as Jamaican myalism; Afro-Cuban religions such as *Regla de Ocha*; and indeed *obeah* in other parts of the English-speaking Caribbean (see Fernandez Olmos and Paravisini-Gebert 2011: 165, 171; Handler 2000). Even in places where bush medicine today operates mostly outside the realm of religion (for example Dominica), there are instances where illness requires the intervention of a spiritual specialist (Quinlan and Quinlan 2007).

### 9.2.5 Psychological Stress

Evidence for psychological stress in the lifeways of enslaved people in the three islands had many similarities. In all cases, interviewees referred to potential divisions within the enslaved community which caused psychological stress, for example those relating to occupation or ethnicity. These divisions were encouraged by slave owners (the concept of ‘divide and rule’) and this decreased opportunities for escape and revolt by discouraging communication and teambuilding. There were additional psychological hardships for women and children, who were more vulnerable to abuse. The process of enslavement (see section 1.5) also encouraged enslaved people to internalise a negative view of themselves, for example as ugly and inferior. For first generation enslaved people, there was the added challenge of adapting to a new culture and a new way of life. Additionally, the uncertain circumstances of enslaved life (constant threat of sale and resource shortages in particular) would have put a lot of psychological pressure on the enslaved people of Curaçao, St Eustatius, and St Maarten/St Martin. In Curaçao, the ambivalent relationship between the enslaved population and the Catholic Church also contributed to psychological stress.

Evidence for psychological stresses experienced by enslaved people in this study came mostly from the oral historical accounts. However, supporting evidence was provided by the material culture which indicated (in St Eustatius and Curaçao) that resource shortage and the associated uncertainty were probably important factors in the lifeways of enslaved people. Although it is not possible to identify psychological stress from skeletal remains, individuals in this study displayed several pathologies to which psychological stress could have contributed (for example linear enamel hypoplasia). It is also known that psychological stress contributes to a depleted immune system, making individuals more susceptible to disease (Humphrey 2008; Schwartz, J. et al. 1995; Goodman et al. 1988).

Almost all the psychological pressures identified in this study have been noted by psychologists, sociologists, and historians elsewhere in the Americas, such as Akbar (1996) on ‘divide and conquer’ and feelings of personal inferiority in the US; Hoonhout and Mareite (2018) on the uncertainty experienced even by legally freed individuals in the regions of Essequibo-Venezuela and Louisiana-Texas; Berlin (2003b) on the treatment of enslaved people as perpetual minors and on culture shock in North America; and Roberts (2014) on tensions within enslaved communities caused by preferential treatment in the British Caribbean. The latter study also notes that first generation Africans and women were particularly disadvantaged in terms of social and economic status within the enslaved community (Roberts, J. 2014). The evidence for psychological stress from the current study is therefore in keeping with the existing literature on slavery in the Americas (see for example Sule et al. 2017; Smith, B. 2000; Akbar 1996).

#### **9.2.6 Coping Mechanisms**

Psychological coping mechanisms developed on each island mainly revolved around escapism and release, for example through dancing (Curaçao and St Maarten/St Martin) and alcohol consumption. In St Maarten/St Martin and St Eustatius religion was also seen as therapeutic, particularly in St Eustatius where the legendary figure of Black Harry could send entire congregations into a trance. This can also be seen as an act of resistance as those engaged in a trance could not be made to work. However, the emphasis on religion as supportive was much smaller in Curaçao, where interviewees were more likely to discuss the negative effects of the Catholic Church (see section 8.2.9).

Traditions of storytelling were encountered on all three islands, with Curaçao presenting a particularly rich heritage of Nanzi stories which provided hope, escapism, and education in the enslaved population. Storytelling was also presented as a communal activity which would have facilitated group bonding. In St Maarten/St Martin and St

Eustatius, interviewees also mentioned altruistic practices such as food sharing and jollification (communal house building, for example) that allowed community members to support each other. However, psychological coping mechanisms also included avoidance. In St Eustatius and Curaçao humour, silence, and dissemblance were used by older generations to avoid the painful subject of slavery.

Although much of the evidence for coping mechanisms in the study area came from the oral historical dataset, on all three islands there was potential evidence for alcohol consumption in the material record. Evidence for music making was also observed, particularly in the rich organic record of Curaçao. And the osteological information included the adoption of Christian burial traditions (on all three islands) as material evidence of engagement with Methodism and Catholicism.

In the wider literature, it is observed that alcohol consumption is used as a coping mechanism in modern societies (albeit a maladaptive one) (see for example Prost, Lemieux and Ai 2016; Merrill and Thomas 2013; Cooper, M. et al. 1992). Storytelling in the same tradition as that of the Nanzi stories and Bo Monkey and Bo Lion is found across the Caribbean as well as in West Africa (Dalphinis 1985: 165). The function of these stories is “to amuse as well as to teach” (van Duin 2007: 35). The use of religion as a coping mechanism is also documented, although it may also be perceived as maladaptive in some cases (Coyle and Lochner 2011; Masters 2010). Finally, scholars have often observed that silence, humour and dissemblance are often used by people who wish to avoid talking about distressing subjects (see for example Freund 2016 [2013]; Rodet 2015). The coping mechanisms encountered in this study are therefore shown to be used by individuals in distressing situations in a range of other contexts.

### 9.2.7 The Homespace

Evidence for the construction and conceptualisation of the homespace is very similar on all three of the islands studied here. However, in Curaçao the *kunuku* house structure is much more easily studied because of its enduring visibility in the landscape. Made from wattle and daub, and with a plaster finish and a thatched roof, the *kunuku* house is similar to those found in St Eustatius and St Maarten/St Martin, the archaeological evidence for which points to small, rectangular post-built houses made of perishable materials. However, it is also likely that some houses inhabited by enslaved people in St Eustatius and St Maarten/St Martin were also made with wooden boards or planks. Although the construction of these houses had African (and probably also syncretic Amerindian and European) influences, enslaved people were forced to become creative in the materials that they used. In Curaçao, for example, cacti became important resources in the building of fences because they were widely available. On all three islands, there was a focus on the outdoor area of the homespace. This was where the community cooked, ate, and socialised. Evidence for the religious beliefs of enslaved people also indicate that the homespace was saturated with spiritual meaning. Evidence for this was particularly detailed in the material cultural and oral historical records from Curaçao.

Archaeological evidence is the best source of information on the enslaved homespace in this study, providing information on layout and construction. However, the oral historical evidence allows us to explore the meanings behind the archaeological data, for example indicating that *kunuku* houses were built one behind the other as they went out of use, with the old structure being used for storage. Burials of enslaved people could occur in the yard area, i.e. central to the homespace.

Scholars elsewhere have observed great variety in the domestic environments of enslaved people across the Americas, ranging from houses built on wooden posts at

Galways Plantation, Montserrat (Pulsipher and Goodwin 2001), to English tenantry-style houses at Abbey Estate, Barbados (Bergman and Smith 2014), to those constructed from volcanic rock on Saba (Espersen 2015). Houses more similar to those in the current study area can be found for example in Martinique (wooden boards with thatch) (Wallman 2014), and in the Bahamas (wattle and daub with thatch) (Farnsworth 2001b) as well as in Haiti and the southern United States (Vlach 1976b; Vlach 1976c). Havisser (1997) has already discussed the African influences on *kunuku* houses in the ABC islands, but the huts from St Eustatius and St Maarten/St Martin also resemble these structures as well as some in Nigeria, Ghana, and Benin (see Denyer 1978: 139, 141). Several authors have also indicated the importance of the yard area (including in the burial of community members), for example Wallman (2014) in Martinique and Delle and Fellows (2014) in Jamaica. Battle-Baptiste (2010b; 2004) in particular has underscored how the homespace (particularly the yard area) became the arena for development of social ties both within and beyond the nuclear family; learning; survival; and resistance. The homespaces of enslaved people in Curaçao, St Eustatius, and St Maarten/St Martin therefore fit well within wider perceptions of Caribbean enslaved homespaces.

### **9.2.8 Foodways**

Differences in diet between the three islands were often due to environmental and cultural circumstances: in Curaçao, there was an emphasis on Amerindian dietary components such as iguana and cactus that are freely available in the environment. However, in all cases evidence indicated that diets were high in filling carbohydrates (such as sorghum and journey cakes) and also included foraged or gathered foods. Meats available to enslaved people were usually less desirable portions (such as the head and feet) or those acquired by the enslaved people themselves through hunting or fishing (for example crab meat in St Eustatius). Fishing in particular was an activity for which there

was evidence on all the islands, because it was a way in which enslaved people could both feed themselves and make money.

The ways in which enslaved people cooked and consumed their food also seem comparable between the islands, with an emphasis on one-pot dishes cooked over a single fire and then shared into individual portions eaten together in the outdoor area of the homespace. Utensils used for such activities might be imported European ceramics or locally made Afro-Caribbean wares, as well as implements home-made from natural resources such as calabash. These artefacts demonstrate the wide variety of ways in which enslaved people acquired their belongings: they might be bought, stolen, inherited, or made by hand.

All three datasets were instrumental in developing an understanding of foodways in this study. They often supported each other, although each dataset also introduced new evidence and demonstrated the value of approaching the research questions from several different angles. The osteological data, for example, supported the evidence from oral history and material culture that the diets of enslaved people were high in carbohydrates processed using a pestle and mortar or *mano* and *metate*. However, the presence of LSAMAT (lingual surface attrition of the maxillary anterior teeth) also indicated that some enslaved people on each island were probably regularly consuming a highly sugary or acidic food such as sugarcane. Additionally, the osteological evidence demonstrated that enslaved people may sometimes have suffered from metabolic disease relating to dietary deficiencies, for example vitamin C and iron shortages (ante-mortem tooth loss, porotic hyperostosis, cribra orbitalia, and areas of periostitis should all be looked at in this context, although there are other possible aetiologies for these pathologies, such as infection) (Snoddy et al. 2018; Smith-Guzman 2015; Roberts, C. and Manchester 2010: 229-231; Walker et al. 2009; Salvadei, Ricci and Manzi 2001; Stuart-Macadam 1989). Episodes of hunger or malnutrition could be caused by drought, poverty, and occupations

such as sailing where access to fresh fruits and vegetables was limited (Ortner 2003: 387; Kiple and Kiple 1991 [1980]). There is also material evidence that inhabitants of Kenepa after 1863 had increased involvement in the economy and were able to obtain branded items such as cherry pop and various types of alcohol, while material assemblages in St Eustatius were noticeably more varied in terms of luxury items those of St Maarten/St Martin, which was not a trade island.

The foodways observed in Curaçao, St Eustatius, and St Maarten/St Martin are in some ways location-specific (particularly Curaçao, due to the arid climate) but also similar to those recorded elsewhere. Lenik (2009) has noted that the ceramic assemblage at Bethlehem, St Croix, may indicate the use of African foodways involving the consumption of stews from individual bowls. Samford (1996) has noted similar foodways at Jordan Plantation, Texas: stews made from poor quality meat were distributed into individual portions, facilitating fair food division. Low quality meat cuts were also provided to enslaved people at Estate Cane Garden plantation hospital on St Croix (Reifschneider 2018). Resource shortage and creativity in organisation of foodways is also observed by Wallman (2014) at Crève Coeur in Martinique. In the current study, provisioning may have been organised in a community-based fashion, which ties in with altruistic practices. Enslaved people at Crève Coeur engaged in the economy but also exploited diverse habitats, consuming domestic animals as well as those that were trapped or fished, including both inshore and reef species (Wallman 2014). The consumption of these types of fish is also associated with lower class individuals on the Dutch Caribbean island of Saba (Espersen 2019).

In terms of the material culture of foodways, Franklin (2004) and Otto (1977) have discussed diverse avenues of ceramic procurement at Rich Neck in Virginia and Canon's Point in Georgia, respectively. Particularly after the 1760s the increased production of consumer goods allowed enslaved people to obtain creamwares,

pearlwares, and whitewares, and this is also observed in other parts of the Caribbean, such as Jamaica (see Delle 2014). Finally, Handler (2006) at Newton Plantation, Barbados, and Khudabux (1991: 39-48) at Waterloo Plantation, Suriname, have also observed evidence for metabolic disease in enslaved populations. The evidence from the three islands discussed here therefore fits well within the context of other Caribbean enslaved communities, although with some local variations.

### 9.2.9 Religion

All the islands in this study provided evidence for both African and European belief systems, although there were differences between St Eustatius and St Maarten/St Martin on the one hand (*obeah* and Methodism) and Curaçao on the other (*brua*, *montamentu*, and Catholicism). There was an appreciable difference in the functions of Christianity in the lifeways of enslaved people on these three islands. In St Eustatius and St Maarten/St Martin, the Methodist church acted as support and encouragement for enslaved people, even providing them with ways to resist enslavement (see section 8.4.9). In Curaçao, Catholicism acted with the island government to oppress enslaved people (and free people of African descent) even further, especially women (Allen 2007a: 163-168).

The belief systems of *brua* and *montamentu* in Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao and of *obeah* in Saba, St Eustatius, and St Maarten/St Martin have a lot of similarities. There is a shared belief in jumbies, spells (especially love spells), spirits, protective amulets, and contact with the ancestors. Evidence from Curaçao and St Maarten/St Martin also indicates that poisoning might have been one of the tasks performed by *obeah* women and men. There is also evidence for the integration of these beliefs with bush medicine and a strong connection with the homespace (for example the use of pig skulls and aloe vera to balance good and bad energy in Curaçao) and the natural environment (for

example silk cotton trees' spiritual significance in St Maarten/St Martin). These belief systems interacted with Christianity and developed syncretic practices, some of which are still occurring today (for example the feast of St Anthony in Curaçao).

All three datasets provided valuable information on the religious lives of enslaved people in this study: oral historical accounts included anecdotal details which could be very informative about the qualities of these belief systems and their effects upon enslaved communities; material culture illustrated how belief permeated the homespace; and osteobiographical data included evidence for both *obeah* and Christian beliefs (principally at the sites of Witten Hoek and the Lazaretto in St Eustatius).

The West African influenced belief systems of Curaçao, St Eustatius, and St Maarten/St Martin have a lot in common with those in other areas of the Americas and the Caribbean, for example myalism in Jamaica and quimbois in Martinique and Guadeloupe (see for example Fernandez Olmos and Paravisini-Gebert 2011; Leone and Fry 1999; Russell 1997; Wilkie 1997). Indeed, *obeah* is found throughout the English-speaking Caribbean (see Fernandez Olmos and Paravisini-Gebert 2011: 155-156; Handler 2000). Meanwhile, the Christian traditions of each island are strongly related to their geographical context: islands close to St Eustatius and St Maarten/St Marten were also Methodist (such as Anguilla, see Forker 2003 and SXM-OH-07) and Curaçao had both economic and cultural links with Catholic Venezuela (see Rupert 2012: 97, 171).

Scholars elsewhere in the Americas have observed similar syncretic practices to the ones in this study. Wilkie (1997) has already noted the ease with which Catholicism, with its extensive pantheon of saints, allows deities from other cultures to be syncretised. Burials of enslaved people that conform to Christian traditions (east-west aligned and with the head to the west) are found across the Caribbean, for example in Guadeloupe (see Courtaud 2013; Courtaud and Romon 2004) and sometimes include evidence for

West African belief systems as well, for example in Barbados and Jamaica (see Delle and Fellows 2014; Handler and Norman 2007).

The religious lifeways of enslaved people in Curaçao, St Eustatius, and St Maarten/St Martin therefore depended largely on the cultural, economic, and geographical circumstances of the surrounding area as well as on African cultural heritage. Enslaved people could sometimes exploit religious traditions to their own advantage, for example as coping mechanisms (spiritual comfort, agency through amulet creation etc.) and as resistance (for example through keeping them from work).

#### **9.2.10 Leisure Time**

Leisure pastimes were very similar across the three islands, with a focus on music; dance (particularly the *ponum* in St Maarten/St Martin and *tambú* in Curaçao); smoking; gambling or other games requiring counters and dice; and children's games such as marbles (and nickernuts as a natural alternative to marbles in St Maarten/St Martin). Musical instruments on all three of the islands addressed here were not only European-influenced but also African-influenced and home-made, including household items used as musical instruments.

Oral history was the most useful data source in the study of leisure activity: material culture relating to music was most detailed on this topic in Curaçao because of the *Kas di Pal'i Maishi* assemblage, but there was artefactual evidence for smoking and game playing on all three islands. The osteobiographical dataset did not provide much information in this area, although one of the individuals at the Lazaretto in St Eustatius was buried with a kaolin pipe.

Scholars in other areas have noted that enslaved communities engaged in leisure activities such as singing and dancing, for example White and White (2003) who discuss the ways in which music was used by enslaved communities in the US to communicate

and express emotion. Battle-Baptiste (2007a: 102-103) and Franklin (2004: 222-229) both indicate that leisure activities were an important part of enslaved lifeways, taking place in the homespace where respite could be gained from the labour that they were forced to undertake. Leisure time should therefore be seen as an integral part of enslaved lifeways in the Dutch Caribbean and beyond: it provided enslaved people the space to resist, to relax, to cope, and to be creative.

### **9.3 CHANGE THROUGH TIME**

During the chosen timespan (1640-1863 in St Eustatius and St Maarten/St Martin and 1640-1975 in Curaçao) there was little change in the main types of material culture or palaeopathology encountered on the archaeological sites in question. The nature of archaeology means that sites often have a long potential period of occupation or use within which it is difficult to identify narrow ranges. Additionally, most of the studied period falls within the oral historical range of “cyclical time” described by Spear (1981) and does not therefore lend itself to detailed diachronic analyses. None of the interviewees in St Maarten/St Martin, for example, mentioned the brief period at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century when Napoleon Bonaparte abolished French slavery (see DuBois 2011). However, there are some salient points that can be made. Firstly, the fortunes of enslaved people would have altered according to the economic successes or failures of the island on which they lived, and according to the changing types of forced labour inflicted upon them through time. However, this information is mainly available in historical documentation, and not in the datasets studied here.

Secondly, the nature of slavery in St Maarten/St Martin may have changed after 1848 when the French abolished slavery, because it stimulated acts of the revolt on the Dutch side which could not be controlled by the government. However, enslaved people

on the island were not '*de facto*' free until 1863: rather, restrictions on their lives crept back in, including the state of profound uncertainty related to the slavery. What this period therefore represents is a temporary shift in the nature of slavery, rather than its eradication.

Thirdly, there was a change in Curaçao after 1863. Legal slavery was replaced by the *paga tera* system and restrictive labour laws which were designed to perpetuate slavery in its social aspects. However, legal emancipation did provide some enslaved people with economic and social opportunities that they would not otherwise have had.

#### **9.4 THE LEGACY OF SLAVERY**

The legacy of slavery on the islands of Curaçao, St Eustatius, and St Maarten/St Martin was not (as the reader will have noticed) included in the research questions; nor was it part of the interview structure; nor was it a large part of the thematic analysis in Chapters 6 to 8. However, it is necessary to include this section because it is one of the areas in which this research becomes directly relevant for living people. The legacy of slavery endures, and we must therefore decide to confront it (Nimako and Willemsen 2011: 51).

Almost without exception, the interviewees in this study provided information on the effects of slavery that they see on a day-to-day basis. The past in the present, as described by Shepherd (2013b), González-Ruibal (2016b), and Thomas (2016) amongst others, is therefore not only material, but also intangible. It exists in the collective memory of stakeholder communities and in structures of oppression that are still being dismantled. On the studied islands, this intangible past-in-the-present manifests itself in several different interrelated ways, which are discussed below.

### 9.4.1 Mental Slavery

SXM-OH-03      There are times when you feel a deep sadness. Or you feel like, you feel like you are oppressed but you don't know the reason why. It's a feeling. It's a feeling that comes into me as a black woman. But I have overcome.

In the United States, Whitney Battle-Baptiste (2011: 45-46) has noted that: “While time withered away the physical bondage, the psychological effects of the captivity lingered.” This is certainly something that interviewees in the current study mentioned, often using the words ‘mental slavery’ which have been previously utilised by authors such as Akbar (1996) in the United States and Smith (2000) in the United Kingdom. Associated terms such as Post Traumatic Slave Syndrome (PTSS) and their ability to affect descendant communities are also being discussed by psychologists (Sule et al. 2017; Degloma 2009). Indeed, scholars from van den Bor (1981) to van der Dijs (2011) have mentioned the effect of historical processes on the psychology of modern populations in the Dutch Caribbean. In the current study, interviewees included docility and submissiveness (EUX-OH-02); erratic expression of emotion (EUX-OH-07); and the persisting internalisation of inferiority (CUR-OH-04; CUR-OH-06; CUR-OH-07) in their explanations of these lasting psychological effects. Interviewees went into particular detail in Curaçao, where they mentioned the reluctance to put oneself forward or stand out as holding Curaçaoan people back (CUR-OH-04). Sociologists Marcha and Verweel (2003) have referred to this as “*de cultuur van angst*” (the culture of fear). Gibi Bacilio of the *Kas di Kultura* (Ministry of Culture) has made a similar statement addressing persisting racial inequality on the island and feelings of inferiority (Broere 2017), something which A F Paula already observed in the 1960s (Paula 1968). Teresa Leslie (2018) has observed a similar phenomenon of internalised colonial attitudes in St Eustatius.

Interviewees also described shame associated with slavery and with African ancestry (see for example SXM-OH-06; CUR-OH-06; CUR-OH-07). There is still a lot of prejudice against, for example, *kroeshaar* (Afro hair) and dark skin. Interviewees' observations on this point are echoed in recent sociological studies such as that of Marcha *et al* (2012) and van der Ven (2011). These prejudices were most often mentioned by Curaçaoan participants, and reportedly perpetrated within the Afro-Curaçaoan community as well as being received from white people (see CUR-OH-02; CUR-OH-06), part of the internalisation of inferiority mentioned above.

However, Dutch Caribbean people are becoming active in commemoration events such as the *Ruta Tula* (Curaçao) (CUR-OH-02) and the *ponum* dance at Diamond Plantation (St Maarten) (SXM-OH-06). These activities give people pride in their heritage and are part of the development of Dutch Caribbean identities, and are discussed further in section 9.4.3 below.

#### **9.4.2 Politics, Economy, and Independence**

EUX-OH-03      But you raped us. When the islands were producing you came and you got the salt, the everything, but now - eh? Now we are useless [...] we are still your slaves.

The Dutch government has been trying to detach itself from its Caribbean colonies since the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when it planned to sell the islands (Oostindie 2005: 21). However, by 1990 the Netherlands was forced to admit that none of the Antillean islands would accept full independence, despite promises of continued support. Instead, the islands retained Dutch modes of governance, which has led to accusations of 're-colonisation' (Oostindie 2005: 15; Oostindie 1992). Before the independence referendum on 10/10/10, therefore, the Netherlands Antilles already had an unequal, "artificial and hypocritical relationship" (Curiel 2006: 142) with the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Accusations of

're-colonisation' have persisted in the current political environment because the new special municipalities of Bonaire, St Eustatius, and Saba find that the Dutch government is now taking an increased interest in their organisation (Oostindie 2013a). Interviewees described this as an extension of slavery, a further oppression (EUX-OH-05).

The situation is still developing: in September 2017 Hurricanes Irma and Maria had a devastating impact upon the Caribbean, and St Maarten/St Martin was one of the most badly affected islands (Meade 2018). This has prompted St Maarteners to reconsider their autonomous status, and the 'Orange Movement' is calling for a new referendum on their relationship with the Kingdom of the Netherlands (Haar 2017). The political circumstances of the Dutch Caribbean islands with respect to these relationships is important in the development of island identities, discussed further in section 9.4.3 below.

Further political concerns include persisting institutional or structural racism (CUR-OH-08) (see also Broere 2017), and the fact that class divisions still coincide with social race (see for example Marcha, Verweel and Werkman 2012). These factors are linked to economic circumstances, such as the departure of Shell Oil and, in the *longue vue*, the decline of St Eustatius as a trade centre (Benjamin 2002; Barka 2001). In general, there is a sense of anger about the past, and a need for the Dutch government to apologise for and acknowledge its involvement in slavery and the 'slave trade' (EUX-OH-01; EUX-OH-03; EUX-OH-08) (see also Broere 2017; van der Ven 2011: 148-149). Nimako and Willemsen (2011: 149-183) have also observed the need for a formal apology from the Netherlands for slavery and its after-effects still being experienced by Dutch Caribbean people.

### 9.4.3 Collective Identity

CUR-OH-04      When I went to school the history classes were more oriented on the European history than the island history [...] we knew everything of every city in the Netherlands, you know [...] we knew where cheeses are made and where everything is made, you know, but we did not really know anything of our islands.

The issue of collective identity is one that overlaps with island autonomy and with the effects of mental slavery, as has already been mentioned in sections 9.4.1 and 9.4.2 above. Collective memory and cultural trauma can be very important in the development of collective identities (Eyerman 2001: 1-10). Before 10/10/10 Oostindie (2005: 167-174) was already discussing the difficulty of developing identity in the Dutch Caribbean islands because of their diversity. Since then the topic has become increasingly relevant (Ansano 2017). Scholars such as Richenel Ansano (2017) and Rose Mary Allen (2017a) have been addressing these questions, and the author will now mention some of their main points.

Previous work in the Dutch Caribbean often implies a fixed historical rootedness, but this is unrealistic (Oostindie 2013a). Identities are not fixed but change and reform according to the situation at hand (Allen 2015b). In the post-emancipation period, people from all over the world (for example Lebanon, China, and Portugal) migrated to the Dutch Caribbean to fill the labour vacuum. This has contributed to the multicultural and multi-ethnic feel of Curaçao, Aruba, Bonaire and St Maarten/St Martin today (Haviser 2001). It is therefore necessary to consider identities in the light of immigration, multiculturalism, and globalisation, specifically in relation to the wider Caribbean, Latin America, and the Netherlands (Allen 2015b; Ansano 2006b). Allen (2014a) has noted that Curaçaoan identity is often most easily constructed in relation to that of others.

Interviewees in the current study stressed that it is important to know about the past in order to go forward into the future (see for example CUR-OH-02; EUX-OH-06)

(see also van der Ven 2011: 142-143), as well as a certain feeling of wanting to belong (CUR-OH-06). There is a sense that knowledge about the past is dying out, and some people are now trying to save it (SXM-OH-05; SXM-OH-06). The construction of Dutch Caribbean identities is therefore something that people are keen to engage with. In Curaçao there is a longstanding debate about the concept of *Yu di Kòrsou* (Child of Curaçao), a term of national identity which is sometimes used to exclude Curaçaoans who do not, for example, have African ancestry or speak Papiamentu (Allen 2017a; van der Ven 2011: 76; Allen 2006b). This racial or ethnic antagonism is obstructive to the development of inclusive identities. Other obstructions include the failure of the Dutch education system to incorporate the Dutch Caribbean into national narratives (see for example EUX-OH-12) (see also Ansano 2017; van der Ven 2011: 144-145).

However, there is a point where Dutch Caribbean and Dutch Netherlandish identities meet. One can recognize this in the presence of an official photograph of the king and queen in the St Eustatius Historical Foundation Museum; in people's memories of the North Sea floods in 1953 (EUX-OH-03); and in the passports that Dutch Caribbean people hold (CUR-OH-06). Dutch Caribbean people are legally Dutch and they may wish to remain connected to the European Union, but there is tension between this and the desire for independent governance (Allen 2017a). In order for these tensions to be resolved, there has to be dialogue. Although it requires engagement and compromise on both sides, the major work of resolution must be done by the oppressor. Dutch Caribbean people may distrust politicians (see for example Allen 2017a), and the Dutch government must therefore work on earning their trust. The matter of collective identity in the Dutch Caribbean is therefore directly related to the political situation, specifically how closely affiliated the islands are with the Kingdom of the Netherlands (Allen 2015b).

It is important for the Caribbean as a whole, but in particular these islands in their new political climate, to develop a sense of identity in which they can be proud (Jackson

2012; Knight 2012; Allen 2006a; Liu and Hilton 2005). Oostindie (2011b) is positive in this respect: he believed that ethnic divisions will play a less important role in identity as the Netherlands engages with and accepts its colonial past. Current research on identities and governance in the Dutch Caribbean include the *Confronting Caribbean Challenges* project at the KITLV, which includes a range of interdisciplinary sub-projects addressing the social history of the Windward Islands since 1815, the impact of the new legal status on local people on the BES Islands (Bonaire, St Eustatius, and Saba), and the development of politics in the fields of nature conservation and cultural heritage on Bonaire and St Eustatius. The project aims to link past, present and future in a way that has an immediate and lasting social impact in terms of quality of governance and the sustainability of the tourism industry (Oostindie 2013a; Oostindie 2013b; Roitman 2013; Veenendaal 2013). The studies of scholars such as Rose Mary Allen have also contributed to the discussion on identity development in the Dutch Caribbean (Allen 2015a; Allen 2015b; Allen 2014a; Allen 2006a; Allen 2006b). The work of identity development (to which the current project hopes to contribute) is therefore being done in several quarters.

