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Emergent Identities in the African Diaspora:
"The Bocas Way"

By

Jerry J. Howard Jr.

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Anthropology

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Laurie A. Wilkie, Chair
Professor Rosemary A. Joyce
Professor Ugo Nwokeji

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Abstract

Emergent Identities in Bocas del Toro, Panama:
Diaspora "The Bocas Way"

By

Jerry J. Howard Jr.

Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Laurie Wilkie, Chair

This dissertation is an example of community-engaged scholarship. Working with descendant communities in Bocas del Toro, I have conducted ethnographic and oral historical accounts, archival research, and archaeological excavations. My work combines these sources to trace how identities are created, maintained, and change over time. I argue for the importance of social context in identity formation and explore how identity in Bocas del Toro is often expressed through foodways.

Today Bocas del Toro, Panama is a diverse racial and ethnic gumbo that has produced a unique Afro-creole culture. The culture area primarily consists of self-identified Afro-Antilleans, but with important contributions from Latino, Chinese, indigenous Panamanians and wealthy White European and American retirees and adventurers. Within the written history of this fascinating culture there are many silences and unanswered questions regarding the early Afro-Antillean inhabitants. My research offers insight into the chronology and components of the present-day culture and explains current demographic trends as well as the local culture history. My research further offers insight into the interactions and trade spheres that developed and supported the early post contact inhabitants during a time when neither the Spanish nor the English had firm control over the region.

Dedication

   I dedicate this dissertation to my father. From an early age he instilled in me a desire to succeed at what ever tasks I was given. Without his support and guidance I would not be where I am today. This work is also dedicated to my partner and three children, who have patiently been by my side for my entire student career. Thank you for all of your love, support, help, encouragement and dedication. I could not have accomplished as much as I have without your support and understanding.

   This is a tribute to the five of you.

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Chapter #1: Introduction

The research presented here critically examines the process of emergent identities through analysis of archaeological, archival and ethnographic evidence, in an attempt to understand the present-day ethnic and cultural Diaspora community of Bocas del Toro, Panama. The project's research questions examine the processes that drive the development of new and distinct multi-ethnic cultures with a particular focus on why certain aspects of culture are maintained and others are not. By examining the processes of cultural transformation and continuity my research further explores how gender roles, social and political organization, ideology, subsistence and food preparation, and ethnicity created a truly Creole culture in the area. With a more nuanced understanding of the processes at work the research can offer important insight into how multi-ethnic communities subvert systems of structural inequality and social marginalization.

Today, Bocas del Toro, Panama is a diverse racial and cultural melting pot that has produced a unique Creole culture. The area primarily consists of self-identified Afro-Caribbeans, but with important contributions from Latino, Chinese, indigenous Panamanians and wealthy White European and American retirees and adventurers. Until now, this Creole culture and its origins have spurred little archaeological research. Particularly, the archaeological record reveals insights into the occupational history, internal structure, external connections, subsistence economy, and socio-political organization of the historic period.

Through my research I discovered that the modern day inhabitants of Bocas del Toro (better known as Bocatorenos) have a deep admiration for the early historic inhabitants, specifically, those who occupied the northwest point of the island, at Boca del Drago. Many Bocatorenos connect strongly with 18th century "pirates" who are said to have used the region for supplies, repairs, and ultimately retirement. Oral histories recall these pirates as Afro-Antilleans and indigenous Costa Ricans, Panamanians, and Nicaraguans who were provisioned with ships and arms by the British to raid Spanish forts along the Caribbean coast. However, these pirates did not limit themselves to raiding Spanish forts, but became a force for all political entities in the region to reckon with.

It is said that as the 19th century approached a life of piracy became more difficult to manage and a large number of these pirates, along with a growing number of free Blacks, escaped slaves, and indigenous Panamanians settled in Boca del Drago. This fluid and continuously changing community is documented to have had as many as five hundred inhabitants in 1880 consisting entirely of Afro-Antilleans and indigenous people (Pinart 1885:1).

Within this fascinating history there are many silences and unanswered questions pertaining to the early historic inhabitants of Bocas del Toro. As a result my research aims to bring to the forefront their everyday lives by asking when did this cultural mélange begin? What was the nature of the relationship between these different cultures at first contact? What did they choose to keep and forfeit in the negotiation of this new and distinct culture? And, how did the relationship develop and change over time?

The interdisciplinary techniques of historical archaeology are particularly useful in explaining this complex multicultural community. As a result, I have developed my dissertation research on the historical archaeology of Bocas del Toro, which considers correlations between oral histories, ethnographic studies, archival records and the historic archaeological material, in order to provide a more complete picture of how identities emerged and changed over time.

The Bocas del Toro historic archaeological project provides insight into the chronology and components of the present-day Creole identity and explains current demographic trends as well as local culture history. By understanding the processes and effects of culture change in Bocas del Toro, the project offers insight into the interaction and trade spheres that developed and supported the early post-contact inhabitants of Bocas del Toro during a time when neither the Spanish nor the English had firm control over the region.

Geographical Location Bocas

My research takes place in western Caribbean Panama in the province of Bocas del Toro (Figure 2). The province is comprised of the Bocas del Toro Archipelago, which consists of nine main islands, fifty-nine smaller islands, and a neighboring coastal mainland. The province borders the Caribbean Sea to the north, the mainland territories of Chiriquí to the south, Comarca Ngöbe- Buglé to the east, and Costa Rica to the west. Also included in the province are two large bodies of water, Almirante Bay and Laguna de Chiriquí. Locals often refer to the region simply as Bocas.

Isla Colon is the island where the bulk of my research takes place (Figure 3). The island is primarily a tropical rainforest surrounded by a fringing coral reef. It is home to more 300 species of birds, an exotic marine life, and a diverse population of tropical plants and small to medium size animals. Bocas del Toro city, better known as Bocas town is the capital of the province and its second most populous city (Stephens 2002: 49). Bocas town is located at the southern tip of the island and is home to most of the island's 13,000 residents. However, there are a few small populations of inhabitants living along the coast and in small villages located in Bluff, Mibitimbi, La Colonia and Drago. The people of the province, and more specifically of Bocas town, refer to themselves as Bocatorenos. Before Bocas town emerged as the central township of the region Boca del Drago, located at the northwest point of the island was home to the largest population on the island (Pinart 1885:1).

Historical Bocas

Historically, Bocas has been an important destination for those traveling along the Caribbean coast. As a result, the archipelago has hosted an array of temporary visitors, as well as implanted permanent residents. Recent archaeological investigations of the ancient period in the region have demonstrated that Bocas, with evidence of extensive trade networks and social complexity, was more important to the local culture area than was previously perceived (Wake 2004; 2013). The recovery of artifacts from 1000-1500 year old sites at Boca del Drago and Sitio Teca suggests influence from the regions that are now Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Pacific Panama, and Eastern Panama (Wake 2012). One

conclusion drawn from these lines of evidence is that during the ancient period Bocas served as a hub for trade and exchange for native Central American travelers venturing north and south (Wake 2013).

The notion that Bocas served as a meeting place where cultural lifeways and technologies were shared among the various peoples of the region holds true in the historic period, beginning with the notorious Cristobal Colon (aka: Christopher Columbus). In 1502, during his fourth voyage and continued search for a western route to Asia, Colon, joined by his fourteen-year-old son, entered the archipelago of islands with two ships (Parry and Keith 1984: 126). Upon his entrance into a large bay he saw an outcrop of coral that resembled a Bull lying on its side and named the region Bocas del Toro. As he weaved through the streets of water in the bay he was so taken by its beauty that he gave all the islands his name (Dugard 2005: 167). His only interaction with people came when he is said to have careened one of his ships on one of the islands where he met some people he traded with for their gold (Dugard 2005: 168). Excited by the prospects of gold Colon attempted to discover where the native people procured the precious metal. He notes that these were the most intelligent natives he had encountered and he decided to kidnap two of them to serve as interpreters as his search for gold and a way to the Pacific continued.

One hundred seventy-six years after Columbus, Captain Henry Morgan and his crew detailed their account of recouping supplies in Bocas after defeating the Spanish in Panama City (Exquemelin 1678:68). In an attempt to steal supplies from local Bocas people, Morgan and his crew encountered four Indians in a canoe who wanted nothing to do with these European pirates (1678:68). Morgan's shipmate Alexander Exquemelin, states that another crewmember warned them not to pursue the Indians, as he recalled an occasion where they had to quickly retreat in fear for their lives, noting that these were some of the fiercest warriors they had ever encountered (Brown 1969: 213). It is noted that pirates and especially Morgan repeatedly used the archipelago of islands to avoid the Spanish and recoup supplies in their conquests.

Over the next one hundred and fifty years the region continued to remain outside of European control and as a result, it remained absent from the history books. One of the few archives available mentions small settlements of French Huguenots who were expelled by the Spanish in 1725 (Gutierrez 1991: 86). Oral histories suggest other small settlements. However, none of these visitors stayed for very long as they found the native people and local environment particularly difficult to contend with (Carlos Reid 1980). English speaking immigrants (of undetermined race) took advantage of the Spanish absence establishing settlements in Boca del Drago where in 1745 Samuel Gutierrez claims they were tending cattle and chickens (Gutierrez 1991:87).

During the 18th to 19th centuries the Spanish still were not well established in the region and Bocas for the most part remained forgotten by the New Grenadan government. After several disputes between Colombia and Costa Rica over which country owned the territory, Colombians forcibly took political control and claimed Bocas del Toro as a territory in 1834 (Costa Rica 1913:45). The territory's designation would change several times throughout the 19th and 20th centuries as a result of political changes, instability and disagreements over boundaries.

In 1836, Bocas del Toro town was founded by the New Grenada government (Costa Rica 1913:58). At its founding, Bocas was populated by English-speaking immigrants (race unclear) from Jamaica, San Andres and Providencia (Alphonse 1938, Stephens 2008: 68). The English presence played a very important role in the life of the Archipelago. Despite its foundation as an official township the town remained a trading post for the various people who visited the Archipelago. Many sources refer to these immigrants as English traders; however, Orlando Roberts and Edward Irving suggest that these English speakers were mulattos who negotiated relationships between Europeans and indigenous Panamanians (Roberts and Irving 1827: 61).

As a result of the transatlantic slave trade, people of African decent were present in large numbers throughout the Circum-Caribbean, especially in the coastal regions such as Bocas (Table 1). Slave trade data on slave imports across the region illuminates the rough numbers of arrivals of African peoples and the major catchment available to Bocas. This data provides evidence of African peoples in the region and correlates with accounts of free and escaped Blacks settling in these fringe areas.

The notion of free, escaped and enslaved African peoples moving about the Caribbean is most adequately captured in Olaudah Equiano's accounts of his voyages throughout the Caribbean. In the late 18th century Equiano was an adventurer and sailor of African decent who was employed by Dr. Charles Irving to assist in his travels throughout Circum-Caribbean. As a free African person, Equiano had the ability to come and go. However, he often had to contend with racism and discrimination, which fueled his pursuit to abolish slavery. In 1776, while traveling along the Mosquito Coast, Equiano, provides insight into flora and fauna and pays close attention to the political situation (Equiano 1789:253). He notes that the indigenous people are prideful in their successful resistance to the Spaniards. Equiano was influenced by the indigenous resistance and decided purchase and take to the Mosquito Coast his enslaved countrymen from Jamaica ("I chose them all my own countrymen") (Equiano 1789:254). He further states that they settled at "a place called Cape Gracias a Dios, where there was a large lagoon or lake, which received the emptying of two or three very fine large rivers" (Equiano 1789:254). Although Cape Gracias a Dios is some distance from Bocas, Equiano's practices offer insight into the migrations of African Diasporic peoples throughout the Caribbean, both as an African himself and as a person facilitating the movement of other African peoples. To support the claim of this occurrence in Bocas, later in the 19th century, Alphonse Pinart records English merchant ships trading with a community in Boca del Drago "almost entirely of the African race… who made an active commerce of turtle shell, cocoa, and sarsaparilla" (Pinart 1885:4).

1851 marks the abolition of slavery in New Granada (the political state of Colombia which included Panama). However, it is unclear how this impacted the people living in Bocas. As evident in the narratives of Roberts an Equiano it is very likely that free people of African descent, as well as former or escaped slaves, had populated the region long before emancipation (Roberts and Irving 1827:61).

In 1880, the banana became an important market in the Bocas archipelago when Jochen Ludwig Heinrich Hein acquired lands on the Bocas mainland and

began small-scale banana farms. Although Hein was never able to take full advantage of the land he acquired, he lived a very lucrative and luxurious life (Stephens 2002, 2008:67)

With aspirations of riches, three American brothers came to Bocas in 1890 and established the Snyder Banana Company. The Snyders began exploiting the untapped lands previously belonging to Hein with commercial plantations that revolutionized banana production (Stephens 2002:136). They made a great deal of money in the business and became major players in the banana industry of the 1890s.

As the banana boom ensued, the Snyders capitalized on the high price and sold their holdings to the up-and-coming United Fruit Company in 1899. The United Fruit Company cultivated vast plantations across the peninsula throughout the 20th century. It also established roads, canals and bridges, as well as entire cities to house its employees (Stephens 2008: 68). The company placed its regional headquarters in what is now Bocas town and brought with them a large number of Jamaicans to work on the banana plantations (Stephens 2008:68). This cultural addition complemented the existing Afro-Caribbean culture, while simultaneously changing the culture area and the world economy. Today, United Fruit is part of a multinational company, and remains the single largest employer in the province.

From 1899-1903 Bocas endured numerous armed battles between liberal Creoles living in the region and a conservative Colombian leadership (Alphonse 1938:57, Reid 1980). After the separation of Panama from Colombia with American support in 1903, the Bocas del Toro Province was created. In 1930 the local Bocas del Toro economy flourished with agriculture, fishing, and commercial growth (Stephens 2002, Gutierrez 1986; 1991, Reid 1980).

Throughout the twentieth century the province became extremely important economically to Panama. In order gain a better grasp on the region, in 1968, the Panamanian government began employing policies that attempted to unify the people of Panama with a specific focus of eliminating the English presence in Bocas. One such policy was the institution of Spanish as the official language of Panama (Aceto 1996). Under this new law people attending school in Bocas were now required to learn Spanish rather than the previously taught English. This change continues to impact the people of Bocas today, as older generations still speak English, while newer generations speak English at home, but are learning Spanish in school.

More recently the Panamanian government has revisited their stance on the American and European presence in Bocas. Over the past decade the region has become a destination for eco-tourists and surfers from Latin America, Europe, and the U.S. (Spalding 2013). These visitors have attempted to blend into the culture area enacting subtle changes to the community. Small businesses, such as restaurants and rental properties in Bocas town and Bastimentos, have flourished in accommodation of these visitors. The success of these small businesses has attracted a number of foreign investors who want to capitalize on the ventures of tourism. To not be left out of this money-making venture, the Panamanian government in collaboration with the World Bank has enacted policies to cultivate the region as a tourist zone with intentions of vast developments that will cater to

the wealthy elite (Figure 4). These policies offer subsidies and development contracts to developers to build extensive island resorts, which in turn have attracted a number of wealthy Latin American, European, and U.S. investors. The impacts of these recent changes in Bocas are reshaping the community in new ways that will once again change the cultural make-up of the place.

My personal experiences with marginalization

Early on in my career, I recognized that my life experiences as an African American have had a powerful influence in forming my research interests. I have always been intrigued by the social construct of race and how skin color variations between and within racial categories lead to elevated or depressed social status with increased or decreased access to resources. My curiosity stemmed from my personal experiences of weaving through a system that continually denied me access to resources. As an African American from South Los Angeles my experiences with poverty, violence and a lack of educational resources were difficult forces to overcome. To overcome these obstacles I had to self-motivate and develop techniques on my own. On the other hand, as a creole member of the African American culture, I recognized that I was afforded certain privileges that were directly associated with my light skin tone. I acknowledged the pressures that lead to the creation of a separate, but distinct creole community. I also discovered that these same communities are often created to separate themselves from the lower social and economic positions related to an African American identity, in an attempt to achieve social and economic advantages. I want to understand what, how, and why this process occurs. In search of these life questions I discovered academia, and found a space where I could research these questions, and at the same time create a life for myself.

Throughout my work in Bocas, Benin and Berkeley, my life experiences have been hard at work, influencing the questions I ask and the approaches I undertake. When the question centered on access to resources I sought to address the mechanisms behind the process. I became particularly fascinated with literature emphasizing the process of marginalization, as an explanatory model for addressing the events that transpired in the field, in my research, and throughout my life.

I recognized that my personal experiences and interests in marginalization are very much a part of who I am as a person and therefore are also integral in forming the questions I ask in archaeology. My experiences with systems of structural marginalization have also shed light on the processes that affect other marginal groups. These experiences have led me to develop an approach to Diaspora archaeology that draws heavily on theorizing from anthropology and African American studies, and a methodology that draws upon ethnography and community engagement to shape archaeological design, implementation and interpretation. This approach has developed from my experiences working through the Diaspora, but in particular, as a result of my long-term relationship with the community of Bocas del Toro.

Ethnographic Encounters
In this section I will detail the encounters in my archaeological career that led to the development of my ethnographic approach in the African Diaspora archaeology of Bocas del Toro, Panama. By detailing my experiences and thought process, I present the following observations as my personal intellectual development. I am not offering a prescript formula to follow any step-by-step instruction in ethnographic methodology. I recognize that there are other influences that contribute to my interpretations; however, this is my narrative and recollection of the events, which has shaped the way I see the archaeology and ran the archaeological project.

Benin encounter
It was a hot sunny day on a West African Plateau when an enthusiastic research team comprised of an American project director, an American undergrad, a Beninois archaeologist, and myself packed up our backpacks with GPS's in hand and headed out for the day. Fresh in our minds from the day before, was the pleasurable meeting we had with regional authorities, which included a formal introduction to the local king. We had spent the better part of the day and into the evening introducing ourselves, presenting our research design, talking with the enthusiastic leaders, and exchanging gifts. To say the least the king and his cabinet were excited about the project and eager for us to start the research.

It was the summer 2008-field-season and our research goals for our visit consisted of survey on the plateau between two villages, in search of remnants of 19ᵗʰ century palace structures. The methodology included, running transect lines from one village to the other, placing thirty centimeter deep 50 x 50 sample test pits every fifty meters along each transect line.

The task at hand was large requiring a crew with vast knowledge of the terrain. Although our Beninois team member was vaguely familiar with the region, he suggested we employ local people to help with the labor and who knew the land and the people more intimately. To get started we visited a local chief at one of the villages. The chief was friendly and extremely accommodating as we detailed the parameters of our research project and our need for local help. He readily recommended some knowledgeable community members to lead us on our survey. Within minutes a crew of eight locals were assembled and ready to go. The newly inducted crewmembers were very friendly and excited to be working on the project. There were the obvious financial benefits, but there was also a sense of pride in working with an American research team. It was later brought to our attention that the recommended locals were close family and friends of the chief.

After procuring local help we began our survey through the sub-tropical terrain. As we progressed across the cultural landscape we encountered several small farming plots and the occasional farmer. At the beginning, our local guides were very helpful in introducing us to the famers we met, who in turn helped answer our inquiries regarding archaeological sites in the area and the local culture history. As we made our way closer to the neighboring village the local farmers grew more and more reluctant to talk to our local guides or us. We were puzzled by the sudden change in mood, but we marched on with the survey. Shortly thereafter, tensions surfaced when a farmer with machete in hand charged towards us

screaming at our local guides in Fonbè. The situation was intense and I was a bit worried, but also slightly confused. I really had no idea what the argument was about and was only able to pick out the occasional profanity, which I had only just learned. What started as one irate farmer all of sudden grew, as more villagers began to appear. With a growing number of irate community members and the situation seemingly out hand, the project director decided to take heed of the farmers' request to leave and we returned back to the village from where we started.

The walk back was filled with discontent from our local guides. Full of uncertainty and dumbfounded by what had transpired, it was during the walk back that we learned that the two villages were at odds over land. Many residents of the neighboring village, including the farmer with the machete, claimed to have lost land and were currently involved in land disputes with some of the same villagers families who were guiding us across the plateau. We also learned that the neighboring villagers are a marginal community that occupies the lower socio-economic classes of the region, living in shadows of larger villages. The neighboring villagers are always on guard and fearful that their lands are in constant dispute. As we came marching towards their village they believed we were surveyors hired by the members of the opposing village to steal land. Despite best efforts by our West African archaeologist to debunk this myth, which included presenting permits and letters from local authorities, the neighboring villagers were unconvinced.

To our dismay, we had unintentionally taken sides in a socio-political dispute over land rights. By hiring local labor from only one village we unknowingly allied the archaeology with a dominant faction in the region reaffirming the current social structure. This was particularly disconcerting for the project director who thought he had taken all the precautionary measures in talking to the King of the region and the chief in one of the villages. So in a reflexive manner the project director planned to engage the people of the neighboring village by setting up a meeting with the neighboring village's chief later that day. As we sat down with the chief we talked about our research and goals and the meeting seemed to be going well until a group of young community members vying for power infiltrated the hut and aired their dissatisfaction with the chief and us. During the meeting many factions were exposed and it was discovered that the neighboring village was riddled with its own struggle for power between the chief and his allies and several other community members. Once again we had unknowingly socio-politically situated the project and ourselves with a particular faction of the community exacerbating these hot topic intra-village issues. To this day the survey has yet to be completed and tensions over land and socio-political power between and within the villages continue with full force.