## **9.5 MODERN SLAVERY**

Slavery is by no means a phenomenon confined to the past (Bales 2004: 3). Estimates for the total number of modern enslaved people vary from 8.98 million to 27 million (Anti-Slavery International 2015; Patterson, O. 2012; Taylor 2005; Bales 2004: 8). These figures depend on how one defines slavery: whether one includes child labourers, indentured labourers and India's 'untouchables', for example (Patterson, O. 2012; Bales 2004: 5). However, there may be more enslaved individuals alive now than were ever taken from Africa during the trans-Atlantic 'slave trade', and the networks of trafficking used today have direct links with those in the past (Patterson, O. 2012; Bales

2004: 9; Lovejoy, P. 1983: 18). What this makes clear is that the study of slavery in archaeology has a profound relevance for living people on several fronts. These groups of exploited people still exist – and it is therefore part of our responsibility as archaeologists to help them have their own voice (Bales 2004: 252; Pelteret 1995: 40). Our material and intangible understandings of slavery in the past can help us to understand the mechanisms of slavery in the present.

## **9.6 FURTHER WORK**

During data collection and analysis, the author observed three main areas in which more research is needed. Firstly, in Curaçao and St Maarten/St Martin more open area excavations are needed to broaden our understanding of the enslaved homespace. Secondly, the lack of large buried populations for osteological analysis hinders statistical comparisons of these islands with other areas of the Caribbean and other areas administered by Dutch colonisers, such as Suriname. The author is aware that further excavations are currently taking place in St Eustatius, but more such work is needed in St Maarten/St Martin and Curaçao. This will allow the Dutch Caribbean to join the wider stage of Caribbean osteology. Comparisons with Newton Plantation in Barbados, for example, could be particularly informative (see Shuler 2011).

Thirdly, archaeology in the Dutch Caribbean has in the past not always had a positive impact. This is often because of a lack of engagement with the local community, for example the common practice of researchers entirely abandoning the area once their data have been collected. Additionally, there has often been a focus on sites that have more to do with European ancestors than they do with African ones. This may contribute to island inhabitants perceiving heritage as belonging to somebody else (Haviser 2001a). Although the current project (conducted with limited funding and only one researcher)

made an important effort to include stakeholders in the processes of data collection and analysis, more can certainly be done in the future. The author would like to see excavations of enslaved villages and burial grounds that include local inhabitants in focus groups that can guide the research and help form interpretations, as well as in excavating the sites themselves. Caribbean people should have ownership of their own archaeology, and this includes helping to develop it from the beginning of the project.

Finally, there is work to be done at a pan-Caribbean level: pre-contact and post-contact archaeologists must learn from each other (Cipolla 2017b; Wilson, S. 2013). This is encouraged through the organisation of conferences such as those of the International Association for Caribbean Archaeology (IACA) (see Wilson, S. 2013). It is also being developed through the use of online media such as Facebook.com and Academia.edu, where scholars can share information and research. However, it is also necessary to produce a continuous narrative that is not divided at the year 1492. The results of the ERC-Synergy project NEXUS 1492 which addressed precisely this problem will soon become available and will make an important contribution to the development of Caribbean archaeology (see ERC-Nexus 1492 2017).

Such research can have a positive social impact in the development of identities, and a positive political impact in the acknowledgement and discussion of slavery by diverse groups. The author intends to continue contributing to this dialogue in post-doctoral study.

## **9.7 THE LIFEWAYS OF ENSLAVED PEOPLE: AN INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDY**

One of the central problems of slavery studies is “how to simultaneously - and explicitly - recognize the creativity and resilience of the enslaved, without disregarding or downplaying the dehumanizing social and economic impositions of slavery” (Chan

2007: 11). In order to achieve this recognition, a nuanced analysis is needed that incorporates both oppression and resistance into interpretations of enslaved lifeways. Such a study has been missing from the Dutch Caribbean until now.

Authors such as Phaf-Rheinberger (2001) and Portelli (1981) have observed that oral sources are able to provide information on under-represented and oppressed groups in a way that challenges established narratives. In the current study, triangulation of data from multiple sources has shown that oral testimonies are indeed a valuable source of information, one which should be integrated more fully into the archaeology of the colonial Caribbean. The detail and emotion in these oral testimonies make them a stunning original data source which can be useful to other researchers in the future. The inclusion of osteological data in the analysis allowed the experiences of enslaved people to be situated in real bodies, which brings us closer to enslaved people as individual human beings as well as providing us with direct evidence for their lifeways; and finally, the use of material culture and other archaeological data in this study has been instrumental in developing our understandings, particularly in relation to enslaved homespaces. This study has provided a good opportunity for the reassessment of archaeological and osteological data excavated by other researchers, sometimes in difficult circumstances, and often without the resources to include their findings in wider studies; it has allowed existing collections to be included in new interpretations; it has actively engaged with stakeholders and included them in the interpretation process; it has shown that the use of thematic analysis to integrate archaeological, osteological, and oral historical data is successful.

The interpretations of enslaved lifeways discussed in this study are therefore unique. Drawing widely on triangulatory material from other researchers across the Americas to support the diverse dataset, they have added nuance to our understandings of enslaved lifeways by applying a more personal approach to enslavement that is

grounded in a definition of slavery that emphasises psychological effects ('mental slavery') as well as physical ones. The comparative approach has demonstrated that similarities in the lifeways of enslaved people on the islands of Curaçao, St Eustatius and St Maarten/St Martin were often shared with other areas of the Americas, especially in the wider Caribbean. It therefore opposes approaches that have labelled slavery in the Dutch Caribbean as 'mild' based on economic and material evidence, which does not necessarily translate into increased quality of life for enslaved people. Differences observed between the three islands are mainly due to their individual geographical, economic, and cultural circumstances, and to the ways in which enslaved people creatively adapted to and resisted these circumstances with the resources available, often reflecting a vibrant interaction of beliefs and traditions that is still in evidence today.

On each island, the research has been able to provide a perspective lacking in the academic literature: in St Maarten/St Martin the evidence from osteology and oral history in particular demonstrates that there is more to the story of enslavement here than historical documentation indicates. Enslaved people here had highly complex spiritual, cultural, and communal lifeways which were intricately linked with the island landscape. It is no longer possible to disregard this island in the narrative of Caribbean slavery.

Secondly, in St Eustatius the established narrative of economic success and material wealth has been upset by all three lines of evidence. The enslaved population here were subject to diseases of poverty; they had only irregular access to luxury items; and they endured psychological and physical hardships comparable to those endured by enslaved people in other areas of the Caribbean. Oral historical evidence here has also been able to answer questions that archaeologists have long had about the blue beads, which still have a great deal of significance for Statian people.

Finally, in Curaçao all three datasets have provided a stunning array of evidence with which to address the lifeways of enslaved people on the island. In particular, this

research contributes to an alternative viewpoint of the post-abolition period, with the social structures of Atlantic slavery persisting well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The research has provided the first professional analyses of human remains from the period of enslavement on the island and has demonstrated the extraordinary impacts that stressful environments can have on human bodies.

In summary, the integration of oral historical, archaeological and osteological evidence has not only generated new data but has also applied an alternative perspective to existing evidence. It has been successful in its postcolonial approach and has used the definition of slavery and a focus on the subaltern to bring Atlantic slavery into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This study can therefore have an important impact on the way that people view slavery, not only in the Kingdom of the Netherlands and in the Dutch Caribbean, but also in the wider Caribbean, the Americas and Europe. The results presented here can challenge people's assumptions, start conversations, and pave the way for future work that deepens our understandings of oppressive social systems in the past while helping to dismantle them in the present.

## GLOSSARY

---

AAINA	Archaeological Anthropological Institute of the Netherlands Antilles
ABC Islands	Aruba, Bonaire, and Curaçao (the Leeward Islands)
BABAO	British Association for Biological Anthropology and Osteoarchaeology
BES Islands	Bonaire, St Eustatius, and Saba (Netherlands Municipalities)
<i>Bomba</i>	Slave driver (Papiamentu)
CNSI	Caribbean Netherlands Science Institute, St Eustatius
IACA	International Association for Caribbean Archaeology
Inrap	<i>Institut national de recherches archéologiques préventives</i> (French National Institute for Archaeological Rescue Research)
KITLV	<i>Koninklijk Instituut Voor Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde</i> (Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies)
LSAMAT	Lingual surface attrition of the maxillary anterior teeth
<i>Mundi</i>	Countryside/Curaçaoan bush (Papiamentu)
NAAM	National Archaeological Anthropological Memory Management, Curaçao
Obeah	African-influenced belief system practised mainly on English-speaking Caribbean islands
SECAR	St Eustatius Centre for Archaeological Research
<i>Shon</i>	Master (Papiamentu)
SIMARC	St Maarten Archaeological Research Centre
SSS Islands	Saba, St Eustatius, and St Maarten/St Martin (the Windward Islands)
Statia	Affectionate name for St Eustatius
<i>Tambú</i>	Erotic dance performed in Curaçao; accompanied by singing which often forms political commentary; and the <i>tambú</i> drum (Papiamentu)
<i>Vito</i>	Overseer (Papiamentu)
WIC	<i>West-Indische Compagnie</i> (Dutch West India Company)

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

---

- Abdulcarimo, I. (2001). *An ethnomethodological study of Tchadji - about a mancala type board game played in Mozambique and possibilities for its use in mathematics education. PhD Thesis*. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersand.
- Abrahams, P., Boon, J. and Spratt, J. (2008). *McMinn's Clinical Atlas of Human Anatomy*. 6th edn. Maryland Heights, Missouri: Mosby Elsevier.
- Abraham-van der Mark, E. (2001). A doomed civilizing offensive in Curacao, 1871-1875. In: James, A. ed. *History of Literature in the Caribbean, Volume 2*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp. 625-631.
- Adams, E. (1994). Religion and freedom: artifacts indicate that African culture persisted even in slavery. *African Diaspora Archaeology Newsletter*, 1(2).
- Adler, N., et al. (1994). Socioeconomic status and health: the challenge of the gradient. *American Psychologist*, 49(1), 15-24.
- Adler, P. and Adler, P. (2012). The epistemology of numbers. In: Baker, S. and Edwards, R. eds. *How Many Qualitative Interviews is enough? Expert Voices and Early Career Reflections on Sampling and Cases in Qualitative Research*. Southampton: ESRC National Centre for Research Methods, University of Southampton, pp. 8-11.
- Agamben, G. (1998). *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Agorsah, E. (2011). Archaeological perspectives on colonial slavery: placing Africa in the African diaspora studies in the Caribbean. *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 168, 199-221.
- Ahlman, T., Schroedl, G. and McKeown, A. (2009). The Afro-Caribbean ware from the Brimstone Hill fortress, St Kitts, West Indies: a study in ceramic production. *Historical Archaeology*, 43(4), 22-41.
- Ahlman, T., et al. (2008). Ceramic production and exchange among enslaved Africans on St Kitts, West Indies. *Journal of Caribbean Archaeology Special Publication*, 2, 109-122.
- Akbar, N. (1996). *Breaking the Chains of Psychological Slavery*. Tallahassee, Florida: Mind Productions.
- Albus, A. (2001). From oral to written literature: St Maarten, Saba, and St Eustatius. In: James, A. ed. *History of Literature in the Caribbean, Volume 2*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp. 443-447.
- Albus, A. (1996). The concept of folklore: some aspects of St Maarten's history of importance for the study of its folklore. In: Ayubi, E. ed. *Papers of the Third Seminar on Latin-American and Caribbean Folklore: Reports of the*

*Archaeological-Anthropological Institute of the Netherlands Antilles, no. 12.*  
Curacao: Archaeological-Anthropological Institute of the Netherlands Antilles  
(AAINA), pp. 15-30.

- Alexander, J. (2001). Islam, archaeology and slavery in Africa. *World Archaeology*, 33(1), 44-60.
- Alfonso, M., et al. (2015). The Willow Hill community health assessment: assessing the needs of children in a former slave community. *Journal of Community Health*, 40, 855-862.
- Aljoe, N. (2004). Caribbean slave narratives: creole in forma and genre. *Anthurium: A Caribbean Studies Journal*, 2(1), 1-14.
- Allen, R. (2017c). Toward a more representative global history: the "Dutch" Caribbean island of Curacao and the African diaspora. In: Awedoba, A., et al. ed. *Revisiting African Studies in a Globalized World*. Legon: Smartline, pp. 281-295.
- Allen, R. (2017b). Contesting respectability and sexual politics in post-emancipation Curacao. In: Faraclas, N., et al. ed. *Archaeologies of Erasures and Silences: Recovering Othered Languages, Literatures and Cultures in the Dutch Caribbean and Beyond, Volume 1*. Curacao: University of Curacao, pp. 99-112.
- Allen, R. (2017a). Exploring Reality: Reflecting on Cultural Identities within a Localized Form of Cultural Studies in Curacao 'Whither the Caribbean': *Stuart Hall's Intellectual Legacy Conference*.
- Allen, R. (2015b). Toward reconstituting Caribbean identity discourse from within the Dutch Caribbean island of Curacao. In: Meeks, B. and McCalpin, J. eds. *Caribbean Reasonings: Freedom, Power and Sovereignty, the Thought of Gordon K Lewis*. Ian Randle Publishers, pp. 94-110.
- Allen, R. (2015a). "We are of the same blood": the Curacaoan-Cuban intra-Caribbean migration in the conceptualization of identity and the politics of belonging. In: Faraclas, N., et al. ed. *Envisioning the Greater Dutch Caribbean: Transgressing Geographical and Disciplinary Boundaries*. Curacao: University of Curacao, pp. 307-321.
- Allen, R. (2014b). The oral history of slavery, Afro-Curacaoan memory, and self-definition: a Caribbean perspective on the 300th anniversary of the Treaty of Utrecht. *Sargasso: Journal of Caribbean Literature, Language, & Culture*, I & II, 135-152.
- Allen, R. (2014a). From bondage to national belonging in a Dutch Caribbean context: addressing the Yu di Korsou in post emancipation Curacao, 1863-1915. In: Faraclas, N., et al. ed. *Creole Connections: Transgressing Neocolonial Boundaries in the Languages, Literatures and Cultures on the ABC Islands and the Rest of the Dutch Caribbean*. Curacao: University of Curacao, pp. 39-56.
- Allen, R. (2012b). Music in diasporic context: the case of Curacao and intra-Caribbean migration. *Black Music Research Journal*, 32(2), 51-65.

- Allen, R. (2012a). The Anancy Plot in the Search for the Curacaoan Identity Or the Yu Di Korsou Migration, *Citizenship and Belonging: African, Caribbean and European Perspectives Conference*.
- Allen, R. (2010c). Hende a Hasi Malu P'E: Popular Psychiatric Beliefs in Curacaoan Culture. In: Faraclas, N., et al. ed. *Crossing Shifting Boundaries: Languages and Changing Political Status in Aruba, Bonaire and Curacao. Proceedings of the ECICC Conference, Dominica 2009*. Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma and the Universiteit van de Nederlandse Antillen, pp. 221-228.
- Allen, R. (2010b). Laat het kind eerst geboren worden, voordat men het een naam geeft: Het leven van slavenkinderen in de Curacaosche samenleving. In: Mok, I. ed. *Kind Aan De Ketting: Opgoeien Op Slavernij - Toen En Nu*. Amsterdam: NiNSee.
- Allen, R. (2010a). The complexity of national identity construction in Curacao, Dutch Caribbean. *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, 89, 117-125.
- Allen, R. (2007b). Enslavement of Africans on the Dutch Caribbean Islands: A Comparative Perspective *Teaching the Transatlantic Trade in Enslaved Africans (TTEA) Seminar, Trinidad and Tobago*.
- Allen, R. (2007a). *Di Ki Manera? A Social History of Afro-Curacaoans, 1863-1917*. Amsterdam: SWP Publishers.
- Allen, R. (2006b). Cultural identity in a Curacaoan mirror: a critical view on Rene Romer's contribution. In: Allen, R. ed. *Rene Romer Als Inspirator: Actualisering Van Zijn Gedachtegoed*. Curacao: University of the Netherlands Antilles, pp. 16-29.
- Allen, R. (2006a). Constructing identity through Inter-Caribbean interaction: the Curacao-Cuban migration revisited. In: Havisser, J. and MacDonald, K. eds. *African Re-Genesis: Confronting Social Issues in the Diaspora*. New York: UCL Press, pp. 111-120.
- Allen, R. (2001). Song texts as literature of daily life in the Netherlands Antilles. In: James, A. ed. *History of Literature in the Caribbean, Volume 2*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp. 421-429.
- Allen, R. (1996). The conceptualization of folklore in the Netherlands Antilles. In: Ayubi, E. ed. *Papers of the Third Seminar on Latin-American and Caribbean Folklore: Reports of the Archaeological-Anthropological Institute of the Netherlands Antilles, no. 12*. Curacao: Archaeological-Anthropological Institute of the Netherlands Antilles (AAINA), pp. 33-39.
- Allison, P. (2013). *People and Spaces in Roman Military Bases*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Allison, P. (2004). *Pompeian Households: An Analysis of Material Culture*. Los Angeles: The Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California.

- Allison, P. (1999). Introduction. In: Allison, P. ed. *The Archaeology of Household Activities*. London: Routledge, pp. 1-18.
- Altink, H. (2002). *Representations of slave women in discourses of slavery and abolition, 1780-1838. PhD Thesis*. Hull: University of Hull.
- Altschul, J., Thiaw, I. and Wait, G. (2016). *A Slave Who would be King: Oral Tradition and Archaeology of the Recent Past in the Senegal River Basin*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Ames, K. (2001). Slaves, chiefs and labour on the northern Northwest Coast. *World Archaeology*, 33(1), 1-17.
- Amigoe Express (2015). Curacao History in a Nutshell. *Amigoe Express*, 17th November 2015, 10-11.
- Anderson, K. and Jack, D. (2016 [1991]). Learning to listen: interview techniques and analyses. In: Perks, R. and Thomson, A. eds. *The Oral History Reader*. 3rd edn. London: Routledge, pp. 179-192.
- Anderson, W. and Dynes, R. (1975). *Social Movement, Violence and Change: The may Movement in Curacao*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.
- Angel, J., et al. (1987). Life stresses of the free black community as represented by the First African Baptist Church, Philadelphia, 1823-1841. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 74, 213-229.
- Angrosino, M. (1989). The two lives of Rebecca Levenstone: symbolic interaction in the generation of the life history. *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 45(3), 315-326.
- Ansano, R. (2017). What is Central to Curacao's History and National Identity? A Cultural Heritage Canon as a Tool for National Identity, Nation-Building and Nation-Branding *Workshop of the NWO Project Traveling Caribbean Heritage, University of Curacao*.
- Ansano, R. (2015). The Spectacular, the Common, the Hidden and the Sublime: Four Doors into the African Continuum in the Americas and the Caribbean *International Conference on Caribbean Literatures*.
- Ansano, R. (2014). Malungo, praise names and places: how dead can a language really be?. In: Faraclas, N., et al. ed. *Creole Connections: Transgressing Neocolonial Boundaries in the Languages, Literatures and Cultures on the ABC Islands and the Rest of the Dutch Caribbean*. Curacao: University of Curacao, pp. 23-37.
- Ansano, R. (2006b). Rene Romer: between striking a path and creating a legacy. In: Allen, R. ed. *Rene Romer Als Inspirator: Actualisering Van Zijn Gedachtegoed*. Curacao: University of the Netherlands Antilles, pp. 9-15.
- Ansano, R. (1996). Folklore and economic change in 20th century Curacao. In: Ayubi, E. ed. *Papers of the Third Seminar on Latin-American and Caribbean Folklore: Reports of the Archaeological-Anthropological Institute of the Netherlands*

- Antilles, no. 12*. Curacao: Archaeological-Anthropological Institute of the Netherlands Antilles (AAINA), pp. 41-47.
- Ansano, R. and Kraan, C. (2015). Heritage management on Bonaire and Curacao: A Step Towards an Integral Approach to Heritage. In: Hofman, C. and Haviser, J. eds. *Managing our Past into the Future: Archaeological Heritage Management in the Dutch Caribbean*. Leiden: Sidestone Press, pp. 89-101.
- Antczak, A., et al. (2013). Community archaeology in Los Roques Archipelago National Park, Venezuela. *Politeja*, 2(24), 201-232.
- Antilliaans Dagblad (2017). Internationale publicatie slavernij: veel vrije slaven op Antillen en vage scheidslijnen. *Antilliaans Dagblad*, Maandag 28 augustus, 12.
- Anti-Slavery International (2016). *What You can Do* [Online]. Available from: [http://www.antislavery.org/english/what\\_you\\_can\\_do/default.aspx](http://www.antislavery.org/english/what_you_can_do/default.aspx)
- Anti-Slavery International (2015). *What is Modern Slavery?* [Online]. Last updated: 11th April 2015. Available from: [http://www.antislavery.org/english/slavery\\_today/what\\_is\\_modern\\_slavery.aspx](http://www.antislavery.org/english/slavery_today/what_is_modern_slavery.aspx)
- Araujo, A. (2014). Gender, sex, and power: images of enslaved women's bodies. In: Campbell, G. and Elbourne, E. eds. *Sex, Power, and Slavery*. Athens: Ohio University Press, pp. 469-499.
- Archives Territoriales (2015). *Les murets en pierre seche de Saint Martin: preservons ensemble notre patrimoine*. St Martin: Archives Territoriales.
- Armstrong, D. (2013). New directions in Caribbean historical archaeology. In: Keegan, W., Hofman, C. and Rodriguez Ramos, R. eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Caribbean Archaeology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 525-541.
- Armstrong, D. (2009). An Afro-Jamaican slave settlement: archaeological investigations at Drax Hall. In: Singleton, T. ed. *The Archaeology of Slavery and Plantation Life*. California: Left Coast Press, pp. 261-287.
- Armstrong, D. and Fleischman, M. (2003). House-yard burials of enslaved labourers in eighteenth-century Jamaica. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 7(1), 33-65.
- Armstrong, D. and Kelly, K. (2000). Settlement patterns and the origins of African Jamaican society: Seville Plantation, St Ann's Bay, Jamaica. *Ethnohistory*, 47(2), 369-397.
- Arnold, D. (2012). Gramsci and the peasant subalternity in India. In: Chaturvedi, V. ed. *Mapping Subaltern Studies and the Postcolonial*. London: Verso, pp. 24-49.
- Ascher, R. (1974). Tin can archaeology. *Historical Archaeology*, 8, 7-16.
- Ascher, R. and Fairbanks, C. (1971). Excavation of a slave cabin: Georgia, USA. *Historical Archaeology*, 3-17.

- Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G. and Tiffin, H. eds. (2006). *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*. 2nd edn. London: Routledge.
- Atria (2017). *Women's Suffrage in the Netherlands* [Online]. Last updated: April 6th. Available from: <https://www.atria.nl/en/publication/womens-suffrage-netherlands>
- Auld, G., et al. (2007). Development of a decision tree to determine appropriateness of Nvivo in analyzing qualitative data sets. *Journal of Nutrition Education and Behaviour*, 39, 37-47.
- Baart, W. (2001). *Cuentanan Di Nanzi*. Deventer: PlantijnCasparie Heerhugowaard.
- BABAO Working Group for Ethics and Practice (2017b). *Code of Practice*. British Association of Biological Anthropology and Osteoarchaeology.
- BABAO Working Group for Ethics and Practice (2017a). *Code of Ethics*. British Association of Biological Anthropology and Osteoarchaeology.
- Baker, B., Terhune, C. and Papalexandrou, A. (2012). Sew long? The osteobiography of a woman from medieval Polis, Cyprus. In: Stodder, A. and Palkovich, A. eds. *The Bioarchaeology of Individuals*. USA: University Press of Florida, pp. 151-161.
- Baker, S. and Edwards, R. (2012). *How Many Qualitative Interviews is enough?*. National Centre for Research Methods Review Paper.
- Bales, K. (2004). *Disposable People: New Slavery in the Global Economy*. London: University of California Press.
- Bar-Anan, Y., Wilson, T. and Gilbert, D. (2009). The feeling of uncertainty intensifies affective reactions. *Emotion*, 9(1), 123-127.
- Barka, N. (2001). Time Lines: Changing Settlement Patterns on St Eustatius. In: Farnsworth, P. ed. *Island Lives: Historical Archaeologies of the Caribbean*. USA: University of Alabama Press, pp. 82-92.
- Barka, N. (1993). *Archaeological Survey of Sites and Buildings, St Maarten, Netherlands Antilles: I*. Virginia: College of William and Mary.
- Barka, N. (1985). *Archaeology of St Eustatius Netherlands Antilles*. Virginia: College of William and Mary.
- Baron, J. (2009). Sailors' scurvy before and after James Lind – a reassessment. *Nutrition Reviews*, 67(6), 315-332.
- Barrett, A. and Blakey, M. (2011). Life histories of enslaved Africans in colonial New York: a bioarchaeological study of the New York African Burial Ground. In: Agarwal, S. and Glencross, B. eds. *Social Bioarchaeology*. Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, pp. 213-251.
- Battle, W. (2004). A space of our own: redefining the enslaved household at Andrew Jackson's Hermitage Plantation. In: Barile, K. and Brandon, J. eds. *Household*

*Chores and Household Choices: Theorizing the Domestic Sphere in Historical Archaeology*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, pp. 33-50.

Battle-Baptiste, W. (2011). *Black Feminist Archaeology*. Walnut Creek, California: Left Coast Press.

Battle-Baptiste, W. (2010b). Sweepin' spirits: power and transformation on the plantation landscape. In: Baugher, S. and Spencer-Wood, S. eds. *Archaeology and Preservation of Gendered Landscapes*. New York: Springer, pp. 81-94.

Battle-Baptiste, W. (2007b). The other from within: a commentary. In: Jameson Jr, J. and Baugher, S. eds. *Past Meets Present: Archaeologists Partnering with Museum Curators, Teachers, and Community Groups*. New York: Springer, pp. 101-106.

Battle-Baptiste, W. (2007a). "In this here place": interpreting enslaved homeplaces. In: Ogundiran, A. and Falola, T. eds. *Archaeology of the Atlantic Diaspora and the African Diaspora*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, pp. 233-248.

Beck, W. and Somerville, M. (2005). Conversations between disciplines: historical archaeology and oral history at Yarrowarra. *World Archaeology*, 37(3), 468-483.

Becker, H. (2012). How many qualitative interviews is enough?. In: Baker, S. and Edwards, R. eds. *How Many Qualitative Interviews is enough? Expert Voices and Early Career Reflections on Sampling and Cases in Qualitative Research*. Southampton: ESRC National Centre for Research Methods, University of Southampton, pp. 15.

Beckles, H. (1998). White women and a West India fortune: gender and wealth during slavery. In: Johnson, H. and Watson, K. eds. *The White Minority in the Caribbean*. Oxford: James Currey Publishers, pp. 1-16.

Bender, B. (1993). Cognitive archaeology and cultural materialism. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 3(2), 257-260.

Benjamin, A. (2002). *Jews of the Dutch Caribbean: Exploring Ethnic Identity on Curacao*. London: Routledge.

Bentham, J. (1843). Panopticon, or, The Inspection-House. In: *The Works of Jeremy Bentham, Volume 4*.

Benton, T. and Craib, I. (2011). *Philosophy of Social Science: The Philosophical Foundations of Social Thought*. 2nd edn. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Bergman, S. and Smith, F. (2014). Blurring disciplinary boundaries: the material culture of improvement during the age of abolition in Barbados. *Slavery and Abolition*, 35(3), 418-436.

Berlin, I. (2003b). From creole to African: Atlantic creoles and the origins of African-American society in mainland North America. In: Heuman, G. and Walvin, J. eds. *The Slavery Reader*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 427-462.

- Bhabha, H. (2006c). Cultural diversity and cultural differences. In: Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G. and Tiffin, H. eds. *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*. 2nd edn. London: Routledge, pp. 155-157.
- Bhabha, H. (2006a). Signs Taken for Wonders: Questions of Ambivalence and Authority Under a Tree Outside Delhi, May 1817. In: Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G. and Tiffin, H. eds. *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*. 2nd edn. London: Routledge, pp. 38-43.
- Bhambra, G. (2015). Postcolonial and decolonial dialogues. *Postcolonial Studies*, 17(2), 115-121.
- Binford, L. (1987). Data, relativism and archaeological science. *Man*, 22(3), 391-404.
- Birla, A. (2010). Postcolonial studies: now that's history. In: Morris, R. ed. *Can the Subaltern Speak? Reflections on the History of an Idea*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 87-99.
- Bishop, A. (2006 [1990]). Western Mathematics: the Secret Weapon of Cultural Imperialism. In: Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G. and Tiffin, H. eds. *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*. 2nd edn. London: Routledge, pp. 80-83.
- Blackburn, R. (1988). *The Overthrow of Colonial Slavery 1776-1848*. London: Verso.
- Blackwell, D., Hayward, M. and Crimmins, E. (2001). Does childhood health affect chronic morbidity in later life?. *Social Science and Medicine*, 52, 1269-1284.
- Blakely, A. (2006). Putting flesh on the bones: history-anthropology collaboration on the New York African Burial Ground Project. In: Havisser, J. and MacDonald, K. eds. *African Re-Genesis: Confronting Social Issues in the Diaspora*. New York: UCL Press, pp. 62-69.
- Blakely, A. (1993). *Blacks in the Dutch World: The Evolution of Racial Imagery in a Modern Society*. USA: Indiana University Press.
- Blakey, M., et al. (2006). Discussion. In: Perry, W., Howson, J. and Bianco, B. eds. *New York African Burial Ground Archaeology Final Report, Volume 1*. Washington DC: Howard University, pp. 541-556.
- Blakey, M., et al. (2009). The political economy of forced migration: sex ratios, mortality, population growth, and fertility among Africans in colonial New York. In: Blakey, M. and Rankin-Hill, L. eds. *The New York African Burial Ground: Unearthing the African Presence in Colonial New York, Volume 1*. Washington DC: Howard University Press, pp. 255-267.
- Blau, S. (2009). More than just bare bones: ethical considerations for forensic anthropologists. In: Blau, S. and Ubelaker, D. eds. *Handbook of Forensic Archaeology and Anthropology*. California: Left Coast Press, pp. 457-466.
- Bochner, A. (2000). Criteria against ourselves. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 6(2), 266-272.

- Boeyens, J. and Hall, S. (2009). Tlokwa oral traditions and the interface between history and archaeology at Marothodi. *South African Historical Journal*, 61(3), 457-481.
- Bonnissent, D. (2012). *Saint-Martin, La Plantation Mont Vernon: Une Architecture Raisonnée, Découverte De La Sucrierie Et Du Quartier Esclaves*. Grand Sud-Ouest: Institut national de recherches archéologiques préventives (Inrap).
- Bonnissent, D., et al. (2017a). Les cimetières littoraux de la période coloniale: prévenir une destruction annoncée en Guadeloupe et en Martinique. *Les Nouvelles De L'Archeologie*, 150, 59-64.
- Boocock, P., Roberts, C. and Manchester, K. (1995). Maxillary sinusitis in medieval Chichester, England. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 98, 483-495.
- Borland, K. (2016 [1991]). 'That's not what I said': interpretative conflict in oral narrative research. In: Perks, R. and Thomson, A. eds. *The Oral History Reader*. 3rd edn. London: Routledge, pp. 412-423.
- Botha, D. and Steyn, M. (2014). A palaeopathological assessment of the late 19th and early 20th century Khoesan. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*.
- Boucher, P. (2011). The French and Dutch Caribbean, 1600-1800. In: Palmie, S. and Scarano, F. eds. *The Caribbean: A History of the Region and its Peoples*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 217-230.
- Boutin, A. (2012a). Crafting a bioarchaeology of personhood: osteobiographical narratives from Alalakh. In: Baadsgaard, A., Boutin, A. and Buikstra, J. eds. *Breathing New Life into the Evidence of Death: Contemporary Approaches to Bioarchaeology*. School for Advanced Research Press, pp. 109-134.
- Boutin, A. (2012b). Written in stone, written in bone: the osteobiography of a Bronze Age craftsman from Alalakh. In: Stodder, A. and Palkovich, A. eds. *The Bioarchaeology of Individuals*. USA: University Press of Florida, pp. 193-214.
- Bowes, J. (2011). Provisioned, produced, procured: slave subsistence strategies and social relations at Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest. *Journal of Ethnobiology*, 31(1), 89-109.
- Bozzoli, B. (2016 [1991]). Interviewing the women of Phokeng: consciousness and gender, insider and outsider. In: Perks, R. and Thomson, A. eds. *The Oral History Reader*. 3rd edn. London: Routledge, pp. 212-222.
- Bradley, R. (1989). Deaths and entrances: a contextual analysis of megalithic art. *Current Anthropology*, 30(1), 68-75.
- Brah, A. (2006 [1996]). Thinking through the concept of diaspora. In: Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G. and Tiffin, H. eds. *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*. 2nd edn. London: Routledge, pp. 443-446.
- Braithwaite, E. (2003). The 'folk' culture of the slaves. In: Heuman, G. and Walvin, J. eds. *The Slavery Reader*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 364-383.

- Braun, V. and Clarke, V. (2013). *Successful Qualitative Research: A Practical Guide for Beginners*. London: SAGE.
- Braz, V. (2009). Anthropological estimation of sex. In: Blau, S. and Ubelaker, D. eds. *Handbook of Forensic Archaeology and Anthropology*. California: Left Coast Press, pp. 201-207.
- Brenneker, P. (2018). *Sambumbu: Volkskunde Van Curacao, Aruba En Bonaire. Mensen En Manieren*. Amsterdam: Caribpublishing.
- Brenneker, P. (2017c). *Sambumbu: Volkskunde Van Curacao, Aruba En Bonaire. Zang En Muziek*. Amsterdam: Caribpublishing.
- Brenneker, P. (2017b). *Sambumbu: Volkskunde Van Curacao, Aruba En Bonaire. Taal En Teken*. Amsterdam: Caribpublishing.
- Brenneker, P. (2017a). *Sambumbu: Volkskunde Van Curacao, Aruba En Bonaire. Religie En Rituelen*. Amsterdam: Caribpublishing.
- Brenneker, P. (1969-1973). *Sambumbu, Volumes 1-7*. Verenigde Antilliaanse Drukkerijen.
- Brickley, M. (2004). Guidance on recording age at death in juvenile skeletons. In: Brickley, M. and McKinley, J. eds. *Guidelines to the Standards for Recording Human Remains*. Institute for Archaeologists, pp. 21-22.
- Brickley, M. and Buckberry, J. (2017). Undertaking sex assessment. In: Mitchell, P. and Brickley, M. eds. *Updated Guidelines to the Standards for Recording Human Remains*. Chartered Institute for Archaeologists, pp. 33-34.
- Brickley, M. and McKinley, J. (2004). *Guidelines to the Standards for Recording Human Remains*. Institute for Archaeologists.
- Broek, A. (2007). Ideology and writing in Papiamentu: a bird's eye view. *Journal of Caribbean Literatures*, 5(1), 1-20.
- Broek, A. (2001). Prewar prose and poetry in Papiamentu. In: James, A. ed. *History of Literature in the Caribbean, Volume 2*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp. 633-641.
- Broere, K. (2017). Geen slavernij meer, maar nog altijd achterstelling zwarte inwoners Curacao. *De Volkskrant*, (Ten eerste) Vrijdag 30 juni, 13.
- Brothwell, D. (1981). *Digging Up Bones*. 3rd edn. London: Trustees of the British Museum.
- Brown, V. (2009). Social death and political life in the study of slavery. *American Historical Review*, 114(5), 1231-1249.
- Browning, C. (2016 [2010]). Remembering survival: inside a Nazi slave-labor camp. In: Perks, R. and Thomson, A. eds. *The Oral History Reader*. 3rd edn. London: Routledge, pp. 311-319.

- Bruchac, M. (2014). Decolonization in archaeological theory. In: Smith, C. ed. *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology*. New York: Springer, pp. 2069-2077.
- Bruzek, J. (2002). A method for visual determination of sex, using the human hip bone. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 117(2), 157-168.
- Brydon, D. (2006). The white Inuit speaks. In: Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G. and Tiffin, H. eds. *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*. 2nd edn. London: Routledge, pp. 184-188.
- Buchli, V. and Lucas, G. (2001b). Presencing absence. In: Buchli, V. and Lucas, G. eds. *Archaeologies of the Contemporary Past*. London: Routledge, pp. 171-174.
- Buchli, V. and Lucas, G. (2001a). The absent present: archaeologies of the contemporary past. In: Buchli, V. and Lucas, G. eds. *Archaeologies of the Contemporary Past*. London: Routledge, pp. 3-17.
- Buckberry, J. (2015a). The (mis)use of adult age estimates in osteology. *Annals of Human Biology*, 42(4), 321-329.
- Buckberry, J. and Chamberlain, A. (2002). Age estimation from the auricular surface of the ilium: a revised method. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 119, 231-239.
- Buddingh', B. (1994). *Van Punt En Snoa*. 's-Hertogenbosch: Aldus Uitgevers.
- Buikstra, J., Baadsgaard, A. and Boutin, A. (2012). Introduction. In: Baadsgaard, A., Boutin, A. and Buikstra, J. eds. *Breathing New Life into the Evidence of Death: Contemporary Approaches to Bioarchaeology*. School for Advanced Research Press, pp. 3-26.
- Buikstra, J. and Ubelaker, D. (1994). *Standards for Data Collection from Human Skeletal Remains*. Arkansas: Arkansas Archaeological Survey.
- Burnard, T. (2004). *Mastery, Tyranny, and Desire: Thomas Thistlewood and His Slaves in the Anglo-Jamaican World*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.
- Burstrom, M., et al. (2009). Memories of a world crisis: the archaeology of a former Soviet nuclear missile site in Cuba. *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 9(3), 295-318.
- Burton, S. (2016 [2003]). Issues in cross-cultural interviewing: Japanese women in England. In: Perks, R. and Thomson, A. eds. *The Oral History Reader*. 3rd edn. London: Routledge, pp. 223-233.
- Byers, S. (2011). *Introduction to Forensic Anthropology*. 4th edn. USA: Pearson.
- Byrd, D. (2014). *In Search of Ubuntu: An Examination of Enslaved African Domestic and Labor Environments on St Eustatius*. MSc Thesis. Illinois State University.
- Byrne, D. (2003). Nervous landscapes: race and space in Australia. *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 3(2), 169-193.
- Cain, A. (2009). *Tula: De Slavenopstand Van 1795 Op Curacao*. Amsterdam: NiNsee.

- Cameron, N. (2015). Can maturity indicators be used to estimate chronological age in children?. *Annals of Human Biology*, 42(4), 300-305.
- Canete, C. and Vives-Ferrandiz, J. (2011). 'Almost the same': dynamic domination and hybrid contexts in Iron Age Lixus, Larache, Morocco. *World Archaeology*, 43(1), 124-143.
- Cantwell, A. (2000). "Who knows the power of his bones" reburial redux. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 925(1), 79-119.
- Carson, S. (2008b). Inequality in the American South: evidence from the nineteenth century Missouri State Prison. *Journal of Biosocial Science*, 40(4), 587-605.
- Carson, S. (2008a). The effect of geography and vitamin D on African American stature in the nineteenth century: evidence from prison records. *Journal of Economic History*, 68(3), 812-831.
- Castaneda, Q. (2009). The 'past' as transcultural space: using ethnographic installation in the study of archaeology. *Public Archaeology*, 8, 262-282.
- Chakrabarty, D. (2004). A small history of subaltern studies. In: Schwarz, H. and Ray, S. eds. *A Companion to Postcolonial Studies*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 467-485.
- Chan, A. (2007). *Slavery in the Age of Reason: Archaeology at a New England Farm*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.
- Charmaz, K. (2012). How many qualitative interviews is enough?. In: Baker, S. and Edwards, R. eds. *How Many Qualitative Interviews is enough? Expert Voices and Early Career Reflections on Sampling and Cases in Qualitative Research*. Southampton: ESRC National Centre for Research Methods, University of Southampton, pp. 21-22.
- ChartsBin statistics collector team (2011). *Contribution of Carbohydrates in Total Dietary Consumption* [Online]. Last updated: 17th March 2011. Available from: <http://chartsbin.com/view/1154>
- Cheng, R., et al. (2009). Dental erosion and severe tooth decay related to soft drinks: a case report and literature review. *Journal of Zhejiang University Science B*, 10(5), 395-399.
- Chenoweth, J. (2017). *Simplicity, Equality, and Slavery: An Archaeology of Quakerism in the British Virgin Islands, 1740-1780*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press.
- Chicone, S. (2011). Respectable rags: working-class poverty and the 1913-1914 southern Colorado strike. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 15, 51-81.
- Cipolla, C. (2017b). *Native American Diaspora and Ethnogenesis* [Online]. Available from: <http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935413.001.001/oxfordhb-9780199935413-e-69?mediaType=Article>

- Cipolla, C. (2017a). Postcolonial archaeology in the age of things. In: Cipolla, C. ed. *Foreign Objects: Rethinking Indigenous Consumption in American Archaeology*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, pp. 222-229.
- Clarke, S. (1982). The association of early childhood enamel hypoplasias and radiopaque transverse lines in a culturally diverse prehistoric skeletal sample. *Human Biology*, 54(1), 77-84.
- Clemencia, J. (1996). Katalina Beleku: a view on Curacaoan feminine folklore. In: Ayubi, E. ed. *Papers of the Third Seminar on Latin-American and Caribbean Folklore: Reports of the Archaeological-Anthropological Institute of the Netherlands Antilles, no. 12*. Curacao: AAINA, pp. 83-91.
- Cohen, D. and Greene, J. (1972). Introduction. In: Cohen, D. and Greene, J. eds. *Neither Slave nor Free: The Freedmen of African Descent in the Slave Societies of the New World*. London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 1-18.
- Cohen, L., Manion, L. and Morrison, K. (2000). *Research Methods in Education*. 5th edn. London: Routledge Falmer.
- Cohen, M. (1992). Comments. *Current Anthropology*, 33(4), 358-359.
- Cohen, M., Wood, J. and Milner, G. (1994). The osteological paradox reconsidered. *Current Anthropology*, 35(5), 629-637.
- Colwell-Chanthaphonh, C. and Ferguson, T. (2004). Virtue ethics and the practice of history: Native Americans and archaeologists along the San Pedro Valley of Arizona. *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 4(1), 5-27.
- Conkey, M. and Gero, J. (1997). Programme to practice: gender and feminism in archaeology. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 26, 411-437.
- Cook, D., et al. (2012). Pretos Novos: evidence for African oral hygiene practices in Brazil, 1769-1830. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, DOI: 10.1002/oa.2278.
- Cook, R. (2015). *Archaeological Research and Data Recovery of Fair Play Plantation, St Eustatius, the Dutch Caribbean*. St Eustatius: St Eustatius Center for Archaeological Research (SECAR).
- Cook, R. and Stelten, R. (2014). *Preliminary Investigation of the Slave Quarters at Fair Play Plantation, St Eustatius, Caribbean Netherlands: A Mid-Eighteenth to Mid-Nineteenth Century Sugar Plantation*. St Eustatius: St Eustatius Centre for Archaeological Research (SECAR).
- Cooper, F. (1979). The problem of slavery in African studies. *Journal of African History*, 20(1), 103-125.
- Cooper, M., et al. (1992). Stress and alcohol use: Moderating effects of gender, coping, and alcohol expectancies. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 101(1), 139-152.

- Corbin, J. and Morse, J. (2003). The unstructured interactive interview: issues of reciprocity and risks when dealing with sensitive topics. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 9(3), 335-354.
- Corruccini, R., Handler, J. and Jacobi, K. (1985). Chronological distribution of enamel hypoplasias and weaning in a Caribbean slave population. *Human Biology*, 57(4), 699-711.
- Corruccini, R., et al. (1982). Osteology of a slave burial population from Barbados, West Indies. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 59, 443-459.
- Corruccini, R., et al. (1987). Implications of tooth root hypercementosis in a Barbados slave skeletal collection. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 74, 179-184.
- Courtaud, P. (2013). Le cimetiere, comme miroir de l'esclavage: approche archéologique. Le cimetiere d'Anse Sainte-Marguerite (Guadeloupe). *In Situ*, 20, DOI: 10.4000/insitu.10092.
- Courtaud, P. and Romon, T. (2004). Le site d'anse Sainte-Marguerite (Guadeloupe, Grand Terre) presentation d'un cimetiere d'epoque coloniale. *Journal of Caribbean Archaeology*, Special Publication No. 1, 58-67.
- Coyle, A. and Lochner, J. (2011). Religion, spirituality and therapeutic practice. *The Psychologist*, 24, 264-266.
- Craig, E. and Buckberry, J. (2010). Investigating Social Status Using Evidence of Biological Status: A Case Study from Raunds Furnells. In: Buckberry, J. and Cherryson, A. eds. *Burial in Later Anglo-Saxon England C. 650-1100 AD*. Exeter: Short Run Press, pp. 128-142.
- Crane, J. ed. (1999). *Statia Silhouettes*. New York: Vantage Press.
- Craton, M. (2003a [1997]). Slavery and slave society in the British Caribbean. In: Heuman, G. and Walvin, J. eds. *The Slavery Reader*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 103-111.
- Craton, M. (1991 [1976]). Death, disease and medicine on the Jamaican slave plantations; the example of Worthy Park, 1767-1838. In: Beckles, H. and Shepherd, V. eds. *Caribbean Slave Society and Economy: A Student Reader*. London: James Currey, pp. 183-196.
- Craton, M. (1982). *Testing the Chains: Resistance to Slavery in the British West Indies*. London: Cornell University Press.
- Crooks, D. (1999). Child growth and nutritional status in a high-poverty community in eastern Kentucky. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 109, 129-142.
- Croucher, S. (2010). Cultural identity and colonial and postcolonial archaeologies. In: Lydon, J. and Rizvi, U. eds. *Handbook of Postcolonial Archaeology*. California: Left Coast Press, pp. 351-364.
- Cruxent, J. (1965). IVIC-241. *American Journal of Science, Radiocarbon*, 9, 243.

- Cucina, A., et al. (2006). The necropolis of Vallerano (Rome, 2nd-3rd century AD): an anthropological perspective on the ancient Romans in the suburbium. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, 16, 104-117.
- Cunningham, J. and MacEachern, S. (2016). Ethnoarchaeology as slow science. *World Archaeology*, 48(5), 628-641.
- Curacao Monuments (2006). *Landhuis Veeris* [Online]. Available from: [http://www.curacaomonuments.org/drov-information.php?geo\\_code=160100](http://www.curacaomonuments.org/drov-information.php?geo_code=160100)
- Curacao Tourist Board (2016). *Curacao: Frequently Asked Questions* [Online]. Available from: <http://www.curacao.com/en/faq/>
- Curet, L. and Pestle, W. (2010). Identifying high-status foods in the archeological record. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, 29, 413-431.
- Curiel, G. (2006). Decolonization management in the Kingdom of the Netherlands: an unpredictable journey to establish enduring relationships between Kingdom partners. In: Allen, R. ed. *Rene Romer Als Inspirator: Actualisering Van Zijn Gedachtegoed*. Curacao: University of the Netherlands Antilles, pp. 142-155.
- Curtin, P. (2003 [1968]). Epidemiology and the slave trade. In: Heuman, G. and Walvin, J. eds. *The Slavery Reader*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 11-29.
- Curtin, P. (2002). Overspecialization and remedies. In: Steckel, R. and Rose, J. eds. *The Backbone of History: Health and Nutrition in the Western Hemisphere*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 603-608.
- Cutcliffe, J. and Ramcharan, P. (2002). Leveling the playing field? Exploring the merits of the ethics-as-process approach for judging qualitative research proposals. *Qualitative Health Research*, 12(7), 1000-1010.
- Dalphinis, M. (1985). *Caribbean and African Languages: Social History, Language, Literature and Education*. London: Karia Press.
- Dandy, D. and Edwards, D. (2003). *Essential Orthopaedics and Trauma*. 4th edn. London: Churchill Livingstone.
- Dash, M. (2006 [1974]). Marvellous realism: the way out of negritude. In: Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G. and Tiffin, H. eds. *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*. 2nd edn. London: Routledge, pp. 150-151.
- Davis Burnett, L. (2016). Understanding the Lives of the Enslaved. *St Maarten Daily Herald*, (WEEKender) 8th April.
- Davis, D. (2006). *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Davis, D. (1984). *Slavery and Human Progress*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- de Goeje, C. (1937). De namen der Antillen. *West Indische Gids*, 18(1), 33-37.

- de Josselin de Jong, J. (1947). *Archaeological Material from Saba and St Eustatius, Lesser Antilles*. Leiden: Mededelingen van het Rijkmuseum voor Volkenkunde, No. 1.
- de la Cova, C. (2012). Patterns of trauma and violence in 19th-century-born African American and Euro-American females. *International Journal of Palaeopathology*, 2, 61-68.
- de la Cova, C. (2011). Race, health, and disease in 19th-century-born males. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 144, 526-537.
- De Luca, S., et al. (2010). Age estimation by tooth/pulp ratio in canines by peri-apical X-rays: reliability in age determination of Spanish and Italian medieval skeletal remains. *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 37, 3048-3058.
- de Palm, J. ed. (1985). *Encyclopedie Van De Nederlandse Antillen*. 2nd edn. Zutphen: De Walburg Pers.
- de Vries, J. (2005). The Dutch Atlantic Economies. In: Coclanis, P. ed. *The Atlantic Economy during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: Organisation, Operation, Practice, and Personnel*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, pp. 1-29.
- de Waal, M., et al. (2015). Mapping sites, mapping expectancies, mapping heritage: the archaeological predictive maps of St Eustatius, Saba, and Sint Maarten. In: Hofman, C. and Haviser, J. eds. *Managing our Past into the Future: Archaeological Heritage Management in the Dutch Caribbean*. Leiden: Sidestone Press, pp. 335-350.
- DeCorse, C. (2014b). Historical archaeology: methods, meanings, and ambiguities. In: Anquandah, J., Kankpeyeng, B. and Apoh, W. eds. *Current Perspectives in the Archaeology of Ghana, Social Science Series Volume 6*. Accra: University of Ghana Department of Archaeology and Heritage, pp. 139-163.
- DeCorse, C. (2008). Varied pasts: history, oral tradition, and archaeology on the Mina coast. In: Brooks, J., DeCorse, C. and Walton, J. eds. *Place, Event, and Narrative Craft: Method and Meaning in Microhistory*. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, pp. 77-93.
- DeCorse, C. (1999). Oceans apart: Africanist perspectives of diaspora archaeology. In: Singleton, T. ed. *"I, Too, Am America": Archaeological Studies of African-American Life*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, pp. 132-155.
- DeCorse, C. (1996). Documents, oral histories, and the material record: historical archaeology in West Africa. *World Archaeological Bulletin*, 7, 40-50.
- Degloma, T. (2009). Expanding trauma through space and time: mapping the rhetorical strategies of trauma carrier groups. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 72(2), 105-122.
- del Angel, A. and Cisneros, H. (2004). Technical note: modification of regression equations used to estimate stature in Mesoamerican skeletal remains. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 125, 264-265.

- DeLanda, M. (2016). *Assemblage Theory: Speculative Realism*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Delle, J. (2014). Archaeology and the 'tensions of empire'. In: Ferris, N., Harrison, R. and Wilcox, M. eds. *Rethinking Colonial Pasts through Archaeology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 333-347.
- Delle, J. and Fellows, K. (2014). Death and burial at Marshall's Pen, a Jamaican coffee plantation, 1814-1839: examining the end of life at the end of slavery. *Slavery and Abolition*, 35(3), 474-492.
- Delpuech, A. (2001). Historical archaeology in the French West Indies: recent research in Guadeloupe. In: Farnsworth, P. ed. *Island Lives: Historical Archaeologies of the Caribbean*. USA: University of Alabama Press, pp. 21-59.
- Denscombe, M. (2010). *The Good Research Guide for Small-Scale Social Research Projects*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.
- Denyer, S. (1978). *African Traditional Architecture*. London: Heinemann.
- Dethlefsen, E., et al. (1982). Archaeology on St Eustatius: the Pompeii of the New World. *Archaeology*, 35(2), 8-15.
- DeWitte, S. and Bekvalac, J. (2011). The association between periodontal disease and periosteal lesions in the St Mary Graces Cemetery, London, England AD 1350-1538. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 146, 609-618.
- DeWitte, S. and Hughes-Morey, G. (2012). Stature and frailty during the Black Death: the effect of stature on risks of epidemic mortality in London, AD 1348-1350. *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 39, 1412-1419.
- Dickson-Swift, V., et al. (2007). Doing sensitive research: what challenges do qualitative researchers face?. *Qualitative Research*, 7, 327-353.
- Dietler, M. (2005). The archaeology of colonization and the colonization of archaeology: theoretical challenges from an ancient Mediterranean colonial encounter. In: Stein, G. ed. *The Archaeology of Colonial Encounters: Comparative Perspectives*. Santa Fe: SAR Press, pp. 33-68.
- Dirlik, A. (2006 [1997]). The global in the local. In: Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G. and Tiffin, H. eds. *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*. 2nd edn. London: Routledge, pp. 463-467.
- Djuric-Srejjic, M. and Roberts, C. (2001). Palaeopathological evidence of infectious disease in skeletal populations from later medieval Serbia. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, 11, 311-320.
- do Rego, C. (2009a). Slavery and rebellion, 1795. In: do Rego, C. and Janga, L. eds. *Slavery and Resistance in Curacao: The Rebellion of 1795*. Curacao: Fundashon Parke Nashonal, pp. 19-67.

- do Rego, C. (2009b). Tula, inspirado: de vrijheidsidealen van een Curacaose verzetstrijder. In: Cain, A. ed. *Tula: De Slavenopstand Van 1795 Op Curacao*. Amsterdam: NiNsee, pp. 27-35.
- do Rego, C. and Janga, L. (2009). *Slavery and Resistance in Curacao: The Rebellion of 1795*. Curacao: Fundashon Parke Nashonal.
- Donald, L. (2011). Slavery in indigenous North America. In: Eltis, D. and Engerman, S. eds. *The Cambridge World History of Slavery, Volume 3: AD 1420-AD 1804*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 217-247.
- Dorandeu, A., et al. (2009). Value of histological study in the fronto-sphenoidal suture for the age estimation at the time of death. *Forensic Science International*, 191, 64-69.
- Dowson, T. (2000). Why queer archaeology? An introduction. *World Archaeology*, 32(2), 161-165.
- D'Souza, R. (2010). Introduction to the Special Issue: Postcolonialism, Realism, and Critical Realism. *Journal of Critical Realism*, 9(3), 263-275.
- DuBois, L. (2011). Slavery in the French Caribbean, 1635-1804. In: Eltis, D. and Engerman, S. eds. *The Cambridge World History of Slavery, Volume 3: AD 1420-AD 1804*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 431-449.
- Dunn, R. (1987). "Dreadful idlers" in the cane fields: the slave labor pattern on a Jamaican sugar estate, 1792-1831. *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 17(4), 795-822.
- Eastman, J. (1996). *An Archaeological Assessment of St Eustatius, Netherlands Antilles. MA Thesis*. Virginia: College of William and Mary.
- Eckkrammer, E. (2007). Papiamentu, cultural resistance, and socio-cultural challenges: the ABC islands in a nutshell. *Journal of Caribbean Literatures*, 5(1), 73-93.
- Edley, N. (2001). Unravelling social constructionism. *Theory and Psychology*, 11, 433-441.
- Edvardsson, B. (2013). Cluster headache associated with acute maxillary sinusitis. *SpringerPlus*, 2, 509.
- Edwards, Y. (1995). "Trash" revisited: slave houses and yards. In: Gundaker, G. ed. *Keep Your Head to the Sky: Interpreting African American Home Ground*. University of Virginia Press, pp. 245-272.
- Eisenberg, E. (1992). Comments. *Current Anthropology*, 33(4), 359-360.
- Elisabeth, L. (1972). The French Antilles. In: Cohen, D. and Greene, J. eds. *Neither Slave nor Free: The Freedmen of African Descent in the Slave Societies of the New World*. London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 134-171.