At the end of the field season the project director and I discussed the situations in-depth, as we both struggled to understand the details of what had happened and how and if archaeology fit into the social-politics of the community. The project director explained that he employs a "Do No Harm" approach to archaeology. He defended that his approach aims to do no harm by remaining completely neutral in the sociopolitics of the area under investigation. When such issues arise they are dealt with "After the Fact" by explaining the goals of the

archaeology and its neutrality. As we discussed the situations further throwing out ideas of how to circumvent the sociopolitical issues it became apparent that his Do No Harm and After the Fact approaches were not feasible in this case. There are very real impacts and implications entailed in archaeological research. In order to understand the risks involved a new approach to information gathering needed to be put in place before any survey or excavation could ensue.

Ethnography in Bocas
As I tried to make sense of the scenario in Benin, I began to reflect on my preliminary undergraduate research in Bocas del Toro, Panama and noticed some striking similarities in the approach. The Pre-Columbian project that had introduced me to the site in Boca del Drago utilized a similar "Do No Harm" approach to community engagement. Some clear points of convergence in the approaches are the issue over land ownership, the effects landownership has on the day-to-day lives of people in these communities, and how archaeology fits into these sociopolitics. Evidence of this process has surfaced many times since I began work in 2005.

Issues of landownership
Recently, the social dynamics of Bocas have undergone significant change in the ideological understandings of land ownership. Throughout my eight-year tenure in Bocas I've seen the issues over landownership manifest in real and meaningful ways. I've witnessed a growing number of new immigrants (Latino and Anglo) with strict ideas of title ownership, purchasing land and moving into the region. Their outside ideas of landownership have shifted Bocatoreno conceptions of land use from owning only the land you use to an expansive land titling system (Figure 1). To exacerbate the issue further the Panamanian government has deemed Bocas a tourist zone, providing incentives to groups who participate in its development (Figure 4). This has fueled the quest for land in the region and land value in the province has increased more than any other province. These ideas of land ownership coupled with outsider ideas of socio-political organization and government-sanctioned eco-tourism have ignited feuds and promoted discrimination in the region. Many people are resorting to extremes to capture a piece of the pie (ie. Wild Bill murders), which usually ends with the descendant Native and Afro-Panamanians at a loss.

Emerging Injustices
The change in the structure of land ownership and the displacement of long-time Bocas residents has motivated many to speak out about the injustices emerging in the region. Many Native and Afro-Panamanian residents are seeking visibility, as the new oppressive system of change is replacing their Bocatoreno way of life with a more racialized and hierarchal version (Smith 2010; Iglesias 2012; Dean 2012). Archaeology in fact inherits a perplexing dilemma, where new Latino and Anglo landowners have possession of the land but the archaeology in the ground points to the ancestors of local Native and Afro-Panamanians, now fighting to reclaim the land and a voice. What makes this of particular interest to archaeology is the fact that

these issues of landownership are intermingled with notions of the past, who is part of that past, and who is not.

Serracins Gain Support

As I began to develop my ethnographic methodology in Bocas I pieced together the issues related to land ownership and became aware that certain factions were gaining support as a result of our work. What I came to realize is the simple word archaeology was becoming viewed as antagonistic to some. In retrospect, as I worked on the Pre-Columbian project in 2005 it became obvious that we had allied the project with one family in the community. The Serracins who arrived in Drago in 1972 have made extensive property claims. Today they own a restaurant and several large homes on the claimed land. There are some pressing debates over how the Serracins came to own the land, however; their claims have yet to be refuted or substantiated and until a decision can be made they continue to occupy the land (Figure 1). Some of the archaeology is located on this land and it's quite understandable that the project director needed to build a relationship with the Serracins to gain access to the archaeology on the property.

Since the beginning of the Pre-Columbian archaeological research the Serracin property lines have grown significantly and the restaurant has flourished. The growth is due in part to the Pre-Columbian archaeological field school, which has contracted with the Serracins for housing and food every summer for a period of six weeks. The money made during the six week period is more money than most Bocatorenos make in a year. Several community members are upset with the imbalance and have viewed archaeology as in support of Serracin interests. This has led to reluctance by some community members and landowners to engage with archaeologists and as a result some crucial areas of archaeological interest have gone uninvestigated and several voices continue to go unheard.

Raul Holstan Encounter

As an undergraduate researcher I recall an example of this disconnect through an encounter with Raul Holstan, which I recorded in my personal journal. Today, Raul is a 60-year-old Bocatoreno who was born and raised in Bocas del Toro. He is a musician specializing in traditional Bocatoreno music and culture, and his immediate family owns two homes a small artisan shop in town. Raul also owns a home in Panama City with his wife where they make frequent trips back and forth.

It was the summer of 2006 and we were excavating on a three-hectare section of the site located on property occupied by the Serracins. The property is located directly across the road from the Drago Historic Cemetery to the north and borders a swamp to the south. Today the property is primarily used to raise cattle and is defined by grazing grasses, various fruit bearing trees, and several low earthen mounds. Our area of focus for excavations was the mound extending south from the road, closest to the cemetery. It was 2 weeks into the field season and we had been excavating for days without any significant finds, so we were excited when we unearthed several burials in a low earthen mound.

Raul was driving out to his family's property in Boca del Drago (Casa de Sanchez/Chen) when he saw our excavation setup from his car. He stopped

abruptly and jogged over to the fence line to see what we were doing. In a perturbed tone he asked, who we were and what we were looking for. After the project director explained to him that this was an American archaeological field school, he became increasingly irritated with every utterance. He wanted to know who gave us permission to dig there. We were all a little taken aback by the anger he displayed as our experience with local Bocatorenos was generally pleasant. The project director told Raul that the project was authorized by INAC and the landowners, familia de Serracin, gave us permission to excavate. Raul explained that he was a descendant of the Sanchez and Iglesias families and his family has owned and lived on the land for several generations. He was particularly bothered that the Serracins gave us permission to excavate; knowing that where we were digging was part of the historic cemetery. More importantly, many of Raul's family members were buried in this cemetery. He explained that when the road was built a bulldozer plowed through the middle of the cemetery destroying intact graves. His family, along with a number of community members was upset with the authorities, but they had very little influence in regional politics at the time. To complicate things further, after the road was complete he claimed that the Serracins put up a fence and removed all of the head stones south of the road, claiming the land was theirs. Raul's family and other community members have been fighting legal battles with the Serracins and other newly implanted land owners ever since. The project director doubted Raul's claims, but in order to avoid escalating the situation he redirected Raul to talk to the Serracins. Raul left angry and disgruntled over the encounter. The excavations continued and Raul's concerns went unaddressed for the time being.

After Raul left, I had numerous questions about his claims. I spoke with the project director about the situation and what could be done. The project director was adamant that he had taken all the necessary steps in acquiring the permits to excavate and we were working with the rightful landowner. Simply put, there was nothing for us to do. He further stated that the issue over land ownership is between Raul, the Serracins and Panamanian government, and the archaeology is independent of those sociopolitics. I was not content with his "Do No Harm" approach, but as an inexperienced undergraduate when it came to community engagement I had not yet acquired the tools to tackle the issue.

Reflections

Today I am a close friend of Raul and several members of his family, but the events of that day continue to affect the relationship between archaeologists and several factions of the Bocas community. Although the encounter with Raul may seem isolated and local, it is representative of broader social issues and the rise of new forms of structural inequality. By allying the Pre-Columbian research with the Serracins, the Pre-Columbian archaeological project was viewed as oppositional to other community member's interests, specifically those who are Native and Afro-Panamanian. In particular, archeology's role in fostering the emerging imbalance of wealth was recognized by several influential community members, as the imbalance has strengthened the Serracins' interests in Drago and marginalized others. These disgruntled community members argue that the accumulation of wealth and subsequent land accumulation has elevated the Serracins political status, by

establishing recognition and influence in the government (Figure 1). The political presence has helped substantiate the Serracins land claims further aggravating the land ownership issue.

The underlying belief that the Pre-Columbian archaeology project operates independently and outside of the local sociopolitics turned out to be just the opposite. By allying with the Serracins without taking the time to investigate the sociopolitics of the community, we recognized the Serracins as the only stakeholders and as a result we silenced other factions. The approach further problematized current social situations and strengthened existing structural inequalities through the unequal distribution of funds that contributed to an imbalance of wealth and power.

When it came to Bocas I recognized that our research goals were not necessarily in line with a large majority of the Bocas community. After thinking through the situations in Bocas and West Africa, I contemplated whether the unfavorable outcomes could have been approached differently. Despite efforts to be reactionary and/or avoid sociopolitics all together, in both cases, archaeology and the archaeologists were entangled socio-politically from the outset. I determined that as a conscious researcher I needed to understand the socio-political climate of the culture area under investigation and work within that framework to achieve the research goals I set forth in the project, while at the same time paying close attention to how my presence and research goals impact the people in the community. As I formulated the dissertation I recognized the need to create an open forum for interested community members with the goal of remaining fluid and flexible in who would take part in the project.

As I began planning my dissertation research in Boca del Drago, my experiences with the sociopolitics of archaeology were fresh in mind. I internalized my recent field experiences with the communities in Bocas and Benin and coupled them with relevant literature in African American Studies and Anthropology to develop a framework for community-engaged archaeology.

To accomplish the goal of creating a community engaged archaeological project I drew on literature emphasizing the processes of marginalization and silencing to better understand the how to develop a more reflexive and inclusive project.

The Structure of This Dissertation

In chapter 2, I outline the often-tense historic relationship between anthropology and African American Studies and why these disciplines would benefit from greater collaboration. In chapter 3, I provide an intellectual overview of African American Archaeology's historical development. In particular, I unpack the history of acculturation, creolization, ethnogenesis, and Diaspora, terms that have been buzzwords in the field. In chapter 4, I describe the archaeological fieldwork conducted for this project and the lab methodologies employed in the analysis of archaeological materials. In chapter 5, I present a discussion of the archaeological findings and how this research has led me to formally develop a vision for the theory and practice of Diaspora archaeology.

Chapter #2: Intersections of Difference: Approaches to African Diaspora Research

"The recipe for perpetual ignorance is: Be satisfied with your opinions and content with your knowledge" Elbert Hubbard

For over a century, research on the African Diaspora past has continued to gain popularity in the social sciences. During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, scholars from a variety of fields debated, converged, collaborated, and contributed to the rich resource base of African Diaspora literature that exists today (Williams 1996). As interest grew, the debates and conversations became more and more polarized, in some cases pitting individual scholars and disciplines against one another. More recently, the conversations have completely broken down resulting in disciplines with insular theoretical and methodological approaches. To better understand the relationship between disciplines studying the African Diaspora past, I have chosen to historically examine a suite of authors from various disciplines and so-called "competing schools of thought." This chapter aims to understand the growing distance between disciplines researching issues of the African Diaspora past and the recent quest by a few individuals to bridge the gap.

I will first examine the relationship between early four-field anthropologists and early African American studies scholars (many who are recognized as the forefathers of their disciplines). As the relationship changes, I will narrow the topic to examine the disciplines of Black/African American/African Diaspora Studies and African American Archaeology. I will then move towards bridging the gap in approaches to African Diaspora by suggesting possible avenues for future research.

As an African American conducting Diaspora research, the relationship between African Diaspora Studies and African Diaspora archaeology is crucial to my development as a scholar. The information gathered here will offer insight into the modern day relationship. The chapter will fulfill a major link between African Diaspora archaeology and my interest in racial identity politics within the academy. By examining the historical, social, and political influences of these two disciplines and their approach to the African Diaspora past, we can gain better insight into the reasons for the present day relationship or better yet, the lack thereof. I have argued to colleagues in both disciplines that the other has equally valuable input into the discussion of the African Diaspora past. Each discipline offers several lines of evidence that should not be ignored. Sadly enough, both are reluctant to include these lines of evidence in the discussion.

The Early Relationship

The relationship between Anthropology and African American studies developed in response to existing social inequalities and the desire by a few to challenge the status quo. During the mid to late 19th century when anthropology was developing as a discipline, the academic world was preoccupied by a perspective that aimed to explain the diverse populations of the world through a singular lens. In problematic fashion these scholars constructed anthropology with racist Eurocentric tendencies. The viewpoints provided white Europeans with a dominant position in society

including the academic world and in a very real way silenced and suppressed the voices of others. With the goal of explaining the development of the world's societies, early evolutionary anthropologists attempted to explain racial differences by implementing a hierarchal ranking system (Trigger 2006). Claiming their own culture as superior and more advanced, these anthropologists placed Europeans and western culture at the top of the evolutionary ladder with all non-Europeans ranked according to the attributes they shared with Europeans. This ethnocentric position secured white racist and Eurocentric ideas of superiority and subjugated non-whites, especially African Americans who, as Negros, were ranked at the bottom of the evolutionary ladder. In addition, the evidence used to explain the hierarchical structure became entangled with the racist interpretations of early anthropologists. As a result, African Americans struggled to create a space in white American intellectual society. The approaches enacted by anthropologists provided African Americans and other non-whites with ample reason to reject the racist claims. The result festered into resentment towards an anthropology that minimized or completely ignored the cultural and intellectual contributions of non-whites to American society.

Like any traditional academic discipline someone would eventually challenge and test the validity of the racist claims held by early evolutionary anthropologists. The topic of race was in full view and the academic world would have to address the inaccuracies sooner or later. Scholars, both white and Black, became immersed in a dialogue that began to question the reality of the data (Williams 1996). Through innovation African Americans created space in the narrow white academic world for other perspectives and approaches to be heard. The problem became how to demonstrate to the intellectual community that the anthropological data used to explain African American inferiority was actually a distorted misinterpretation.

Franz Boas and W.E.B. DuBois
In the late 19th century Franz Uri Boas, the father of modern anthropology, became an important figure in the study of race and his ground breaking approach helped to mend the estranged relationship between anthropology and the African American community. As a four-field anthropologist and man of great foresight, Boas saw inherent problems in the way anthropologists of the day studied race (Boas 1909a). He became interested in the injustices suffered by African Americans and aimed to help broaden the narrow thinking of many intellectuals within the social sciences. In the first decade of the 20th century Boas began to challenge the institutionalized racism of the academic world by deconstructing approaches to race through physical anthropology (Boas 1901; 1904; 1905; 1909b; 1910). At this time in history, even the most progressive physical anthropologists were convinced that African Americans were a homogenous race whose low status in American society was due not just to an instinctive white prejudice, but to a defective ancestry that prevented them from contributing to society, or to "the mores" that excluded them from communal life with Euro-Americans (Williams 1996: 9). Boas had worked extensively with anthropometrics and agreed that structural differences in brain size existed among different races, but argued that there is no scientific evidence that such differences constitute intellectual capability (Boas 1893; 1922). Even

though his analysis was scientifically sound some scholars were still skeptical of his findings (Cope 1893; Brinton 1895, Thomas 1895). However, Boas' efforts to expunge racism through scientific methods resonated with a number of African American scholars (DuBois 1905 Personal Communication with Franz Boas; Washington 1915 Personal Communication with T.E. Taylor). The support from the African American intelligentsia was impressive and Boas forged bonds with some of the most prominent and influential African American scholars.

African American scholars were particularly attracted to the research for the fact that it provided weight to disprove myths of African American inferiority. In the modern era W.E.B. DuBois is often referred to as the grandfather of African American studies. His contributions and methodological approach were at the cutting edge of social science research. In addition his approach has become foundational for a great deal of social science research conducted today. DuBois had long struggled to find answers to the "Negro Problem" and was dissatisfied with traditional approaches that minimized the accomplishments of some African Americans (DuBois 1898). In *The Souls of Black Folk* DuBois directly confronts the issue of Negro inferiority and exposes the "color line" in the U.S (DuBois 1904). He contends that Negros are confronted with the daunting task of managing a "double consciousness, a sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness, an American, a Negro" (DuBois 1904: 4)

DuBois is concerned about Negro progress in the present and creating possibilities for the future. However, he does not see African Americans as a homogenous group. He suggests that the best way to create opportunities for all Negros is by first creating opportunities for certain Negros in the upper echelons of Euro-American society. He refers to the elite Negros as the "Talented Tenth": the top ten percent of Blacks who are capable of assimilating into Euro-American high society (DuBois 1904). DuBois argues that these genetically talented and gifted individuals are capable of creating opportunities for the Black masses through innovative thought and design. .

Boas and DuBois were devoted assimilationists often finding their research subversive to traditional academia. Boas' findings of African American intellectual equality provided DuBois with an avenue to emphasize the importance social rank and class plays in the progress and retrogress of African Americans. Over their thirty-year friendship, Boas and DuBois communicated and collaborated on various projects demonstrating that "the talented tenth" were capable of living alongside their Euro-American counterparts.

The estranged relationship between Anthropology and African American studies was strengthened by the work and ensuing relationships cultivated by Franz Boas and W.E.B. DuBois, as well as other prominent African American scholars. Booker T. Washington in 1915, Cater G. Woodson in 1926, Alain Locke in 1925, Charles Johnson 1925, Monroe Work in 1920, and Zora Neale Hurston (Boas' student), in 1934 among others, also corresponded and collaborated with Boas throughout their careers, drawing on his approach to develop what would later become African American Studies. By fighting against the racist tendencies of the white dominated social sciences, Boas and African American scholars paved the way

for Afrocentric theories of history that would become influential in the years to come.

Throughout their careers, Boas and Du Bois mentored several students who became influential figures in academia, including E. Franklin Frazier, Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead, Alfred Kroeber, Robert Lowie, Edward Sapir and Melville Herskovits. Many of these scholars retained Boas' and DuBois' passion for alleviating the injustices projected on minority populations. Through this guiding principle their innovative research guided the direction of anthropology and African American studies.

Herskovits and Frazier

Following Boas, Melville J. Herskovits became the anthropological authority when the topic pertained to the African American past. Like most of Boas' students, the issues of race and how the concept perpetuated the Negro problem fascinated Herskovits. Herskovits continued relationships with several prominent African American scholars, including Alain Locke 1925, Abram Harris 1925, and Zora Neale Hurston 1937. Using the four-field approach to anthropology Herskovits aimed to explain racial differences between Europeans and Africans through the measurable degree of variability in each group (Herskovits 1927). He observed that variability had not increased and argued that variability in traits has little to do with racial purity. He concluded that African Americans had evolved into a homogenous, but distinct racial group, different from their parent stocks (Herskovits 1927). However, he recognized that physical traits alone could not explain the Negro condition. As a result, he began to pay close attention to socio-cultural factors and the interrelationship between culture and physical form as well as the processes of cultural change (Herskovits 1927).

In *Myth of the Negro Past,* arguably his most influential contribution to African Diaspora research, Herskovits strongly suggests that African Diaspora cultures owe a great deal to Africa (Herskovits 1941). The argument is supported by ethnographic research done in West Africa and the Caribbean and centers on African cultural influence on African American dance, music, language, folklore, religious practice, and family. Herskovits contended that Africanisms were difficult to examine among African Americans and were more evident in areas isolated from Europeans, such as the Caribbean. However, these cultural traits were still present in certain aspects of African American culture (Herskovits 1941). To the dismay of many scholars, he further suggested that some of these cultural traits had been incorporated into European American culture (Herskovits 1941). Some scholars who were devoted to an assimilationist agenda opposed Herskovits's argument of a distinct African American culture (Frye et al 1972). What followed became known as the heated continuity debate.

E. Franklin Frazier was Herskovits' strongest and sharpest critic on the concept of African survivals. Frazier, a prominent figure in the African American intellectual community, was a renowned sociologist and chair of the sociology department at Howard University (Davis 1962). His primary interest was in the Negro Problem and finding ways to ameliorate the issue. Frazier was well traveled and familiar with the communities he studied. Throughout his career he conducted

research in Brazil 1942, Haiti, Israel, the West Indies, and Africa, as well as the U.S. (Frazier 1939). However, the latter became the battle ground on which the majority of his career focused. In "Negro Family in the United States" he argued that the impact of slavery was so devastating that Negros had been stripped of all of their African cultural traits or in other words the first Africans in America were "blank slates" with no culture. As a form of survival, Negros developed a distorted version of European American culture (Frazier 1957). He further argued that the distortion was a result of social and economic oppression, present in the Negro family and religious variations (Frazier 1939). Frazier's "Blank Slate argument" vividly opposed Herskovits African survival argument.

Since emancipation, African Americans struggled to legitimize their position in European American society. The prevailing approach had been to assimilate into the dominant European American way of life, an approach embraced by Boas, Washington, Dubois, Herskovits, and Frazier, among others. Influenced by the forefathers of African American studies Frazier continued with the assimilationist tradition. The relationship between DuBois and Frazier is somewhat ambiguous, however, DuBois often spoke in favor of Frazier and considered him a "kindred spirit" (Watts 1983). This comes despite Frazier's outspoken distaste for DuBois' "talented tenth" notion (Frazier 1957). Nevertheless, Frazier dedicated *The Negro in the United States* to DuBois and credited him with having inspired his work and intellectual development (Frazier 1957:Front Cover).

Although the opposing positions of Herskovits and Frazier seemed to be merely theoretical, social and political influences were also major factors in the polarization of the debate. During the early 20th century, theories of racial hierarchy prevailed in academia. Most notable was the belief that to be African was to be primal and from the lowest evolutionary stage (Phillips 1918). Interestingly enough, the continuity debate emerged at a time when African Americans were trying to legitimize their position in European American society through assimilation. Assimilationists argued that all humans were capable of integrating into European American society, while racists' claimed White superiority and Black inferiority. For Frazier, and those who supported his debate, to claim the existence of Africanisms was to accept the racist beliefs that African Americans descended from an inferior group and were incapable of assimilation. However, to argue for a blank slate was to demonstrate that the current conditions of the Negro were the direct result of European racism and oppression and if these social issues were addressed African Americans would have no problem assimilating.

Herskovits was also a devoted assimilationist, but his motivations were quite different. Herskovits believed that African Americans were capable of integrating into Euro-American society but did not necessarily see them as equals (Herskovits 1953). Despite this discrepancy he argued that the only way to encourage assimilation was to change the minds and attitudes of scholars and the public with research. However, he never explicitly stated how under the current social climate recognizing the existence of African survivals would help African Americans assimilate into European American society.

The debate lasted for thirty years and became increasingly polarized. Anthropology was training its next generation of scholars to look for continuity

when the question pertained to culture contact and acculturation, and African American scholars among others remained committed to addressing the Negro Problem through assimilation.

Blank Slate, Africanisms, and Resistance

The approach to the African American past during the 40's, 50's and much of the 60's was dominated by Frazierites. However, important changes to the approach began to take shape. Some scholars began to critique prevailing studies on slavery by acknowledging resistance (Stampp 1956; Williams 1944; Franklin 1948). They also began to challenge the widely believed notion that slaves were "heathens imported from Africa" without culture, content with their current societal situation (Stampp 1956; Franklin 1948). Rather they suggested that slaves resisted in varying ways, weaving through a system that continued to deny them "natural rights" and basic humanity (Stampp 1956).

For scholars like Kenneth Stampp (1956) the continuity debate was not a debate at all. In *The Peculiar Institution* Stampp attempts to address elements of both views of the continuity debate, but in the end sides heavily with Frazier. He argued that Africanisms may have been present in aspects of slave life, including dances, music, folklore, and religion. However, Africanisms diminished over time and by the mid nineteenth century many aspects of African culture disappeared (Stampp 1956). Stampp adds that African slaves attempted to adopt white culture life ways in place of the dissipating African culture. However, the reluctance of white culture to accept the slave caused him to live in a "cultural void" (Stampp 1956: 364).

In a more rigid approach Stanley Elkins utilized an economic model to explain the harsh effects of slavery in North America (Elkins 1959). He starts by placing blame on the development of capitalism and argues that in order to maximize profits slaveholders were forced to treat slaves inhumanely (Elkins 1959). As a result of this inhumanity, slaves were stripped of their culture and their development as human beings was subdued. He suggests that this underdeveloped individual or "Sambo" under the hand of his master was forced to adopt a distorted version of Euro-American culture (Elkins 1959). He further insinuates that the problems plaguing African Americans of the 1950's are directly related to this stunted growth.

Elkins interpretation of Slavery and its effects on African American society raised an extensive amount of debate that culminated in the edited volume "The Debate Over Slavery: Stanley Elkins and His Critics" (Lane 1971). The critics, who include Elkins himself, represent the changing ideology surrounding African Americans and their past. The critiques include Elkins' comparison of Slavery and Nazi concentration camps, perception of slave personalities, myths of compassionate masters, and his neglect of resistance (Lane 1971). These issues drove the development of research on the African American past to adopt a new approach.

In the years that followed, the approach offered by Frazier, Stamp and Elkins began to lose its luster. As African Americans and a number of scholars began to

recognize the inconsistencies in the interpretations of the day, many turned to alternative explanations of African American culture and the African American past.

African American scholar and historian John Blassingame became a prominent player in the continuity debate. As a leading figure in African American history at Yale University, Blassingame became a spokesman for a large number of scholars on the subject of continuity. In direct opposition to Elkins' submissive Sambo, Blassingame's approach centers on depicting the African slave as resistive to the dominance of Euro-American culture (Blassingame 1972). Blassingame demonstrates the existence of African survivals through an exploration of folklore, music, and religion. He challenges Elkins' argument by presenting slave narratives, songs, and religious performances that reveal a story of culture and personality. Blassingame concludes "clearly one of the general means by which Africans resisted bondage was by retaining their link with the past" (Blassingame 1972). He further suggests that this relationship with the past and a connection to Africa helped to form communities among the slaves with norms, values, and leaders. Through an innovative process of acculturation, the slave was able to create a new and distinct culture with influence from the parent and dominant cultures.

In 1974 Eugene Genovese introduced *Roll, Jordan, Roll. The World the Slaves Made* (Genovese 1974). Genovese engages intensely with Marxist theory in order to explore the impact class had on slavery in the United States. At the same time he recognizes that race and family structures also contribute to the institution of slavery (Genovese 1974). Genovese emphasizes how Christian religion among slaves served as a mechanism for resistance. Through a shared religion with their masters, slaves were able to expose the hypocrisy of slavery among Christians. As a result slaves were able to determine if a master was "good" or "bad" based on Christian values (Genovese 1974). With emphasis on Africanisms, Genovese argues that slaves reshaped Christianity "to fit their own psychic needs and their own sensibility" (Genovese 1974: 247). He draws similar conclusions on housing, burials, and food procurement and preparation. While he acknowledges the influence European culture had on African slaves, he also stresses the complexity of acculturation and the impact African slaves had on the construction of American culture.

Genovese became a prominent figure in the study of African American slavery with his influence extending into debates over the curriculum in Black Studies. In "Black Studies Trouble Ahead" Genovese expresses his discontent for radicalism and argues that those who will eventually win the debate will be the more forceful ones (Genovese 1969). With extremists in charge of the curriculum racial tensions would further intensify.

Blassingame's use of Africanisms signified the growing popularity of Herskovits' theory among scholars researching the African American past. In addition scholars such as Rawick and Gutman begin to stress the importance of resistance and Africa in the creation of African American culture (Rawick 1972; Gutman 1976).

Civil Rights and Academia

Herskovits' concept of continuity proved to be more valuable to African Americans than Frazier's' Blank Slate, as Black pride, the Civil Rights Movement, and the creation of Black Studies programs changed American society and the educational system. The growing influence of Garveyism and Black Nationalism prompted many African Americans to adopt a Pan-African approach to societal problems. The ubiquitous Pan African approach emerging among African Americans embraced the concept of cultural continuity and it became a mobilizing issue for the Civil Rights Movement (Rojas 2007). The basis for the argument was that continuity connected Africans and all African-Diaspora populations together based on the existence of a historically continuous Black racial experience (Marable 2000). This new-shared consciousness with emphasis on continuity became an important factor in mobilizing African Americans in a fight for Civil Rights.

The battles of the Civil Rights Movement were fought on several fronts. However, none were more important than voters' rights and the desegregation of public and educational institutions (Frye 2010). White and Black students and faculty throughout the United States worked together to challenge the "separate but equal" laws of the Jim Crow South. Although many battles were won, the goal of equality often fell short. Frustrated and disgruntled with the legal system these scholars returned home only to discover the same issues plaguing their universities (Frye 2010).

Some scholars were well aware of the social and political connotations of their research and rather than following current trends in academia they embraced the nature of the time. As a result of issues raised by African Americans in the Civil Rights movement the number of researchers interested in Africanisms and African Diaspora history began to grow.

Black Studies

The late 60's and early 70's was a time of great social change and the university system was not exempt from the societal demands of the people. The Civil Rights Movement in particular strongly influenced the type of research scholars conducted. For a growing number of scholars, Africanisms supported the presence of racial difference and the need for a Black perspective to address Black issues. As Black Studies began to form as a discipline, extensive debate as to how to incorporate black intellectual thought into the traditionally white academy surfaced (Norment 2007). As a result, two polarized factions emerged, the integrationists and the separatists.

The separatist view, which consisted primarily of the militant Black masses, saw higher education as a place for social reform inside and outside the academy walls. These scholars argued that Black scholarship should reject assimilationist approaches and forge a new cultural awareness focusing on the Black experience (Hare 1969a; Hare 1969b). The primary goal was the creation of a separate autonomous Black Studies department for Blacks with input from the Black community (Rojas 2007; Hare 1969b). Separatists claimed that Eurocentric traditional disciplines were the centerpiece of oppressive tendencies that denied Blacks educational and societal rights and argued that racial minorities were

different from other ethnic groups based on a shared experience of oppression (Marable 2000: 246). Advocates with a strong Pan Africanist perspective argued that Africa was at the center of the Black experience and that only people of African descent could understand Black issues (Smith 1973). To say the least, these militant scholars and motivated masses were frustrated with the integrationist attempts at ethnic pluralism in the university and did not believe integrationists had the interest of all Black people at hand.

For many Black scholars assimilation was still believed to be the only way to break through the barrier of racial oppression. For Integrationists the goal was an integrated American society with focus on the educational system (Kilson 1969). The bulk of the integrationists were well established Black and White scholars working in traditional disciplines long before Black Studies in white universities was a reality. Many of these scholars were at the forefront of recent legal battles with segregation and Jim Crow laws, most notably Brown vs. The Board of Education (Wilkins 1969). With strong conviction against segregation, integrationists opposed the creation of a "separate but equal" department for Black studies (Kilson et. al 1969). Rather integrationists argued in favor of Black studies courses taught in traditional disciplines. Integrationist feared that Black studies departments would be viewed as an inferior part of the academy (Kilson et. al. 1969; Rojas 2007) and the mere existence of an autonomous department was a way for racists to force qualified Black scholars into marginal Black Studies programs (Kilson et. al. 1969; Clark 1969; Woodward 1969; Blassingame 1971).

Ultimately the integrationists and separatists compromised their positions. Despite integrationists' efforts universities launched autonomous Black Studies departments. Disappointed with the decision some integrationists protested the outcome, demanding resignation from university administrators (Clark 1969). Other integrationists focused their efforts on program design (Kilson 1973). In the spirit of compromise the separatists were forced to forfeit outreach and input to and from the Black community. The back and forth battle over the reformation of Black Studies made apparent the unequal social dynamics of the Black community, emphasizing a divide along class lines. The dichotomy became more and more polarized internally affecting Black Studies, while also damaging the relationship with traditional disciplines.

Black Studies departments became a collage of social scientists trained in traditional disciplines. As a result, Black Studies, as a discipline, was lacking a curriculum and identity. Some scholars claimed that the discipline suffered from the "vulnerability of a discipline lacking academic rigor" (Kilson 1973). Such comments captured a belief in traditional disciplines, which considered Black studies an elective, rather than a rigorous discipline (Clark 1969). Black Studies departments were placed in a position, which required Black Studies scholars to prove they could undertake viable research topics. Many of the initial interests of scholars addressed the silences in history by studying the lifeways of African Americans during and after emancipation (Blassingame 1972; Franklin 1948). When Black history was the research topic, the bulk of Black studies researchers were trained historians sharing joint appointments in traditional departments. These scholars began focusing on continuity, the cultural connections between Africa, the Caribbean and Black

America, the construction of Black culture and society in the United States, and the patterns of resistance against racial discrimination (Marable 2000).

Anthropology and Civil Rights
While Black studies was developing and negotiating their institutional direction in the academy, anthropologists were managing internal issues of their own. Anthropology had become divided into subfields and the four-field culture historic approach imbued throughout the Boas and Herskovits years had, for the most part, died out. This led to specialization in linguistic, socio-cultural, physical and archaeological forms of anthropology. With the exception of Mintz and Price, anthropological research on the African American past became a product of historical archaeology.

In 1976 historical anthropologists Sidney Mintz and Richard Price contributed the influential "An Anthropological Approach to the Afro-American Past" later reprinted as "The Birth of African American Culture" to the study of African American history and culture (Mintz and Price 1976; 1992). In direct conversation with Civil Rights activists and African American scholars, Mintz and Price try to divert emerging ideological trends they feel are negatively influencing African American historical research and the development of Black Studies programs in the U.S. The platform for the critique is the familiar debate over African continuities. Mintz and Price suggest that since Herskovits and Frazier the continuity debate became polarized "into a flatly 'for' or 'against' position in regard to African cultural retentions" (Mintz and Price 1992). Instead, they offer a hybrid approach to the study of Africanisms and African American cultural history. In support of and opposition to both Herskovits and Frazier, Mintz and Price explain that neither of the polarized positions fully captures the entirety of African American culture. Despite their attempts to minimize the polarization of theories on African continuity their work was still misinterpreted by a number of scholars (Alleyne 1988). The interpretation suggested that Mintz and Price reject Herskovits Africanisms and argue in favor of Frazier's Blank Slate argument (Alleyne 1988). In reality the argument is much more complex. They do not necessarily reject Africanisms. However, they caution the researcher to consider all the social and environmental implications before claiming the existence of African survivals. In fact, they propose that under close examination certain elements of African American culture may reveal African "survivals" or "retentions" (Mintz and Price 1992: 55). In, short, what many scholars perceive as survivals were in fact the innovative efforts of slaves and their descendants to renegotiate and cope with their social and environmental conditions (Mintz and Price 1992). Furthermore, their thesis does not support Frazier's Blank Slate and assimilation argument; rather they strongly argue that Africans in the Americas underwent a process of creolization having to contend with social and environmental factors, which in turn gave birth to African American culture (Price 2001).

Despite the admirable efforts, Mintz and Price were labeled in opposition to Herskovits and more importantly in denial of Africanisms. As a result they received insurmountable backlash from scholars in history and other disciplines (Mintz and Price 1992: viii-x). In the 1992 reprint edition Mintz and Price acknowledge the

backlash: "The argument aimed to build on the insights of Herskovits and his peers. But it was greeted in some quarters by unsurprising hostility, accompanied by the charge that it denied the existence of an African heritage in the Americas" (Mintz and Price 1992: viii). When viewing the work as a piece of literature divorced from its social and political climate it is hard to understand how some scholars came to the understanding they did. However, with all things considered the interpretation is completely understandable.

Unfortunately the contributions of *The Birth of African American Culture* to African American culture history came at a time when dichotomies were strong. The Civil rights movement was labeled as a Black and White issue and characterized by adopted slogans such as "you're either with us or against us" and "which side are you on" Afrocentrists and Civil Rights activists saw Mintz and Price's work as directly attacking the cause.

Conversations Break Down
After Mintz and Price's contribution and the critiques that followed, conversations across disciplines began to break down. Some disciplines were ignored while others struggled to define their curriculum and future direction. In particular, dialogues between historians, and historical archaeologists and anthropologists became sporadic, despite the fact many of these scholars were citing Herskovits and asking similar questions.

From this point on I have decided to explore the lineages of two disciplines that have continued to contribute to African Diaspora research. The remainder of this literature review will focus on the disciplines of African American Studies and the distant relative African American archaeology. When I use African American I am referring to the totality of all variations including Black, Afro-American, African American, Africana and/or African Diaspora Studies and may use different variations to emphasize a point. I also recognize that a number of scholars in other disciplines have contributed to the scholarship on the African Diaspora past. However, an examination of all scholars interested in the African American past is beyond the scope of this literature review. In addition Black Studies and African American archaeology have a linked history based on their synonymous inauguration in the radical 1960's, their multidisciplinary approach and their social position as facilitators of racial ideology.

Afro-American Studies in the 1980's

During the foundational years of Black studies a number of questions were raised as to what a Black Studies department should look like, who should participate, and what the curriculum would be. For the most part, these questions went unresolved. As a result, Black Studies would encounter a series of internal and external challenges regarding its legitimacy as a rigorous discipline (Hare 1972). Scholars inside and outside the discipline debated the fundamental issues in order to create a theoretical and methodological model. However, the late 70's proved unsuccessful in settling these debates, as Black studies scholars struggled to come to a consensus for Black studies research.

Afrocentricity

For a number of scholars addressing the direction of Black Studies, Afrocentricity was the only direction. Molefi Asante and Ron Karenga were and remain the strongest advocates for Afrocentricity. Building on the concept of Africanisms and continuity between Africans, African Americans, and other Afro populations of the world, Afrocentrists claim that all Black populations are connected through a shared consciousness (Turner 1984; Asante 1980; Karenga 1983; Conyers 1995). In the early 1980's Afrocentricity was described as a method of deconstructing the racist interpretations of white society (Turner 1984; Asante 1980; Karenga 1983; Conyers 1995). For Afrocentric scholars the approach focuses on rewriting history and reconstructing academia from an Afro point of view. The method for accomplishing this Afro perspective lies in the discovery of Egypt and/or Africa to explain the development of all Afro populations (Asante and Welsh-Asante 1983; Karenga 1982, 1983, 1986).

Afrocentrists argue that African American origins are directly related to ancient Egypt, where Blacks ruled a mighty kingdom. This notion was most fully noted in Martin Bernal's "Black Athena" (Bernal 1987). Bernal posits that Africa and Africans had a profound impact on the development of Greek culture, which in turn influenced modern western traditions (Bernal 1987). *Black Athena* fed the growing infatuation with Egypt, the search for the motherland and Africanisms, as it deemphasized the influence of western European culture on modern society. The impact of Afrocentricity spread rapidly through the Black community as a number of Black Americans began to identify as Afro-Americans, honoring their African roots.

In light of Afrocentricity several programs changed from Black Studies to Africana studies (Interestingly enough, the term Africana was first used by Herskovits). Convertors considered Black Studies corrupted by White academia and philanthropy (Rojas 2007). Some scholars claimed that the discipline "is being increasingly shaped and defined for us rather than by us" (Huggins 1985). By redefining and restructuring the goals of the discipline through an Afro-centric approach, Black Studies could finally shake loose of white conceptions of intellectual rigor and begin its scholarly development.

Afrocentrists of the 1980s were attempting to confront the race problem in academia. The approach addressed DuBois' notion of "double consciousness" by insinuating that Afro populations have become accustomed to viewing themselves through the eyes of whites (DuBois 1904). Afrocentrists suggest that Afro populations will only succeed if they have the ability to define themselves on their own terms (Asante 1980, Karenga 1982). For Afrocentric scholars, the marginalizing effects of Eurocentric scholarship in the academy needed intense refinement.

African American Studies in the 1990's

During the late 1980s and early 1990s, Afrocentricity received insurmountable backlash from the White and Black scholarly community. Traditionalists were offended by Afrocentricity, stating that it is an absurd distortion of history guided by reverse racism (Walker 2001). These scholars felt that Afrocentricity was purely ideological and did not have any scientific basis (Walker 2001). As a result, Afrocentricity gathered negative attention from institutional strongholds such as the

Ford Foundation. These sources of funding and support viewed the approach as problematic, affecting the direction of the African American Studies discipline. In response the Ford Foundation decided to restructure their methods of support.

In the first part of the new decade several prominent programs were on the verge of closure or absorption, a result of a stark decline in funding, students, and overall interest (Rojas 2007). Funding from Ford and university administrators began to decline due to dissatisfaction with current (mainly Afrocentric) approaches (Rojas 2007). In addition, the lack of community outreach, which was crucial to the program's success, was finally beginning to take its toll, as the numbers of Black studies major began to decrease. Consequently, the majority of Black students were unfamiliar with the basic history and culture of African Americans.

Despite the societal label that assumed Black Studies were Afrocentric, not all programs, departments, and scholars accepted the Afrocentric ideology. As a result, familiar debates started to surface and alternative approaches redeveloped. Critics within the discipline argued that Afrocentricity was a response to Eurocentric ideology, as it continues the problematic task of comparing and measuring Black culture by criteria created for and by white culture (Gilroy 1993). Other arguments claim that Afrocentricity ignores the experiences of individual cultures and the dynamic relationship between different Africans, Europeans and other ethnic groups who contribute to multicultural societies (Marable 1995).

Internally, African American studies scholars became divided and the polarized debate of Herskovits and Frazier resurfaced. Afrocentrists were concerned with connecting all Black people together, while other scholars concentrated on the multicultural influences that contributed to African American culture. The differences in theoretical approaches to African American Studies became a major issue in the years to come.

Multiculturalists

Often noted in opposition to Afrocentricity is the multiculturalist approach. Probably the most well known multiculturalist and African American scholar of the day is Henry Louis Gates Jr. In similar fashion to the assimilationist, then integrationist approaches of preceding decades, Gates argues for a multiculturalist approach with focus on a multicultural alliance. For Gates and other multiculturalists, a true democratic society recognizes the contributions and needs of all its citizens (Gates 1993). Multiculturalists suggest African American studies should also abide by these standards. This includes whites working in the discipline as faculty and students. Multiculturalists claim there is value in the western educational tradition, but argue that it could use refinement with perspectives from all societal members (Gates 1993).

As the 1980s came to a close multiple theoretical approaches had developed in Black Studies. However, despite the successes, multiculturalists attributed the diminishing funding and legitimacy opportunities for Black Studies to the growing presence of the Afrocentricity in the discipline. As a result, the debate became highly polarized despite the fact that most scholars in African American studies embraced aspects of both approaches. Some scholars offered a hybrid approach, which became

the model for creolization studies from an African American perspective (Marable 1995).

Many Black Studies programs were designed to fail. Scholarship had become so focused on internal debates that many scholars began to lag behind on applying their theoretical models to research. The 1990's were dim for Black Studies programs and the future looked even dimmer. Regardless of the critiques and flaws, Afrocentricity of the 1980s brought rigor and direction to the discipline. As a result, Asante was able to convincingly argue for the first PhD granting program at Temple University.