- Ellis, W. (1981). *Antilliana: Verzameld Werk Van Dr. W. Ch. De La Try Ellis*. Zutphen: De Walburg Pers.
- Eltis, D. (2003). Labour and coercion in the English Atlantic world from the seventeenth to the early twentieth century. In: Heuman, G. and Walvin, J. eds. *The Slavery Reader*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 58-73.
- Emmer, P. (2011). Slavery and the slave trade of the minor Atlantic powers. In: Eltis, D. and Engerman, S. eds. *The Cambridge World History of Slavery, Volume 3: AD 1420-AD 1804*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 450-475.
- Emmer, P. (2006). *The Dutch Slave Trade 1500-1850*. Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Ensing, S. (2012). *Caught in Time: St Maarten's Intangible Cultural Heritage*. St Maarten: Prins Bernhard Cultuurfonds.
- Equiano, O. (1999 [1814]). *The Life of Olaudah Equiano, Or Gustavus Vassa, the African*. New York: Dover Thrift Publications Inc.
- ERC-Nexus 1492 (2017). *ERC-Synergy Grant (2013-2019) NEXUS1492* [Online]. Available from: <http://www.nexus1492.eu/>
- Espersen, R. (2019). From Hell's Gate to the Promised Land: perspectives of poverty in Saba, Dutch Caribbean, 1780 to mid-20th century. *Historical Archaeology*, 53(2).
- Espersen, R. (2016). *"Better than We": Landscapes and Materialities of Race, Class, and Gender in Pre-Emancipation Colonial Saba, Dutch Caribbean*. PhD Thesis. Leiden: Universiteit Leiden.
- Espersen, R. (2015). *Spring Bay Flat, Northern Enslaved Domestic Area*. Saba: Saba Archaeological Research Centre (SABARC).
- Evans, D. (1999). The reinterpretation of African musical instruments in the United States. In: Okepewho, I., Boyce Davies, C. and Maznui, A. eds. *The African Diaspora: African Origins and New World Identities*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, pp. 379-390.
- Eyerman, R. (2001). *Cultural Trauma: Slavery and the Formation of African American Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ezzati, M. and Kammen, D. (2001). Indoor air pollution from biomass combustion and acute respiratory infections in Kenya: an exposure-response study. *Lancet*, 358, 619-624.
- Facchini, F., Rastelli, E. and Brasili, P. (2004). Cribra orbitalia and cribra cranii in Roman skeletal remains from the Ravenna area and Rimini (I-IV century AD). *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, 14, 126-136.
- Fahlander, F. (2004). Archaeology and anthropology - brothers in arms? On analogies in 21st-century archaeology. In: Fahlander, F. and Oestigaard, T. eds. *Material Culture and Other Things: Post-Disciplinary Studies in the 21st Century*. Vallingby: University of Gothenburg, pp. 185-211.

- Falys, C. and Lewis, M. (2010). Proposing a way forward: a review of standardisation in the use of age categories and ageing techniques in osteological analysis (2004-2009). *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, 21(6), 704-716.
- Faniel, I., et al. (2013). The Challenges of Digging Data: A Study of Context in Archaeological Data Reuse *JCDL 2013 Proceedings of the 13th ACM/IEEE-CS Joint Conference on Digital Libraries.*, pp. 295-304.
- Fanon, F. (2006 [1968]). National Culture. In: Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G. and Tiffin, H. eds. *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*. 2nd edn. London: Routledge, pp. 119-122.
- Fanon, F. (2001 [1963]). *The Wretched of the Earth*. London: Penguin Books.
- Fanon, F. (1968). *Black Skin, White Masks*. London: MacGibbon and Kee.
- Farmer, P. (2003). *Pathologies of Power: Health, Human Rights, and the New War on the Poor*. London: University of California Press.
- Farnsworth, P. (2001b). 'Negroe houses built of stone besides other watl'd + plaistered': the creation of a Bahamian tradition. In: Farnsworth, P. ed. *Island Lives: Historical Archaeologies of the Caribbean*. USA: University of Alabama Press, pp. 234-271.
- Farnsworth, P. ed. (2001a). *Island Lives: Historical Archaeologies of the Caribbean*. London: University of Alabama Press.
- Farris Thompson, R. (1990). Kongo influences on African-American artistic culture. In: Holloway, E. ed. *Africanisms in American Culture*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, pp. 148-184.
- Fatah-Black, K. (2014b). A network to encourage the slave trade? Paramaribo-Middelburg-Amsterdam, 1783-1793. In: Cavaciocchi, S. ed. *Serfdom and Slavery in the European Economy 11th-18th Centuries*. Firenze University Press, pp. 619-630.
- Fatah-Black, K. (2013). Orangism, patriotism, and slavery in Curacao, 1795-1796. *International Review of Social History*, 58, 35-60.
- Fatah-Black, K. and van Rossum, M. (2014). Slavery in a 'slave free enclave': historical links between the Dutch Republic, empire and slavery, 1580s-1860s. *WerkstattGeschichte*, 66/67, 55-74.
- Fatah-Black, K. and van Rossum, M. (2012). Een marginale bijdrage?. *Tijdschrift Voor Sociale En Economische Geschiedenis*, 9(4), 71-78.
- Fausto-Sterling, A. (2010). The bare bones of race. *Social Studies of Science*, 38(5), 657-694.
- Ferembach, D., Schwidetzky, I. and Stloukal, M. (1980). Recommendations for age and sex diagnoses of skeletons. *Journal of Human Evolution*, 9, 517-549.

- Fernandez Olmos, M. and Paravisini-Gebert, L. (2011). *Creole Religions of the Caribbean: An Introduction from Vodou and Santeria to Obeah and Espiritismo*. 2nd edn. London: New York University Press.
- Figes, O. (2016 [2008]). Private life in Stalin's Russia: narratives, memory and oral history. In: Perks, R. and Thomson, A. eds. *The Oral History Reader*. 3rd edn. London: Routledge, pp. 354-369.
- Finden-Crofts, J. (1998). Calypso's consequences. In: Miller, D. ed. *Material Cultures: Why some Things Matter*. London: UCL Press, pp. 147-166.
- Finlay, L. (2002). Negotiating the swamp: the opportunity and challenge of reflexivity in research practice. *Qualitative Research*, 2, 209-230.
- Finneran, N. (2017). "The island of the clouds": the archaeology of life on the margins in a small-scale Caribbean island landscape, Bequia (St Vincent Grenadines) ca. 1700-1900. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, DOI 10.1007/s10761-017-0445-y.
- Finneran, N. (2016). Slaves to sailors: the archaeology of traditional Caribbean shore whaling c. 1850-2000: a case study from Barbados and Bequia (St Vincent Grenadines). *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*, 45(2), 388-405.
- Finneran, N. (2013). "The island is inhabited with all sortes": the archaeology of creolisation in Speightstown, Barbados, and beyond, AD 1650-1900. *The Antiquaries Journal*, 93, 319-351.
- Finneran, N. (2009). Settlement archaeology and oral history in Lasta, Ethiopia: some preliminary observations from a landscape study of Lalibela. *Azania: Archaeological Research in Africa*, 44(3), 281-291.
- Finneran, N. (2003). The persistence of memory: nationalism, identity, and the represented past. The Ethiopian experience in a global context. *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*, 3(1), 21-37.
- Fletcher, R. (1995). *The Limits of Settlement Growth: A Theoretical Outline*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fogel, R. and Engerman, S. (1989). *Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery*. USA: Little, Brown and Company Inc.
- Fontein, J. (2010). Commentary: the efficacy of 'emic' and 'etic' in archaeology and heritage. In: Lydon, J. and Rizvi, U. eds. *Handbook of Postcolonial Archaeology*. California: Left Coast Press, pp. 311-322.
- Forbes, H. (2007). *Meaning and Identity in a Greek Landscape: An Archaeological Ethnography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Forbes, H. (2000). Security and settlement in the mediaeval and post-mediaeval Peloponnese, Greece: 'Hard' History versus Oral History. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*, 13(2), 204-224.

- Forker, W. ed. (2003). *Born in Slavery: The Story of Methodism in Anguilla*. Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic Press Ltd.
- Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Fouse, G. (2007). Slavery and the development of Papiamentu. *Journal of Caribbean Literature*, 5(1), 61-72.
- Fouse, G. (2002). *The Story of Papiamentu: A Study in Slavery and Language*. Oxford: University Press of America.
- Fowler, D. (1987). Uses of the past: archaeology in the service of the state. *American Antiquity*, 52(2), 229-248.
- Franklin, M. (2017). *Archaeology and Enslaved Life on Coke's Plantation: An Early History of the Governor's Palace Lands*. Virginia: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.
- Franklin, M. (2012). *"I'M Proud to Know what I Know": Oral Narratives of Travis and Hays Counties, Texas, Ca. 1920s-1960s, Volume 1*. Austin, Texas: Texas Department of Transportation Environmental Affairs Division, Archeological Studies Program. Report number: 136.
- Franklin, M. (2004). *An Archaeological Study of the Rich Neck Slave Quarter and Enslaved Domestic Life*. Virginia: The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.
- Franklin, M. (2001). A Black feminist-inspired archaeology?. *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 1(1), 108-125.
- Franklin, M. and Paynter, R. (2010). Inequality and archaeology. In: Ashmore, W., Lippert, D. and Mills, B. eds. *Voices in American Archaeology: The 75th Anniversary Volume Fof the Society for American Archaeology*. Washington DC: Society for American Archaeology Press, pp. 94-130.
- Freund, A. (2016 [2013]). Towards an ethics of silence? Negotiating off-the-record events and identity in oral history. In: Perks, R. and Thomson, A. eds. *The Oral History Reader*. 3rd edn. London: Routledge, pp. 253-266.
- Frey, S. and Wood, B. (2003). The Americas: the survival of African religions. In: Heuman, G. and Walvin, J. eds. *The Slavery Reader*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 384-404.
- Fricke, F. (2012). *Slavery in Post-Medieval London: Assessing Potential Osteological Indicators*. MSc Thesis. University of Bradford.
- Frisch, M. (2016 [1972]). Oral history and 'Hard Times': a review essay. In: Perks, R. and Thomson, A. eds. *The Oral History Reader*. 3rd edn. London: Routledge, pp. 40-47.
- Fully, G. (1956). Une nouvelle methode de determination de la taille. *Annales De Medecine Legale*, 35, 266-273.

- Gahman, L. and Thongs, G. (2017). *In the Caribbean, Colonialism and Inequality Mean Hurricanes Hit Harder* [Online]. Available from: <http://theconversation.com/in-the-caribbean-colonialism-and-inequality-mean-hurricanes-hit-harder-84106>
- Gapert, R., Black, S. and Last, J. (2009). Sex determination from the Occipital Condyle: Discriminant Function Analysis in an Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century British Sample. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 138, 384-394.
- Garrow, P. (1983). *Yaughan and Curriboo Plantations: Studies in Afro-American Archaeology*. Soil Systems Inc. Report number: 476-91219.
- Garton, S. and Copland, F. (2010). 'I like this interview; I get cakes and cats!': the effect of prior relationships on interview talk. *Qualitative Research*, 10, 533-551.
- Gates, H. (2006 [1986]). Writing race. In: Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G. and Tiffin, H. eds. *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*. 2nd edn. London: Routledge, pp. 216-218.
- Gawronski, J. and Kraan, C. (2010). Graves, glass and ceramics. In: Witteveen, I. and Francisco, E. eds. *Freeports of the Caribbean: Curacao and Statia in the 18th Century: Memories of Autonomy*. Willemstad, Curacao: National Archaeological Anthropological Memory Management, pp. 31-39.
- Geber, J. (2014). Skeletal manifestations of stress in child victims of the Great Irish Famine (1845-1852): prevalence of enamel hypoplasia, Harris lines, and growth retardation. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 155, 149-161.
- Geber, J. and Murphy, E. (2012). Scurvy in the Great Irish Famine: evidence of vitamin C deficiency from a mid-19th century skeletal population. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 148, 512-524.
- Genoves, S. (1967). Proportionality of the long bones and their relation to stature among Mesoamericans. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 26, 67-78.
- Gerber, S. and Rasmussen, K. (1975). Further reflections on the concept of matrifocality and its consequences for social science research. In: Marks, A. and Romer, R. eds. *Family and Kinship in Middle America and the Caribbean: Proceedings of the 14th Seminar of the Committee on Family Research of the International Sociological Association, Curacao, September 1975*. Institute of Higher Studies, Curacao and the Department of Caribbean Studies at the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology, Leiden, pp. 576-584.
- Gibbes, F., Romer-Kenepa, N. and Scriwanek, M. (2015). *De Curacaoenaar in De Geschiedenis 1499-2010*. Willemstad: Stichting Nationale Geschiedenis.
- Gill, G. (1998). Craniofacial criteria in the skeletal attribution of race. In: Reichs, K. ed. *Forensic Osteology: Advances in the Identification of Human Remains*. 2nd edn. USA: Charles C. Thomas, pp. 293-317.
- Gill, R. and Norman, R. (2004). *Research Ethics (Human Participants) Committee Working Principles*. University of Kent.

- Gilmore III, R. (2013). St Eustatius: the nexus for colonial Caribbean capitalism. In: Comer, D. ed. *The Archaeology of Interdependence: European Involvement in the Development of a Sovereign United States*. New York: Springer-Verlag, pp. 41-60.
- Gilmore III, R. (2010a). Blue beads, Afro-Caribbean wares and tumblers and international trade by enslaved Africans. In: Witteveen, I. and Francisco, E. eds. *Freeports of the Caribbean: Curacao and Statia in the 18th Century: Memories of Autonomy*. Willemstad, Curacao: National Archaeological Anthropological Memory Management, pp. 43-53.
- Gilmore III, R. (2008). Geophysics and volcanic islands: resistivity and gradiometry on St Eustatius. In: Reid, B. ed. *Archaeology and Geoinformatics: Case Studies from the Caribbean*. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, pp. 170-183.
- Gilmore III, R. (2006b). Transformation and upheaval in the West Indies: the case of Oranjestad, St Eustatius, Netherlands Antilles. In: Green, A. and Leech, R. eds. *Cities in the World, 1500-2000*. London: Maney Press, pp. 83-96.
- Gilmore III, R. (2006a). All the documents are destroyed! Documenting slavery for St Eustatius, Netherlands Antilles. In: Haviser, J. and MacDonald, K. eds. *African Re-Genesis: Confronting Social Issues in the Diaspora*. New York: UCL Press, pp. 70-89.
- Gilmore III, R. (2005). *The Archaeology of New World Slave Societies: A Comparative Analysis with Particular Reference to St Eustatius, Netherlands Antilles*. PhD Thesis. University College London.
- Gilmore III, R. (2000). *Report: Slave Site Archaeology on St Eustatius, Netherlands Antilles*. London: University College London.
- Gilmore III, R., Hoogland, M. and Hofman, C. (2015). An archaeological assessment of Cul-de-Sac (The Farm), St Eustatius: The Nustar Project. In: Hofman, C. and Haviser, J. eds. *Managing our Past into the Future: Archaeological Heritage Management in the Dutch Caribbean*. Leiden: Sidestone Press, pp. 271-289.
- Gilmore III, R. and Nelson, L. (2015). Heritage management on St Eustatius: the Dutch West Indies headquarters project. In: Hofman, C. and Haviser, J. eds. *Managing our Past into the Future: Archaeological Heritage Management in the Dutch Caribbean*. Leiden: Sidestone Press, pp. 305-334.
- Gilmore III, R. and Raes, A. (2011). *Shawn Lester Burials, White Hook Or Witten Hoek Area Excavation*. St Eustatius: St Eustatius Center for Archaeological Research (SECAR).
- Gilmore III, R. and Roth, M. (2013). Fort Oranje, St Eustatius: An Historical Archaeological and Architectural Assessment. *Fort*, 41(2), 76-91.
- Gilmore, J. (2008). Leprosy at the Lazaretto on St Eustatius, Netherlands Antilles. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, 18, 72-84.
- Gilmore, J. (2004). *The palaeopathological changes at the Lazaretto Leper Colony on St Eustatius, Netherlands Antilles*. MSc Thesis. London: University of London.

- Gilroy, P. (2004). *Postcolonial Melancholia*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Given, M. (2004). *The Archaeology of the Colonized*. London: Routledge.
- Glencross, B. (2011). Skeletal injury across the life course: towards understanding social agency. In: Agarwal, S. and Glencross, B. eds. *Social Bioarchaeology*. Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, pp. 390-409.
- Gobierno Bolivariano de Venezuela (2014). *Virgen Del Valle Cumple 103 Años De Su Aparición* [Online]. Last updated: 8th September 2014. Available from: <http://minci.gob.ve/2014/09/virgen-del-valle-cumple-103-anos-de-su-aparicion/>
- Goldberg, M. (1999). Spatial and behavioural negotiation in Classical Athenian city houses. In: Allison, P. ed. *The Archaeology of Household Activities*. London: Routledge, pp. 142-158.
- Goldenberg, R., et al. (2008). Epidemiology and causes of preterm birth. *Lancet*, 371, 75-84.
- Gomez, M. (2005). *Reversing Sail: A History of the African Diaspora*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gonzalez-Ruibal, A. (2016b). Archaeology and the time of modernity. *Historical Archaeology*, 50(3), 144-164.
- Gonzalez-Ruibal, A. (2016a). Ethnoarchaeology or simply archaeology?. *World Archaeology*, 48(5), 687-692.
- Gonzalez-Ruibal, A. (2013). Reclaiming archaeology. In: Gonzalez-Ruibal, A. ed. *Reclaiming Archaeology: Beyond the Tropes of Modernity*. London: Routledge, pp. 1-23.
- Gonzalez-Ruibal, A. (2008). Time to destroy: an archaeology of supermodernity. *Current Anthropology*, 49(2), 247-279.
- Gonzalez-Ruibal, A. (2006). The past is tomorrow: towards an archaeology of the vanishing present. *Norwegian Archaeological Review*, 39(2), 110-125.
- Gonzalez-Ruibal, A. and Hall, M. (2015). Heritage and Violence. In: Meskell, L. ed. *Global Heritage: A Reader*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, pp. 150-170.
- Gonzalez-Ruibal, A., Hernando, A. and Politis, G. (2011). Ontology of the self and material culture: arrow-making among the Awa hunter-gatherers (Brazil). *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, 30, 1-16.
- Gonzalez-Ruibal, A., Sahle, Y. and Vila, X. (2011). A social archaeology of colonial war in Ethiopia. *World Archaeology*, 43(1), 40-65.
- Good, F. (2016 [2000]). Voice, ear and text: words, meanings and transcription. In: Perks, R. and Thomson, A. eds. *The Oral History Reader*. 3rd edn. London: Routledge, pp. 458-469.

- Goode-Null, S., Shujaa, K. and Rankin-Hill, L. (2009). Subadult growth and development. In: Blakey, M. and Rankin-Hill, L. eds. *Skeletal Biology of the New York African Burial Ground, Part 1*. Washington D. C.: Howard University Press, pp. 227-253.
- Goodman, A., et al. (2009). Isotopic and elemental chemistry of teeth: implications for places of birth, forced migration patterns, nutritional status, and pollution. In: Blakey, M. and Rankin-Hill, L. eds. *Skeletal Biology of the New York African Burial Ground, Part 1*. Washington D. C.: Howard University Press, pp. 95-118.
- Goodman, A. and Martin, D. (2002). Reconstructing health profiles from skeletal remains. In: Steckel, R. and Rose, J. eds. *The Backbone of History: Health and Nutrition in the Western Hemisphere*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 11-60.
- Goodman, A., et al. (1988). Biocultural Perspectives on Stress in Prehistoric, Historical, and Contemporary Population Research. *Yearbooks of Physical Anthropology*, 31, 169-202.
- Gorden, R. (1969). *Interviewing: Strategy, Techniques, and Tactics*. Illinois: The Dorsey Press.
- Gordon, B. (1971). Sacred directions, orientation, and the top of the map. *History of Religions*, 10(3), 211-227.
- Gosden, C. (2004). *Archaeology and Colonialism: Cultural Contact from 5000 BC to the Present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gosden, C. (1992). Endemic doubt: is what we write right?. *Antiquity*, 66(252), 803-808.
- Gosden, C. and Marshall, Y. (1999). The cultural biography of objects. *World Archaeology*, 31(2), 169-178.
- Goslinga, C. (1990). *The Dutch in the Caribbean and in Surinam 1791/5-1942*. Assen: Van Gorcum.
- Goveia, E. (1991 [1960]). The West Indian slave laws of the eighteenth century. In: Beckles, H. and Shepherd, V. eds. *Caribbean Slave Society and Economy: A Student Reader*. London: James Currey, pp. 346-362.
- Government of the Netherlands (2013). *New Constitutional Order* [Online]. Last updated: 22nd April 2013. Available from: <http://www.government.nl/issues/caribbean-parts-of-the-kingdom/new-constitutional-order>
- Gowland, R. (2016). Elder abuse: evaluating the potentials and problems of diagnosis in the archaeological record. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, 26(3), 514-523.
- Gowland, R. (2007). Age, ageism and osteological bias: the evidence from late Roman Britain. *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, 65, 153-169.

- Gowland, R. and Knusel, C. (2006). Introduction. In: Gowland, R. and Knusel, C. eds. *Social Archaeology of Funerary Remains*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, pp. ix-xiii.
- Gramsch, A. (2015). Culture, change, identity - approaches to the interpretation of cultural change. *Anthropologie*, 53(3), 341-349.
- Gramsci, A. (1999). *Selections from Prison Notebooks: On Italian History*. London: Essential Classics in Politics.
- Graves-Brown, P. (2000). Introduction. In: Graves-Brown, P. ed. *Matter, Materiality and Modern Culture*. London: Routledge, pp. 1-9.
- Green, M. (2002). Gramsci cannot speak: presentations and interpretations of Gramsci's concept of the subaltern. *Rethinking Marxism*, 14(3), 1-24.
- Griffiths, G. (2006 [1994]). The myth of authenticity. In: Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G. and Tiffin, H. eds. *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*. 2nd edn. London: Routledge, pp. 165-168.
- Guadeloupe, F. (2009). *Chanting Down the New Jerusalem: Calypso, Christianity and Capitalism in the Caribbean*. London: University of California Press.
- Guerreiro Ramos Bennett, E. (1999). Gabriella Cravo e Canela: Jorge Amado and the myth of the sexual mulata in Brazilian culture. In: Okpewho, I., Boyce Davies, C. and Mazrui, A. eds. *The African Diaspora: African Origins and New World Identities*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, pp. 227-233.
- Guha, R. (1997). Chandra's death. In: Guha, R. ed. *A Subaltern Studies Reader, 1986-1995*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 34-62.
- Gullapalli, P. (2008). Heterogenous encounters: colonial histories and archaeological experiences. In: Liebmann, M. and Rizvi, U. eds. *Archaeology and the Postcolonial Critique*. Plymouth: AltaMira Press, pp. 35-52.
- Haar, H. (2017). *Haviser's Orange Movement Wants Constitutional Referendum* [Online]. Last updated: December 23rd. Available from: <https://stmaartennews.com/politics/havisers-orange-movement-wants-constitutional-referendum/>
- Hale, T. (1997). From the griot of Roots to the roots of griot: a new look at the origins of a controversial African term for bard. *Oral Tradition*, 12(2), 249-278.
- Haley, A. (2016 [1973]). Black history, oral history and genealogy. In: Perks, R. and Thomson, A. eds. *The Oral History Reader*. 3rd edn. London: Routledge, pp. 22-32.
- Hall, G. (2010). Africa and Africans in the African Diaspora: the uses of relational databases. *American Historical Review*, February, 136-150.
- Hall, S. (2006 [1990]). Cultural identity and diaspora. In: Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G. and Tiffin, H. eds. *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*. 2nd edn. London: Routledge, pp. 435-438.

- Hamilakis, Y. (2018). Decolonial archaeology as social justice. *Antiquity*, 92(362), 518-520.
- Hamilakis, Y. (2017). Sensorial assemblages: affect, memory and temporality in assemblage thinking. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 27(1), 169-182.
- Hamilakis, Y. (2016). Archaeologies of forced and undocumented migration. *Journal of Contemporary Archaeology*, 3(2), 121-139.
- Hamilakis, Y. and Anagnostopoulos, A. (2009). What is archaeological ethnography?. *Public Archaeology*, 8, 65-87.
- Hamilakis, Y. and Jones, A. (2017). Archaeology and assemblage. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 27(1), 77-84.
- Hamilakis, Y. and Yalouri, E. (1996). Antiquities as symbolic capital in modern Greek society. *Antiquity*, 70, 117-129.
- Handler, J. (2006). Diseases and medical disabilities of enslaved Barbadians, from the seventeenth century to around 1838: Part 2. *Journal of Caribbean History*, 40(2), 177-214.
- Handler, J. (2000). Slave medicine and obeah in Barbados, circa 1650 to 1834. *New West Indian Guide*, 74(1 & 2), 57-90.
- Handler, J. (1994). Determining African birth from skeletal remains: a note on tooth mutilation. *Historical Archaeology*, 28(3), 113-119.
- Handler, J., et al. (1986). Lead contact and poisoning in Barbados slaves: historical, chemical, and biological evidence. *Social Science History*, 10(4), 399-425.
- Handler, J. and Bergman, S. (2009). Vernacular houses and domestic material culture on Barbadian sugar plantations, 1640-1838. *Journal of Caribbean History*, 43(1), 1-36.
- Handler, J., Conner, M. and Jacobi, K. (1989). *Searching for a Slave Cemetery in Barbados, West Indies: A Bioarchaeological and Ethnohistorical Investigation, Research Paper no. 59*. Carbondale: Centre for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University.
- Handler, J., Corruccini, R. and Mutaw, R. (1982). Tooth mutilation in the Caribbean: evidence from a slave burial population in Barbados. *Journal of Human Evolution*, 11, 297-313.
- Handler, J. and Lange, F. (2006). On Interpreting Slave Status from Archaeological Remains. *African Diaspora Archaeology Newsletter*, June Issue.
- Handler, J. and Norman, N. (2007). From West Africa to Barbados: a rare pipe from a plantation slave cemetery. *African Diaspora Archaeology Newsletter*, September Issue.

- Handler, J. and Reilly, M. (2017). Contesting 'white slavery' in the Caribbean: enslaved Africans and European indentured servants in seventeenth-century Barbados. *New West Indian Guide*, 91, 30-55.
- Hansen, J. and Lund, E. (2010). The association between paranasal computerized tomography scans and symptoms and signs in a general practice populations with acute maxillary sinusitis. *Apmis*, 119, 44-48.
- Harper, K. (2011). *Slavery in the Late Roman World AD 275-425*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Harpham, J. (2018). Two concepts of a slave in the South Carolina law of slavery. *Slavery and Abolition*, 39(1), 101-122.
- Harrison, N. (2003). *Postcolonial Criticism: Theory and the Work of Fiction*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Harrison, R. (2016). Archaeologies of emergent presents and futures. *Historical Archaeology*, 50(3), 165-180.
- Harrison, R. and Breithoff, E. (2017). Archaeologies of the contemporary world. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 46, 203-221.
- Harrison, R. and Hughes, L. (2010). Heritage, colonialism and postcolonialism. In: Harrison, R. ed. *Understanding the Politics of Heritage*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 234-269.
- Harrison, R. and Schofield, J. (2010). *After Modernity: Archaeological Approaches to the Contemporary Past*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hartman, S. (1997). *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hartog, J. (1997b). *De Forten, Verdedigingswerken En Geschutstellingen Van Sint Eustatius En Saba, Van Pieter Van Corselles Tot Abraham Heyliger 1636-1785*. Zaltbommel: Europese Bibliotheek.
- Hartog, J. (1994). *The Forts of Sint Maarten and Saint Martin: The Historical Defences of a Binational Island*. St Maarten: Stinapa.
- Hartog, J. (1981). *History of Sint Maarten and Saint Martin*. Philipsburg: The Sint Maarten Jaycees.
- Hartog, J. (1978). *St Maarten, Saba, St Eustatius*. 5th edn. Aruba: De Wit.
- Hartog, J. (1976). *History of St Eustatius*. Aruba: De Wit.
- Hartog, J. (1953-1964). *Geschiedenis Van De Nederlandse Antillen, Volumes 1-5*. Aruba: De Wit.