During the late 1990s Black studies saw resurgence in interest and an increase in funding. Several failing programs and departments of the late 1980s hired prominent Black scholars as the reformulated African American Studies began to reemerge around the country. A number of African American Studies programs of the 1990s desired to move away from the Afrocentric approaches that dominated the 1980s. These scholars concentrated their efforts on black culture and history in America rather than on Africa and its role in the development of American and world history and culture. A growing number of graduate programs followed shortly after and research and interest in the African American past were reborn.

The criticisms of Afrocentricity proved successful, as Afrocentric scholars of the 1980s acknowledged the shortcomings and began to reformulate the approach. The reformulated approach acknowledges that scholars from various ethnic and racial backgrounds have valuable insights to offer to the discipline, however, these scholars are expected to adopt an African centered framework (Asante 1999). The basis for the argument is that no single perspective can explain all phenomena, but a representative sample from different perspectives will enrich common knowledge (Asante 1999, Keto, 1995). Tsehloane Keto in his book, "Vision, Identity and Time," proposes a more integrative and flexible reformulation of Afrocentricity. Through this new approach he leaves room open for accommodation or rapprochement with other perspectives. His reformulation, without compromising the African centeredness, opens up the possibility for a consensus on a paradigm that could command respect and recognition across racial and cultural/ethnic lines (Keto 1995).

Marxism permeated much of the African American studies scholarship produced in the 1980s; however, the form had changed drastically. Instead of focusing merely on class, African American Studies scholars explained the issues plaguing African American culture and history as an interrelated process of race, class, nation, and gender.

In 1986 and then revised in 1994, Omi and Winant addressed the inadequacies inherent in a purely racial, ethnic, class, nation, or gender based approach to studying African American issues (Omi and Winant 1986; Omi and Winant 1994). Omi and Winant present a "racial formation" model which focuses on the intersectionality of racial, ethnic, class, gender and national identities (Omi and Winant 1986). The racial formation perspective suggests that these elements of identity have an entangled relationship that deserves careful consideration when addressing any one of these elements. This includes incorporating "social conflict, political organization and cultural/ ideological meanings" into interpretation (Omi

and Winant 1994: 48). With a new agenda in mind, they define how race is an unstable and "decentered" complex of social meanings constantly being transformed by political struggle (Omi and Winant 1994). In the 1994 edition Omi and Winant expand on the "racial formations" approach through a historical development of race and the relationship between racism, classism, and sexism.

Maintaining the theme of the intersectionality of race and class, Robin Kelley's 1994 *Race Rebels* attempts to deconstruct the stereotypes of working class African Americans in the United States through a 20th century examination of racial, class, and sexual oppression (Kelley 1994). His "history from below" approach is centered on the "daily lives of African American working people, strategies of resistance and survival, expressive cultures, and their involvement in radical political movements". He suggests that working class African Americans resisted with tactics such as "foot dragging, sabotage and theft." With an array of examples Kelley offers a new way of looking at the construct of "political, social and cultural history of the United States".

In 1995 Manning Marable added to the discussion of compromising approaches by introducing what he calls "transformationism." A transformationist according to Marable seeks to create new and different institutions, traditions, and practices. This is a stark difference from integrationist approaches, which seek to create more opportunities in existing institutions, or the Afrocentric approaches, which seek to reproduce another version of the same institution (Mararble 1995). For Manning and other transformationists the approach attempts to look beyond the Black and White dichotomy to understand "that `race' as it has been understood within American society is being rapidly redefined, along with the basic structure of the economy, with profound political consequences for all segments and classes" (Marable 1995: 9). Influenced by Marxism, Marable emphasizes the importance of examining class divisions (especially among African Americans) and how the contributions of other disenfranchised groups will lead to a more powerful position with opportunities to create new institutions with justice and equality at the core. This approach has the "capacity and potential to speak to the majority of American people" (Marable 1995: 229). At the same time he suggests that "we [African Americans] need to construct a new left-of-center paradigm as an alternative to mass conservatism, we need to engage in a thoughtful civil dialogue among ourselves - not a public mugging of black intellectuals who share democratic, progressive values" (Marable 1995: 173).

For Marable the long-standing dichotomy between integrationists and separatists needs to be shattered. Since this contribution in the mid-1990s a number of scholars have adopted the transformationist approach including but not limited to Bell Hooks, Audre Lorde, and Cornel West. Like Marable, these scholars stress the importance of respecting difference and addressing the real issues that plague the modern day social structure.

Revisiting the Beginnings of the Discipline
As the new millennium approached Black Studies scholars were reconstituting their allegiances with the approaches of the previous decades. Many scholars within and outside of African American Studies began to reflect on the discipline and the changes that contributed to the development of African American Studies in the present. Although community outreach and input is not explicitly expressed, these scholars began to recognize the value of community engagement.

In *White Money Black Power* Noliwe Rooks revisits the development of Black Studies in the late 60's and the political and economic influences that shaped the discipline (Rooks 2006). Rooks presents Black Studies as an entity that has been historically dependent on white philanthropy and more specifically funding from the Ford Foundation (Rooks 2006). Rooks suggest, that without support from Ford the push for Black Studies might have ceased. Black studies dependence on outside funding opens room for discussion about the nature of the programs and the influence funding has had on the development and direction of Black Studies. It can be argued that Black Studies programs were created with the ideas and visions of the white philanthropists who supported it; rather than the Black people the programs were suppose to represent (Rooks 2006: 93). Rooks relates the declining enrollment of African Americans in Black studies programs to the problematic influence of white philanthropy and the stigma that surrounds what was considered a needy illegitimate discipline. As a result, elite Black Africans and Caribbeans are now dominating the discipline.

Fabio Rojas in "From Black to Black Studies" demonstrates through an intuitive sociological study how the development of Black studies programs at white universities was a direct result of social pressures invoked by the 1960s Civil Rights Movement (Rojas 2007). He argues that after a long struggle for legal and educational rights for minorities, Black scholars and the Black masses began to demand equal access to educational resources. Higher education became the venue where Blacks challenged the long-standing institution of oppression. He further examines the social, political, and economic hurdles that impeded the development of Black Studies and its acceptance as a rigorous discipline. Rojas recounts the life, death, and rebirth of African American studies over thirty plus years with detailed analysis. By examining the influences, failures and successes he sets the foundation for the future development of the discipline.

Rooks and Rojas' contributions offer insight into an important aspect of the relationship between African American Studies and African Diaspora archaeology. If Black Studies are being shaped by the goals of white philanthropists, then it is not Black studies at all. Nathan Hare stated that although "Black Studies remain relevant indeed … we are slowly letting the discipline slip from our political grip" (Hare 1975: 46). In fact, the whole notion is counterproductive to what the civil rights movement and student protest hoped to accomplish. As the debate over white philanthropy's role in Black Studies ensues conversations with traditional white disciplines break down. Like many other disciplines of the time, anthropology and even more so archaeology are viewed as white disciplines with deeply rooted Eurocentric ideologies. However, unlike history and sociology there were almost no Black scholars working in anthropology or archaeology at this time. As a result, Black

scholars in general are reluctant to engage with white scholars in anthropology and archaeology.

The Notion of Diaspora

With lessons learned from the Afro-centrists and multiculturalists many scholars in African American studies turned their interests to the concept of Diaspora to understand the modern day social structure of African peoples across the globe. The concept as borrowed from the Jewish Diaspora seeks to explain the shared consciousness of a group of people dispersed to two or more foreign destinations following a traumatic event in the homeland (Cohen 2008: 2). In this sense Diaspora is a unifying concept. It brings to light the differences of African Diasporic communities, while suggesting that the day-to-day constraints of racialization facing African peoples across the globe are similar.

The notion of Diaspora, as developed by Paul Gilroy in *The Black Atlantic,* hopes to achieve what Afrocentricity and the multiculturalists were unable to accomplish. Diaspora, according to Gilroy, is a theoretical explanation of Black identity, which includes contributions from Europe, the Caribbean, the Americas and Africa (Gilroy 1993). By triangulating the Diaspora, Gilroy hopes to construct a historical narrative that breaks away from the typical practice of conflating nation with race. Instead he argues that African Diasporic histories should not confine themselves within the boundaries and histories of "nation states" and suggests that a 'Diasporic perspective' may be captured by focusing on the 'Black Atlantic' (Gilroy 1991, Gilroy 1993).

Important to Gilroy's argument is DuBois' notion of "double consciousness" which is applied to Black intellectuals in the transnational triangle (Gilroy 1993). Gilroy argues that Black intellectuals have a history of African-Diasporic intellectual culture that focuses on transnational issues. He supports the argument by examining how Black scholars such as Frederick Douglass, Martin Delaney, W.E.B. DuBois and Richard Wright constructed and reworked the concept of *modernity*. Adding to the argument, he compares and contrasts these Black intellectuals with white philosophers of *modernity* such as Hegel, Marx, and Nietzsche, to suggest that the Black intellectuals developed an independent position from their Anglo European counter parts. By doing this, a counterculture of modernity emerges that attempts to avoid dichotomies about the African diaspora that are based on ideas of authenticity and tradition.

The newly recognized concept of modernity present in Gilroy's Diaspora is in direct opposition to the popular Afrocentric models that were pervasive in African Diaspora research. With strong critique of Asante, Gilroy states that Afrocentricity denies the history of slavery by focusing on a utopian African past. His critique further asserts that Afrocentrists minimize the complexity and diversity of Africa and other Black cultures of the world. He further suggests that Afrocentricity is nothing more than "Americocentricity" created in an African American frame of mind and ignores the connections in and between other Black populations (Gilroy 1993: 188-189). Instead, Gilroy emphasizes the influences of a variety of nations on the concept of Diaspora and focuses heavily on the slave ship as a homeland. He argues that "Black culture is actively made and remade" and that Black "self-

definitions and cultural expressions draw on a plurality of Black histories and politics" (Gilroy 1991: 154).

Gilroy's notion of Diaspora catches on in African Diaspora research in the years to come, as a number of scholars begin to explore the triangle of interaction that contributed to the development of race, ethnicity, gender, and class in the Black Atlantic.

Stuart Hall adds to the conversation of Diaspora by emphasizing the diversity, hybridity, and difference of Diaspora identities (Hall 1990). Hall argues "Diaspora identities are those which are constantly producing themselves anew through transformation and difference" (Hall 1990: 237). For Hall, diaspora identities are established within representation are always in process and never complete (Hall 2000: 222). Hall further emphasizes that, "Cultural identities come from somewhere, have histories. But like everything, which is historical, they undergo constant transformation. Far from being eternally fixed in some essentialized past, they are subject to the continuous 'play' of history, culture and power" (Hall 1990: 225). Unlike Gilroy and the Afrocentrists, Hall makes it clear that his use of Diaspora is not intended to force identities related to "some sacred homeland to which they must at all costs return, even if it means pushing other people into the sea" (Hall 1990: 237). This is apparent in his conversation about Afro-Caribbean concepts of Africa: "Africa must at last be reckoned with by Caribbean people, but it cannot in any simple sense be merely recovered" (Hall 1990: 231).

As an example of Diaspora research, Black anthropologist and historian Michel Rolph Trouillot offers a unique perspective into power as a resource for the production of history (1995). Trouillot argues that those in power own the production of history. By deconstructing the nature of historical narratives, he demonstrates the strong move social science has made away from absolute objectivity to more subjective interpretations of history. Trouillot refers to the dichotomy as historicity 1, what happened, and historicity 2, what is said to have happened. He argues that the two are not the same. Instead, he sees history as a mid point on a continuum with truth on one end and fiction on the other. He cautions the reader to be wary that "any historical narrative is a bundle of silences" (Trouillot 1995). By examining the creation of historical knowledge, he elaborates on how the past is silenced in the same way history is created.

Although Trouillot offers a variety of examples, the most explicit is the examination of his homeland. Trouillot examines the monument at Sans Souci palace and more generally the history of the Haitian revolution to demonstrate different types of silencing. He argues that the Haitian revolution as major political revolution in the world view was silenced because it was "unthinkable in the framework of western thought" (Trouillot 1995: 82). Trouillot believes that Americans and western Europeans were, and possibly still are, unable to accept the concept of powerful slaves rising to power and overthrowing the existing authority. In an attempt to discourage future uprisings western thought called for silence about the Haitian slave rebellion. In short, Trouillot argues that history and silences are created as soon as an event is described, despite the number of sources available

stating otherwise. The process of silencing minimizes the voices of opposition to power and creates a biased history.

The elegance of Trouillot's work begins with the assertion that history is tangled and "messy." As a result, we cannot reveal all of the silences in an event. The choices on what to uncover and what to leave silent are political and those choices are guided by present situations and interests. One interpretation does not necessarily silence the other. History and silences have entered into a symbiotic relationship with each other. What we are writing as anthropologists and historians is the history of political thought in the present and the issues raised are important to describing the place and time when they were created.

Michael Gomez's "Exchanging Our Marks" is a unique interpretation of the making of the African Diaspora by an Africanist (Gomez 1998). Gomez reconstructs African culture and social life in time and space in the regions where the slave trade had the most impact. He then follows these Africans across the Atlantic, demonstrating the different levels at which African culture survived the voyage. He then describes the "transformation" that African Diaspora people endured from an ethnic identity to an identity of racialized Black people. However, he stresses the presence of internal stratification along class and gender lines (Gomez 1998). His approach exposes the inadequacies of what we deem diversity and suggests that our assumptions about diversity should be restructured to consider all the social positions that contribute to the total experience of African Diaspora populations.

Conclusion: Race, Continuity, & Diaspora

As I researched the theoretical histories of African American studies and African Diaspora archaeology, I recognized three intersections of difference. The first difference lies in each field's historical approach to race. Early on many anthropologists/archaeologists argued that race is a social construct of minimal importance (discussed in Orser 2001). The classic notions of race (including the term itself) had been determined to be meaningless by anthropologists and firmly rejected several decades ago (Harris 1989). The anthropological approach discredited race as a research topic arguing that such phenomena could not be tested archaeologically and to attempt such an examination is to "enter into a world of paradox, irony, and danger" (Omi and Winant 1986). Contrary to the dominant anthropological approach, race and racial issues in African American studies were and continue to be the central focus of research. This difference in approaches to race manifested a lack of interest by both disciplines regarding the other's work. The differing approaches to race fostered a theoretical divide distancing the relationship between the fields of study.

Another difference plaguing the two disciplines has been the continuity debate. The debate surfaced before historical archaeology and African American studies became official disciplines in the university. The difference centers on the search for African American roots originating with the opposing standpoints of Melville Herskovits and E. F. Frazier. However, One extremely important thing was missing, a healthy dialogue between scholars in both disciplines, a dialog that tackled the status quo and challenged scholars and society to question the existing methods that explained the African Diaspora past. Although Herskovits and Frazier

debated tirelessly they did not adhere to the racist norm of ignorance and neglect of meaningful dialogue. Throughout Herskovits and Frazier's' career they cited each other and scholars from a variety of disciplines. The very presence of the debate opened the door for future scholars to continue the conversation and initiate new ones.

As the disciplines evolved each teetered back and forth in opposition to one another over the importance of African continuity. Like Frazier, many powerful African American studies scholars were assimilationists arguing for an authentic African American experience, while anthropologists were searching for continuity. Then African American studies researchers embraced continuity, while anthropology countered with an approach that diminished the importance of continuity, by focusing on the creation of new and distinct cultures (Mintz and Price 1976). At various points, the fields of study changed their stance, finding each other at the polar opposite ends of a continuum.

After Black studies had won some major battles and the radicalism of the civil rights movement had slowed, something changed. Over the next 40 years the conversations between African Diaspora studies scholars and African Diaspora archaeology, for the most part completely broke down and scholars in these disciplines became insular. The dialogue that resulted from the continuity debate ceased and an important line of evidence was lost.

As time passed and the number of debates grew Anthropology/African Diaspora archaeology and African American studies grew further and further apart. Many scholars in each discipline saw the other as an impenetrable barrier. Not only were these disciplines engaged in a debate about race, but also they came to represent extremes of the racial divide in the academic world. The divisions facilitated by the debates on race and continuity placed African-American studies and anthropology/historical archaeology in opposition, while each discipline simultaneously represented the Black and White racial divisions. For many African American studies researchers, anthropology and even more so archaeology were/are seen as "good ole boy networks" with access restricted to white males. This interpretation has been upheld by the failure of archaeologists to attract a significant number of African American scholars to the discipline. Likewise, when African Americans have shown interest, anthropology departments have remained extremely deficient in producing or hiring African American scholars at PhD. granting universities (Franklin 1997b). Many anthropologists saw African American studies as an impenetrable barrier contesting the claim of exclusion, suggesting, "they (African American studies scholars) do not talk to us." The efforts for the most part stopped there (Franklin 1997b).

There are differences other than the three I have discussed, however these three issues have lingered for decades. Boas, DuBois, Herskovits, and Frazier brought the disciplines into a dialogue early in the twentieth century. Along the way conversations broke down and the relationship and conversation was derailed.

In today's academia I argue that African Diaspora studies and African Diaspora archaeology are in a theoretical common place. The mere shared title insinuates a connectedness that cannot be ignored. The notion of Diaspora brings these two disciplines together based on explaining the complexity and

interconnectedness of the diverse populations that make up the African Diaspora. In addition, there is growing, albeit slowly, number of African American studies scholars becoming interested in the methods of archaeology (Gomez 1998; Nwokeji 2000). As a result, a number of African American undergraduates are entering archaeology programs, not only to study the African Diaspora past, but a plethora of cultural phenomena, including whiteness.

Diaspora is a unique approach to multivocal research. It has "served in the scholarly debates both as a political term, with which to emphasize unifying experiences of African peoples dispersed by the slave trade, and also as an analytical term that enabled scholars to talk about black communities across national boundaries" (Patterson and Kelley 2000: 14). Discussed as a process by Percy Hintzen and Jean Rahier "as a metaphor, the political and analytical work performed by Diaspora has much to do with issues of recognition and consciousness that are considered to be the central analytics in the scholarly engagement with Blackness" (Hintzen and Rahier 2010: 8). In a real way Diaspora reveals and contests perceptions of blackness and of being black and opens up possibilities for a new understanding of Blackness. Diaspora works to place these scholarly and expressive forms in a single universal space in which, through mutual recognition across difference, new revelations produce new forms of consciousness (Hintzen and Rahier 2010).

Diaspora unifies the issues that have led to the estranged relationship of African American studies and anthropology's approaches to the Trans Atlantic African past. Diaspora as theoretical framework is used to describe the position of people through the lens of a Diasporic reality. Scholars employing Diaspora are in a unique position that requires recognition of the issues facing Black people as a whole, both in the past, as well as the present. These scholars are situated in a unique position, which recognizes that certain phenomena have led to the oppression of Diasporic populations. In particular, they identify the fact that Black people across the world carry with them a burden of Slavery that is apparent in today's Black communities. Through revelation, scholars promoting a Diasporic approach are called upon to actively engage in a process of righting the wrongs produced by the atrocities of slavery, racism and continued forms of oppression.

Recently, a small number of scholars in African American studies and anthropology have made noteworthy attempts to utilize Diaspora as a tool for studying the recent African past (Battle-Baptist 2011; Gomez 1998; Ogundiran and Falola 2007; Orser 1998; Singleton and Bograd 1995; Trouillot 1995;). These scholars focus on the usefulness of a multi-disciplinary approach and emphasize collaboration, recognition of transnationalism and dialogue to do the work of Diaspora. Although the disciplines of African American studies and African American archaeology are still somewhat estranged there is a growing number Interdisciplinary programs that make such work possible. In particular, emerging Programs in African Diaspora and Transnational studies are creating an interdisciplinary space for conversations on Diaspora to take place. As a result, there is a stronger emphasis on interdisciplinary research projects and training in archaeology of the African Diaspora as exemplified at University of Texas Austin,

University of California Berkeley, University of Massachusetts Boston and University of Massachusetts Amherst.

Chapter #3: Intersections of Difference: Formulating An Approach to African Diaspora Research

"The soul takes nothing with her to the next world but her education and her culture. At the beginning of the journey to the next world, one's education and culture can either provide the greatest assistance, or else act as the greatest burden, to the person who has just died."
— Plato (The Republic of Plato)

Historical archaeology developed in response to the Civil Rights movement and the U.S. bicentennial, as the government and the public became interested in recreating and restoring the lives of the country's forefathers (Ferguson 1992). In direct association with the country's founding fathers were the African Americans whose labor, adaptability, innovation, and culture were indispensable in creating the American way of life.

Interest in sites associated with peoples of African populations began in the 1970's in earnest. Out of dissatisfaction with the unidirectional approaches of acculturation studies, archaeologists attempting to explain cultural transformations at multiethnic/multiracial sites searched for terms to describe the complex mixture of cultures and how they are reflected in the archaeological record.

A great deal of literature in African American archaeology has focused on the process of culture change and continuity in order to explain the development of New World cultures (Deagan 1996; Deetz 1977; Fairbanks 1971, 1984; Ferguson 1992; Gundaker 1998, 2000; McGuire 1982; Otto 1986; Singleton 1980, 1985a, 1985b, 1999; Shackel 1996; Voss 2008; Weik 1997, 2009, Wilkie 2000, 2005, 2006). The advent of this provocative literary body has led to the adoption and application of multiple terms, most with origins in disciplines outside of archaeology. Each of these terms was created to explain specific phenomena in the field in which they were born. The most notable examples are the uses of *acculturation, creolization, ethnogenesis, and Diaspora*. As I discuss at the end of chapter 2, I think the most promising works in the field emphasize intersectionalities of experience of race, class, gender, and incorporate an understanding of the processes of Diaspora.