- Hassett, B. (2012). Evaluating sources of variation in the identification of linear hypoplastic defects of enamel: a new quantified method. *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 39, 560-565.
- Hauser, M. (2011). Routes and Roots of Empire: Pots, Power, and Slavery in the 18th-Century British Caribbean. *American Anthropologist*, 113(3), 431-447.
- Hauser, M. and Armstrong, D. (2012). The archaeology of not being governed: a counterpoint to a history of settlement of two colonies in the eastern Caribbean. *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 12(3), 310-333.
- Hauser, M. and DeCorse, C. (2003). Low-fired earthenwares in the African Diaspora: problems and prospects. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 7(1), 67-98.
- Hauser, M. and Hicks, D. (2007). Colonialism and landscape: power, materiality and scales of analysis in Caribbean historical archaeology. In: Hicks, D., McAtackney, L. and Fairclough, G. eds. *Envisioning Landscape: Situations and Standpoints in Archaeology and Heritage*. Los Angeles: Left Coast Press, pp. 251-274.
- Hauser, M. and Lenik, S. (2014). Material practices and colonial chronologies in Dominica, Eastern Caribbean. In: Ferris, N., Harrison, R. and Wilcox, M. eds. *Rethinking Colonial Pasts through Archaeology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 348-368.
- Haviser, J. (2017). *Observation Report for the St Maarten Police Department Relating to the Recovery of Human Skeletal Remains on 30 January/24-25 February/1 March, 2017, at the Rockland Plantation, Cul-De-Sac, St Maarten*. St Maarten: St Maarten Archaeological Research Centre (SIMARC).
- Haviser, J. (2015b). Three early examples of Valetta Treaty application in the Dutch Windward Islands. In: Hofman, C. and Haviser, J. eds. *Managing our Past into the Future: Archaeological Heritage Management in the Dutch Caribbean*. Leiden: Sidestone Press, pp. 245-270.
- Haviser, J. (2015a). Community archaeology as an essential element for successful Archaeological Heritage Management. In: Hofman, C. and Haviser, J. eds. *Managing our Past into the Future: Archaeological Heritage Management in the Dutch Caribbean*. Leiden: Sidestone Press, pp. 133-152.
- Haviser, J. (2012). *Limited Archaeological Testing at the Rockland Plantation: Specific Areas of Proposed Development*. St Maarten: St Maarten Archaeological Research Centre (SIMARC).
- Haviser, J. (2010d). *Significant Archaeological Sites for the St Maarten Cultural-Historical Map*. St Maarten: St Maarten Archaeological Research Centre (SIMARC).
- Haviser, J. (2010c). *Observation Report for the St Maarten Police Department Relating to the Emergency Recovery of Human Skeletal Remains on March 24-25, 2010, at Zoutsteeg Z/N, Philipsburg, St Maarten*. St Maarten: St Maarten Archaeological Research Centre (SIMARC).

- Haviser, J. (2010b). The 'old Netherlands style' and seventeenth-century Dutch fortifications of the Caribbean. In: Klingelhofer, E. ed. *First Forts: Essays on the Archaeology of Proto-Colonial Fortifications*. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill, N. V., pp. 167-187.
- Haviser, J. (2010a). African-Creole Religious Artefacts Associated with a 19th Century Dutch Priest Burial on St Maarten *Conference Proceedings of the International Congress for Caribbean Archaeology, Jamaica.*, pp. 426-441.
- Haviser, J. (2008). *Archaeological Testing of a Free African Settlement Site at Over-the-Bank, St Maarten*. St Maarten: St Maarten Archaeological Research Center (SIMARC).
- Haviser, J. (2006b). *Archaeological Excavation of a 19th Century Dutch Priest of the Dominican Order, Buried on St Maarten, Netherlands Antilles*. St Maarten: St Maarten Archaeological Research Centre (SIMARC).
- Haviser, J. (2006). Cognitive issues related to interpreting the African Caribbean. In: Haviser, J. and MacDonald, K. eds. *African Re-Genesis: Confronting Social Issues in the Diaspora*. New York: U. C. L. Press, pp. 32-37.
- Haviser, J. (2004). *Vineyard Burial Ground, St Maarten: Emergency Archaeological Observations Mission Report*. Curacao: National Archaeological Anthropological Memory Management (NAAM).
- Haviser, J. (2001c). An Ethno-Archaeological Study of Wood and Other Organic Materials used by African-Curacaoan Peoples during the Post-Emancipation Period *Proceedings of the 18th Congress for Caribbean Archaeology.*, pp. 288-300.
- Haviser, J. (2001b). Emancipation as a continuing process. In: Kofi Agorsah, E. ed. *Freedom in Black History and Culture*. Portland, Oregon: Arrow Press.
- Haviser, J. (2001a). Historical Archaeology in the Netherlands Antilles and Aruba. In: Farnsworth, P. ed. *Island Lives: Historical Archaeologies of the Caribbean*. USA: University of Alabama Press, pp. 60-81.
- Haviser, J. (1999). Identifying a post-emancipation (1863-1940) African-Curacaoan material culture assemblage. In: Haviser, J. ed. *African Sites Archaeology of the Caribbean*. Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers, pp. 221-263.
- Haviser, J. (1997). Social Repercussions of Slavery as Evident in African-Curacaoan 'Kunuku' Houses. *Proceedings of the 17th Congress for Caribbean Archaeology*, 358-375.
- Haviser, J. (1996). *An Archaeological Survey of the Belvedere Plantation Parcels I, II, and III, St Maarten*. Curacao: Archaeological-Anthropological Institute of the Netherlands Antilles (AAINA).
- Haviser, J. (1995b). *An AAINA Project Proposal for the Archaeological Study of Community Development in the Vicinity of Landhuis Knip, Curacao*. Curacao: Archaeological-Anthropological Institute of the Netherlands Antilles (AAINA).

- Haviser, J. (1993). *Observation of Human Skeletal Remains by the Archaeological-Anthropological Institute of the Netherlands Antilles, October 6, 1993, Police Report*. Curacao: Archaeological-Anthropological Institute of the Netherlands Antilles (AAINA).
- Haviser, J. (1991). *Preliminary Results from Test Excavations at the Hope Estate Site (SM-026), St Martin*. Curacao: Archaeological-Anthropological Institute of the Netherlands Antilles (AAINA).
- Haviser, J. (1986). *Human Skeletal Remains at the Veeris Sand Barrow Pits*. Curacao: Archaeological-Anthropological Institute of the Netherlands Antilles (AAINA).
- Haviser, J. (1985). *Human Skeletal Remains at the Kamer Van Koophandel*. Curacao: Archaeological-Anthropological Institute of the Netherlands Antilles (AAINA).
- Haviser, J. and Antoin, F. (2004). Observations Relating to Vernacular Architectural Diversity between Curacao and Bonaire *Proceedings of the 20th International Congress for Caribbean Archaeology, Santo Domingo.*, pp. 759-769.
- Haviser, J. and Gilmore III, R. (2011). Netherlands Antilles. In: Siegel, P. and Righter, E. eds. *Protecting Heritage in the Caribbean*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, pp. 190-202.
- Haviser, J. and Hofman, C. (2015). A review of archaeological research in the Dutch Caribbean. In: Hofman, C. and Haviser, J. eds. *Managing our Past into the Future: Archaeological Heritage Management in the Dutch Caribbean*. Leiden: Sidestone Press, pp. 37-70.
- Haviser, J. and Juliana, E. (2001). Communicating and interpreting African aesthetics in the Caribbean. *Proceedings of the 19th Congress for Caribbean Archaeology*, 314-317.
- Haviser, J., Khudabux, M. and van Langenfeld, E. (2001). History, archaeology and physical anthropology of Dutch Protestant skeletal remains from the 'De Tempel' site, Curacao. In: Suttly, L. ed. *Proceedings of the Eighteenth International Congress for Caribbean Archaeology*. Grenada, pp. 313-328.
- Haviser, J. and Simmons-Brito, N. (1995a). Excavations at the Zuurzak site: a possible 17th century Dutch slave camp on Curacao, Netherlands Antilles. *Proceedings of the 15th Congress for Caribbean Archaeology*, 71-81.
- Hawthorne, W. (2010). From 'black rice' to 'brown': rethinking the history of risiculture in the seventeenth and eighteenth-century Atlantic. *American Historical Review*, February, 151-163.
- Heath, B. (1999). Yabbas, monkeys, jugs and jars: an historical context for African-Caribbean pottery on St Eustatius. In: Haviser, J. ed. *African Sites Archaeology in the Caribbean*. Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers, pp. 196-220.
- Hefner, J. (2009). Cranial nonmetric variation and estimating ancestry. *Journal of Forensic Sciences*, 54(5), 985-994.

- Hellie, R. (2011). Russian slavery and serfdom, 1450-1804. In: Eltis, D. and Engerman, S. eds. *The Cambridge World History of Slavery, Volume 3: AD 1420-AD 1804*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 275-296.
- Henriquez, J. (2006). Forsa di un nashon ta depende di forsa di su famianan. In: Allen, R. ed. *Rene Romer Als Inspirator: Actualisering Van Zijn Gedachtegoed*. Curacao: University of the Netherlands Antilles, pp. 42-59.
- Herman, J. (1992). Complex PTSD: a syndrome is survivors of prolonged and repeated trauma. *Journal of Traumatic Stress*, 5(3), 377-391.
- Herrmann, B., et al. (1990). *PRähistorische Anthropologie. Leitfaden Der Feld- Und Labormethoden*. Heidelberg: Springer.
- Hershkovitz, I., et al. (1997). Why do we fail in aging the skull from the sagittal suture?. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 103, 393-399.
- Herva, V. and Nurmi, R. (2009). Beyond consumption: functionality, artifact biography, and early modernity in a European periphery. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 13, 158-182.
- Heuman, G. (2003b). The free coloreds in Jamaican slave society. In: Heuman, G. and Walvin, J. eds. *The Slavery Reader*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 654-667.
- Heuman, G. and Walvin, J. eds. (2003). *The Slavery Reader*. London: Routledge.
- Hicks, D. (2010). The material-cultural turn: event and effect. In: Hicks, D. and Beaudry, M. eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 25-98.
- Hicks, D. (2007). *'The Garden of the World': An historical archaeology of sugar landscapes in the eastern Caribbean. BAR International 1632*. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Higman, B. (2014). Survival and silence in the material records of slavery and abolition. *Slavery and Abolition*, 35(3), 527-535.
- Higman, B. (1999). *Writing West Indian History*. Macmillan Education Ltd.: London.
- Higman, B. (1979). Growth in Afro-Caribbean slave populations. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 50, 373-386.
- Hill, M. (2003a). *Building O* [Online]. Last updated: October 2003. Available from: <https://www.daacs.org/sites/building-o/#home>
- Hill, M. (2003b). *Building S* [Online]. Last updated: October 2003. Available from: <https://www.daacs.org/sites/building-s/#home>
- Hillier, R. and Craig, G. (1992). Human dental enamel in the determination of health patterns in children. In: Goodman, A. and Capasso, L. eds. *Recent Contributions to the Study of Enamel Developmental Defects. Journal of Paleopathology Monograph Volume 2*. Teramo, Italy: Edigrafital, pp. 381-390.

- Hillson, S. (2001). Recording dental caries in archaeological human remains. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, 11, 249-289.
- Hockey, N. (2010). Engaging Postcolonialism: A Critical Realist Indigent Critique of an Approach by Denzin and Lincoln. *Journal of Critical Realism*, 9(3), 353-383.
- Hodder, I. (2010). Cultural Heritage Rights: From Ownership and Descent to Justice and Well-being. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 83(4), 861-882.
- Hodder, I. (2003). Archaeological reflexivity and the 'local' voice. *Anthropological Quarterly*, 76(1), 55-69.
- Hodder, I. (2001). Epilogue. In: Buchli, V. and Lucas, G. eds. *Archaeologies of the Contemporary Past*. London: Routledge, pp. 189-191.
- Hodder, I. (1997). Relativising relativism. *Archaeological Dialogues*, 4(2), 192-198.
- Hodder, I. (1989). This is not an article about material culture as text. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology*, 8, 250-269.
- Hodder, I. (1986). *Reading the Past*. 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hodder, I. and Lucas, G. (2017). The symmetries and asymmetries of human-thing relations: a dialogue. *Archaeological Dialogues*, 24(2), 119-137.
- Hoetink, H. (1972). Surinam and Curacao. In: Cohen, D. and Greene, J. eds. *Neither Slave nor Free: The Freedmen of African Descent in the Slave Societies of the New World*. London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 59-83.
- Hofman, C. and Hoogland, M. (2016). Connecting stakeholders: collaborative preventive archaeology projects at sites affected by natural and/or human impacts. *Caribbean Connections*, 5(1), 1-31.
- Holland, S. (2000). *Raising the Dead: Reading Death and (Black) Subjectivity*. London: Duke University Press.
- Hollimon, S. (2011). Sex and gender in bioarchaeological research: theory, method, and interpretation. In: Agarwal, S. and Glencross, B. eds. *Social Bioarchaeology*. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., pp. 149-182.
- Holloway, E. (1990). Introduction. In: Holloway, E. ed. *Africanisms in American Culture*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, pp. ix-xxi.
- Holst Petersen, K. (2006). First things first: problems of a feminist approach to African literature. In: Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G. and Tiffin, H. eds. *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*. 2nd edn. London: Routledge, pp. 235-238.
- Hoogland, M., Hofman, C. and Gilmore III, R. (2015). Archaeological assessment at Bethlehem, St Maarten. In: Hofman, C. and Havisser, J. eds. *Managing our Past into the Future: Archaeological Heritage Management in the Dutch Caribbean*. Leiden: Sidestone Press, pp. 217-231.

- hooks, b. (1981). *Ain'T I A Woman: Black Women and Feminism*. London: Pluto Press.
- Hoonhout, B. and Mareite, T. (2018). Freedom at the fringes? Slave flight and empire-building in the early modern Spanish borderlands of Essequibo-Venezuela and Louisiana-Texas. *Slavery and Abolition*, DOI: 10.1080/0144039X.2018.1447806.
- Howells, W. (1989). *Skull Shapes and the Map: Craniometric Analyses in the Dispersion of the Modern Homo*. USA: Harvard University Press.
- Hughes, C., et al. (2011). A simulation for exploring the effects of the 'trait list' method's subjectivity in consistency and accuracy of ancestry estimations. *Journal of Forensic Sciences*, 56(5), 1094-1106.
- Huijers, D. and Ezechiels, L. (1992). *Landhuizen Van Curacao En Bonaire*. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Persimmons Management BV.
- Humphrey, L. (2008). Enamel traces of early lifetime events. In: Schutkowski, H. ed. *Between Biology and Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 186-206.
- Hutchinson, S., Wilson, M. and Wilson, H. (1994). Benefits of participating in research interviews. *Image Journal of Nursing Scholarship*, 26(2), 161-166.
- Impey, A. (2016). Sound, memory and dis/placement: exploring sound, song and performance as oral history in the southern African borderlands. In: Perks, R. and Thomson, A. eds. *The Oral History Reader*. 3rd edn. London: Routledge, pp. 595-610.
- Ingold, T. (2000). Making culture and weaving the world. In: Graves-Brown, P. ed. *Matter, Materiality and Modern Culture*. London: Routledge, pp. 50-71.
- Inikori, J. (1999). Slaves or serfs? A comparative study of slavery and serfdom in Europe and Africa. In: Okepewho, I., Boyce Davies, C. and Maznui, A. eds. *The African Diaspora: African Origins and New World Identities*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, pp. 49-75.
- Irish, J. and Turner II, C. (1997). Brief communication: first evidence of LSAMAT in non-native Americans: historica Senegalese from West Africa. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 102, 141-146.
- Jackson, A. (2012). *Speaking for the Enslaved: Heritage Interpretation at Antebellum Plantation Sites*. USA: Left Coast Press, Inc.
- Jacobs, B. (2012). *Origins of a Creole: The History of Papiamentu and its African Ties*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter Inc.
- Jacobs, H. (2001). *Harriet Jacobs: Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*. New York: Dover Thrift Publications Inc.
- James, D. (2016 [2000]). 'Listening in the cold': the practice of oral history in an Argentine working-class community. In: Perks, R. and Thomson, A. eds. *The Oral History Reader*. 3rd edn. London: Routledge, pp. 73-91.

- JanMohamed, A. (2010). Between speaking and dying: some imperatives in the emergence of the subaltern in the context of US slavery. In: Morris, R. ed. *Can the Subaltern Speak? Reflections on the History of an Idea*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 139-155.
- JanMohamed, A. (2005). *The Death-Bound-Subject: Richard Wright's Archaeology of Death*. London: Duke University Press.
- Jenson, T. (2012). How many qualitative interviews is enough?. In: Baker, S. and Edwards, R. eds. *How Many Qualitative Interviews is enough? Expert Voices and Early Career Reflections on Sampling and Cases in Qualitative Research*. Southampton: ESRC National Centre for Research Methods, University of Southampton, pp. 39.
- Jimenez, A. (2011). Pure hybridism: Late Iron Age sculpture in southern Iberia. *World Archaeology*, 43(1), 102-123.
- Johnson, M. (2006). *Archaeological Theory: An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Johnson, P., et al. (2006). Evaluating qualitative management research: towards a contingent criteriology. *International Journal of Management Reviews*, 8(3), 131-156.
- Johnson, W. (2012). *The Diary of a St Martin Salt Checker: Written by Will Johnson, Based on the 1927 Diary of Mr Albert Buncamper*. St Martin: Prins Bernhard Cultuurfonds.
- Johnson, W. (1987). *For the Love of St Maarten*. New York: Carlton Press Inc.
- Jones, S. and Russell, L. (2012). Archaeology, memory and oral tradition: an introduction. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 16, 267-283.
- Jonkhout-Gehlen, G. (2003). *Monumenten Hersteld: Gerestaureerde Monumenten Met Medewerking Van De Stichting Monumentenfonds Curacao in De Jaren 1994-1998*. Curacao: Stichting Monumenten Fonds.
- Jordaan, H. (2013). *Slavernij En Vrijheid Op Curacao: De Dynamiek Van Een Achttiende-Eeuws Atlantisch Handelsknooppunt*. Zutphen: Walburg Pers.
- Jordaan, H. (2003). The Curacao slave market: from asiento trade to free trade, 1700-1730. In: Postma, J. and Enthoven, V. eds. *Riches from Atlantic Commerce: Transatlantic Slave Trade and Shipping, 1585-1817*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 219-257.
- Jordan, W. (2003b). American chiaroscuro: the status and definition of mulattoes in the British colonies. In: Heuman, G. and Walvin, J. eds. *The Slavery Reader*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 641-653.
- Joubert, S. and Perl, M. (2007). The Portuguese language on Curacao and its role in the formation of Papiamentu. *Journal of Caribbean Literatures*, 5(1), 43-60.

- Joy, J. (2009). Reinvigorating object biography: reproducing the drama of object lives. *World Archaeology*, 41(4), 540-556.
- Juliana, E. (2008). Folklore is our soul. In: van der Dijs, M. ed. *The Curacao Museum*. Curacao: The Curacao Museum, pp. 76-77.
- Jurmain, R., et al. (2012). Bioarchaeology's Holy Grail: The Reconstruction of Activity. In: Grauer, A. ed. *A Companion to Palaeopathology*. Chichester: John Wiley and Sons Ltd., pp. 531-552.
- Kamash, Z. (2008). What lies beneath? Perceptions of the ontological paradox of water. *World Archaeology*, 40(2), 224-237.
- Kamau Brathwaite, E. (2006b). Nation language. In: Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G. and Tiffin, H. eds. *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*. 2nd edn. London: Routledge, pp. 281-284.
- Kamau Brathwaite, E. (2006a). Creolization in Jamaica. In: Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G. and Tiffin, H. eds. *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*. 2nd edn. London: Routledge, pp. 152-154.
- Karklins, K. and Barka, N. (1989). The beads of St Eustatius, Netherlands Antilles. *Beads*, 1, 55-80.
- Kas di Kultura (2008). *From Country-House Kenepa to Tula Museum* [Online]. Available from: [www.museotula.com](http://www.museotula.com)
- Kaschula, R. (1999). Imbongi and griot: toward a comparative analysis of oral poetics in Southern and West Africa. *Journal of African Cultural Studies*, 12(1), 55-76.
- Keller, S. (1980). Researching slave culture at the General State Archives. *Itinerario*, 4(2), 64-70.
- Kelley, J. and Angel, J. (1987). Life stresses of slavery. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 74, 199-211.
- Kelly, K. (2014c). Archaeology, plantations, and slavery in the French West Indies. In: Kelly, K. and Berard, B. eds. *Bitasion: Archeologie Des Habitations-Plantations Des Petites Antilles*. Leiden: Sidestone Press, pp. 17-31.
- Kelly, K. (2014b). The context of plantation archaeology in the Lesser Antilles: Multi-disciplinary, Multi-cultural, Pluri-national. In: Kelly, K. and Berard, B. eds. *Bitasion. Archeologie Des Habitations-Plantations Des Petites Antilles*. Leiden: Sidestone Press, pp. 165-174.
- Kelly, K. (2014a). Les << rues Cases-Negres >>. Archeologie de la vie des esclaves dans les Antilles francaises. In: Delpuech, A. and Jacob, J. eds. *Archeologie De L'Esclavage Colonial*. La Decouverte: Institut national de recherches archéologiques préventives (Inrap), pp. 199-213.
- Kelly, K. (2009). Where is the Caribbean? French colonial archaeology in the English lake. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 13, 80-93.

- Kelly, K. (2002). Indigenous responses to colonial encounters on the West African coast: Hueda and Dahomey from the seventeenth through nineteenth century. In: Lyons, C. and Papadopoulos, J. eds. *The Archaeology of Colonialism' Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute*. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, pp. 96-120.
- Kelly, K. and Norman, N. (2006). Medium vessels and the *longue duree*: the endurance of ritual ceramics and the archaeology of the African Diaspora. In: Havisser, J. and MacDonald, K. eds. *African Re-Genesis: Confronting Social Issues in the Diaspora*. New York: UCL Press, pp. 223-233.
- Kessler, J., et al. (2014). The demographics and epidemiology of osteochondritis dissecans of the knee in children and adolescents. *American Journal of Sports Medicine*, 42, 320-326.
- Khudabux, M. (1991). *Effects of life conditions on the health of a negro slave community in Suriname*. PhD Thesis. Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden.
- King, T., Humphrey, L. and Hillson, S. (2005). Linear enamel hypoplasias as indicators of systemic physiological stress: evidence from two known age-at-death and sex populations from postmedieval London. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 128, 547-559.
- Kiple, K. and Kiple, V. (1991 [1980]). Deficiency diseases in the Caribbean. In: Beckles, H. and Shepherd, V. eds. *Caribbean Slave Society and Economy: A Student Reader*. London: James Currey, pp. 173-182.
- Kjellstrom, A. (2004). Evaluations of sex assessment using weighted traits on incomplete skeletal remains. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, 14, 360-373.
- Klooster, W. (2006). Communities of port Jews and their contacts in the Dutch Atlantic world. *Jewish History*, 20, 129-145.
- Klooster, W. and Oostindie, G. eds. (2011). *Curacao in the Age of Revolutions, 1795-1800*. Leiden: KITLV Press.
- Knappert, L. (1932). *Geschiedenis Van De Nederlandsche Bovenwindsche Eilanden in De 18de Eeuw*. 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Knight, F. (2012). *The Caribbean: The Genesis of a Fragmented Nationalism*. 3rd edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Knusel, C., Goggel, S. and Lucy, D. (1997). Comparative degenerative joint disease of the vertebral column in the medieval monastic cemetery of the Gilbertine Priory of St Andrew, Fishergate, York, England. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 103, 481-495.
- Konigsberg, L. and Hens, S. (1998). Use of ordinal categorical variables in skeletal assessment of sex from the cranium. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 107, 97-112.

- Kopytoff, I. (1986). The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process. In: Appadurai, A. ed. *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 64-91.
- Koro-Ljungberg, M. (2004). Impossibilities of reciliation: validity in mixed theory projects. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 10(4), 601-621.
- Koro-Ljungberg, M., et al. (2009). (E)pistemological awareness, instantiation of methods, and uninformed methodological ambiguity in qualitative research projects. *Educational Researcher*, 38(9), 687-699.
- Koslofsky, C. and Zaugg, R. (2016). Ship's surgeon Johann Peter Oettinger: a hinterlander in the Atlantic slave trade, 1682-1696. In: Brahm, F. and Rosenhaft, E. eds. *Hinterlands and Grey Zones: Studies in the Material and Moral Implications of Transatlantic Slavery in Continental Europe, 1680-1850*. London: Boydell and Brewer, pp. 25-44.
- Kosso, P. (1991). Method in archaeology: middle-range theory as hermeneutics. *American Antiquity*, 56(4), 621-627.
- Kraniotti, E. and Apostol, M. (2015). Sexual dimorphism of the tibia in contemporary Greeks, Italians, and Spanish: forensic implications. *International Journal of Legal Medicine*, 129, 357-363.
- Kuijlaars, D., Victorina, A. and Kraan, C. (2012). *Fleur De Marie, A Glimpse at the Past*. Curacao: National Archaeological Anthropological Memory Management (NAAM).
- Kusimba, C. (2006). Slavery and warfare in African chiefdoms. In: Arkush, E. and Allen, M. eds. *The Archaeology of Warfare: Prehistories of Raiding and Conquest*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, pp. 214-249.
- La Salle, M. (2010). Community collaboration and other good intentions. *Archaeologies: Journal of the World Archaeological Congress*.
- Labadi, S. (2018). *Museums, Immigrants, and Social Justice*. London: Routledge.
- Labadi, S. (2013). *UNESCO, Cultural Heritage, and Outstanding Universal Value: Value-Based Analyses of the World Heritage and Intangible Cultural Heritage Conventions*. USA: AltaMira Press.
- Labadi, S. (2005). *Questioning the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention: A Value-Based Analysis of Purposefully Sampled Nomination Dossiers*. PhD Thesis. London: University of London.
- Laffoon, J., Mickleburgh, H. and Espersen, R. (2018). Life history of an enslaved African: multiple isotope evidence for forced childhood migration from Africa to the Caribbean and associated dietary change. *Antiquity*, 60(2), 350-365.
- Laguer Diaz, C. (2013). The construction of an identity and the politics of remembering. In: Keegan, W., Hofman, C. and Rodriguez Ramos, R. eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Caribbean Archaeology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 557-567.

- LaMotta, V. and Schiffer, M. (1999). Formation processes of house floor assemblages. In: Allison, P. ed. *The Archaeology of Household Activities*. London: Routledge, pp. 19-25.
- Lampe, A. (2001). Christianity and slavery in the Dutch Caribbean. In: Lampe, A. ed. *Christianity in the Caribbean: Essays on Church History*. Barbados: University of the West Indies, pp. 126-153.
- Lampe, A. (1988). *Yo te nombro libertad. Iglesia y Estado en la sociedad esclavista de Curacao (1816-1863)*. PhD Thesis. Amsterdam: Free University of Amsterdam.
- Lamur, H. (1991 [1981]). Demographic performance of two slaves populations of the Dutch speaking Caribbean. In: Beckles, H. and Shepherd, V. eds. *Caribbean Slave Society and Economy: A Student Reader*. London: James Currey, pp. 209-220.
- Lane, P. (2011). Possibilities for a postcolonial archaeology in sub-Saharan Africa: indigenous and usable pasts. *World Archaeology*, 43(1), 7-25.
- Lane, P. (2006). Household assemblages, lifecycles and the remembrance of things past among the Dogon of Mali. *The South African Archaeological Bulletin*, 61(183), 40-56.
- Lange, F. and Handler, J. (2009). The ethnohistorical approach to slavery. In: Singleton, T. ed. *The Archaeology of Slavery and Plantation Life*. California: Left Coast Press, pp. 15-32.
- Langenfeld, E. (2010a). *Verhalen Uit Het Verleden. Deel 2*. Curacao: Drukkerij de Curacaosche Courant.
- Langenfeld, E. (2007). *Verhalen Uit Het Verleden*. Curacao: Drukkerij de Curacaosche Courant.
- Langenfeld, E. and Langenfeld, H. (1998). *Tussen Dood En Recht: De Tempel, Van Begraafplaats Tot Openbaar Ministerie*. Curacao: Drukkerij de Curacaosche Courant, NV.
- Larsen, C. (2015). *Bioarchaeology: Interpreting Behaviour from the Human Skeleton*. 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Larsen, C. (1997). *Bioarchaeology: Interpreting Behaviour from the Human Skeleton*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Larsen, C. and Milner, G. (1994). Bioanthropological perspectives on postcontact transitions. In: Larsen, C. and Milner, G. eds. *In the Wake of Contact: Biological Responses to Conquest*. USA: Wiley-Liss, Inc., pp. 1-8.
- Lasker, H. and Strodbeck, F. (1975). Stratification and ego development in Curacao. In: Marks, A. and Romer, R. eds. *Family and Kinship in Middle America and the Caribbean: Proceedings of the 14th Seminar of the Committee on Family Research of the International Sociological Association, Curacao, September 1975*. Institute of Higher Studies, Curacao and the Department of Caribbean Studies at the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology, Leiden, pp. 156-178.

- Lazzari, M. (2003). Archaeological visions: gender, landscape and optic knowledge. *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 3(2), 194-222.
- Leach, E. (1999). Discussion: comments from a classicist. In: Allison, P. ed. *The Archaeology of Household Activities*. London: Routledge, pp. 190-197.
- Lederman, R. (2005). Unchosen grounds: cultivating cross-subfield accents for a public voice. In: Segal, D. and Yanagisako, S. eds. *Unwrapping the Sacred Bundle: Reflections on the Disciplining of Anthropology*. London: Duke University Press, pp. 49-77.
- Ledger, M., et al. (2000). Biomechanical beam analysis of long bones from a late 18th century slave cemetery in Cape Town, South Africa. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 112, 207-216.
- Lee, E., et al. (2009). MtDNA origins of an enslaved labor force from the 18th century Schuyler Flatts Burial Ground in colonial Albany, NY: Afrians, Native Americans, and Malagasy?. *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 36, 2805-2810.
- Legene, S. and Waaldijk, B. (2007). Mission Interrupted: Gender, History and the Colonial Canon. In: Grever, M. and Stuurman, S. eds. *Beyond the Canon: History for the Twenty-First Century*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 188-204.
- Leinders, J. Tula: The Revolt (2013). Curacao: Fisheye Feature Films.
- Lemke, T. (2017). Materialism without matter: the recurrence of subjectivism in object-oriented ontology. *Distinktion: Journal of Social Theory*, 18(2), 133-152.
- Lenik, S. (2009). Considering multiscalar approaches to creolisation among enslaved laborers at Estate Bethlehem, St Croix, US Virgin Islands. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 13, 12-26.
- Lenik, S. and Petley, C. (2014). The material cultures of slavery and abolition in the British Caribbean. *Slavery and Abolition*, 35(3), 389-398.
- Leone, M. (2008). A unique, early artifact of African worship uncovered in Annapolis. *African Diaspora Archaeology Newsletter*, December Issue.
- Leone, M. (2005). *The Archaeology of Liberty in an American Capital: Excavations in Annapolis*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Leone, M. and Fry, G. (1999). Conjuring in the Big House kitchen: an interpretation of African American belief systems based on the uses of archaeology and folklore sources. *The Journal of African American Folklore*, 112(445), 372-403.
- Leone, M., Potter, P. and Shackel, P. (1987). Toward a critical archaeology. *Current Anthropology*, 28(3), 283-302.
- Leone, M., et al. (2013). In the shade of Frederick Douglass: the archaeology of Wye House. In: Gonzalez-Ruibal, A. ed. *Reclaiming Archaeology: Beyond the Tropes of Modernity*. London: Routledge, pp. 220-231.

- Leonora, S. (1996). Head scarves. In: Ayubi, E. ed. *Papers of the Third Seminar on Latin-American and Caribbean Folklore: Reports of the Archaeological-Anthropological Institute of the Netherlands Antilles, no. 12*. Curacao: Archaeological-Anthropological Institute of the Netherlands Antilles (AAINA), pp. 167-173.
- Leslie, T. (2018). Colonialism begets coloniality: a case study of Sint Eustatius, Caribbean Netherlands. In: Weiner, M. and Baez, A. eds. *Smash the Pillars: Decoloniality and the Imaginary of Colour in the Dutch Kingdom*. London: Lexington Books, pp. 39-54.
- Lewis, G. (1983). *Main Currents in Caribbean Thought: The Historical Evolution of Caribbean Society in its Ideological Aspects, 1492-1900*. London: The John Hopkins University Press.
- Lewis, M. and Roberts, C. (1997). Growing pains: the interpretation of stress indicators. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, 7, 581-586.
- Lewis, M., Shapland, F. and Watts, R. (2016a). The influence of chronic conditions and the environment on pubertal development. An example from medieval England. *International Journal of Paleopathology*, 12, 1-10.
- Liebmann, M. (2008). Introduction: the intersections of archaeology and postcolonial studies. In: Liebmann, M. and Rizvi, U. eds. *Archaeology and the Postcolonial Critique*. Plymouth: AltaMira Press, pp. 1-20.
- Lieverse, A. (1999). Diet and the aetiology of dental calculus. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, 9, 219-232.
- Lima, T., de Souza, M. and Sene, G. (2014). Weaving the second skin: protection against evil among the Valongo slaves in nineteenth-century Rio de Janeiro. *Journal of African Diaspora Archaeology and Heritage*, 3(2), 103-136.
- Lindbergh, J. (1999). Buttoning Down Archaeology. *Australasian Historical Archaeology*, 17, 50-57.
- Littleton, J. (2005). Invisible impacts but long-term consequences: hypoplasia and contact in Central Australia. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 126, 295-304.
- Liu, J. and Hilton, D. (2005). How the past weighs on the present: social representations of history and their role in identity politics. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 44, 537-556.
- Liversidge, H. (2008). Dental age revisited. In: Irish, J. and Nelson, G. eds. *Technique and Application in Dental Anthropology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 234-265.
- Loomba, A. (2010). Commentary: subjectivity and science in postcolonial archaeology. In: Lydon, J. and Rizvi, U. eds. *Handbook of Postcolonial Archaeology*. California: Left Coast Press, pp. 125-131.

- Lorentz, K. (2008). From bodies to bones and back: theory and human bioarchaeology. In: Schutkowski, H. ed. *Between Biology and Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 273-303.
- Louai, E. (2012). Retracing the concept of the subaltern from Gramsci to Spivak: historical developments and new applications. *African Journal of History and Culture*, 4(1), 4-8.
- Louis, G., et al. (2008). Environmental factors and puberty timing: expert panel research needs. *Pediatrics*, 121, S192-S207.
- Loulanski, T. and Loulanski, V. (2011). The sustainable integration of cultural heritage and tourism: a meta-study. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 19(7), 837-862.
- Lovejoy, C., et al. (1985). Chronological metamorphosis of the auricular surface of the ilium: a new method for the determination of adult skeletal age at death. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 68, 15-28.
- Lovejoy, P. (1997). The African Diaspora: Revisionist Interpretations of Ethnicity, Culture and Religion Under Slavery. *Studies in the World History of Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation*, 2(1).
- Lovejoy, P. (1983). *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lovell, N. and Dublenko, A. (1999). Further aspects of fur trade life depicted in the skeleton. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, 9, 248-256.
- Low, S. (2002). Social theory and archaeological ethnographies. *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 2(2), 269-275.
- Lowie, R. (1917). Oral tradition and history. *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, 30(116), 161-167.
- Lucas, G. (2015). Evidence of what? On the possibilities of archaeological interpretation. In: Chapman, R. and Wylie, A. eds. *Material Evidence: Learning from Archaeological Practice*. London: Routledge, pp. 311-323.
- Lucas, G. (2010). Class identity and postcolonialism. In: Lydon, J. and Rizvi, U. eds. *Handbook of Postcolonial Archaeology*. California: Left Coast Press, pp. 365-373.
- Lukacs, J. (1992). Comments. *Current Anthropology*, 33(4), 361-362.
- Lukacs, J. and Nelson, G. (2001). Enamel hypoplasia and childhood stress and prehistory: new data from India and Southwest Asia. *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 28, 1159-1169.
- Lydon, J. and Rizvi, U. (2010). Introduction: Postcolonialism and Archaeology. In: Lydon, J. and Rizvi, U. eds. *Handbook of Postcolonial Archaeology*. California: Left Coast Press, pp. 17-33.

- Maat, G. and Mastwijk, R. (2004). *Manual for the Physical Anthropological Report. Barge's Anthropologica no. 6*. 4th edn. Leiden: Leiden University Medical Center.
- MacEachern, S. (2011). The concept of race in contemporary anthropology. In: Scupin, R. ed. *Race and Ethnicity: The United States and the World*. 2nd edn. New York: Prentice Hall, pp. 34-57.
- MacEachern, S. (2002). Beyond the belly of the house: space and power around the Mandara Mountains. *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 2(2), 197-219.
- Madrigal, L. (2006). *Human Biology of Afro-Caribbean Populations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Magnusson, S. (2003). The singularization of history: social history and microhistory within the postmodern state of knowledge. *Journal of Social History*, 36(3), 701-735.
- Maher, R. (1975). The great Ifugao war: a study in archaeology and oral history. *Asian Perspectives*, 18(1), 64-74.
- Mannathukkaren, N. (2010). Postcolonialism and Modernity: A Critical Realist Critique. *Journal of Critical Realism*, 9(3), 299-327.
- Manning, P. (2003 [1990]). Why Africans? The rise of the slave trade to 1700. In: Heuman, G. and Walvin, J. eds. *The Slavery Reader*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 30-41.
- Marcel, S. (1994). *Buttoning Down the Past: A Look at Buttons as Indicators of Chronology*. BA Thesis. Tennessee: University of Tennessee.
- Marcha, V. and Verweel, P. (2003). *De Cultuur Van Angst*. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij SWP.
- Marcha, V., Verweel, P. and Werkman, J. (2012). *Kleur Bekennen: Idealisering En Ontkenning Van De Eigen Huidskleur*. Amsterdam: Caribpublishing/BV Uitgeverij SWP.
- Margo, R. and Steckel, R. (1982). The heights of American slaves: new evidence on slave nutrition and health. *Social Science History*, 6(4), 516-538.
- Marquez-Grant, N. (2015). An overview of age estimation in forensic anthropology: perspectives and practical considerations. *Annals of Human Biology*, 42(4), 306-320.
- Marshall, W. (2003). Provision ground and plantation labour in four Windward Islands: competition for resources during slavery. In: Heuman, G. and Walvin, J. eds. *The Slavery Reader*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 470-485.
- Martin, D. and Harrod, R. (2015). Bioarchaeological contributions to the study of violence. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 156, 116-145.

- Martin, D., Magennis, A. and Rose, J. (1987). Cortical bone maintenance in an historic Afro-American cemetery sample from Cedar Grove, Arkansas. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 74, 255-264.
- Martin, P. (1781). *St Eustatia (Map)*.
- Martinus, F. (1997). *The Kiss of a Slave: Papiamentu's West African Connections*. PhD Thesis. Curacao: University of Amsterdam.
- Martrille, L., et al. (2007). Comparison of Four Skeletal Methods for the Estimation of Age at Death on White and Black Adults. *Journal of Forensic Science*, 52(2), 302-306.
- Mason, M. (2010). Sample size and saturation in PhD studies using qualitative interviews. *Qualitative Social Research Forum*, 11(3), Article 8.
- Mason, O. (2012). Memories of warfare: archaeology and oral history in assessing the conflict and alliance model of Ernest S Burch. *Arctic Anthropology*, 49(2), 72-91.
- Mason, R. (2000). Archaeology and native North American oral traditions. *American Antiquity*, 65(2), 239-266.
- Masters, K. (2010). The Role of Religion in Therapy: Time for Psychologists to Have a Little Faith?. *Cognitive and Behavioural Practice*, 17(4), 393-400.
- Matdus (2014). *An Exceptional Archaeological Site!* [Online]. Last updated: 11th February 2014. Available from: <https://schoolsontheslaveroute.wordpress.com/2014/02/11/un-site-archeologique-dexception/>
- Matthews, C. (2017). How history controls the past: 'discovering' the unconventional and underground history of Setauket, New York's Native and African American community. In: Hillderdal, C., Karlstrom, A. and Ojala, C. eds. *Archaeologies of 'Us' and 'them': Debating History, Heritage and Indigeneity*. London: Routledge, pp. 159-174.
- Mays, S. (2015). The effect of factors other than age upon skeletal age indicators in the adult. *Annals of Human Biology*, 42(4), 330-339.
- Mays, S. (1999). A biomechanical study of activity patterns in a medieval human skeletal assemblage. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, 9, 68-73.
- Mays, S., Brickley, M. and Dodwell, N. (2004). *Human Bones from Archaeological Sites: Guidelines for Producing Assessment Documents and Analytical Reports*. London: English Heritage Centre for Archaeology Guidelines.
- Mays, S., Steele, J. and Ford, M. (1999). Directional asymmetry in the human clavicle. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, 9, 18-28.
- Mazama, A. (2001). The Afrocentric Paradigm: Contours and Definitions. *Journal of Black Studies*, 31(4), 389-405.

- McAtackney, L. and Penrose, S. (2016). The contemporary in post-medieval archaeology. *Post-Medieval Archaeology*, 50(1), 148-158.
- McCaa, R. (2002). Paleodemography of the Americas: from ancient times to colonialism and beyond. In: Steckel, R. and Rose, J. eds. *The Backbone of History: Health and Nutrition in the Western Hemisphere*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 94-124.
- McCarthy, J. (2006). African community identity at the cemetery. In: Havisser, J. and MacDonald, K. eds. *African Re-Genesis: Confronting Social Issues in the Diaspora*. New York: U. C. L. Press, pp. 176-183.
- McCracken, G. (1988). *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- McDonald, J. (2013). Coming out in the field: a queer reflexive account of shifting researcher identity. *Management Learning*, 44(2), 127-143.
- McElroy, A. (1990). Biocultural models in studies of human health and adaptation. *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, 4(3), 243-265.
- McGrath, J. (1992). Comments. *Current Anthropology*, 33(4), 362-363.
- McIntosh, S., Gallagher, D. and McIntosh, R. (1960). Tobacco pipes from excavations at the museum site, Jenne, Mali. *Journal of African Archaeology*, 1, 171-199.
- McKee, L. and Bates, L. (2013). *Field Quarter KES* [Online]. Last updated: November 2013. Available from: <https://www.daacs.org/sites/field-quarter-kes/#home>
- McKee, L. and Cooper, L. (2013). *Yard Cabin* [Online]. Last updated: November 2013. Available from: <https://www.daacs.org/sites/yard-cabin/#home>
- McKee, L. and Kellar, E. (2018). *Triplex* [Online]. Available from: <https://www.daacs.org/sites/triplex/#home>
- McLachlan, C. and Garcia, R. (2015). Philosophy in practice? Doctoral struggles with ontology and subjectivity in qualitative interviewing. *Management Learning*, 46(2), 195-210.
- McLellan, E., MacQueen, K. and Neidig, J. (2003). Beyond the qualitative interview: data preparation and transcription. *Field Methods*, 15(10), 63-84.
- Meade, N. (2018). *St. Maarten is Still Striving to Recover from its Worst Hurricane in a Century* [Online]. Last updated: March 2nd 2018. Available from: <https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/st-maarten-is-still-striving-to-recover-from-its-worst-hurricane-in-a-century>
- Meillassoux, C. (1991 [1986]). *The Anthropology of Slavery: The Womb of Iron and Gold*. London: The Athlone Press.

- Meinl, A., et al. (2008). Comparison of the validity of three dental methods for the estimation of age at death. *Forensic Science International*, 178, 96-105.
- Mergenthaler, E. and Stinson, C. (1992). Psychotherapy transcription standards. *Psychotherapy Research*, 2(2), 125-142.
- Merrill, J. and Thomas, S. (2013). Interactions between adaptive coping and drinking to cope in predicting naturalistic drinking and drinking following a lab-based psychosocial stressor. *Addictive Behaviour*, 38(3), 1672-1678.
- Meskill, L. (2012). Archaeological ethnography: materiality, heritage, and hybrid methodologies. In: Shankland, D. ed. *Archaeology and Anthropology: Past, Present, and Future*. London: Berg, pp. 133-144.
- Meskill, L. (2010). Ethnographic interventions. In: Lydon, J. and Rizvi, U. eds. *Handbook of Postcolonial Archaeology*. California: Left Coast Press, pp. 445-457.
- Meskill, L. (2005). Sites of violence: terrorism, tourism, and heritage in the archaeological present. In: Meskill, L. and Pels, P. eds. *Embedding Ethics*. Oxford: Berg Publishers, pp. 123-146.
- Meskill, L. (2002). The intersection of identity and politics in archaeology. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 31, 279-301.
- Meskill, L. (2000). The practice and politics of archaeology in Egypt. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*, 925(1), 146-169.
- Meskill, L. and Masuku van Damme, L. (2007). Heritage ethics and descendent communities. In: Colwell-Chanthaphonh, C. and Ferguson, T. eds. *Collaboration in Archaeological Practice: Engaging Descendant Communities*. Plymouth: AltaMira Press, pp. 131-150.
- Meskill, L. and Scheermeyer, C. (2008). Heritage as therapy: set pieces from the New South Africa. *Journal of Material Culture*, 13(2), 153-173.
- Meskill, L. and Weiss, L. (2008). Coetzee on South Africa's past: remembering in the time of forgetting. *American Anthropologist*, 108(1), 88-99.
- Meyers, A. (1999). West African tradition in the decoration of colonial Jamaican folk pottery. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 3(4), 201-223.
- Mickleburgh, H. (2015). Skeletons in the closet: future avenues for the curation of archaeological human skeletal remains in the Dutch Caribbean and the rest of the region. In: Hofman, C. and Haviser, J. eds. *Managing our Past into the Future: Archaeological Heritage Management in the Dutch Caribbean*. Leiden: Sidestone Press, pp. 113-130.
- Microsoft (2011) *Excel*. Washington, USA: Microsoft Corporation.
- Mignolo, W. (2007). Delinking: the rhetoric of modernity, the logic of coloniality and the grammar of de-coloniality. *Cultural Studies*, 21(2-3), 449-514.

- Miller, D. (2012). How many qualitative interviews is enough?. In: Baker, S. and Edwards, R. eds. *How Many Qualitative Interviews is enough? Expert Voices and Early Career Reflections on Sampling and Cases in Qualitative Research*. Southampton: ESRC National Centre for Research Methods, University of Southampton, pp. 31.
- Miller, D. (1987). *Material Culture and Mass Consumption*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd.
- Miller, D. (1985). *Artefacts as Categories: A Study of Ceramic Variability in Central India*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Miller, D. and Gilmore III, R. (2016). Negotiating tensions: the religious landscape of St Eustatius, 1636-1795. *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 16(1), 56-78.
- Miller, J. (2003). History and Africa/Africa and history. In: Heuman, G. and Walvin, J. eds. *The Slavery Reader*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 707-738.
- Miller, J. and Miller, R. (1987). Jeremy Bentham's Panoptic Device. *October*, 41, 3-29.
- Mimisson, K. and Magnusson, S. (2014). Singularizing the past: the history and archaeology of the small and ordinary. *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 14(2), 131-156.
- Mirza, M. and Dungworth, D. (1995). The potential misuse of genetic analyses and the social construction of 'race' and 'ethnicity'. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 14(3), 345-354.
- Mitchell, P. and Brickley, M. (2017). *Updated Guidelines to the Standards for Recording Human Remains*. Chartered Institute for Archaeologists.
- Monton-Subias, S. and Hernando, A. (2017). Modern colonialism, Eurocentrism and historical archaeology: some engendered thoughts. *European Journal of Archaeology*, 21(3), 455-471.
- Morgan, P. (2006). Archaeology and history in the study of African-Americans. In: Havisser, J. and MacDonald, K. eds. *African Re-Genesis: Confronting Social Issues in the Diaspora*. New York: U. C. L. Press, pp. 52-59.
- Morris, R. ed. (2010). *Can the Subaltern Speak? Reflections on the History of an Idea*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Morse, J. (2000). Determining sample size. *Qualitative Health Research*, 10(1), 3-5.
- Morse, J. (1994). Designing funded qualitative research. In: Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. eds. *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. London: SAGE, pp. 220-235.
- Morsink, J. (2013). *Archaeological Assessment of Battery Bouille (SE69), St Eustatius, Caribbean Netherlands*. St Eustatius: St Eustatius Centre for Archaeological Research (SECAR).

- Morsink, J. (2012). *Archaeological Assessment Godet/Fort Amsterdam Cemetery (SE600) St Eustatius, Caribbean Netherlands*. St Eustatius: St Eustatius Centre for Archaeological Research (SECAR).
- Morton, J. (1968). A Survey of Medicinal Plants on Curacao. *Economic Botany*, 22(1), 87-102.
- Moshenska, G. and Gonzalez-Ruibal, A. (2015). Introduction: the only way is ethics. In: Gonzalez-Ruibal, A. and Moshenska, G. eds. *Ethics and the Archaeology of Violence. Ethical Archaeologies: The Politics of Social Justice 2*. New York: Springer, pp. 1-17.
- Mulhern, D. and Jones, E. (2005). Test of revised method of age estimation from the auricular surface of the ilium. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 126, 61-65.
- Mullins, P. (2010). Race and class. In: Lydon, J. and Rizvi, U. eds. *Handbook of Postcolonial Archaeology*. California: Left Coast Press, pp. 375-385.
- Murail, P., Bruzek, J. and Braga, J. (1999). A new approach to sexual diagnosis in past populations. Practical adjustments from Van Vark's procedure. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, 9, 39-53.
- Murail, P., et al. (2005). DSP: a tool for probabilistic sex diagnosis using worldwide variability in hip-bone measurements. *Bulletins Et Memoires De La Societe D'Anthropologie De Paris*.
- Murison, J. (2015). Obeah and its others: buffered selves in the era of tropical medicine. *Atlantic Studies: Global Currents*, 12(2), 144-159.
- Murray, D. (2007). Three worships, an old warlock and many lawless forces: the court trial of an African doctor who practised 'obeah to cure', in early nineteenth century Jamaica. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 33(4), 811-828.
- NAAM (2015). *Kunukuhuizen Op Bonaire En Curacao* [Online]. Last updated: 31st March. Available from: [http://documents.naam.cw/nl/\\_doc/Kunukuhuizen+op+Bonaire+en+Cura%C3%A7ao](http://documents.naam.cw/nl/_doc/Kunukuhuizen+op+Bonaire+en+Cura%C3%A7ao)
- Nagelkerken, W. (1997). *19de Eeuws in Maastricht's Aardewerk Opgegraven in De Haven Van Curacao*. Curacao: Archaeological-Anthropological Institute of the Netherlands Antilles (AAINA).
- Nagelkerken, W. (1991). *1989 Survey of the Dutch Frigate 'Alphen' which Exploded and Sank in 1778 in the Harbour of Curacao*. Curacao: Archaeological-Anthropological Institute of the Netherlands Antilles (AAINA).
- Nair, S. (2004). Creolization, orality and nation language in the Caribbean. In: Schwarz, H. and Ray, S. eds. *A Companion to Postcolonial Studies*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 236-251.

- Nakashima, A., et al. (2010). Nonmetric cranial variation of Jomon Japan: implications for the evolution of Eastern Asian diversity. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 22, 782-790.
- National Institute of Arts (2015). *Clara Reyes* [Online]. Available from: <http://www.nationalinstituteofarts.com/clara-reyes>
- Newman, B. (2010). Gender, sexuality and the formation of racial identities in the eighteenth-century Anglo-Caribbean world. *Gender and History*, 22(3), 585-602.
- Newton, M. (1986). *Architectuur En Bouwwijze Van Het Curacaose Landhuis*. Delft: Universitaire Pers.
- Nielsen, S. and Schnabel, P. (2007). *Folk Remedies on a Caribbean Island: The Story of Bush Medicine on Saba with Plant Field Guide*. The Netherlands: Drukkerij Haarmans Beverwijk bv.
- Nimako, K. and Willemsen, G. (2011). *The Dutch Atlantic: Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation*. London: Pluto Press.
- Noel Hume, I. (1969). *A Guide to Artifacts of Colonial America*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Northup, S. (2014). *12 Years A Slave: A True Story*. London: Collins Classics.
- Null, C., et al. (2006). Osteological indicators of infectious disease and nutritional inadequacy. In: Blakey, M. and Rankin-Hill, L. eds. *The New York African Burial Ground Skeletal Biology Final Report Volume I*. Washington D. C.: Howard University, pp. 351-400.
- Nystrom, K. (2013). Dental Health of Free Blacks in New York Statre during the Mid-19th Century. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, 23, 505-528.
- Obertova, Z. and Thurzo, M. (2008). Relationship between cribra orbitalia and enamel hypoplasia in the early medieval Slavic population at Borovce, Slovakia. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, 18, 280-292.
- O'Connell, T. (2004). Guidance on recording age at death in adults. In: Brickley, M. and McKinley, J. eds. *Guidelines to the Standards for Recording Human Remains*. Institute for Archaeologists, pp. 18-20.
- OED Online (2017). *Superstition, N*. [Online]. Last updated: June 2017. Available from: <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/194517?redirectedFrom=superstition#eid>
- Ogden, A. (2008b). *Periapical Voids in Human Jaws*.
- Ogden, A. (2008a). Advances in the palaeopathology of teeth and jaws. In: Pinhasi, R. and Mays, S. eds. *Advances in Human Palaeopathology*. London: John Wiley and Sons Ltd., pp. 285-309.

- Ogden, A., Pinhasi, R. and White, W. (2007). Gross enamel hypoplasia in molars from subadults in a 16th-18th century London graveyard. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 133, 957-966.
- Okumura, M. (2011). The End of Slavery: Disease Patterns and Cultural Behaviours of African Americans in Suriname. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, 21, 631-642.
- Oliver, J. (2011). On mapping and its afterlife: unfolding landscapes in northwestern North America. *World Archaeology*, 43(1), 66-85.
- Olivier, L. (2001). The archaeology of the contemporary past. In: Buchli, V. and Lucas, G. eds. *Archaeologies of the Contemporary Past*. London: Routledge, pp. 175-188.
- Olmedo, I. (2001). Puerto Rican grandmothers share and relive their memorias. *CENTRO Journal*, 13(2), 99-115.
- Olsen, B. and Witmore, C. (2015). Archaeology, symmetry, and the ontology of things: a response to critics. *Archaeological Dialogues*, 22(2), 187-197.
- Ono-George, M. (2017). 'By her unnatural and despicable conduct': motherhood and concubinage in the Watchman and Jamaica Free Press, 1830-1833. *Slavery and Abolition*, 38(2), 356-372.
- Oostindie, G. (2013a). *Confronting Caribbean Challenges: Hybrid Identities and Governance in Small-Scale Island Jurisdictions*. Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (KITLV).
- Oostindie, G. (2011b). *Postcolonial Netherlands: Sixty-Five Years of Forgetting, Commemorating, Silencing*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Oostindie, G. (2011a). Slave resistance, colour lines, and the impact of the French and Haitian revolutions in Curacao. In: Klooster, W. and Oostindie, G. eds. *Curacao in the Age of Revolutions, 1795-1800*. Leiden: KITLV Press, pp. 1-22.
- Oostindie, G. (2005). *Paradise Overseas: The Dutch Caribbean: Colonialism and its Transatlantic Legacies*. Oxford: Macmillan Caribbean.
- Oostindie, G. (1995). Same Old Song? Perspectives on Slavery and Slaves in Suriname and Curacao. In: Oostindie, G. ed. *Fifty Years Later: Antislavery, Capitalism and Modernity in the Dutch Orbit*. Leiden: KITLV Press, pp. 143-178.
- Oostindie, G. (1992). The Dutch Caribbean in the 1990s: decolonization or recolonization?. *Caribbean Affairs*, 5, 103-119.
- Oostindie, G. and Roitman, J. (2014). Introduction. In: Roitman, J. and Oostindie, G. eds. *Dutch Atlantic Connections, 1680-1800: Linking Empires, Bridging Borders*. Leiden: Brill, pp. 1-21.
- Oostindie, G. and Roitman, J. (2012). Repositioning the Dutch in the Atlantic, 1680-1800. *Itinerario*, 36(2), 129-160.