To uncover the intellectual development of African Diaspora archaeology, I critically examine how notions of *acculturation, creolization, ethnogenesis, and Diaspora* have been used and their impact on the sub-discipline. Each of these terms has raised significant debate when applied to historical and African Diaspora archaeologies. There are convincing arguments as to why one term should be used and the other should not. However, when we remove ourselves from the narrow scope of these terms and focus on the bigger picture, it becomes quite apparent that each term was created in a specific context. I rely on the growing body of African Diaspora research dealing with the concept of cultural transformations and continuity to offer a more inclusive understanding of the relatedness of these terms.

*Historical Development of African-American Archaeology and the Study of
Cultural Transformations*

Beginnings in Acculturation
The concept of cultural transformation or culture change can be traced to the early
Greek philosophy of Marcus Aurelius and Plato (Aurelius Meditations, Plato's
Republic and Laws) (Aurelius 1916; Plato 1941, 1970). Plato described culture
change as extremely dangerous, even in as simple a situation as children's games
(Plato 1941). Marcus Aurelius was fixated on understanding the people, believing he
could invoke culture change by winning the hearts of conquered souls (Aurelius
1916). For these philosophers and many scholars that followed, culture change was
unidirectional.

 In the late 19th century the trend continued as "acculturation" became an
early term used in anthropology to describe cultural transformations. Acculturation
at this time was an explanation of phenomena discovered in ethnographic research
that recognized the ongoing changes of Native Americans. John Wesley Powell
defined acculturation as the psychological changes induced by cross-cultural
imitation (Worster 2000).

The attempt to "Americanize" or assimilate Native Americans, immigrants,
and minorities was common practice of the late nineteenth and early twentieth
centuries. With Wesley's notion of imitation in mind, early acculturationists
assumed that cultural transformation affected minorities, who were expected to
become more like the dominant group. The push came from American nationalists
who saw all "outsiders" as a threat to American culture. U.S. Immigration declared
that assimilation was essential and those who were not willing to assimilate were
not welcome (Beales 1953; Herskovits et al. 1936). For most immigrants and
minorities assimilation was to be desired. In the eyes of these disenfranchised
groups assimilation was the only way to achieve economic and social success.

As acculturation became widely accepted, new models and approaches were
developed. In 1936 anthropologists Redfield, Linton and Herskovits developed the
following definition for acculturation: "Acculturation comprehends those
phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come
into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture
patterns of either or both groups" (Redfield et al. 1936:149). This concept led a
number of scholars to adopt approaches that sought to uncover this process of
cultural transformation as bidirectional. Despite attempts to view acculturation as a
two-way process, research continued to focus on the adjustments and changes
experienced by minorities in response to their contact with White America. Redfield,
Linton and Herskovits exemplify their reluctance to apply the process to the
dominant group by calling it "psychic conflict" that may arise from conflicting
cultural norms. This psychic conflict refers to the psychological, somatic, and social
difficulties that may accompany acculturation processes (Redfield et al. 1936:152).

In 1938 Herskovits expanded on the concept of acculturation. Herskovits
argues that different writers have used the term acculturation loosely and with
contrary meanings. To accomplish his goal of debunking the inconsistent uses,
Herskovits draws distinction between acculturation and diffusion (1938:14). The

latter term was used by Herskovits with a broader connotation since it includes the transmission of culture "whether it be through the medium of a single individual or of a group, or whether the contact is brief or sustained" (1938:14). Acculturation thus becomes a study of culture diffusion under defined conditions: "it implies a more comprehensive interchange between two bodies of tradition" (Herskovits 1938:15) than the term diffusion necessarily implies.

Herskovits' method of studying acculturation lies in high-quality ethnographic investigations. However he cautions against taking the data for granted. Instead he argues that acculturated societies must be studied as part of the total cultural picture. He deciphers situations where acculturation is recent and still in operation and situations where the process is complete. Herskovits further suggests that acculturation studies might attain a higher level of scientific value if they were undertaken in areas other than those in which the contact is between native groups and Europeans or Americans (Herskovits 1938).

As evident in Herskovits' previous research on *The Acculturation of the Negro* and later in *The Myth of the Negro Past*, he was setting the stage for his future research addressing the "Negro Problem." Acculturation studies followed suit and the approach caught on as a number of scholars began to address issues pertaining to the assimilation of African Americans into Anglo-American society (Linton, 1940; Heizer, 1941; Steward, 1942). Herskovits' acculturation model also led to an interest in syncretism (a point discussed later).

Despite Herskovits changing focus from Native North Americans to African Americans, acculturation studies of Native North Americans continued to thrive. The early 1940s saw an influx of researchers interested in the acculturation process as the methods employed by Herskovits and other acculturationists garnered much praise (Linton 1940; Heizer 1941; Steward 1942). Archaeologists began to think of the acculturation process as a long-term process that was in need of long-term examinations.

In response to inadequacies in acculturation studies, the Direct Historical approach developed as a method of examining culture change in past and present societies using archaeological, ethnohistorical, ethno-graphic, and linguistic data (Lightfoot, 1998). The term "direct historical approach" was developed by Waldo Wedel in his 1938 archaeological study of the Pawnee (Wedel, 1938). Wedel, as well as other archaeologists, such as Ralph Linton, Robert Heizer, and Julian Steward used the approach to search for the "authentic" elements of Native North American society (Linton 1940; Heizer 1941; Steward 1942). These scholars believed that through the direct historical approach they could gain insight into the pristine practices of Native North Americans before contact with Europeans. This could be accomplished by relying on ethnographic data that was culturally associated with the culture being studied. The approach generally stressed continuity, often neglecting the differences between ethnographic and archaeological records (Stahl 1993). Acculturation and the direct historical approach contributed to the development of historical archaeology and the need to study multiple lines of evidence.

It was later realized that early acculturation studies examined culture contact in a simplified manner. The primary focus was to explain the subordinate minority's

assimilation into the dominant European culture (Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits, 1936). Consequently, acculturation can be envisioned as the processes of cultural learning forced on minorities due to the fact that they are minorities (Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits 1936:131-136). Such studies presented interesting problems for archaeologists as the archaeological record was inconsistent with theories representing assimilation.

Plantation Archaeology and the Search for African Continuity

In 1967 Charles Fairbanks and Robert Ascher built on Herskovits' notion of Africanisms, as they conducted the first recognized African American archaeological research project at Kingsley Plantation in Jacksonville, Florida (Ferguson 1992; Orser 2001). With funding from the Florida Parks Service, the primary goals of the research were the restoration of the plantation and an exploration of the complex lives of slaves at Kingsley and other plantations along coastal Georgia and Florida (Ascher and Fairbanks 1971; Fairbanks 1983). In regards to African Americans at Kingsley, Ascher and Fairbanks' central concern was to discover the material elements of African culture in the New World or simply "Africanisms" (Ascher and Fairbanks 1971; Fairbanks 1983; 1984; Orser 2004). Fairbanks and Ascher called their research "plantation archaeology." The initial project was small in scale and consisted of restoring a standing slave cabin that had been in continual use since its construction in 1814. Their project was one of the first to examine African American life and cultural practices within plantations.

After struggling to find Africanisms at Kingsley, Fairbanks concluded that Africanisms are difficult to uncover. However, by comparing the findings from these sites, they more holistically assessed slave material and living conditions of African Americans by referring to the material lives of white overseers and planters on the same plantation (Ascher and Fairbanks 1971). Through the examination of a range of materials recovered, Ascher and Fairbanks recognized distinct differences and similarities in the interactions of slaves, planters and overseers. They noticed that slave cabins were inferior to the houses of white overseers and planters, but the possessions and foods of Black slaves were similar to White overseers (Ascher and Fairbanks 1971:11). For Fairbanks, cultural interactions between Blacks and Whites were difficult to ignore. He recognized that archaeologists could not look at American archaeology without asking questions of cultural interaction. Fairbanks' interest in explaining the cultural interactions on plantations incited questions for future scholars to explain the differences and similarities in the material record at culture contact sites.

At the same time Fairbanks was excavating Kingsley, James Deetz had begun excavations at Parting Ways, Massachusetts. In light of what seemed to be an emerging interest in cultural interaction and change in historical archaeology, in 1977 James Deetz recognized some of the similarities and differences, as outlined by Fairbanks, in his influential piece *In Small Things Forgotten* (Deetz 1977). In this ground-breaking work Deetz touches on the issue of African continuity by utilizing multiple sources of evidence to suggest a new methodology for understanding the African American past and understanding the complexity of African and Anglo American lifeways and world views. He accomplishes this goal by utilizing text,

informants and the archaeological record to discuss the silences in the historic archaeological record. In his findings Deetz presents a convincing structuralist argument, suggesting the artifacts for Anglo and African populations are the same, but the rules by which the African inhabitants put these items to use might have been more African (Deetz 1977). Although Deetz emphasizes structuralism as his method, his suggestions became foundational for the study of culture change in historical and African Diaspora archaeologies.

Working under the direction of Fairbanks, Kathleen Deagan continued the tradition of trying to include the missing pages of American history in her research at St. Augustine, Florida (Deagan and Koch 1983). According to Deagan, St. Augustine's inhabitants included Spanish-born Europeans, American born Europeans (criollos), mixed European and Native Americans (mestizos), Native Americans, and Africans. The presence of these various ethnic groups and the cultural interchange, which occurred among them, is revealed in the archeological record of houses, household artifacts, and food remains at St. Augustine sites dating from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. She systematically excavated house sites in St. Augustine that were occupied by families of differing ethnic backgrounds. By excavating these house sites, Deagan found archeological evidence of the cultural differences that existed among the presidio's inhabitants and abundant evidence of cultural interchange in Spanish St. Augustine.

In the late 70's and early 80's historical archaeologists of the African Diaspora began to build beyond the simplistic approaches of writing African Americans into history by engaging with the social complexity of plantation life (Otto 1980; Handler 1978). John Otto, in his study of Cannon's Point Plantation, Georgia, examines the hierarchal system of plantation society by attempting to uncover how class influences cultural differences among owners, overseers, and slaves (Otto 1980; Otto 1984). Jerome Handler offers one of the most successful examples of discovering African identity through his study of mortuary analysis at Newton Plantation, Barbados (Handler et al. 1978). Both Otto and Handler continue the tradition of Plantation archaeology but their examinations of social complexity lead to new and innovative research.

1980 proved to be a productive year for African American archaeology as Robert Schuyler and Vernon Baker added to the discussion by examining the complexity of African American culture through ethnicity (Schuyler 1980; Baker 1980). Baker's contribution focuses on the materials from "Black Lucy's Garden" attempting to uncover "patterns of material culture distinctive of Afro-American behavior" (Baker 1980:29). Like many scholars of the time, Baker's search for Africanisms was inconclusive, as he struggled to separate attributes that were purely Afro-American from those of poverty. Although not apparent at the time, the difficulty in separating ethnicity and poverty also exposed shortcomings in approaches that aimed to compartmentalize and separate dynamic cultures into rigid categories.

In a similar fashion, Theresa Singleton offers a new perspective to the study of African American Archaeology in "The Archaeology of Slavery and Plantation Life." As an African American, and an archaeologist with a profound interest in the African American past, Singleton's position was unique. As editor and a contributor,

Singleton accentuates the problems associated with delineating difference between post and pre emancipation African American sites (Singleton 1985). Building on the work of Fairbanks and Otto, her research design centers on a multidisciplinary approach that uncovers the dynamic relationships and behavioral patterns between the three different groups of plantation residents (owners, mangers, and laborers). Singleton accomplishes this through an examination of artifacts, food remains, and human skeletal remains (1980:4). At the same time, she embraces the struggle historical archaeologists were having at this pivotal period in archaeology's history as she explains the emerging trend as "slave acculturation" (Singleton, 1985a:4). Her definition of acculturation differs from earlier acculturation studies as she explains how the contributors to this edited volume try to remove assimilationist models of African American life and explain the amalgamation of European and African culture. Singleton emphasizes the importance of diachronic study to adequately engage in the archaeology of plantations. By synthesizing current approaches she sets the stage for historical archaeologists to understand culture change as a dynamic long-term process. Singleton's synthesis of current trends demonstrates the reflexive archaeology that was developing at the time.

Singleton's work on plantations continued to evolve as demonstrated in her essay in the same volume titled "Implications for Changing Labor Conditions." Here, she argues that understanding the difference between African American sites can be accomplished through the careful consideration of multiple sources (Singleton 1985b). She attempts to demonstrate her approach through analysis of two distinct occupations at the site of Colonel's Island in Glynn County, Georgia. Using John Otto's model for excavating African American sites, she suggests site comparison through archaeology and historic texts to gain a more nuanced interpretation of this inter/intra-site relationship (1980). Singleton initiates an interesting conversation by extending temporally beyond the plantation complex to include African American life after emancipation. She cautions researchers to understand which material attributes are characteristic of the occupation in question. Singleton later states "when I wrote the Archaeology of Slavery article I was thinking about how the Annapolis team misidentified and interpreted a straightening comb particularly when 'African-American Beauty Culture' was emerging as a timely topic of scholarly research" (Singleton 2010). The project Singleton was critiquing had been launched to understand the historic Black occupation of Annapolis (Mullins 1999). The Annapolis error supported the need for multiple perspectives and fueled Singleton's interest in collaborating with Black descendant communities.

Approaches to Cultural Transformations

The plantation setting remains at the heart of African American archaeology. In search for Africanisms, archaeologists realize that African American culture is entangled with a plethora of cultural influences. Likewise, those cultures among African Americans also became entangled in a cultural gumbo. This led archaeologists to consider new approaches to understanding the processes of culture change at work in these mixed sites. The concepts of creolization, ethnogensis, and hybridity become particularly prominent in the field of African American archaeology.

Creolization
The intellectual history of the term creolization in historical archaeology finds its origins in Leland Ferguson's *Uncommon Ground* (1992). Ferguson credits historian Edward Brathwaite for using the modified linguistic version of creolization, as a theoretical approach to studying interaction, exchange and creativity. According to Ferguson, Brathwaite's creolization recognizes the complexity of culture contact and exchange as a recombination of new elements within a conservative cultural grammar (Ferguson 1992:xli). Ferguson incorporates the modified linguistic form of creolization into historical archaeology and suggests that Africans renegotiated and combined Old World and New World views with New World materials to create a new and distinct form (Ferguson 1992:xlii). In creating their American subculture, African Americans drew elements from African, European, and Native culture and combined these into a new and unique way of life (Ferguson 1999).

The basis of Ferguson's argument rests on the discovery of colonoware and architectural forms, but also includes an examination of religion and foodways in the plantation setting. He argues that although white slave owners may have held political and coercive power, they depended on the practical knowledge and skills of their African American slaves. He applies his notion of creolization to African Americans in South Carolina by emphasizing the creative character of early African American culture, which consists of input from people from a variety of ethnic and racial backgrounds. He suggests that in creating their American subculture, African Americans drew elements from African, European, and Native culture and combined these into a new and unique way of life. Ferguson wrote that "the process of creolization need not be commonly known as 'creole cultures' for an analysis of creolization to be applicable" (Ferguson, 1992:xlii).

Through the use of creolization Ferguson proves that archeological research helps us envision the contrast between the world the slaves built and the European/American culture that they rejected. Ferguson's adaptation of the linguistic concept of creolization to understand the diversity in the archaeological record marks a pivotal turn in the examination of culture change in archaeology. After his initial application of the term a number of historical archaeologists began to apply Ferguson's concept of creolization to a wide range of multi-ethnic communities (Grundaker 1998; Lightfoot 1998; Mouer 1993; Wilkie 2000).

Daniel Mouer emphasizes Fergusons' use of creolization as he also suggests that historical archaeologists have looked over the importance of Native American contributions and suggests that Native Americans during the historic period had indispensable input into the creole traditions of African Americans (Mouer 1993). His evidence centers on a West Indian vessel, made in a West African potting tradition, from an early seventeenth-century context in Virginia. Like Ferguson, Mouer sees the archaeology of African Americans as the complex interrelationship between Europeans, Africans, and Native Americans.

As the creolization theoretical approach caught on it also gained diversity in its definition and application. Some scholars continued Ferguson's linguistic approach while others based their research in the studies of self-identified creole people and racial terminology (Dawdy 2000a; Delle 2000).

In the 1999 edited volume *I Am Too America* Theresa Singleton synthesizes the history of African American archaeology and the major influences in the discipline. Singleton suggests that the topics of acculturation and creolization are crucial theoretical models, which drove the discipline (Singleton 1999). To continue the trend of influential works on culture change, the edited volume has contributions from African and African American archaeology's most well known scholars, including Merrick Posansky, James Deetz, Chris DeCorse, Doug Armstrong, and Kathleen Deagan. However, the most developed creolization argument in the volume once again comes from Leland Ferguson in his "The Cross is a Magic Sign." By revisiting the concept of "colonoware" Ferguson connects his research of the late 70's with his modern notion of creolization (Ferguson 1999). The primacy for the piece is based on demonstrating that European, African, and Native American techniques and innovations contributed to the development of this well known pottery type as well as the complexity of African American life. Ferguson argues that in certain cases Africans made the creolized colonowares more African through innovation. Ferguson demonstrates just how far the creolization approach has come. Rather than simply trying to write African Americans into the Euro-American version of history, Ferguson as well as several other authors in this volume present the well argued position that the American experience is not complete without understanding the diversity of its contributors and how they interacted with one another.

Daniel Mouer once again shares the spotlight with Ferguson as he engages in a similar exploration of "colono African" wares (Mouer 1999). But, not everyone in this volume is in agreement with Ferguson, as Warren Perry and Robert Paynter claim that creolization lacks explanatory power (Perry and Paynter 1999). Perry and Paynter claim that creolization fails to answer how and why certain elements of culture are chosen and why others are not. In addition, they suggest that creolization does not allow for change over time. The critiques offered by Perry and Paynter raised valid questions about the applicability of creolization models to all situations.

The debate that emerged throughout much of the 1990's finally came to a head in 2000 as historical archaeology contributed a complete volume to the creolization debate. As Shannon Dawdy notes in the preface, creolization has come to mean a variety of different things (Dawdy 2000a). The contributors to this volume focus on three distinct approaches to creolization; the linguistic tradition; the self-identified creole; and racial terminology. Although all of the arguments for and against each model are compelling I will narrow the argument down to a single representative from each approach.

Laurie Wilkie represents the linguistic model of creolization in her examination of an enslaved Bahamian family (Wilkie 2000). Building on Ferguson and historian Charles Joyner, Wilkie sets out to address the critiques handed out by Perry and Paynter in "I Am Too America". She begins by drawing a distinction between creolization and syncretism, arguing that her definition of creolization does not suggest the creation of a new culture, rather that creolization is the recognition that Africans brought with them conceptualizations and sensibilities that were renegotiated in the New World (Wilkie 2000). To address the critique of time depth

she points out that her research focuses on a particular family at a particular point in time. This micro-scale approach addresses her questions of what European goods meant to the members of this family under the conditions of slavery.

Paul Mullins and Robert Paynter respond to the linguistic model by suggesting that such a model is simplistic and cannot possibly capture the diversity of the creolization process (Mullins and Paynter 2000). Instead they emphasize power relations, conflict, and resistance as the mechanisms behind creolization. Mullins and Paynter offer the term ethnogenesis, not as a replacement for creolization, but as method of dealing with the contradictory interests of creole communities.

Shannon Dawdy also adds to the discussion as she sees transplantation, ethnogenesis and hybridity as stages in the process of creolization (Dawdy, 2000b). As complementary approaches that examine creolization over time, these stages have explanatory power to answer why aspects of culture did and didn't change over time. Dawdy's diachronic approach is provocative and deserves consideration when dealing with racial terminology in creolization research.

Through an exploration of complexity and reduction, time and timing, Grey Gundaker demonstrates that some forms of creolization minimize the complexity of the communities they seek to explain (Gundaker 2000). With strong commitment to the linguistic approach Gundaker argues that creolization may never be explained in isolation "In creolization all things are never equal…Its not possible to talk "just" about creolization" (Gundaker 2000) Instead Gundaker cautions archaeologists to examine the complexity of culture change along a "descending scale from opulence to deprivation" (Gundaker 2000). To accomplish this goal she suggests the approach of intersystemic creolization, which is less concerned with origins than with configurations and functions.

Despite the disagreements in approaches to creolization brought to light in this volume the archaeological study of culture change benefitted from the dialogue that persisted. The archaeology of the African American past is no longer simply an effort to capture unrecorded aspects of African American history or to exhume the heritage of a neglected community. Archaeologists now recognize that one cannot fully comprehend the European colonial experience in the Americas without understanding its African counterpart.

In 2009 Stephan Lenik resurrected the concept of creolization in his examination of a sugar estate at Lower Bethlehem, St. Croix, United States Virgin Islands (Lenik 2009). Lenik argues that consideration of scale is essential to Creolization studies and offers a multiscalar approach to the process. By addressing the popular critique of creolization, which is characterized as a uniform process with little regard for the particularities of local contexts (Trouillot 1995), Lenik emphasizes scale in terms of the specific historical circumstances, which shape locally circumscribed Creole processes. This follows the approach employed by Dawdy in seeing the process as happening at multiple levels. Lenik also does something most scholars utilizing creolization fail to do as he visits some of the literature that has led to the popular definition.

Ethnogenesis

As evident in *Historical Archaeology's* 2000 volume on creolization, ethnogenesis was emerging in archaeology as a term to explain culture change. Ethnogenesis originates from the Greek word "ethnos" meaning "group of people" or "nation", while "genesis" means, "origin birth" (Merriam-Webster 2010). As a theoretical concept ethnogenesis is the process by which a group of human beings comes to be understood or to understand themselves as ethnically distinct from the wider social landscape from which their grouping emerges. By self-invention, ethnic groups are "present at their own creation" (Palmer 1981; Webster 1982).

From 1997 through 2009 Terrance Weik drew attention to ethnogenesis as a model for emphasizing the importance ethnicity plays in the life history of African Seminoles (Weik 1997, 2002, 2009). In his more recent 2009 article he claims that these multi-ethnic populations are best studied by changing the focus from local to regional contexts (2009:208). By examining African Seminole culture through a macro-scale approach Weik illustrates the diversity of experiences, social formations, and worldviews that existed across Florida African Seminole settlements. Weik embraces the concept that African Seminole cultural beliefs and practices that were the product of both newly created and ancestral traditions and cautions against the notion that African Seminoles assimilated into Seminole society. Weik's argument stresses the point that modern day African Seminole identity is linked to the fact that they not only resisted assimilation into a single group in the past, but also celebrate the contributions of all of their diverse ethnicities in the present.

In an intense application of the creolization model, Laurie Wilkie and Paul Farnsworth examine the 19th century enslaved population of Clifton Plantation in New Providence, Bahamas in their influential *Sampling Many Pots: An Archaeology of Memory and Tradition at a Bahamian Plantation* (Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005). Through an assessment at the household and community levels, Wilkie and Farnsworth uncover a "cultural mélange of native Africans, island-born Creoles, and African-American slaves" (Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005:front cover). By accenting ethnicity embedded in multiple sources of evidence, Wilkie and Farnsworth explore the ways "members of this single plantation community navigated the circumstances of enslavement and negotiated the construction of New World identities" (Wilkie and Farnsworth 2005). Resistance becomes a major theme in the research as these scholars extend their creolization argument to include how agency is reflected in daily practice. Outside of The Bahamian example, Wilkie's contributions to culture change research has for the most part centered on the concept of creolization. However, *Sampling Many Pots* as well as her more recent work suggests a process similar to ethnogenesis. In fact, Wilkie and Farnsworth's use of the term creolization closely resembles the multiscalar approach used by Dawdy, Voss and others, with emphasis on ethnogenesis (discussed above). This subtle change emphasizes a growing trend in archaeological approaches to the process of culture change.

In *Crossroads and Cosmologies: Diasporas and Ethnogensis in the New World*, Christopher Fennell builds on current trends emphasizing resistance and identities of enslaved Africans, as well as European immigrants and Native Americans

(Fennell 2007). Fennell's case study at the Demory site in Loudoun County, Virginia, centers on exploring symbolism embedded in religious or ritual artifacts. He offers a unique method for exploring how symbols changed over time and as a result influenced societal groups and identity. Fennell coins the term ethnogenetic bicolage to describe this process of culture change over time. He describes ethnogenetic bricolage as "a creative process in which individuals raised in different cultures interact in new settings, often at the geographic crossroads of multiple diasporas". Although the definition of ethnogenetic bricolage seems similar to some definitions of creolization, ethnogenetic bricolage extends the examination to include how specific grammars changed over time in new settings.

In addition to coining a new phrase, Fennell spends a great deal of time critiquing creolization as a viable theoretical concept. He claims that creolization has been applied in various ways and in different contexts, rendering it a problematic term with heavy baggage. Building on Michel Rolph Trouillot's critique from 1995, Fennell argues that creolization is "too sweeping" and disregards stable (societal) structures (Fennell 2007:131).

African Diaspora, Community, and Black Feminist Archaeologies

With a number of new scholars and emerging approaches to the African American past, African Diaspora archaeology has become a viable sub-discipline of Historical Archaeology. As evident above, a great deal of African Diaspora archaeology centered on the plantation, the life of slavery, and a search for Africanisms. This research has been instrumental in understanding the complexity of Diasporic lifeways and demonstrates some of the unique ways archaeologists are implementing an African Diaspora approach.

Archaeologists recognized that the explanations of African Diaspora archaeology were extremely complex and could not be considered without acknowledging the role "race" plays in the everyday lives of African Diasporic peoples and the people they interacted with. As a result "race" emerges as a topic of interest in African Diaspora archaeology. Historically, race is not a subject most scholars correlate with archaeological research. However, because archaeologists examine change over time, they are uniquely situated to investigate racial identity politics through time (Orser 2001). Scholars who pursue race archaeologically have explored the connections of race and economics, the creation and maintenance of institutionalized poverty, the role of race in structuring and guiding intercultural connections, and the importance of race in creating and defining space (Orser 1998a, 2001; Mullins 2003; Franklin 1997a, 1997b).

The exploration of race and economics has also exposed the intersection between other social positions such as ethnicity, gender, class, nation and age. African Diaspora archaeologists began to realize that without directly engaging with the communities they worked with they were unable to adequately address the realities of institutional and systematic racism that are a part of the everyday lives of Black people (Battle-Baptiste 2007). Community outreach therefore becomes a crucial aspect of African Diaspora research.

Diaspora

After tireless debate archaeologists have found the terminology used to describe the cultural transformations of African Diasporic peoples socially and methodologically complicated (Mullins 2008). The dilemma is that these studies of cultural transformation are often in search of an emergence of new and distinct cultures. This is in stark contrast to what many African American studies scholars were arguing with African Diaspora as a theoretical concept. Diaspora in their sense finds a connection to Africa of the utmost importance. In fact, these elements become crucial to an African Diaspora approach in any discipline. However, despite this understanding of Diaspora, African Diaspora archaeologists have not employed Diaspora as theoretical and methodological framework. Instead, the understanding in historical archaeology has been more descriptive than analytical.

With the continuity debate resurfacing again, some archaeologists thought it was only right to pay it due justice and tackle the issue head on. In a continued effort to examine the cultural transformations of African Diasporic people, a few archaeologists of the African Diaspora have begun to employ the theoretical and analytical notion of Diaspora in their archaeological endeavors (Mullins 2008, Lilley, Orser 1998b, 2006; Singleton and Bograd 2006; Wilkie 2006; Franklin 1997; Agbe-Davies 2007; Blakey 2008; Battle-Baptist 2011) and as a result, the discipline is beginning to see a reconnection with African Diaspora scholars in other disciplines, specifically those in African American/African Diaspora studies.

In 1998 Charles Orser presented *The Archaeology of the African Diaspora*. In a detailed investigation Orser examines the archaeology of cultural identity, the material aspects of freedom from enslavement, and archaeological examination of race to explain these elements as Diaspora. Beginning with an explanation of Diaspora and its relationship to the field of historical archaeology, Orser recounts the immature years of historical archaeology and explains the discipline's rigorous development, as well as its potential for a more comprehensive African Diaspora archaeology. He argues that archaeologists have not kept pace with historians in examining the global nature of the diaspora, and their knowledge is unrealistically skewed toward the New World (1998b:76). He goes further to argue that the slow worldwide development of an archaeology dedicated to the study of the modern world is directly related to a skewed representation of Diaspora sites in the Caribbean and U.S. Southeast. In a discussion of the material aspects of maroon culture, Orser presents the case studies of Palmare, Brazil, and Mose, Florida to demonstrate that "archaeologists simply do not understand enough about how the material culture of resistance correlates with or diverges from the material elements of cultural formation or transformation" (1998b:72).

For Orser the stage has been set for archaeologists to move away from simplistic case studies and instead turn their attention to an exploration of transnational Diaspora. He claims this is only the beginning, as more historical archaeological research will investigate the material identification of African identity, the archaeology of race, and the relevance of archaeological research to non-archaeologists.

In *Diaspora and Identity in Archaeology* Ian Lilley draws attention to the use of Diaspora in historical archaeology (2004). In similar fashion to Orser, Lilley

argues that there is an incomplete approach to diaspora circulating throughout historical archaeology, which has failed to impact archaeological research beyond the conceptual and geographically limited research of Gilroy's rudimentary trans-Atlantic slave trade (2004:293). Like Orser, he takes note of the disproportionate amount of African Diaspora archaeology that takes place in the Caribbean and American South and accentuates the need for historical archaeologists to examine other diasporas, particularly modern diasporas (2004:294). Lilley suggests that the problem begins with the fact that there is no defined analytical discourse in archaeology regarding the history and experiences of Diaspora and their effects on the material record (Lilly 2004:295). He takes inspiration from the major contributors in African American studies diaspora research to formulate a new understanding of Diaspora in archaeology and what it can accomplish. In particular Lilley suggests "ethnographic attention" be paid to the people archaeologists choose to label with a particular Diasporic identity, especially those identities of people of mixed heritage (2004:97).

Taking heed of the new approach emerging in African Diaspora archaeology, some become more radical in their approach while others maintain a more conservative approach to the African Diaspora. The multiple understandings of historical archaeologists conducting African Diaspora research would come to light in a essay forum in the 2008 Society for Historical Archaeology's Journal *Historical Archaeology*.

Paul Mullins initiates a dialogue regarding interpretations of Diaspora by offering a vindicationist approach to African Diaspora archaeology. Mullins notes the contributions of African American thinkers such as Richard Wright, WEB Dubois, St. Claire Drake, George Williams and Cater G. Woodson to developing an African Diaspora approach. He argues that with the exception of a few scholars. Much of African Diaspora archaeological research "positions the discipline as a rebuttal to antiblack racism without necessarily outlining those racial presumptions or voicing the implications of unseating racist stereotypes" (2008a:108). He argues that for African Diaspora archaeological research to be truly Diasporic it must confront the racialized roots of identities, probe how lines of difference are embedded in structural relations, and examine the connection between citizen rights and critical scholarship (2008a:104).

Mullins suggests that a vindicationist approach generally recognizes epistemic privileges for agents who are positioned in particular ways by racial ideology and who bring distinctive insight based on their positioning. However he cautions that it does not imply epistemic authority that is utterly limited to identity collectives defined by experience or some essentialist claim to knowledge. Rather this means that there are different experiences with racial ideology that need to be included to understand the phenomena at hand.

Mullins feels that despite its shortcomings, African Diaspora archaeology is "well positioned to weave an exceptionally complicated narrative of life along and across the color line that challenges racialized presumptions and fleshes out the genuine roots of diasporan heritage, even as it examines the complicated transfigurations of that heritage (Mullins 2008a:118). He further points out that the most significant and promising shift in African Diaspora archaeology is a "clear

formulation of the politics of diasporan identity that pushes beyond narrow empirical particularism and ambiguous notions of social transformation to dismantle implicitly racialist categories, illuminate an unspoken white backdrop, and reframe the American experience by confronting the profound underside of racial inequality" (2008a:105). In this sense, Mullins' notion of Diaspora is truly a political tool that is used to alleviate marginalizing processes affecting African Diaspora people.

In response to Mullins' call to action, Doug Armstrong, Shannon Lee Dawdy, Jamie Brandon, and Allison Bell offer their critiques of his approach and claims about archaeologists today. Regarding, Mullin's critique of an over-focus on the local, Brandon contends "in order to make a meaningful contribution to diasporian scholarship one must understand the unique local textures of race and then connect them to national or global political issues" (Bradndon 2008:147). Brandon recognizes that global racism exists, but he is concerned that Mullins is separating the global out from local. He further argues that while there are experiences that hold the diaspora together, there are many other experiences that frame racism within the national, regional, and local contexts. In relation to active political engagement Brandon does not have faith that archaeologists are particularly equipped to be ethnographers. He attributes this shortcoming to the difficulties of building and maintaining stakeholder relationships.

In a straightforward fashion Douglas Armstrong points out that the creation of an African Diaspora identity is problematic almost exclusively from the Americas and the UK (Armstrong 2008). He argues that the literature is more about Western visions of Africa and the Middle Passage than a concrete dialogue between Africans and the world or rigorous scholarship linking Atlantic experiences (Mullins 2008b). He further questions how archaeologists should tell stories of racism, given the ambiguity of the material record. Armstrong is concerned that historical archaeologists will get so caught up in vindication that they will fail to explain "the dynamics of cultural expression in the multitude of diasporan contexts and differential social engagements" (Armstrong:125). Like Brandon, Armstrong cautions scholars to not lose sight of local contexts in favor of a deterministic diaspora approach, as a limited diasporan identity it will corrupt the capabilities of local agency.

For her part, Shannon Dawdy discovers a stimulating interest in Mullin's vindicationist approach (Dawdy 2008). In particular, Dawdy draws attention to the absence of 20th and 21st century forms of racism in vindicationist literature. In a similar vein to Brandon, Dawdy suggests that collecting politically engaged archaeological narratives requires extensive ethnography and cautions that such an endeavor is sure to be problematic for archaeologists. However, Dawdy also submits that although ethnography is problematic for archaeologists it is "not impossible" (Dawdy 2008:154). As Mullins notes, "Dawdy is staking a position in which the question is not whether diaspora either misrepresents or accurately represents African cultural identities; instead, diaspora forges an identity that makes contemporary political claims with some claim on heritage" (Mulllins 2008b).

Bell argues that the diaspora may be most useful as unifying people as a result of slavery and racism, rather than a search for cultural origins (Bell 2008).

She cautions that current western interest in historical continuities, as is encompassed in Diaspora, routinely devolves into a search for the roots of identity. Instead, Bell focuses on the power that objects have in relaying stories of racism. She demonstrates that a methodologically informed diaspora can preserve empirical rigor, retain archaeological focus on discrete context, and fashion clear connections to broader social structures (Mullins 2008b). Bell ushers in a Diasporic approach that examines "diasporan people's savvy, resourcefulness, and resolve" by assuming that all artifacts are impressed with inequality and that even the most modest thing "correlates with the contexts of greatest struggle" (Bell 2008:142).

All these scholars agree with the need for a more theoretically informed and politically engaged African Diaspora archaeology. In promoting their own versions of what a diaspora should entail, they have engaged with a variety of scholars outside the discipline and created a meaningful dialogue. These dialogues are exactly what Mullins aimed to achieve initiating the dialogue and it is only fitting that more archaeologies of this type would follow.

These debates raised serious and meaningful questions regarding the practice of African Diaspora archaeology. Many the points made by Mullins and his colleagues draws particular attention to the work that has already impacted the field by actualizing Diaspora in the study of African Diaspora archaeology.

Diaspora Archaeology as Practice
In 1994 Adrian and Mary Pratezellis in collaboration with the California Transportation Authority (Caltrans) began the long term Cypress Archaeological Project (Pratezellis and Pratezellis 2007). The project stemmed from efforts to repair a three-mile stretch of the I-880 freeway in Oakland, California, that was damaged during the 1989 Loma Prieta earthquake. As a salvage archaeology project, the Pratezellis' took on the daunting task of surveying and recording the extensive multicultural archaeological community of West Oakland circa 1850-1910. The Pratezellis' include contributions from archaeology, history, folklore, oral history, and vernacular architecture. The research approach explores modernization, Victorianism and working class structure in an attempt to explain the complexity of this multicultural community. With input from African Americans, Chinese, and immigrant populations they describe the process of culture change as a set of changing sub-groups within a community

Their contribution to African Diaspora archaeology is extensive as the Pratezellis' demonstrate the intricacies of identity in a multicultural community. They trace the West Oakland African American community from the initial settlement of railroad porters and independent barbers in the 1860's to the birth of the Black Panther Party in the late 1960's. The diachronic approach to African American history used by the Pratezellis' is just now being recognized for its intuitiveness and value as Diaspora.

In 1999 a number of archaeologists were afforded the daunting task of excavating the controversial New York African Burial Ground (LaRoche 1994; Blakey 2008, 2010; Mack and Blakey 2004; Perry and Howson 2006). The African Burial Ground is a cemetery that was used between the late 1600s and 1796. Although only a small percentage of the population during this period was African,

the Burial Ground is estimated have contained between ten and twenty thousand burials (Mack and Blakey 2004). The bioarchaeological remains, including associated artifacts and archival documents, reveal a story of religion, compassion, and respect (Perry and Howson 2006).

On the other hand the lack of care over the years for the cemetery demonstrates the racial politics of the city and society as a whole. Initially, preservation of the site's history was not the goal of the project, as the Federal government which was constructing a new tower on the burial ground site failed to comply with legislation pertaining to burial remains (Blakey 2008). Meanwhile, African Americans in New York City held meetings, religious observances, vigils, and protests regarding the ill treatment of these Africans (Blakey 2008; Perry and Howson 2006). The archaeologists working on the project became mediators between the African American community and the Federal government. As result they had no other choice but to begin facilitating a collaborative project. As a result of the issues raised by the New York Burial Ground Project, collaboration in African American archaeology became a topic that needed to be developed. Archaeologists began discussing who should be participants in a collaborative project? Who are the descendants? And, what's at stake? These questions led several archaeologists toward discovering the reasons behind the questions they asked in the first place and the discipline's relationship with local non-collaborators.

The year 1997 was busy for the up and coming Maria Franklin and more generally African American Archaeology. Franklin set a new standard for engaging with African American archaeology and addressed a major concern plaguing the discipline in "Why Are There So Few Black American Archaeologists?" Franklin offers suggestions for understanding the complex relationship between African American archaeologists and the African American community (Franklin 1997b). Franklin argues that African Americans are discouraged by the discipline's perception, as well as the lack of public engagement by archaeologists. She views community engagement as the starting point for dialogue between archaeologists and the African American communities they study. She concludes that through engagement African Americans will see the utility and will be more open to pursuing archaeology as a career choice.

In "Power to the People", a more in-depth analysis of the relationship between archaeologists and African Americans, Franklin attempts to challenge the non-critical nature of African American archaeology through a process of consciousness raising (Franklin 1997a). She argues that African American archaeologists have taken a relaxed attitude towards the inclusion of Black perspectives into archaeological research and interpretations. By engaging with critical theory she demonstrates how African Americans offer invaluable information for the writing of African American history. She makes apparent the obligations archaeologists have in encouraging African Americans to pursue archaeology as a profession, as well as incorporating the perspectives of African American scholars and non-academics in the research process. Franklin suggests that African Americans have demonstrated a profound interest in preserving their own history. However, African American archaeologists continue to deny their responsibility to the public to offer a representative and inclusive version of the

past. Moreover, if archaeologists continue to ignore the contributions of African Americans they are creating a distorted version of history, which in turn "fosters antagonism."

In 2003 Anna Agbe-Davies continued Franklin's discussion of the lack of Black scholars in African Diaspora archaeology. From a personal experience with historians at a history conference she recognizes the stark differences in the diversity of the disciplines. The essay contrasts archaeology's reluctance with that of history's acceptance of including Black scholars in the discipline. Through a statistical examination it becomes apparent that a barrage of social and political factors contributed to archaeology's relationship with African Americans. She questions the nature of archaeology and its incipient behavior towards African Americans, insinuating that archaeology may in fact be discouraging Black scholars from pursuing the field of study. Agbe-Davies suggests, "We need to continue the recent trend of self-assessment to ensure that the information is collected in meaningful ways. If the archaeological profession values the participation of black men and women, it would behoove the profession to know whether its behaviors and structures encourage or discourage participation." (Agbe-Davies 2003:27). In a follow-up conversation she addresses the ways archaeologist can reach out to African Americans, including trying to recruit interested students, reaching out to underrepresented communities, and discussing African-American archaeology with black interest groups. She further suggests, "it can't stop there" and suggests that recruiting requires more than saying "archaeology studies 'your people,' too (Agbe-Davies 2003:28). We need to assess why minorities come into archaeology. What motivates them?"

In "The Other from Within" Whitney Battle-Baptiste engages with the complexity of "serving multiple masters" (Battle-Baptist 2007). In a narrative of her experience Battle-Baptiste explains the intersectionality of being an African American woman, anthropologist and archeologist. She describes instances when each of these social positions is separate and when they intersect to create learning and understanding of self. Community outreach is at the center of Battle-Baptiste's revelation as she pays homage to the people, academics and non-academics, who helped to facilitate her development as a human being.

In Akinwumi Ogundiran and Toyin Falola's *Archaeology of Atlantic Africa and the African Diaspora*, the most up to date approaches to African Diaspora archaeology are expressed (Ogundiran and Falola 2007). The collection of essays examines the historical archaeology of Africans and their lifeways in Africa and throughout the Diaspora from 1500 to 1800. The overall theme focuses on a historically unified African experience, while embracing the diversity of Africans on both sides of the Atlantic. The authors build on traditional histories by employing historical archaeological methods and techniques in order to write a more nuanced history of the African experience. Their goals are to "demonstrate the possibilities of a transcontinental African archaeology, highlight the potentials of comparative transatlantic African archaeology, and make archaeologists familiar with the themes and paradigms of the archaeology of the African world on both sides of the Atlantic." (Ogundiran and Falola 2007: xv). The collection of essays is a pivotal move towards

bringing together archeologists researching the complex world of the African Diaspora.

Much of the scholarship produced in this volume is inquisitive archaeological research; however a few scholars go beyond the confines of archaeology to engage with perplexing problems of African Diaspora research. A great example is found in Anna Agbe-Davies' "Practicing African American Archaeology in the Atlantic World" (Agbe-Davies 2007). Agbe-Davies poses the question. "What if you practiced African American archaeology and no Black people came?" (Agbe-Davies 2007). Her discussion centers on the important issue of community engagement and creating spaces for African American scholars to enter archaeology.