- Ormston, R., et al. (2013). The Foundations of Qualitative Research. In: Ritche, J., et al. ed. *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers*. London: SAGE, pp. 1-26.
- Orser, C. (2017). Colonialism, articulation, and modes of production at an early seventeenth-century English colony in the western Caribbean. In: Rosenswig, R. and Cunningham, J. eds. *Modes of Production and Archaeology*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, pp. 285-312.
- Orser, C. (2016). Introduction: singularization of history and archaeological framing. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 20(1), 175-181.
- Orser, C. (2011). The archaeology of poverty and the poverty of archaeology. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 15, 533-543.
- Orser, C. (1994). The archaeology of African-American slave religion in the antebellum south. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 4(1), 33-45.
- Orser, C. and Funari, P. (2001). Archaeology and slave resistance and rebellion. *World Archaeology*, 33(1), 61-72.
- Ortner, D. (2003). *Identification of Pathological Conditions in Human Skeletal Remains*. 2nd edn. London: Academic Press.
- Ossorio, P. (2006). About face: forensic genetic testing for race and visible traits. *Journal of Law, Medicine and Ethics*, 34, 277-292.
- Otto, J. (1977). Artifacts and status differences - a comparison of ceramics from planter, overseer and slave sites on an antebellum plantation. In: South, S. ed. *Research Strategies in Historical Archaeology*. New York: Academic Press, pp. 91-118.
- Ousley, S. and Jantz, R. (2005) *FORDISC 3.0: Personal Computer Forensic Discriminant Functions*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee.
- Ousley, S. and Jantz, R. (1998). The Forensic Data Base: documenting skeletal trends in the United States. In: Reichs, K. ed. *Forensic Osteology: Advances in the Identification of Human Remains*. Springfield: Charles C Thomas, pp. 441-458.
- Ousley, S., Jantz, R. and Freid, D. (2009). Understanding race and human variation: why forensic anthropologists are good at identifying race. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 139, 68-76.
- Oyewumi, O. (2006 [1997]). Colonizing bodies and minds. In: Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G. and Tiffin, H. eds. *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*. 2nd edn. London: Routledge, pp. 256-259.
- Ozanne, P. (1962). Notes on the early historic archaeology of Accra. *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, 6, 51-70.
- Pagan-Jimenez, J. (2004). Is all archaeology at present a postcolonial one? Constructive answers from an eccentric point of view. *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 4(2), 200-213.

- Pagan-Jimenez, J. and Rodriguez Ramos, R. (2008). Toward the liberation of archaeological praxis in a 'postcolonial colony': the case of Puerto Rico. In: Liebmann, M. and Rizvi, U. eds. *Archaeology and the Postcolonial Critique*. Plymouth: AltaMira Press, pp. 53-71.
- Page, M. (1980). Malawians and the Great War: oral history in reconstructing Africa's recent past. *Oral History Review*, 8, 49-61.
- Page, W. (1997). The Dutch Triangle: The Netherlands and Atlantic Slave Trade 1621-1664. In: Hodges, G. ed. *Studies in African American History and Culture*. London: Garland Publishing Inc.
- Pandey, G. (2012). Voices from the edge: the struggle to write subaltern histories. In: Chaturvedi, V. ed. *Mapping Subaltern Studies and the Postcolonial*. London: Verso, pp. 281-298.
- Panich, L., et al. (2017). Heads or tails? Modified ceramic gaming pieces from colonial California. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, DOI: 10.1007/s10761-017-0447-9.
- Panzacchi, C. (1994). The livelihoods of traditional griots in modern Senegal. *Africa*, 64(2), 190-210.
- Pariona, A. (2017). *Countries with the Highest Carbohydrate Diets Relative to Energy Intake* [Online]. Last updated: April 25th 2017. Available from: <http://www.worldatlas.com/articles/countries-with-the-highest-carbohydrate-intakes-relative-to-energy-intake.html>
- Parker Pearson, M. (1999). *The Archaeology of Death and Burial*. Stroud: Sutton Publishing Limited.
- Parkvall, M. (2000). *Out of Africa: African Influences in Atlantic Creoles*. London: Battlebridge Publications.
- Parry, B. (2006 [1987]). Problems in Current Theories of Colonial Discourse. In: Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G. and Tiffin, H. eds. *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*. 2nd edn. London: Routledge, pp. 44-50.
- Pascoal, P., Narciso, I. and Pereira, N. (2014). What is sexual satisfaction? Thematic analysis of lay people's definitions. *The Journal of Sex Research*, 51(1), 22-30.
- Patterson, O. (2012). Trafficking, gender and slavery: past and present. In: Allain, J. ed. *The Legal Understanding of Slavery: From the Historical to the Contemporary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199660469.003.0018.
- Patterson, O. (2009). Equality. *Democracy: A Journal of Ideas*, 11(Winter Issue).
- Patterson, O. (1982). *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study*. London: Harvard University Press.

- Patterson, O. (1967). *The Sociology of Slavery: An Analysis of the Origins, Development and Structure of Negro Slave Society in Jamaica*. London: Associated University Presses.
- Patterson, T. (2008). A brief history of postcolonial theory and implications for archaeology. In: Liebmann, M. and Rizvi, U. eds. *Archaeology and the Postcolonial Critique*. Plymouth: AltaMira Press, pp. 21-34.
- Patterson, T. and Kelley, R. (2000). Unfinished migrations: reflections on the African Diaspora and the making of the modern world. *African Studies Review*, 43(1), 11-45.
- Paula, A. (1993). *'Vrije' Slaven: Een Sociaal-Historische Studie Over De Dualistische Slaven-Emancipatie Op Nederlands Sint Maarten 1816-1863*. Zutphen: De Walburg Pers.
- Paula, A. (1987). *Slavery in a Nutshell*. Central Historical Archives.
- Paula, A. (1968). *From Objective to Subjective Social Barriers: A Historico-Philosophical Analysis of Certain Negative Attitudes among the Negroid Population of Curacao*. Curacao: Drukkerij De Curacaosche Courant.
- Peabody, S. (2011). Slavery, freedom, and the law in the Atlantic world, 1420-1807. In: Eltis, D. and Engerman, S. eds. *The Cambridge World History of Slavery, Volume 3: AD 1420-AD 1804*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 594-630.
- Pearson, A., et al. (2011). *Infernal Traffic: Excavation of a Liberated African Graveyard in Rupert's Valley, St Helena*. York: Council for British Archaeology.
- Peebles, C. (1993). Aspects of cognitive archaeology. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 3(2), 250-253.
- Pelteret, D. (1995). *Slavery in Early Medieval England: From the Reign of Alfred Until the Twelfth Century*. Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer Ltd.
- Penny-Mason, B. (2017). **A Bioarchaeological Matrix Retrospective: Quantifying the Value of Post-Excavation Harris Matrix Reconstruction of Skeletal Assemblages**. *Bioarchaeology International*, 1(1-2), 72-85.
- Penny-Mason, B. and Gowland, R. (2014). The children of the Reformation: childhood palaeoepidemiology in Britain, AD 1000-1700. *Medieval Archaeology*, 58, 162-194.
- Perez-Sarduy, P. (1999). De levende herinnering. In: Oostindie, G. ed. *Het Verleden Onder Ogen: Herdenking Van De Slavernij*. Den Haag: Uitgeverij Arena/Prins Claus Fonds, pp. 137-145.
- Perks, R. and Thomson, A. eds. (2016). *The Oral History Reader*. 3rd edn. London: Routledge.
- Perry, W., Howson, J. and Bianco, B. (2006). *New York African Burial Ground Archaeology Final Report, Volume I*. Washington DC: Howard University.

- Phaf-Rheinberger, I. (2001). Conclusions. In: James, A. ed. *History of Literature in the Caribbean, Volume 2*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp. 463-467.
- Pietruszewsky, M. and Douglas, M. (2002). *Ban Chiang, A Prehistoric Village Site in Northeast Thailand, Volume 1: The Human Skeletal Remains*. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Pluciennik, M. (1996). Genetics, archaeology and the wider world. *Antiquity*, 70, 13-14.
- Ponce, P. (2012). A comparative study of markers of occupational stress in coastal fishers and inland agriculturalists from northern Chile. In: Mitchell, P. and Buckberry, J. eds. *Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Conference of the British Association for Biological Anthropology and Osteoarchaeology. BAR International Series 2380*. Oxford: Hadrian Books Ltd., pp. 71-85.
- Portelli, A. (2016 [1979]). What makes oral history different. In: Perks, R. and Thomson, A. eds. *The Oral History Reader*. 3rd edn. London: Routledge, pp. 48-58.
- Portelli, A. (1981). The peculiarities of oral history. *History Workshop Journal*, 12(1), 96-107.
- Potthast-Jutkeit, B. (1997). The history of family and colonialism: examples from Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean. *The History of the Family*, 2(2), 115-121.
- Powers, N. (2012). *Human Osteology Method Statement* [Online]. Available from: <http://archive.museumoflondon.org.uk/NR/rdonlyres/3A7B0C25-FD36-4D43-863E-B2FDC5A86FB7/0/OsteologyMethodStatementrevised2012.pdf>
- Prajnawrdhi, T., Karuppannan, S. and Sivam, A. (2015). Preserving cultural heritage of Denpasar: local community perspectives. *Procedia Environmental Sciences*, 28, 557-566.
- Prakash, G. (1994). Subaltern studies as postcolonial criticism. *The American Historical Review*, 99(5), 1475-1490.
- Preston, B. (2000). The functions of things: a philosophical perspective on material culture. In: Graves-Brown, P. ed. *Matter, Materiality and Modern Culture*. London: Routledge, pp. 22-49.
- Price, R. (1966). Caribbean fishing and fishermen: a historical sketch. *American Anthropologist*, 68(6), 1363-1383.
- Prince, M. (2008). *The History of Mary Prince, A West Indian Slave*. Radford: Wilder Publications LLC.
- Prost, S., Lemieux, C. and Ai, A. (2016). Social work students in the aftermath of Hurricanes Katrina and Rita: correlates of post-disaster substance use as a negatives coping mechanism. *Social Work Education*, 35(7), 825-844.

- Pulsipher, L. (1994). The landscapes and ideational roles of Caribbean slave gardens. In: Miller, N. and Gleason, K. eds. *The Archaeology of Garden and Field*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, pp. 202-221.
- Pulsipher, L. and Goodwin, C. (2001). 'Getting the essence of it': Galways Plantation, Montserrat, West Indies. In: Farnsworth, P. ed. *Island Lives: Historical Archaeologies of the Caribbean*. USA: University of Alabama Press, pp. 165-203.
- Pyett, P. (2003). Validation of qualitative research in the 'real world'. *Qualitative Health Research*, 13, 1170-1179.
- QSR International Pty Ltd (2012) *NVivo 10*. Victoria, Australia: QSR International Pty Ltd.
- Quarles, B. ed. (1960). *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave, Written by Himself*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Quayson, A. (2004). Postcolonialism and postmodernism. In: Schwarz, H. and Ray, S. eds. *A Companion to Postcolonial Studies*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 87-108.
- Quinlan, M. and Quinlan, R. (2007). Modernization and medicinal plant knowledge in a Caribbean horticultural village. *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, 21(2), 169-192.
- Rajan, R. (2010). Death and the subaltern. In: Morris, R. ed. *Can the Subaltern Speak? Reflections on the History of an Idea*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 117-138.
- Ramcharan, P. and Cutcliffe, J. (2001). Judging the ethics of qualitative research: considering the 'ethics as process' model. *Health and Social Care in the Community*, 9(6), 358-366.
- Rava, R. and Matthews, C. (2017). An archaeological view of slavery and social relations at Rock Hall, Lawrence, New York. In: Gall, M. and Veit, R. eds. *Archaeologies of African American Life in the Upper Mid-Atlantic*. Alabama: University of Alabama Press, pp. 55-68.
- Redfern, R. (2015). Identifying and interpreting domestic violence in archaeological human remains: a critical review of the evidence. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, 27(1), 13-34.
- Redfern, R., et al. (2015b). Urban-rural differences in Roman Dorset, England: a bioarchaeological perspective on Roman settlements. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 157, 107-120.
- Reifschneider, M. (2018). Enslavement and institutionalized care: the politics of health in nineteenth-century St Croix, Danish West Indies. *World Archaeology*.
- Reilly, M. (2016b). "Poor whites" on the peripheries: "poor white" and Afro-Barbadian interaction on the plantation. In: Bates, L., Chenoweth, J. and Delle, J. eds. *Archaeologies of Slavery and Freedom in the Caribbean: Exploring the Spaces in Between*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, pp. 49-78.

- Reilly, M. (2015c). Archaeologies of instability: order and disorder in colonial Barbados. *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 16(2), 216-237.
- Reilly, M. (2015b). The politics of work, 'poor whites', and plantation capitalism in Barbados. In: Leone, M. and Knauf, J. eds. *Historical Archaeologies of Capitalism*. 2nd edn. London: Springer, pp. 375-397.
- Reilly, M. (2015a). The Irish in Barbados: labour, landscape and legacy. In: Donnell, D., McGarrity, M. and O'Callaghan, E. eds. *Caribbean Irish Connections: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, pp. 47-63.
- Reilly, M. (2014). The school of female industry: 'poor white' women and vocational education in the era of slavery. *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society*, 60, 94-118.
- Reinhardt, C. (2006). *Claims to Memory: Beyond Slavery and Emancipation in the Caribbean*. Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Reinhardt, C. (2001). Forgotten claims to liberty: free coloreds in St Domingue on the eve of the first abolition of slavery. *Colonial Latin American Review*, 10(1), 105-124.
- Reinhartz, D. (2012). The Caribbean Cartography of Samuel Fahlberg. In: Liebenberg, E. and Demhardt, I. eds. *History of Cartography: International Symposium of the ICA Commission, 2010*. Springer, pp. 21-34.
- Renschler, E. and DeCorse, C. (2016). The bioarchaeology of entanglement: burials from Elmina, Ghana. *Nyame Akuma*, 86, 34-42.
- Rhine, S. (1990). Non-metric skull racing. In: Gill, G. and Rhine, S. eds. *Skeletal Attribution of Race: Methods for Forensic Anthropology*. Maxwell Museum of Anthropology Anthropological Papers Number 4. New Mexico: University of New Mexico, pp. 9-20.
- Rinehart, N. (2016). The man that was a thing: reconsidering human commodification in slavery. *Journal of Social History*, 50(1), 28-50.
- Rivera, R. (2005). Annapolis house yields clues to hoodoo mysteries. *African Diaspora Archaeology Newsletter*, September Issue.
- Rizvi, U. (2015). Decolonizing archaeology: on the global heritage of epistemic laziness. In: Kholeif, O. ed. *Two Days After Forever: A Reader on the Choreography of Time*. Berlin: Stienberg Press, pp. 154-163.
- Rizvi, U. (2008). Conclusion: archaeological futures and the postcolonial critique. In: Liebmann, M. and Rizvi, U. eds. *Archaeology and the Postcolonial Critique*. Plymouth: AltaMira Press, pp. 197-203.
- Robb, J., et al. (2001). Social 'status' and biological 'status': a comparison of grave goods and skeletal indicators from Pontecagnano. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 115(3), 213-222.

- Robb, N., Cruwys, E. and Smith, B. (1991). Is 'lingual surface attrition of the maxillary teeth (LSAMAT)' caused by dental erosion?. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 85(3), 345-347.
- Roberts, C. (2017). Guidance on recording palaeopathology (abnormal variation). In: Mitchell, P. and Brickley, M. eds. *Updated Guidelines to the Standards for Recording Human Remains*. Reading: Chartered Institute for Archaeologists, pp. 44-47.
- Roberts, C. and Cox, M. (2003). *Health and Disease in Britain: From Prehistory to the Present Day*. Stroud: Sutton Publishing Ltd.
- Roberts, C. and Manchester, K. (2010). *The Archaeology of Disease*. 3rd edn. Gloucester: Sutton Publishing.
- Roberts, J. (2014). The 'better sort' and the 'poorer sort': wealth inequalities, family formation and the economy of energy on British Caribbean sugar plantations, 1750-1800. *Slavery and Abolition*, 35(3), 458-473.
- Roberts, J. (2001). Abstracting emancipation: two dialectics on the trail of freedom. In: Brown, A., Fleetwood, S. and Roberts, J. eds. *Critical Realism and Marxism*. London: Routledge, pp. 234-256.
- Robin, C. (2002). Outsides of houses: the practices of everyday life at Chan Noohol, Belize. *Journal of Social Archaeology*, 2(2), 245-268.
- Rodet, M. (2015). Escaping slavery and building diasporic communities in French Soudan and Senegal, ca. 1880-1940. *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 48(2), 363-386.
- Rogers, T. (2009b). Skeletal age estimation. In: Blau, S. and Ubelaker, D. eds. *Handbook of Forensic Archaeology and Anthropology*. California: Left Coast Press, pp. 208-218.
- Roitman, J. (2017). "A mass of mestiezen, castiezen, and mulatten": Contending with color in the Netherlands Antilles, 1750-1850. *Atlantic Studies*, 14(3), 399-417.
- Roitman, J. (2016b). The price you pay: choosing family, friends, and familiarity over freedom in the Leeward Islands, 1835-1863. *Journal of Global Slavery*, 1, 196-223.
- Roitman, J. (2016a). Land of hope and dreams: slavery and abolition in the Dutch Leeward islands, 1825-1965. *Slavery and Abolition*, 37(2), 375-398.
- Roitman, J. (2013). *The Dutch Windward Islands: Confronting the Contradictions of Belonging, 1815-2015*. Leiden: KITLV.
- Rojer, O. and Aimone, J. (2012). *Founding Fictions of the Dutch Caribbean: Carel De Haseth's Slave and Master (Katibu Di Shon)*. *Postcolonial Studies* 17. Oxford: Peter Lang.

- Rojer, O. and Aimone, J. (2007). *Founding Fictions of the Dutch Caribbean: Cola Debrot's 'My Black Sister' and Boeli Van Leeuwen's 'A Stranger on Earth'*. Oxford: Peter Lang.
- Rolph, S. and Walmsley, J. (2016 [2006]). Oral history and new orthodoxies: narrative accounts in the history of learning disability. In: Perks, R. and Thomson, A. eds. *The Oral History Reader*. 3rd edn. London: Routledge, pp. 656-673.
- Romer, R. (1998). Ethnicity and social change in Curacao. In: Johnson, H. and Watson, K. eds. *The White Minority in the Caribbean*. Oxford: James Currey Publishers, pp. 159-167.
- Romer, R. (1977). *Un pueblo na kaminda: een sociologisch historische studie van de Curacaose samenleving*. PhD Thesis. Leiden, the Netherlands: Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden.
- Romon, T. and Fouilloud, C. (2013). *Archeologie D'Un Cimetiere Colonial a Saint-Francois*. Guadeloupe: Institute national de recherches archeologiques preventives.
- Rosalia, R. (1997). *Tambu: de legale en kerkelijke repressie van Afro-Curacaose volksuitingen*. PhD Thesis. Zutphen: University of Amsterdam.
- Rosalia, R. (1996b). Legal repression of Afro-cultural expressions: the cases of the 24th of June (San Juan), kokomakaku and tambu. In: Ayubi, E. ed. *Papers of the Third Seminar on Latin-American and Caribbean Folklore: Reports of the Archaeological-Anthropological Institute of the Netherlands Antilles, no. 12*. Curacao: AAINA, pp. 233-241.
- Rosalia, R. (1996a). *Repression di kultura: E lucha di Tamboe*. PhD Thesis. Curacao: Universiteit Leiden.
- Roscoe, P. (1995). The perils of 'positivism' in cultural anthropology. *American Anthropologist*, 97(3), 492-504.
- Ross, A., McKeown, A. and Konigsberg, L. (1999). Allocation of crania to groups via the 'new morphometry'. *Journal of Forensic Sciences*, 44(3), 584-587.
- Roth, M. and Gilmore III, R. (2011). *St Eustatius Fort Oranje Ca. 1755 (SE128): A Historical and Archaeological Assessment*. St Eustatius: St Eustatius Centre for Archaeological Research (SECAR).
- Roulston, K. (2010). Considering quality in qualitative interviewing. *Qualitative Research*, 10(2), 199-228.
- Rupert, L. (2012). *Creolization and Contraband: Curacao in the Early Modern Atlantic World*. London: University of Georgia Press.
- Russell, A. (1997). Material culture and African-American spirituality at The Hermitage. *Historical Archaeology*, 31(2), 63-80.

- Rutten, A. (1989). *Apothekers en chirurgijns: gezondheidszorg op de Benedenwindse Eilanden van de Nederlandse Antillen in de negentiende eeuw*. PhD Thesis. Assen: Leiden University.
- Saini, V., et al. (2012). Sex estimation from the mastoid process among North Indians. *Journal of Forensic Science*, 57(2), 434-439.
- Salvadei, L., Ricci, F. and Manzi, G. (2001). Porotic hyperostosis as a marker of health and nutritional conditions during childhood: studies at the transition between imperial Rome and the early middle ages. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 13, 709-717.
- Samford, P. (1996). The archaeology of African-American slavery and material culture. *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 53(1), 87-114.
- Samsel, M., Kacki, S. and Villotte, S. (2014). Palaeopathological diagnosis of spondyloarthropathies: insights from the biomedical literature. *International Journal of Palaeopathology*, 7, 70-75.
- Samuel, R. (1976). Local history and oral history. *History Workshop Journal*, 1(1), 191-208.
- Sangster, J. (2016 [2013]). Politics and praxis in Canadian working-class oral history. In: Perks, R. and Thomson, A. eds. *The Oral History Reader*. 3rd edn. London: Routledge, pp. 59-72.
- Sauer, N. (1992). Forensic anthropology and the concept of race: if races don't exist, why are forensic anthropologists so good at identifying them?. *Social Science and Medicine*, 34(2), 107-111.
- Sauer, N. and Wankmiller, J. (2009). The assessment of ancestry and the concept of race. In: Blau, S. and Ubelaker, D. eds. *Handbook of Forensic Archaeology and Anthropology*. California: Left Coast Press, pp. 187-199.
- Saunders, S. and Hoppa, R. (1993). Growth deficit in survivors and non-survivors: biological mortality bias in subadult skeletal samples. *Yearbook of Physical Anthropology*, 36, 127-151.
- Schaefer, M., Black, S. and Scheuer, L. (2009). *Juvenile Osteology: A Laboratory and Field Manual*. London: Academic Press.
- Schaw, J. (1921). *Journal of a Lady of Quality: Being the Narrative of a Journey from Scotland to the West Indies, North Carolina, and Portugal, in the Years 1774 to 1776*. Lisbon: Yale University Press.
- Schell, L. (1997). Culture as a stressor: a revised model of biocultural interaction. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 102, 67-77.
- Schiltkamp, J., Smit, B. and Wachlin, S. (2000). *Soublette Et Fils: Photography in Curacao Around 1900*. Amsterdam: KIT Publishers.

- Schinke, R., et al. (2013). Acculturation in elite sport: a thematic analysis of immigrant athletes and coaches. *Journal of Sport Sciences*, 31(15), 1676-1686.
- Schmidt, M. (1996). On a view of the St Eustatius folklore. In: Ayubi, E. ed. *Papers of the Third Seminar on Latin-American and Caribbean Folklore: Reports of the Archaeological-Anthropological Institute of the Netherlands Antilles, no. 12*. Curacao: Archaeological-Anthropological Institute of the Netherlands Antilles (AAINA), pp. 267-270.
- Schmidt, P. (2014). Deconstructing archaeologies of African colonialism: making and unmaking the subaltern. In: Ferris, N., Harrison, R. and Wilcox, M. eds. *Rethinking Colonial Pasts through Archaeology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 445-465.
- Schmidt, P. (2013). Oral history, oral traditions, and archaeology: the application of structural analysis. In: Mitchell, P. and Lane, P. eds. *The Oxford Handbook of African Archaeology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 37-47.
- Schmidt, P. and Karega-Munene (2010). An Africa-informed view of postcolonial archaeologies. In: Lydon, J. and Rizvi, U. eds. *Handbook of Postcolonial Archaeology*. California: Left Coast Press, pp. 215-223.
- Schroeder, H., et al. (2015). Genome-wide ancestry of 17th-century enslaved Africans from the Caribbean. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 112(12), 3669-3673.
- Schroeder, H., Haviser, J. and Price, T. (2014). The Zoutsteeg Three: three new cases of African types of dental modification from Saint Martin, Dutch Caribbean. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, 24, 688-696.
- Schroeder, H., et al. (2009). Trans-Atlantic Slavery: Isotopic Evidence for Forced Migration to Barbados. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 139, 547-557.
- Schroeder, H., Shuler, K. and Chenery, S. (2013). Childhood lead exposure in an enslaved African community in Barbados: implications for birthplace and health status. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 150, 203-209.
- Schutzowski, H. (2008). Introduction. In: Schutzowski, H. ed. *Between Biology and Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-11.
- Schwartz, J., et al. (1995). Sociodemographic and psychosocial factors in childhood as predictors of adult mortality. *American Journal of Public Health*, 85(9), 1237-1245.
- Schwartz, S. (2003b). Resistance and accommodation in eighteenth-century Brazil: the slaves' view of slavery. In: Heuman, G. and Walvin, J. eds. *The Slavery Reader*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 626-634.
- Schwartz, S. (2003a). First slavery: from Indian to African. In: Heuman, G. and Walvin, J. eds. *The Slavery Reader*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 83-102.

- Scott, D. (2004). *Conscripts of Modernity: The Tragedy of Colonial Enlightenment*. London: Duke University Press.
- Sealy, J., et al. (1993). An historic skeleton from the slave lodge at Vergelegen. *Historical Archaeology in the Western Cape*, 7, 84-91.
- SECAR (2013). *Embracing the Past, Enriching the Future: Slave Lifeways on St Eustatius*. St Eustatius: St Eustatius Centre for Archaeological Research (SECAR).
- Serrand, N. (2014). *Archeologie Du Quartier Des Esclaves Des Habitations Barboteau-Rodrigue a Port-Louis*. Institut national de recherches archéologiques préventives (Inrap).
- Severing, R. and Weijer, C. (2010). Gaining Perspective on Papiamentu: Milestones and Achievements. In: Faraclas, N., et al. ed. *Crossing Shifting Boundaries: Languages and Changing Political Status in Aruba, Bonaire and Curacao. Proceedings of the ECICC Conference, Dominica 2009*. Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma and the Universiteit van de Nederlandse Antillen, pp. 13-28.
- Shanks, M. and Tilley, C. (1992). *Re-Constructing Archaeology: Theory and Practice*. London: Routledge.
- Shaw, T. (1960). Early smoking pipes: in Africa, Europe and America. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 90(2), 272-305.
- Sheehan, T. (2007). Jean Rhys's Caribbean space-time. *Journal of Caribbean Literatures*, 4(3), 141-154.
- Sheinin, D. (2011). The Caribbean and the Cold War: between reform and revolution. In: Palmie, S. and Scarano, F. eds. *The Caribbean: A History of the Region and its Peoples*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 491-503.
- Shepherd, N. (2013a). Contemporary archaeology in the postcolony: disciplinary entrapments, subaltern epistemologies. In: Graves-Brown, P. and Harrison, R. eds. *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of the Contemporary World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 425-436.
- Shepherd, N. (2013b). Ruin memory: a hauntology of Cape Town. In: Gonzalez-Ruibal, A. ed. *Reclaiming Archaeology: Beyond the Tropes of Modernity*. London: Routledge, pp. 233-243.
- Sheth, P., et al. (1994). An analysis of chronic osteomyelitis of the tibia in a pre-Columbian human population using radiographic-pathological correlation. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, 4, 3-12.
- Sholts, S., et al. (2011a). Comparison of coordinate measurement precision of different landmark types on human crania using a 3D laser scanner and a 3D digitiser: implications for applications of digital morphometrics. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, 21, 535-543.

- Sholts, S., et al. (2011b). Identification of group affinity from cross-sectional contours of the human midfacial skeleton using digital morphometrics and 3D laser scanning technology. *Journal of Forensic Sciences*, 56(2), 333-338.
- Shopes, L. (2014). "Insights and oversights": reflections on the documentary tradition and the theoretical turn in oral history. *The Oral History Review*, 41(2), 257-268.
- Shuler, K. (2011). Life and death on a Barbadian suage plantation: historic and bioarchaeological views of infection and mortality at Newton Plantation. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, 21, 66-81.
- Shuler, K. (2005). *Health, History, and Sugar: A Bioarchaeological Study of Enslaved Africans from Newton Plantation, Barbados, West Indies*. PhD Thesis. Southern Illinois University Carbondale.
- Siek, T. (2013). The osteological paradox and issues of interpretation in paleopathology. *Explorations in Anthropology*, 13(1), 92-101.
- Siller, N. (2016). 'Modern slavery': does international law distinguish between slavery, enslavement and trafficking?. *Journal of International Criminal Justice*, 14, 405-427.
- Simmons-Brito, N. (1981). *The Revelation of Willemstad as a Historic Centre*. Curacao: Archaeological-Anthropological Institute of the Netherlands Antilles (AAINA).
- Singleton, T. (2010). Slavery, liberation, and emancipation: constructing a postcolonial archaeology of the African diaspora. In: Lydon, J. and Rizvi, U. eds. *Handbook of Postcolonial Archaeology*. California: Left Coast Press, pp. 185-198.
- Singleton, T. (2001). Slavery and spatial dialectics on Cuban coffee plantations. *World Archaeology*, 33(1), 98-114.
- Singleton, T. (1995). The archaeology of slavery in North America. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 24, 119-140.
- Singleton, T. and Orser, C. (2003). Descendant communities: linking people in the present to the past. In: Zimmerman, L., Vitelli, K. and Hollowell-Zimmer, J. eds. *Ethical Issues in Archaeology*. Oxford: AltaMira Press, pp. 143-152.
- Sinha, S. and Varma, R. (2015). Marxism and postcolonial theory: what's left of the debate?. *Critical Sociology*, 43(4), 1-14.
- Sismondo, S. (1993b). Response to Knorr-Cetina. *Social Studies of Science*, 23(3), 563-569.
- Small, S. (2009). 'How many cases do I need?' On science and the logic of case selection in field-based research. *Ethnography*, 10(1), 5-38.
- Smith, B. (2000). *Mental Slavery: Psychoanalytic Studies of Caribbean People*. London: H Karnac (Books) Ltd.

- Smith, K. (2010). Gramsci at the margins: subjectivity and subalternity in a theory of hegemony. *International Gramsci Journal*, 2, 39-50.
- Smith-Guzman, N. (2015). The skeletal manifestation of malaria: an epidemiological approach using documented skeletal collections. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 158, 624-635.
- Snoddy, A., et al. (2018). Macroscopic features of scurvy in human skeletal remains: a literature synthesis and diagnostic guide. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, July, 1-20.
- Sofaer, J. (2006a). *The Body as Material Culture: A Theoretical Osteoarchaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Soffers, P. and Zahedi, P. (2013). *Archaeological Excavations at Old Gin House: Remains of a Mid-18th to Late-18th Century Domestic Area on a Terrace in Lower Town, St Eustatius, Dutch Caribbean*. St Eustatius: St Eustatius Centre for Archaeological Research (SECAR).
- Sorensen, M., et al. (2009). Lifestyle incongruity, stress and immune function in indigenous Siberians: the health impacts of rapid social and economic change. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 138, 62-69.
- Spear, T. (1981). Oral traditions: whose history?. *History in Africa*, 8, 165-181.
- Spector, J. (1993). *What this Aul Means: Feminist Archaeology at a Wahpeton Dakota Village*. St Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press.
- Speetjens, J. (2002). *St Martin Yesterday Today*. Italy: Rotolito.
- Spencer-Wood, S. (2011). Introduction: Feminist Theories and Archaeology. *Archaeologies: Journal of the World Archaeological Congress*, 7(1), 1-33.
- Spivak, G. (2012). The new subaltern: a silent interview. In: Chaturvedi, V. ed. *Mapping Subaltern Studies and the Postcolonial*. London: Verso, pp. 324-340.
- Spivak, G. (2010). In Response: Looking Back, Looking Forward. In: Morris, R. ed. *Can the Subaltern Speak? Reflections on the History of an Idea*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 227-236.
- Spivak, G. (2006). Can the subaltern speak?. In: Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G. and Tiffin, H. eds. *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*. 2nd edn. London: Routledge, pp. 28-37.
- Spivak, G. (1988). Can the subaltern speak?. In: Nelson, C. and Grossberg, L. eds. *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, pp. 271-313.
- Spivak, G. (1985a). The Rani of Sirmur: an essay in reading the archives. *History and Theory*, 24(3), 247-272.
- Spring, C. (2009). *African Art Close Up*. London: The British Museum.

- St Martin Tourist Office (2016b). *Yesterday* [Online]. Available from:  
<http://www.stmartinisleland.org/destination-st-martin/st-martin-history.html>
- St Martin Tourist Office (2016a). *Geography* [Online]. Available from:  
<http://www.stmartinisleland.org/destination-st-martin/geography-st-martin.html>
- Stahl, A. (2016). Historical process and the impact of the Atlantic trade on Banda, Ghana, c. 1800-1920. In: DeCorse, C. ed. *West Africa during the Atlantic Slave Trade: Archaeological Perspectives*. 2nd edn. Oxford: Bloomsbury, pp. 38-55.
- Steckel, R. (1986b). A dreadful childhood: the excess mortality of American slaves. *Social Science History*, 10(4), 427-465.
- Steckel, R. (1986a). A peculiar population: the nutrition, health and mortality of American slaves from childhood to maturity. *Journal of Economic History*, 46(3), 721-741.
- Steckel, R., Sciulli, P. and Rose, J. (2002). A health index from skeletal remains. In: Steckel, R. and Rose, J. eds. *The Backbone of History: Health and Nutrition in the Western Hemisphere*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 61-93.
- Stefano, M., Davis, P. and Corsane, G. (2012). Touching the intangible: an introduction. In: Stefano, M., Davis, P. and Corsane, G. eds. *Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage*. Boydell and Brewer, pp. 1-6.
- Stelten, R. (2015b). Heritage management of an 18th-century slave village at Schotsenhoek plantation, St Eustatius. In: Hofman, C. and Haviser, J. eds. *Managing our Past into the Future: Archaeological Heritage Management in the Dutch Caribbean*. Leiden: Sidestone Press, pp. 291-304.
- Stelten, R. (2013). *Archaeological Excavations at Schotsenhoek Plantation, St Eustatius, Caribbean Netherlands: An Early to Mid Eighteenth Century Slave Settlement at a Sugar Plantation on the Caribbean's 'Historical Gem'*. St Eustatius: St Eustatius Center for Archaeological Research (SECAR).
- Stelten, R. (2012b). *Archaeological Excavations at Schotsenhoek Plantation, St Eustatius, Caribbean Netherlands: An Early to Mid Eighteenth Century Slave Settlement at a Sugar Plantation on the Caribbean's 'Historical Gem'*. St Eustatius: St Eustatius Center for Archaeological Research (SECAR).
- Stelten, R. (2012a). *An Archaeological Assessment of Steward Plantation, St Eustatius, Caribbean Netherlands*. St Eustatius: St Eustatius Center for Archaeological Research (SECAR).
- Stelten, R. (2010b). *Relics of a Forgotten Colony: The Cannon and Anchors of St Eustatius*. MA Thesis. Universiteit Leiden.
- Stelten, R. (2010a). The Cannon of St Eustatius. *International Committee for Museums of Arms and Military History Magazine*, 5, 49-50.

- Stevenson, J., et al. (2009). Technical note: prediction of sex based on five skull traits using Decision Analysis (CHAID). *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 139, 434-441.
- Stewart, T. and Groome, J. (1968). The African custom of tooth mutilation in America. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 28, 31-42.
- Stine, L., Cabak, M. and Groover, M. (1996). Blue beads as African-American cultural symbols. *Historical Archaeology*, 30(3), 49-75.
- Stobart, J. and Rothery, M. (2014). Fashion, heritage and family: new and old in the Georgian country house. *Cultural and Social History*, 11(3), 385-406.
- Stockhammer, P. (2013). From hybridity to entanglement, from essentialism to practice. *Archaeological Review from Cambridge*, 28(1), 11-28.
- Stodder, A. and Palkovich, A. (2012). Osteobiography and bioarchaeology. In: Stodder, A. and Palkovich, A. eds. *The Bioarchaeology of Individuals*. USA: University Press of Florida, pp. 1-8.
- Stoler, A. (2013). "The rot remains": from ruins to ruination. In: Stoler, A. ed. *Imperial Debris: On Ruins and Ruination*. London: Duke University Press, pp. 1-29.
- Stone, R. and Stone, J. (2009). *Atlas of the Skeletal Muscles*. 7th edn. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Stuart-Macadam, P. (1989). Nutritional deficiency diseases: a survey of scurvy, rickets and iron-deficiency anaemia. In: Iscan, M. and Kennedy, K. eds. *Reconstruction of Life from the Skeleton*. New York: Wiley-Liss Inc., pp. 201-222.
- Sule, E., et al. (2017). The past does matter: a nursing perspective on Post Traumatic Slave Syndrome (PTSS). *Journal of Racial and Ethnic Health Disparities*, 4, 779-783.
- Swift, E. (2012). Object biography, re-use and recycling in the late to post-Roman period and beyond: rings made from Romano-British bracelets. *Britannia*, 43, 167-215.
- Symanski, L. (2016). Introduction: archaeology of African diaspora contexts in Brazil. *Journal of African Diaspora Archaeology and Heritage*, 5(2), 63-70.
- Symanski, L. and Gomes, F. (2016). Iron cosmology, slavery, and social control: the materiality of rebellion in the coffee plantations of the Paraíba Valley, southeastern Brazil. *Journal of African Diaspora Archaeology and Heritage*, 5(2), 174-197.
- Sypkens-Smit, M. (1982). *Archeologisch Materiaal Van Sint Maarten/Saint Martin*. St Maarten: Report Submitted to the Department of Culture.
- Sypkens-Smit, M. (1981). *Rapport Ter Voorlopige Afsluiting Van Het Cultureel Antropologisch Onderzoek on Sint Maarten (NA)*. Leiden: Koninklijk Instituut Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde (KITLV).

- Tang, P. (2012). The rapper as modern griot: reclaiming ancient traditions. In: Charry, E. ed. *Hip Hop Africa: New African Music in a Globalizing World*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, pp. 79-91.
- Taylor, T. (2005). Ambushed by a Grotesque: Archaeology, Slavery and the Third Paradigm. In: Parker Pearson, M. and Thorpe, I. eds. *Warfare, Violence and Slavery in Prehistory: Proceeding of a Prehistory Society Conference at Sheffield University, British Archaeological Reports International Series 1374*. Oxford: Archaeopress, pp. 225-233.
- Taylor, T. (2001). Believing the ancients: quantitative and qualitative dimensions of slavery and the slave trade in later prehistoric Eurasia. *World Archaeology*, 33(1), 27-43.
- Teaford, M. and Lytle, J. (1996). Brief communication: diet-induced changes in rates of human tooth microwear: a case study involving stone-ground maize. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 100(1), 143-147.
- Telkka, A., Palkama, A. and Virtama, P. (1962). Prediction of stature from radiographs of long bones in children. *Journal of Forensic Science*, 7, 474-479.
- Telles, E. and Paschel, T. (2014). Who is black, white, or mixed race? How skin color, status, and nation shape racial classification in Latin America. *American Journal of Sociology*, 120(3), 864-907.
- Temple, D. (2010). Patterns of systemic stress during the agricultural transition in prehistoric Japan. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 142, 112-124.
- Terkel, L. and Parker, T. (2016 [1997]). Interviewing an interviewer. In: Perks, R. and Thomson, A. eds. *The Oral History Reader*. 3rd edn. London: Routledge, pp. 147-152.
- The Rasmus (2003). *In the Shadows*. Sweden: Playground Music.
- Thiong'o, N. (2006 [1981]). The Language of African Literature. In: Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G. and Tiffin, H. eds. *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader*. 2nd edn. London: Routledge, pp. 263-267.
- Thomas Jefferson Foundation (2018). *Digital Archaeological Archive of Comparative Slavery* [Online]. Available from: [www.daacs.org](http://www.daacs.org)
- Thomas, D. (2016). Time and the otherwise: plantations, garrisons and being human in the Caribbean. *Anthropological Theory*, 16(2-3), 177-200.
- Thomas, H. (1997). *The Slave Trade: The History of the Atlantic Slave Trade 1440-1870*. London: Orion Books Ltd.
- Thomas, N. (1994). *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Thompson, A. (1985). Dutch society in Guyana in the eighteenth century. *The Journal of Caribbean History*, 20(2), 169-191.

- Thompson, P. (2016 [1988]). The voice of the past: oral history. In: Perks, R. and Thomson, A. eds. *The Oral History Reader*. 3rd edn. London: Routledge, pp. 33-39.
- Thompson, S., et al. (2014). Management of osteochondritis dissecans of the knee. *Journal of Sport Rehabilitation*, 23, 216-222.
- Thornton, J. (1998). *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tomich, D. (1991 [1990]). The other face of slave labor: provision grounds and internal marketing in Martinique. In: Beckles, H. and Shepherd, V. eds. *Caribbean Slave Society and Economy: A Student Reader*. London: James Currey, pp. 304-318.
- Tracy, S. (2010). Qualitative quality: eight 'big-tent' criteria for excellent qualitative research. *Qualitative Enquiry*, 16(10), 837-851.
- Trigger, B. (1989). *A History of Archaeological Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Trotter II, R. (2012). Qualitative research sample design and sample size: resolving and unresolved issues and inferential imperatives. *Preventive Medicine*, 55, 398-400.
- Trouillot, M. (1995). *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Trouillot, M. (1992). The Caribbean region: an open frontier in anthropological theory. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 21, 19-42.
- Trustees of the British Museum (2016). *Collection Online* [Online]. Last updated: 27th August. Available from: [https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx)
- Turner II, C., Irish, J. and Machado, L. (1991). Reply to Robb, Cruwys, and Smith, with additional remarks on LSAMAT. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 85, 345-351.
- Turner II, C. and Machado, C. (1983). A new dental wear pattern and evidence for high carbohydrate consumption in a Brazilian Archaic skeletal population. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 61, 125-130.
- Turner, B. and Armelagos, G. (2012). Diet, residential origin, and pathology at Machu Picchu, Peru. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 149(1), 71-83.
- Tyrell, A. (2000). Skeletal non-metric traits and the assessment of inter and intra-population diversity: past problems and future potential. In: Cox, M. and Mays, S. eds. *Human Osteology in Archaeology and Forensic Science*. London: Greenwich Medical Media Ltd., pp. 289-306.
- Ubelaker, D. (1989b). *Human Skeletal Remains: Excavation, Analysis, Interpretation*. Washington DC: Taraxacum.

- van Buurt, G. (2010). A Short Natural History of Curacao. In: Faraclas, N., et al. ed. *Crossing Shifting Boundaries: Languages and Changing Political Status in Aruba, Bonaire and Curacao. Proceedings of the ECICC Conference, Dominica 2009*. Fundashon pa Planifikashon di Idioma and the Universiteit van de Nederlandse Antillen, pp. 229-256.
- van den Boogaart, E. (1980). The archive of the First West India Company (WIC) 1621-1674. *Itinerario*, 4(2), 59-61.
- van den Bor, W. (1981). *Island Adrift: The Social Organization of a Small Caribbean Community, the Case of St Eustatius*. The Hague: Smits Drukkers-Uitgevers BV.
- van der Dijs, M. (2008). *The Curacao Museum: A History of Courage and Perseverance*. Curacao: The Curacao Museum.
- van der Dijs, N. (2011). *The nature of ethnic identity among the people of Curacao. PhD Thesis*. Leiden: Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde (KITLV).
- van der Meulen, J. (2003). *Goudse Pijpenmakers En Hun Merken*. Den Haag: Koninklijke Bibliotheek.
- van der Ven, C. (2011). *Slagschaduwen: Erfenis Van Een Koloniaal Verleden*. Amsterdam: KIT Publishers.
- van Dommelen, P. (2014). Commentary: subaltern archaeologies. In: Ferris, N., Harrison, R. and Wilcox, M. eds. *Rethinking Colonial Pasts through Archaeology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 469-475.
- van Dommelen, P. (2011). Postcolonial archaeologies between discourse and practice. *World Archaeology*, 43(1), 1-6.
- van Dommelen, P. (1997). Colonial constructs: colonialism and archaeology in the Mediterranean. *World Archaeology*, 28(3), 305-323.
- van Duin, L. (2007). Anansi as Classical Hero. *Journal of Caribbean Literatures*, 5(1), 33-42.
- van Gorcum, T., et al. (2006). Intoxication following minor stab wounds from the spines of a porcupine fish. *Clinical Toxicology*, 44(4), 391-393.
- van Keulen, G. (1838). *Kaart van het eiland Curacao benevens een plan van de stad en haven (Map)*.
- van Soest, J. (1977). *Olie Als Water: De Curacaosche Economie in De Eerste Helft Van De Twintigste Eeuw*. Zutphen: De Walburg Pers.
- van Stipriaan, A. (2007). Disrupting the Canon: the Case of Slavery. In: Grever, M. and Stuurman, S. eds. *Beyond the Canon: History for the Twenty-First Century*. Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke, pp. 205-219.

- Vance, V., Steyn, M. and L'Abbe, E. (2011). Nonmetric sex determination from the distal and posterior humerus in black and white South Africans. *Journal of Forensic Sciences*, 56(3), 710-714.
- Veeris, D. (2017). *Dinah's Favorieten* [Online]. Available from: [https://www.dinahveeris.com/dinah\\_favorieten.html](https://www.dinahveeris.com/dinah_favorieten.html)
- Veit, R. and Gall, M. (2009). Patriots, Tories, inebriates, and hussies: the historical archaeology of the Abraham Staats House, as a case study in microhistory. *Northeast Historical Archaeology*, 38, Article 3.
- Venezuela Tuya (2017). *La Virgen Del Valle* [Online]. Available from: <http://www.venezuelatuya.com/religion/virgendelvalle.htm>
- Vercellotti, G., et al. (2011). Intrapopulation variation in stature and body proportions: social status and sex differences in an Italian medieval population (Trino Vercellese, VC). *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 145, 203-214.
- Victorina, A. and Kraan, C. (2012). *Vondsten Uit De Bodem Van Fleur De Marie Te Curacao: Een Archeologisch Bureau - En Inventariserend Veldonderzoek*. Curacao: National Archaeological Anthropological Memory Management (NAAM).
- Vidich, A. and Lyman, S. (1994). Qualitative methods: their history in sociology and anthropology. In: Denzin, N. and Lincoln, Y. eds. *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. London: SAGE, pp. 23-59.
- Villelli, M. (2011). Coloniality in Patagonia: historical archaeology and postcolonial critique in Latin America. *World Archaeology*, 43(1), 86-101.
- Villotte, S. and Knusel, C. (2014). "I sing of arms and of the man...": medial epicondylitis and the sexual division of labour in prehistoric Europe. *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 43, 168-174.
- Vlach, J. (1978). *The Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts*. Kent: Kent State University Press.
- Vlach, J. (1976a). Affecting architecture of the Yoruba. *African Arts*, 10(1), 48-53.
- Vlach, J. (1976b). The Shotgun House: An African Architectural Legacy, Part I. *Pioneer America*, 8(1), 47-56.
- Vlach, J. (1976c). The Shotgun House: An African Architectural Legacy, Part II. *Pioneer America*, 8(2), 57-70.
- Voges, M. (2010). The reaping of salt around 1800 in St Maarten. *The Daily Herald*, (WEEKender), 3.
- Voges, M. (2006). *Cul-De-Sac People: A St Martin Family Series*. St Martin: House of Nehesi Publishers.

- Voss, B. (2015). What's new? Rethinking ethnogenesis in the archaeology of colonialism. *American Antiquity*, 80(4), 655-670.
- Waldron, T. (1997). Osteoarthritis of the hip in past populations. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, 7, 186-189.
- Waldron, T. and Rogers, J. (1991). Inter-observer variation in coding osteoarthritis in human skeletal remains. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, 1, 49-56.
- Walker, P. (2005). Greater sciatic notch morphology: sex, age and population differences. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 127, 385-391.
- Walker, P. (1997). Wife beating, boxing, and broken noses: skeletal evidence for the cultural patterning of violence. In: Martin, D. and Frayer, D. eds. *Troubled Times: Violence and Warfare in the Past*. UK: Gordon and Breach Publishers, pp. 145-179.
- Walker, P. (1995). Problems of preservation and sexism in sexing: some lessons from historical collections for palaeodemographers. In: Saunders, S. and Herring, A. eds. *Graves Reflections: Portraying the Past through Cemetery Studies*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, pp. 31-48.
- Walker, P., et al. (2009). The causes of porotic hyperostosis and cribra orbitalia: a reappraisal of the iron-deficiency-anemia hypothesis. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 139, 109-125.
- Wallace, S. (2014). 'Endeavouring to Pass as a Free Man': Black Literacy and Slave Rebelliousness in the United States South, C. 1790-1810 *British Association for American Studies Postgraduate Conference, University of Sussex*.
- Wallman, D. (2014). Slave community foodways on a French colonial plantation: zooarchaeology at Habitation Creve Coeur, Marinique. In: Kelly, K. and Berard, B. eds. *Bitasion: Lesser Antilles Plantation Archaeology*. Leiden: Sidestone Academic Press, pp. 45-68.
- Walrath, D., Turner, P. and Bruzek, J. (2004). Reliability rest of the visual assessment of cranial traits for sex determination. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 125, 132-137.
- Walvin, J. (2013). *Crossings: Africa, the Americas and the Atlantic Slave Trade*. London: Reaktion Books Ltd.
- Walvin, J. (2007). *A Short History of Slavery*. London: Penguin Books Ltd.
- Wapler, U., Crubezy, E. and Schultz, M. (2004). Is cribra orbitalia synonymous with anemia? Analysis and interpretation of cranial pathology in Sudan. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 123, 333-339.
- Waselkov, G. (2017). Smoking pipes as signifiers of French creole identity. In: Willis, J. ed. *Tu Sais, Mon Vieux Jean Pierre: Essays on the Archaeology and History of New France and Canadian Culture in Honour of Jean-Pierre Chrestien*. Mercury

*Series Archaeology Paper 178*. Ottawa: Canadian Museum of History and University of Ottawa Press, pp. 137-159.

- Washington Creel, M. (1990). Gullah attitudes toward life and death. In: Holloway, E. ed. *Africanisms in American Culture*. Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, pp. 69-97.
- Wasterlain, S., Costa, A. and Ferreira, M. (2018). Growth faltering in a skeletal sample of enslaved nonadult Africans found at Lagos, Portugal (15th-17th centuries). *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, 28, 162-169.
- Wasterlain, S., Neves, M. and Ferreira, M. (2015). Dental modifications in a skeletal sample of enslaved Africans found at Lagos (Portugal). *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, DOI: 10.1002/oa.2453.
- Waterton, E. and Smith, L. (2009). There is no such thing as heritage. In: Waterton, E. and Smith, L. eds. *Taking Archaeology Out of Heritage*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, pp. 10-27.
- Watters, D. (2001). Historical archaeology in the British Caribbean. In: Farnsworth, P. ed. *Island Lives: Historical Archaeologies of the Caribbean*. USA: University of Alabama Press, pp. 82-99.
- Watters, D. (1994). Mortuary patterns at the Harney site slave cemetery, Montserrat, in Caribbean perspective. *Historical Archaeology*, 28(3), 56-73.
- Watts, R. (2011). Non-specific indicators of stress and their association with age at death in medieval York: using stature and vertebral neural canal size to examine the effects of stress during different periods of development. *International Journal of Osteoarchaeology*, 21, 568-576.
- Wazir, S. (2014). Sacralisation of lumbar vertebrae. *International Journal of Anatomy and Research*, 2(2), 386-389.
- Wekker, G. (2018). White innocence in the Netherlands. In: Weiner, M. and Baez, A. eds. *Smash the Pillars: Decoloniality and the Imaginary of Colour in the Dutch Kingdom*. London: Lexington Books, pp. 137-148.
- Wekker, G. (2016). *White Innocence: Paradoxes of Colonialism and Race*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Wells, C. (1974). Osteochondritis dissecans in ancient British skeletal material. *Medical History*, 18(4), 365-369.
- Werbata, J. (1911-1912). *Topographische Kaart van Curacao (Map)*. Den Haag.
- Weston, D. (2008). Investigating the specificity of periosteal reactions in pathology museum specimens. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 137, 48-59.
- Wetherell, M., Smith, L. and Campbell, G. (2018). Introduction: Affective Heritage Practices. In: Smith, L., Wetherell, L. and Campbell, G. eds. *Emotion, Affective Practices, and the Past in the Present*. London: Routledge, pp. 1-22.

- White, S. and White, G. (2003). 'Us likes a mixtery': listening to African-American slave music. In: Heuman, G. and Walvin, J. eds. *The Slavery Reader*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 405-426.
- Wilk, R. (1985). The ancient Maya and the political present. *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 41(3), 307-326.
- Wilkie, L. (2001). Methodist intentions and African sensibilities: the victory of African consumerism over planter paternalism at a Bahamian plantation. In: Farnsworth, P. ed. *Island Lives: Historical Archaeologies of the Caribbean*. USA: University of Alabama Press, pp. 272-300.
- Wilkie, L. (1997). Secret and sacred: contextualizing the artifacts of African-American magic and religion. *Historical Archaeology*, 31(4), 81-106.
- Wilkie, L. and Bartoy, K. (2000). A critical archaeology revisited. *Current Anthropology*, 41(5), 747-777.
- Wilkie, L. and Farnsworth, P. (2005). *Sampling Many Pots: An Archaeology of Memory and Tradition at a Bahamian Plantation*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- Wilkie, L. and Farnsworth, P. (1999). Trade and construction of Bahamian identity: a multiscalar exploration. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 3(4), 283-320.
- Wilkinson, D. (2011). The apartheid of antiquity. *World Archaeology*, 43(1), 26-39.
- Willey, P. (2009). Stature estimation. In: Blau, S. and Ubelaker, D. eds. *Handbook of Forensic Archaeology and Anthropology*. California: Left Coast Press, pp. 236-244.
- Wilson, D. (1995). The analysis of domestic reuse in historical archaeology. In: Skibo, J., Walker, W. and Nielsen, A. eds. *Expanding Archaeology*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, pp. 126-140.
- Wilson, R., Herrmann, N. and Jantz, L. (2010). Evaluation of stature estimation from the Database for Forensic Anthropology. *Journal of Forensic Sciences*, 55(3), 684-694.
- Wilson, S. (2013). Caribbean archaeology in the next 50 years. In: Keegan, W., Hofman, C. and Rodriguez Ramos, R. eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Caribbean Archaeology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 568-576.
- Winkel, P. (1987). *Scharloo, a Nineteenth Century Quarter of Willemstad, Curacao: Historical Architecture and its Background*. Florence: Edizioni Pligrafico Fiorentino.
- Wiredu, E. (2014). *Introduction to NVivo 10*. Rufford: Data Solutions Services.
- Witmore, C. (2014). Archaeology and the new materialisms. *Journal of Contemporary Archaeology*, 1(2), 203-246.

- Wolgemuth, J., et al. (2015). Participants' experiences of the qualitative interview: considering the importance of research paradigms. *Qualitative Research*, 15(3), 351-372.
- Wood, B. (2011). Black women in the early Americas. In: Eltis, D. and Engerman, S. eds. *The Cambridge World History of Slavery, Volume 3: AD 1420-AD 1804*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 538-560.
- Wood, B. (2003). Some aspects of female resistance to chattel slavery in Low Country Georgia, 1763-1815. In: Heuman, G. and Walvin, J. eds. *The Slavery Reader*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 551-568.
- Wood, J., et al. (1992). The osteological paradox: problems of inferring prehistoric health from skeletal samples. *Current Anthropology*, 33(4), 343-370.
- Wood, P. (2003). Black labour - white rice. In: Heuman, G. and Walvin, J. eds. *The Slavery Reader*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 224-244.
- Wright, R. (2008). Detection of likely ancestry using CRANID. In: Oxenham, M. ed. *Forensic Approaches to Death, Disaster and Abuse*. Australia: Australian Academic Press, pp. 111-222.
- Wright, R. (2000 [1958]). *The Long Dream*. New England: Northeastern University Press.
- Wylie, A. (2003). On ethics. In: Zimmerman, L., Vitelli, K. and Hollowell-Zimmer, J. eds. *Ethical Issues in Archaeology*. Oxford: AltaMira Press, pp. 3-16.
- Wylie, A. (1992). The interplay of evidential constraints and political interests: recent archaeological research on gender. *American Antiquity*, 57(1), 15-35.
- Yow, V. (2016 [2015]). Interviewing techniques and strategies. In: Perks, R. and Thomson, A. eds. *The Oral History Reader*. 3rd edn. London: Routledge, pp. 153-178.
- Yu-Te, L., Chien-Tzung, C. and Jui-Ping, L. (2010). Post-traumatic fronto-ethmoid osteomyelitis treated with free muscle transfer. *Journal of Plastic, Reconstructive and Aesthetic Surgery*, 63, 963-969.
- Zampetti, S., et al. (2016). Variation of skeletal degenerative joint disease features in an identified Italian modern skeletal collection. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 160, 683-693.
- Zene, C. (2011). Self-consciousness of the Dalits as "subalterns": reflections on Gramsci in South Asia. *Rethinking Marxism*, 23(1), 83-99.
- Zuckerman, M. and Armelagos, G. (2011). The origins of biocultural dimensions in bioarchaeology. In: Agarwal, S. and Glencross, B. eds. *Social Bioarchaeology*. Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, pp. 15-43.