I find it ironic that an entire volume on Diaspora, featuring twenty authors, almost completely neglects the influences and contributions of scholars from outside archaeology interested in the same topics. If more archaeologists were interested in creating a dialogue with African American studies scholars outside of archaeology, who are engaged with the theoretical approaches developing their disciplines, then we might actually attract more African American scholars to archaeology.

The great majority of the contributing scholars fail to acknowledge the contributions of African American studies to Diaspora research. One exception is Fred McGhee in "Maritime Archaeology in the Diaspora." McGhee engages in depth with Paul Gilroy's concept of Diaspora to explain the importance of maritime themes and metaphors to Africans and African people of the Diaspora (McGhee 2007). He creates a convincing argument of the value maritime archaeology holds in understanding "racial formations" (Omi and Winant 1986) –the intersection of race, class, nation, and gender in the making of a racial society (McGhee 2007).

In stark contrast, Kevin Yelvington's "Afro-Atlantic Dialogues" offers a more holistic approach to African Diaspora research (Yelvington 2006). The contributors are primarily anthropologists and archaeologists; however, the conversations they partake extend across disciplines by referencing scholars from a variety of social science backgrounds. The dialogic approaches they employ are analytical while simultaneously tackling the critical nature of the topic at hand. Through an exploration of a number of cultural phenomena with theories and methods from outside anthropology, these scholars move away from insular approaches that ignore valuable lines of evidence. The conversations are provocative and the culmination of these essays is something to aspire to.

Conclusion

The historical connections between acculturation, creolization, ethnogenesis and Diaspora are undeniable. Each of these terms has ambitiously attempted to capture the complexity of cultural transformations across contextual situations. The argument here is not to say that these terms have never been applied in useful situations. In fact, some of the literature discussed here has done an excellent job of unpacking the history of the terms they use. These scholars have offered valuable theories and methods and explained data in new and unique ways through the

application and critique of one another. No matter what term we deploy, the goal should aim to transform oppressive institutions that deny humanity and agency.

My research is positioned as a contribution to understanding diaspora rooted in this broader multi-disciplinary landscape. What I take from the historical work that preceded me is the importance of community engagement; the potential of ethnography as a research method; and the need to explore diaspora simultaneously framed in local and global terms.

Chapter #4: Archaeological Encounters

The Fieldwork

In 2005 the Sitio Drago Pre-Columbian research project introduced me to the historic archaeology of Boca del Drago. The Pre-Columbian project in Drago was in its second full field season with several low earthen mounds sampled in previous seasons (Wake 2004). The project director had now turned his focus to a newly discovered Pre-Columbian site and possible clay source at Sitio Teca. The field season took an abrupt turn when Brenda and Thelma Serracin started construction of their new summer homes near the Drago Historic Cemetery. As construction workers began digging foundations for the structures we noticed several historic and ancient artifacts in the backfill. After the discovery of these finds the project director quickly negotiated with the Serracins and construction crew the opportunity for the archaeology crew to dig the posts for the new structures in order to collect the artifacts in context. Eight posts were dug in total; however, only three were archaeologically excavated.

These units were numbered BT-IC-1 Units 4, 5 and 6. In the upper levels from 0-30cm, artifacts collected such as English ceramics and bottles, sewing thimbles, brick, nails, and latches all support the presence of a European influenced historic occupation. However, the 30-50cm levels suggested a quite different assemblage of artifacts, as low-fired pottery, animal bone, colored glass beads, and burial markers dominate the archaeological record. The preliminary archaeological data, archival documents, and oral histories point to an Afro-Antillean maroon community settling the region to escape persecution (Gutierrez 1991; Pinart 1885). Further research was needed to confirm this hypothesis.

The discovery of the historic site led to questions about the everyday lives of Drago's past and present inhabitants. In particular, I wanted to know when this cultural mélange began? What was the nature of the relationship between these different cultures at first contact? What did they choose to keep and forfeit in the negotiation of this new and distinct culture? And, how has the relationship developed and changed over time? Such research will offer valuable insight into the process of culture change and the retention of Afro-Antillean cultural practices in present day Bocas del Toro.

In 2006, I began developing the Bocas del Toro Historical Archaeological Project. The first stage of research consisted of literature research, a preliminary ethnographic study investigating the local culture history of the present day occupants, and working with materials collected from previous field seasons. The literature research provided valuable background information about the site and region, while the ethnography helped to determine the self-identified descendant community and their connections to the archaeology and archaeological culture.

Through the ethnography different socio-political factions began to emerge, which enabled me to devise a plan to work within the framework of the community, while at the same time answering my questions about culture change. A crucial step in my approach was to compile a collaborative team of researchers with a vested interest in the archaeological culture. In addition to descendant and indigenous Panamanians the Bocas project sought to incorporate the perspectives of outside

disciplines and minority scholars from the U.S. and Panama who believe in the value of community engaged historical archaeological research.

Archaeological work completed in 2006 was limited to preliminary total station survey and field analysis of historic materials collected from previous seasons. Total station was conducted 50m east of the Drago Historic Cemetery and extended to the Iglesias landholding (Figure 5). Artifact analysis took place at the Institute for Tropical Ecology and Conservation laboratory and included artifact typology using comparative collections, quantitative counts, and photographs of materials collected from BT-IC-1 Units 4, 5, and 6, as well as surface collections from the site near the Serracin restaurant, referred to as Restaurant Surface Collection (locally known as the homestead of Roberto Peanok). The materials analyzed from the units and surface collection included ceramics, glass, beads and bone.

2009 Field Season:

During the summer of 2009 I began focused historical archaeological research in Boca del Drago. In a collaborative effort with American scholars from a variety of disciplines, local Bocatoraneos and researchers from the Universidad Tecnológica de Panamá, we tested the usefulness of electric resistivity, engaged in ethnographic observation, conducted test excavations, collected oral histories and GPS data, and uncovered archival documents pertaining to the island's historic inhabitants.

It was three years since I had been to Bocas, but in this short time span the culture and the environment had undergone significant change. Upon my arrival I particularly noticed a change in the beachfront landscape near the northwest point in Boca del Drago. There was clear evidence that the beachfront was eroding, as the road that used to run along the beach was now rerouted as much as 20 meters. Structures that were previously separated from the shore by a road and 10 meters of sloping sand banks were now literally shoreline property. According to local residents the beach has been eroding ever since the 7.1 earthquake of 1916 (USGS 1916). They also suggest the process was further accelerated after 1991 when a 7.3 earthquake and ensuing tsunamis struck the region (USGS 1991). The 1991 earthquake is said to have offset the island as much as a full meter and as a result historically occupied landscapes were now disappearing under water. Over the past 23 years the residents have regularly inched their homes back into the swamp reinforcing the marshy land with clay.

However, despite these attempts to minimize the erosion, in 2008 Bocas del Toro experienced a 100 years storm, which produced torrential flooding throughout the region and destroyed several meters of the Drago beachfront. The storm deposited approximately 30 centimeters of sand across 20 meters of beach along the coast. I equated the process to a wood chipper consuming the shore and spitting out the processed land back on the beach. Residents responded by importing large rocks, sandbags, and clay to reinforce the shoreline.

In terms of the archaeology, several elements of the site were disappearing. This made our research all the more important to recover the artifacts of this sinking and deteriorating landscape in a timely manner. With a crew of graduate and undergraduate students trained in international studies, African Diaspora studies, sociology, anthropology, and archaeology, along with local collaborators,

and the aid of archival maps (Figure 6), we devised a research plan to determine the historic site boundaries and search for evidence of historic structures. By defining the site boundaries and identifying structures we would be able to pinpoint the location of historic family homes before they were lost forever.

The first step was to set up a site datum (Figure 7; Figure 8). As I explained the process of setting up a site datum and discussed the best location for it, Don Enrique, one of our local collaborators, directed us to a survey marker already in place. It turned out that surveyors from the government mapping agency Pronat, along with private surveyors hired by a local developer, had placed a survey marker near the northwest point of the island several years before (Figure 1; Figure 4). In hopes of making the data we collected comparable with existing data, we decided to GPS in the existing survey marker and use it as our site datum. Based on magnetic north and using a tape and compass, we laid out a grid within a two hundred by fifty meter section of the site extending 14 degrees northeast from the survey maker to the bend and 172 degrees south from the survey marker to the fringe of the swamp.

Our next step was to conduct a pedestrian survey along the transect lines of the grid in search of surface artifacts (Figure 9). When clusters of artifacts were found we GPSed in the location of the clusters, their location within the grid, and details of the artifacts present. During the pedestrian survey we located a few clusters of artifacts in the area 30 meters from the shoreline. In the 20 meters closest to the shoreline we encountered nothing but sand. This was most directly associated with the aftermath of the 100 years storm mentioned above that dispersed large amounts of sand across the site. Local residents (Fatima, Anna, Pete) suggested that the area with the highest density of artifacts was indeed the area under the sand. Without an abundance of obvious surface finds we utilized the archival maps and oral historical information to note areas of high interest for a more focused approach.

To gain a better understanding of the distribution artifacts through the sandy overburden we implemented a posthole survey of the 30 meters of land extending southwest from the shoreline (Figure 9). The proposed posthole survey encompassed several landholdings and permission to collect subsurface artifacts was granted by Fatima, Chino, and Pete. Willy Serracin also granted limited permission, but confined the survey to a small 5-meter square area near Chino's property line, as he did not want excavations to interfere with or distract his restaurant's patrons. In line with permission from the landowners and within the permit guidelines, we placed postholes from the 70-meter mark to the 100-meter mark, in five-meter intervals north to south, and west to east. Each posthole was dug in 10 cm levels and depth was controlled by the absence of artifacts or the presence of the water table. The posthole survey turned out to be extremely valuable in determining artifact concentrations across this portion of the site.

Artifact density was sporadic in the posthole survey; however, if a posthole produced a considerable amount of artifacts it was then opened up into a 1 x 1 unit. Each unit was excavated in 10 cm arbitrary levels paying close attention to natural stratigraphy. Each natural layer within a given ten-centimeter level was deemed its own level. A total of 4 units were opened with very different assemblages in each. Unit 1 was the furthest from the shoreline and did not have the extensive sand layer

in the upper levels. Unit 1 also produced very few artifacts. Unit 3 was located immediately on the shoreline and did not produce a large amount of artifacts, but did reveal a hard compact surface feature, thought to be an old road. Unit 2 produced a range of artifacts, most notably pipe stems and beads. Unit 4 was the most productive unit as it concealed the greatest diversity of artifacts, including charcoal, white wares, locally made earthenware, beads, glass, metal, bone and shell.

2010 Field Season

In 2010 we continued mapping the historic site at Drago and conducted systematic surface collection, which defined site boundaries, recorded the distribution of artifacts, and the condition of sites. On the ground reconnaissance, surface pedestrian, and posthole surveys recorded in 2009 enabled the research team to address the spatial distribution and condition of archaeological sites, while Total Station, GPS, and magnetometer survey conducted in 2010 pinpointed places of interest within the site. By identifying the extent and number of sites we were able to provide a foundation for concentrated testing and collection.

The 2010 mapping of the 500 sq. meter historic site at Drago consisted primarily of Total Station Survey with a Sokkia 530 and supporting GPS points with a Trimble GeoXH. We began the total station survey by recording the back sight and the site datum. The next step was to record the location of standing structures across the site, in order to compare the location of existing structures with the location of structures on the 1914 Plano de Drago (Figure 6). By pinpointing the approximate location of historic structures we aimed to uncover historic foundations and living spaces of the historic occupants. In areas with low or obstructed visibility we set up temporary subdatums to obtain a complete survey. After all standing structures were recorded we turned our efforts to recording points along the deteriorating shoreline. We implemented a standard method of 5 meter points recorded along the coast to obtain a high resolution record of the shoreline and the erosion process as its stands in 2010. Towards the end of the field season we continued the recording of topography started in 2006 focusing on the northwest portion of the site. The corners of each magnetometry grid and excavation unit were also recorded with the total station.

Based on data gathered in the 2009 pedestrian and posthole surveys and oral history collection, we decided that the use of non-invasive subsurface methods would serve the interests of the research team and the community best. We aimed to test the usefulness of magnetometry at the site in uncovering the presence of subsurface anomalies, and more broadly, its practical application at historic sites in the tropics.

In our magnetometer survey we used a Geometrics 858 Magnetometer. We began the survey by laying out 6 grids in strategic locations across the site (Figure 8). Each grid's placement was predicated on archaeological interest, permission from landowners, availability of open space, the absence of noise factors and the avoidance of obstructions. Two adjacent grids were placed near the northwest point of the site on Willy and Anna Serracin landholdings. Another grid was placed at the opposite end of the site near the Drago Historic Cemetery, on the low earthen mound located on the Holstan/Chen landholding. Two more grids were placed at

the Brenda Serracin landholding with one in the front yard and the other in the back yard. The last grid was placed inside the southwest section of the historic cemetery where grave markers were absent. Originally there was no intention on surveying inside the walls of the cemetery. However, as we conducted the survey in other areas of the site several community members brought to our attention that the cemetery was once a much larger space that was only recently being encroached upon. This issue was a particular hot topic as these community members had already stressed their dissatisfaction with their ancestor's graves not being respected by recent residents and researchers. With this in mind the research team and concerned locals concluded that the magnetometer survey in the cemetery could be beneficial in identifying possible graves outside the cemetery, and as a result we could avoid these areas.

In order to avoid excavating graves in these possible hot areas of the site, we confined our test excavations for the season to the area between 75 and 100 meters from the site datum. To the best of most community member's knowledge and according to the historic map this area was a residential area with a school and church (Figure 6). There was no oral history of a graveyard in the immediate area.

Placement of our excavation units was informed by artifacts located during the 2009 posthole survey and test excavations and preliminary magnetometry results. Building on this information we conducted test excavations at the historic homestead of Charlie Walters also called the Green House Excavation. The plot of land is small compared to others in the area measuring 20 meters square. When I first began working in Bocas in 2005 the plot was characterized by a small green house. The house has since been torn down, but the artifacts in the ground are very much intact. The plot was cared for by Chino and Fatima with permission to excavate granted by the landowner.

Three 1 x 1 test excavation units were opened at the Walters homestead (Figure 8). The first unit (Unit 4) was placed near the property line closest to the road, the second (Unit 5) was opened as an adjacent unit to the previous season's Unit 3 (opened to a 1x2), and the third unit (Unit 6) was placed at the property midline approximately five meters behind Unit 5. Each unit was excavated using 10 cm arbitrary levels, paying close attention to natural stratigraphy. The water table controlled the depth and was in fluctuation due to heavy rains and tidal changes.

Artifacts found in these units consisted of refined earthenwares, bottles, a wood post, shells, charcoal, animal bone, pipe stems and bowls, and metals. The density of artifacts in Units 4 and 6 were light with Unit 5 producing significantly more and harboring the clearest evidence of primary deposits.

2011 Field Season: Geophysical Prospection Survey

During March 2011 our research consisted of three weeks of archaeological prospection and working with the local descendant community to collect data and plan the restoration of the deteriorating historic cemetery in Boca del Drago. Today the only standing architecture connected to the historic period is the Drago Historic Cemetery. The modern cemetery is a small plot of land (approx. 60 sq. meters) with marble, wooden, and concrete grave markers. Presently only ten grave markers are visible from the surface, however, preliminary surveys and oral historical information indicate the presence of numerous others.

The Drago Historic Cemetery and its immediate surroundings are an important part of the descendant communities past and present identities, serving as a visual reminder of their ancestors' struggles, sacrifices and successes in forging their Bocatoreno culture. However, despite local efforts to maintain this place as a marker of Bocatoreno culture, the cemetery has endured its share of abuse resulting in a severely deteriorating landscape. The deterioration is related to a combination of processes, including encroachment by new immigrants, extreme weather, overgrowth, age, the lack of adequate maintenance techniques, and the loss of interest by the new generation in the Bocatoreno way of life. In fact, many descendants claim that the cemetery's decline is indicative of the dying Bocatoreno culture.

As we neared the end of the 2010 summer field season we had the pleasure of talking to community members about surveying and restoring the Drago cemetery and its immediate surroundings. Mildly stated, it garnered immense support from local Bocatorenos, expats, INAC, Senacyt and STRI staff and researchers. In response to this interest we designed a plan of research to investigate the cemetery and surrounding landholdings. From this engagement, the cemetery moved from being a place of contest to a place of collaboration, as it became a common ground for the archaeological project and those interested in preserving the archaeological culture.

With support and guidance from several community members we conducted a magnetometer survey to define the boundaries of the cemetery, as well as mark anomalies that may represent unmarked graves (Figure 10). The approach aimed to help the local community restore the cemetery, while at the same time gaining valuable population information into the number of graves and size of the historic period cemetery. The survey proved extremely useful, as we uncovered some interesting anomalies on the Iglesias property, which required further investigation (Figure 11). In particular we noticed a rectangular feature, which was consistent in size and shape to historic houses, as well as with oral histories regarding the Iglesias family history.

The fieldwork consisted of 6 grids placed on landholdings in or around the Drago Historic Cemetery. Three grids were laid out on the Iglesias landholding. One more grid was placed on the Serracin landholding south of the road, across from the cemetery. And two grids were placed inside the cemetery. The research design aimed to capture the shape and size of known graves with visible markers inside the cemetery and compare them with similar magnetic anomalies in areas outside the present day cemetery boundaries. We also paid close attention to other anomalies.

In all, the data collected from the magnetometry survey helped determine the soil chemistry, identify possible unmarked graves, and provided direction for future research.

Many descendants agree that the cemetery previously extended beyond the current marked boundaries but has shrunk over the years due to greed and competing land claims.

2012 Field Season: Excavating the Iglesias Homestead

The Summer 2012 field season consisted of 12 weeks of archaeological fieldwork. This included excavations at Sitio Drago, oral history collection, archival research in Bocas Town, and on-site laboratory analysis at the Smithsonian Tropical Research Institute. Detailed analysis took place at UC Berkeley's Historical Archaeology Laboratory and Archaeological Research Facility.

Field and laboratory data generated during the 2012 field season was recorded in multiple ways. Primary data for each 1x1 m excavation unit was recorded on a Unit Summary Form containing spaces to record location, depth, dates, and other operational procedures. Excavation data for each 10 cm level of each 1x1 m unit was recorded on a Unit Level Sheet. All artifacts and ecofacts recovered in the field were brought to the STRI laboratory each day and logged in on a field specimen sheet and received a field specimen number. All team members were required to keep a field notebook to record various data concerning excavation-related activities, sketches and any other data not provided for on the project's field forms. Field excavation progress, in-situ finds, units, and stratigraphy were regularly recorded using digital photographic and storage media. Team members sorted each field specimen bag as completely as possible. They counted and characterized the specimens, assigned them a Field Catalog number, and entered the catalog information into a computer database. At the end of the season all field forms were scanned into a computer database for electronic archiving.

Building on the information already uncovered in oral historical, archival, total station, and geophysical research, we attempted to ground truth identifiable features and anomalies with concentrated excavations of two historically known households at Casa Iglesias. The Iglesias property is of particular interest due to the family's long occupation of the island, intact surface artifacts, and the presence of interesting subsurface anomalies (Figure 12). The Iglesias family also shares a pronounced interest in reviving the history of Bocas through archaeological investigation. The current landowner, Alonzo Iglesias, who is a direct descendant of the historic residents and active member of the research team, granted verbal and written permission.

Until the 2011 magnetometer survey the Iglesias landholding was archaeologically uninvestigated. To gain a better understanding of the property we conducted a fine-grained topographical survey and detailed posthole survey of the property. Utilizing the same 5 x 5 meter grid and sampling method as used in the 2009 posthole survey we conducted a posthole survey of the Iglesias land holding. The survey helped define the spatial distribution of artifacts across the site as well as the depth and density of artifacts. The posthole survey reaffirmed the location of

assemblages within the property lines, as well as producing several new areas of archaeological interest.

Our next step was to conduct test excavations at areas of interest uncovered in these surveys. The excavation process consisted of nine 1x1 meter test units in total. Each Unit was excavated by hand using trowels and finer tools. All nine units were excavated using arbitrary levels, paying close attention to natural stratigraphy. Depth was controlled by the water table and subsequent sterile soil. Once the water table was reached the unit was closed and later backfilled.

Two large tarps were erected over each unit to serve as rain shelters. These tarps could be lowered to cover the area at night and rolled up during good weather to provide better light.

Each Unit was excavated by hand using trowels, brushes, and finer tools. Diagnostic artifacts and ecofacts were point provenienced and bagged separately. Each bag containing individual artifacts or bulk contents was labeled in ink with a series of data including area Unit (49), level (e.g. 30 to 40 cm), contents, date, and point provenience information where appropriate. A flagging tape tag with the same information was placed inside the bag to assure label information was retained. Point provenience was determined by measuring the distance from the north and west walls and ground surface of each 1x1 m unit, resulting in three dimensional data reading _ cm S and _ cm E and _ cm D Below Surface on each respective bag.

Using standard archaeological collection methods, we screened all collected material through 3mm wet screening tables with half-inch screen backing for support, in order to retain smaller artifacts such as beads and animal bone. The wet screening process consisted of an electric water pumping system, which pumped fresh water through garden hoses connected to a reservoir tank (salt water later replaced the depleting fresh water reserve). Tarps were laid down under the screening tables to maintain the soil consistency of the screening area and for easy back filling. Five gallon buckets with flagging tape containing the unit and level information were used to move the excavated material from each unit to the screening area.

After the material was roughly washed larger pieces were hand sorted and bagged by artifact class with all unit level information labeled on the bag. Smaller unsorted fragments were bagged separately and labeled unsorted midden. The collected artifacts were then taken to the on-site STRI field laboratory where they were given catalog numbers and recorded in a database. Additional washing of artifacts took place at the STRI laboratory. The cleaned and dried bulk samples were sorted into basic constituents in the lab and cataloged. A paper tag duplicating the information found on the outside of the bag was placed inside each bag to ensure maintenance of provenience information with the artifacts. Information on the paper labels was recorded in a computer database.

2012 Excavation Units in Detail

We began excavations by opening three units (BT-IC-1H 49, 50, 51) placed at strategic points of interest revealed in the oral historical, magnetometry, pedestrian surveys collected in previous seasons and the newly obtained data from 2012 posthole survey. Placement of an additional six units was based on construction salvage, presence of features, and data collected in the posthole survey (Figure 14). The first test unit to be laid out was Unit 49. Unit 49 is located near a post belonging to the historic home of Esteban Iglesias. Esteban lived in the house until he became ill in 2003 when he moved to Almirante. He passed away in Almirante in 2008 at the age of 95. The home was torn down in early 2012 and his family is building a new structure to the southeast. Unit 49's placement was based on salvaging a sample of the context of Esteban's homestead, before the new structure destroyed it.

Unit 49

Five stratigraphic layers define unit 49 (Figure 15). The top layer is approximately 8 cm in depth and consists of lightly colored dry sand with a Munsell Soil Chart value of 10 YR 6/4. Layer 1 consists of small roots and crab holes. A light density of artifacts such as plastics, a metal fork, ferrous metal fragments, broken glass, bone and marine shell are scattered about this layer.

The following layer (Layer 2) extends to 32cm; the soil becomes wet and quickly changes to a sandy loam (10 YR 3/3) with some lighter colored small sand clusters (10 YR 6/4) throughout. Although the excavated soil from this layer is moist it passes through the 3mm mesh screens fairly easy. This layer displays a heavy root layer with a relatively light artifact density. We find a greater diversity of artifacts, including various colors of bottle glass, ferrous metal fragments, bone concentrations, a bullet casing, and a basalt adze.

At 32cm the root layer disappears indicating the start of a new stratigraphic layer. In layer 3 the soil color value is 10 YR 5/3 and the soil texture is notably denser and finer grained. The excavated soil passes through the screens with assistance and more water. Artifact diversity increases in this layer as we find human teeth, chipped stone, glass, a ceramic adornment and shell beads.

At 64cm a new stratigraphic layer appears as the soil becomes loose and sandier. The soil in this layer has a soil chart value of 10 YR 3/3. In the northwest corner a grey ash layer appears, then disappears after 2cm. Artifact density in this level decreases significantly.

The final stratigraphic layer of Unit 49 begins at 64cm and continues to 97cm. The soil matrix is increasingly wetter. The soil is given the value of 10 YR 5/3 on the soil chart. Artifacts within this layer are characterized by an increase in shell, light ceramic fragments, bone, and carbon. Notable artifacts include a large piece of quartz and a ceramic leg. The unit was closed at 97cm as a result of swelling and an intruding water table.

After completion of the primary excavations two 30cm bulk samples were excavated in the north and south walls for floatation and soil samples for paleoethnobotany analysis (see Martin 2013).

Unit 50

Unit 50 is located at the base of a low earthen mound (Mound 14) near the Iglesias property midline and along the eastern fence line of the property (Figure 16). Unit 50's location was chosen due to the presence of surface artifacts and oral histories of a home located near a large breadfruit tree (*Artocarpus altilis*) more than 80 years ago. Unit 50 was placed within one of the Iglesias magnetometer surveys recorded in 2011 (Figure 12).

Seven stratigraphic layers define unit 50. The top layer is approximately 13cm in depth and consists of a dark sandy loam anthrosol with a Munsell Soil Color Chart value of 10 YR 3/2. The excavated soil from this layer passed through the 3mm mesh screens with some assistance. The artifacts present in this layer consist of imported whitewares, locally made earthenwares, glass, buttons, bone, shell, net weights, ferrous metal fragments, and a bullet casing.

Layer 2 begins at 11cm and first appears along the north wall of the unit. The soil color becomes slightly lighter in color and less compacted with a soil chart value of 10 YR 3/3. The unit is further defined by a subtle decrease in imported artifacts. Artifacts in this layer consist of bone, ferrous metals, glass, locally made ceramics and net weights. Notable artifacts include a worked bone and a ceramic concentration of the local variety of pottery.

At 29cm a grey sand feature appears in the northwest corner of Unit 50 dictating the start of layer 3. The soil matrix is characterized as a sandy loam and registers a value of 10 YR 5/3 on the soil chart. The soil is loosely consolidated and passes through the 3mm screens after the consolidations are broken up. Artifacts across the unit include locally made ceramics, bone, shell, and carbon. All imported trade goods are confined to the southwest corner of the unit and include notable artifacts such as ceramics, glass, a whetstone, a barrel hoop, and a metal file.

Layer 4 begins at 40cm. This layer is reminiscent of the sandy loam in layer 2, however the soil is more loosely compacted. Layer 4 registers a soil chart value of 10 YR 3/3 and passes through the 3mm screens fairly easily. Artifacts in this layer consist of trace amounts of shell and carbon that increase around 50cm then decrease again at 52cm. Imported artifacts are confined to the southwest corner, most notably a glass stopper. No imported artifacts are present after 47cm.

Layer 5 begins at 43cm and appears adjacent to Feature A (layer 6). This slightly darker layer is discovered during the profile drawing and as a result was not excavated separately.

Feature A (layer 6) appears at 49cm in the northwest quadrant of the unit. This stratigraphic level is pedestaled until level (50-60cm) is complete, then excavated and screened separately. It is labeled Layer 6 in the profile. In contrast with layer 4 the soil seems to have an ashy grey color with a soil color value of 5/3. Artifacts in this this layer consist predominantly of shell and carbon with trace amounts of fish bone. A bone amulet and clay ball was found during screening. Feature A/Layer 6 encompasses the entire unit at 70cm and continues to 91cm. The soil becomes wet and swells at 91cm, indicating a new layer (Layer 7), however, this layer is not apparent in the closing profile drawing. Level sheets indicate a 10 YR 3/3 change in the soil color. Artifact density is extremely sparse with only trace amounts of marine shells, bone, locally made ceramics, rocks, and chipped stone.

Unit 50 produced evidence of an historic midden along the southwest portion of the unit. The presence of numerous artifacts prompted the decision to expand the 1x1 to 1x2 following the midden to the southwest corner. At the close of Unit 50 one 30cm column sample was taken from the east wall for floatation and paleoethnobotanical analysis

Unit 51
With permission from Alonso Iglesias to ground truth the successfulness of magnetometry in detecting unmarked graves, we placed Unit 51 at the top of a low earthen mound located at the back of the property, closest to the road. Unit 51's location was selected based on magnetometry data collected in 2011, which revealed a large rectangular feature and smaller grave-like feature within it (Figure 11).

Four stratigraphic layers define unit 51. The top layer (Layer 1) is characterized as sandy silt with small rootlets. The soil from Layer 1 is dark, registering a value of 10 YR 2/1 on the soil chart. Artifact density is moderate and consists of bone, carbon and shell, with a few scattered pieces of imported glass and both varieties of ceramic. All imported artifacts are absent after 3cm. At 9cm a dense large cluster of shell appears in the northwest corner, eventually consuming the entire unit and continuing throughout the stratigraphic layer. Layer 1 is comprised primarily of shell, making excavation with a trowel difficult. We resorted to mapping in the larger shells then removing them by hand. Ceramic clusters appear throughout this layer with pieces that seemingly fit together. Excavation with brushes proved to be a better fit for this layer. Soil trapped in the shells was rinsed out thoroughly at the wet screening table.

At 30 cm a new stratigraphic layer emerges as the silt layer turns to a sandy loam with a soil chart value of 10 YR 4/3. The soil passes easily through the 3mm screens, but is takes some effort to loosen it from the shell body cavities. Rootlets are present, however, there are fewer in this layer. Likewise, the density of shell subsides early at 34cm and becomes confined to the southwest corner of the unit. Other artifacts in this layer consist of locally made ceramics, bone, carbon, coral slabs and rocks.

The third stratigraphic layer appears at 50cm along the northeast corner of the unit and is characterized by a slight change in the soil color registering a soil chart value of 10 YR 4/2. This layer is a moist sandy loam with slightly higher sand content and passes easily through the screens. Artifact density is relatively light in this layer and is defined by small clusters of shell, ceramic, bone, and carbon. Layer 3 continues to the close of the level at 122cm.

Layer 4 is described as a grey ash lens located in the southeast quadrant of the unit encountered at a depth of 73cm. The soil color value for this layer measures 10 YR 6/3. This layer was not excavated or screened as a separate feature. Associated artifacts with this layer include carbon and basalt flakes. At 92cm this layer can be described as dense yellow sand with carbon. This layer abruptly ends at 96cm.

After the unit excavations were complete, Lana Martin excavated 30cm bulk samples out of the north and south walls for paleoethnobotanical analysis. At 72 cm

an articulated grave was found. The human remains were reburied and Alonso
Iglesias was notified.

Units 52, 53, 55, and 57

Units 52, 53, 55, and 57 were the product of discovering a historic trash pit in
unit 50. These units were excavated to a maximum depth of 40cm paying close
attention to the cache of imported materials that were characteristic of the trash pit.
Depth was controlled by the absence of readily identifiable historic materials.

Unit 52

Unit 52 was placed diagonally to the southeast of Unit 50 in our attempt to follow
the historic trash pit. Unit 52 is comprised of two stratigraphic layers. The top layer
(Layer 1) is a heavy root layer comprised of a fine-grained sandy loam, which
registers 10 YR 3/3 on the soil chart. The soil passes fairly easy through the 3mm
screens. Artifacts in this level consist of a human tooth, ferrous metal, glass, carbon,
lithics, beads, bone, shell, locally made ceramics, and imported ceramics.

At 9cm we encountered a shell and ceramic concentration in the northwest
and southwest quadrants of the unit indicating a change in the stratigraphy. The soil
in this layer is the same consistency as Layer 1 registering a value of 10 YR 3/3 on
the soil chart, however, the layer is characterized by the artifact content and obvious
presence of a shell midden. Other artifacts found in this layer include an increasing
number of ceramics, glass, metal, bone, carbon and rock. This layer continues to
40cm where an absence of imported artifacts was noted. The unit was closed after
level 30-40cm was completed.

Unit 53

In a continued attempt to define the boundaries and contents of the historic trash
pit found in Unit 50, Unit 53 was placed to the west of Unit 50 and to the north of
Unit 52.

At the start of Unit 53 the site endured extreme weather conditions with
torrential rains for 3 days (Figure 17). Units 53 was directly affected, as the rains
created a surge in the water table from 112cm to 50cm. The event undercut the
eastern half of the unit as much 60cm creating a shelf like feature. Despite the
disturbance the top 35-40cm of the western half of the unit was still intact. Our
method for collection then turned to salvaging what was left. We took
measurements of the shelf and placed a tarp under the intact soil. We continued our
excavation of 10cm arbitrary levels on the southeastern quadrant and western half
of the unit for three levels and screened the material separately. At the same time
we caught the fallen soil from the northeastern quadrant on the tarp. Once the shelf
was too weak and collapsed we measured the depth and collected and screened all
the fallen soil in the tarp as one level.

Artifact density in Unit 53 increased significantly and we see more terrestrial
mammals, imported ceramics, glass bottles, metal keys, pipe stems, buttons, beads,
and metals. Although difficult to differentiate as a result of the water intrusion, we
identified 2 stratigraphic layers with Munsell soil chart values of 10YR 3/3 and
10YR 3/2. Layer one is 12cm in depth and consists of a loosely consolidated sandy

loam. The level is further characterized by trace amounts of fish and marine mammals, locally made and imported ceramics, buttons, metal, glass, and shell. The soil in layer two is darker in color but may be the result of water seeping in from the risen water table. Artifact density intensifies along the north wall in layer two with a number of mammal bones, shell, and locally made and imported ceramics appearing, as well as a number of historic metals, and glass. The increase in artifacts along the north wall suggests that the historic trash pit lies to the north of Unit 53 and west of Unit 50.

Unit 55
In a continued effort to salvage the damaged portion of the historic trash pit feature, Unit 55 was placed due north of Unit 53 and west of Unit 50. Similarly to Unit 53, water erosion directly affected the southeast quadrant of Unit 55 undercutting the unit 18cm. Consistent with the salvaging method used in Unit 53 a tarp was placed underneath the undercut southeastern quadrant to collect soil that had falling during the excavation process. At close a 10 x 30 cm portion of the southeast quadrant had fallen, was collected and screened separately as one level.

The portion of Unit 55 that was not affected by the water erosion was excavated in 10cm levels. Three stratigraphic layers define unit 55. The soil in Layer 1 is characterized as sandy loam with a soil chart value of 10YR 3/2. Layer 1 extends to approximately 16cm in the northwest and northeast quadrants and to 25cm in the southwest quadrant. The soil is loosely consolidated and easily passes through the 3mm screens. A dense cache of historic artifacts appeared in the southwest and what was left of the southeastern quadrant. Artifacts include large imported ceramic sherds, locally made ceramics, a cluster of bone, glass, shell, carbon, and metal.

Layer 2 was uncovered in the southeast quadrant of the unit at 14 cm. The soil is characterized as sandy loam with a soil value of 10YR 3/1. The soil is further defined by light colored pockets of sand with a soil value of 10YR 5/1. The soil is loosely consolidated and easily passes through the 3mm screens. Artifact density in Layer 2 is significantly lower than the previous layer, especially in terms of historic artifacts. Notable artifacts found in this layer include a glass bottle, imported ceramic handle, and metal clusters. Also present are trace amounts of animal bone, shell, and carbon.

Due to erosion in the southeastern quadrant, as well as low density of historic artifacts across Layer 2, we decided to excavate level 30-40 as a 50 x 50cm sample situated in the southwest quadrant. Unit 55 was the last unit effected by the erosion (Figure 18).

At 33cm a new stratigraphic layer appeared. The soil is characterized as a loosely compacted, fine-grain, sandy loam with a soil chart value of 10YR 3/3. The soil passed fairly easy through the 3mm screens. Artifact density in Layer 3 were extremely low and as result the unit was closed after level 30-40cm was complete.

Unit 57
With the majority of artifacts coming from the southwest wall in Unit 55 we opened Unit 57 to the west of Unit 55. Unit 57 is situated higher on the low earthen mound and is defined by one stratigraphic layer that extends 30cm in depth. The soil in

Layer 1 is darker in color than the soil in the upper layers of other units in the cluster with a soil chart value of 10YR 2/2. Artifact density in the unit is high with numerous diagnostic historic artifacts, which include a glass bottle lip, bottle, decorated pipe bowl, teacup, bone cluster, imported ceramic bowl, and a metal hinge. There are also numerous glass, ceramic, bone, and metal fragments.

Unit 54
Unit 54 was an independent unit, which tested the western portion of the property, an area near ongoing construction, where Alonso says he found several intact historic graves and numerous historic artifacts. Unit 54 consisted of one stratigraphic layer with evidence of disturbance in the upper levels. The unit was excavated to 30cm in depth and was closed due to low artifact density. The soil in this unit is a sandy loam with a soil chart value of 10YR 2/2. There are a number of shells and ceramics with trace amounts of glass, bone, and chipped stone. Historic artifacts subsided at 22cm and the unit was closed as a result.

Unit 56
Unit 56 was an independent unit placed near the east fence line of the property near the shoreline pedestrian path. Unit 56's placement was based on historic materials collected in the 2012 posthole survey, as this area produced the highest yield of historic artifacts. At opening, Unit 56 produced a number of scattered human remains, and later revealed an intact articulated skeleton. After the skeleton was identified as articulated, we reburied the skeleton with all collected human remains pertaining to the unit. Per our agreement with the landowner we notified him of the burial and recorded the unit's location with the total station.

Artifacts
Initial analysis of artifacts and ecofacts recovered from Sitio Drago took place in Bocas del Toro. Excavated material was partially sorted in the field and at the on-site STRI laboratory in Bocas del Toro. With export permission from INAC ongoing detailed analysis is taking place at the University of California Berkeley Historical Archaeology Laboratory. As indicated in the stratigraphic layers a range of imported and locally procured artifact classes are present in all units. This includes ceramics, rock, lithics, glass, metal, bone, and shell artifacts. These artifact classes are examined using methods from material science appropriate to each material. The archaeology is cross-referenced with the oral histories and archival records to support the multi-evidential approach.

The 2012 field season produced an extensive number of artifacts. To answer questions about cultural transformations and identity the analysis focused on artifacts representing evidence of foodways. These include animal remains, plant remains, glass, and ceramics. Other artifacts such as metals and lithics will be analyzed at a future date.

Plant Remains: 20 cm block column samples were taken for paleoethnobotanical analysis from two walls in units 49 and 51 (East and West), and one from Unit 50 (North). These samples were collected by our research team and will serve as part

of Lana Martin's dissertation research at UCSB (Martin 2013). Numerous carbonized wood, fruit and other plant remains were recovered from Units 50 and 51 using bulk samples taken from each unit. The bulk samples were floated with several samples exported to UC Berkeley for analysis (Damiata 2013).

Laboratory Analysis

Artifact analysis was undertaken in three settings, the field, the on-site laboratory at STRI, and UC Berkeley Historical Archaeological Laboratory. Eight artifact classes were identified in the field. These artifact classes include faunal, shell, floral, carbon, ceramic, glass, lithic, and metal. Due to time constraints complete sorting by class of all screened material was not feasible in the field. Once the larger more easily identifiable artifact classes were sorted, the smaller remaining screened artifacts were bagged and labeled as "unsorted midden" with its own field specimen number.

Preliminary analysis of artifacts and ecofacts recovered from Sitio Drago took place in Boca del Drago, Panama at the Smithsonian Tropical Research Institute (STRI) field station. The artifacts collected in the field were then taken to the on site field laboratory where they were given a distinct field specimen number (FS#) and recorded in a database. Additional washing of artifacts also took place at the STRI laboratory. The 2012 field season produced an enormous amount of artifacts. To minimize the analysis of collected materials, all rock and fire-cracked rock was weighed and noted in the field specimen catalog. All rocks were then reburied along with analyzed shell from previous field seasons.

With permission from INAC, selected carbonized plant remains for radiometric dating, vertebrate faunal remains, and selected diagnostic ceramics and glass were packed for export to the University of California Berkeley Historical Archaeology Laboratory for detailed identification.

At UC Berkeley I selected the artifacts from units 49, 50, and 51 to analyze, as these units displayed the most comprehensive assemblages with evidence of the deepest historic deposits and best opportunity to see cultural transformations. With assistance from undergraduate research apprentices in UC Berkeley's Historical Archaeology Lab, I began sorting the unsorted midden of *Unit 50* into artifact classes. Using the same typology used in the field (bone, shell, floral, carbon, ceramic, glass, lithic, and metal), each artifact class was identified in the midden and given its own unique bag and labeled with the original Field Specimen designation. Sorted midden can be distinguished from field-sorted specimens by the label (of FS#....). Due to time constraints the unsorted midden from units 49 and 50 was sampled using a riffle splitter and sieves. In order to collect a representative sample each bag of unsorted midden was split in half and then in half again. One of the sampled portions was randomly selected to be analyzed. Before analysis took place this material was screened through 6mm sieves in order to retain the larger more identifiable pieces.

Faunal
My analyses began with identifying faunal remains from units 49, 50 and 51. In consultation with Dr. Jun Sunseri of UC Berkeley and Dr. Thomas Wake of UCLA Cotsen Institute of Archaeology and using comparative collections from the UC

Berkeley Historical Archaeological Lab, UC Berkeley Zooarchaeological Lab, UCLA Zooarchaeolgical Lab, and The Museum of Vertebrate Zoology at Berkeley, faunal remains were identified to taxonomic class. Classification centered on fish, mammals, reptiles, birds, amphibians and the occasional human remains (human remains were not analyzed) (Table 2). Unidentifiable bone was labeled as "unidentifiable." Genus and species identification was achieved in very few samples as the bone is heavily fragmented. The analyzed bone was recorded on an excel spreadsheet.

Fish are represented in large numbers. In the analyses of fish 50 genera and 40 species representing 20 families were identified (Table 3). Due to the heavy fragmentation and indistinguishable elements, a number of fish bones were labeled unidentifiable fish bone. The identified families include various predatory and herbivorous reef species, more open water species such as skipjack, tunas and amberjacks, schooling baitfish, and shallow water estuarine species such as tarpon and snook. Taphonomic markers in fish are limited to burning. There are numerous fish bones displaying evidence of burning.

Mammals are well represented in the faunal samples and are the second most diverse vertebrate class after fish (Table 4). Rodentia, specifically agouti (*Dasyprocta punctata*) and paca (*Agouti paca*) are represented in the largest numbers across all units. The spiny rat *Proechimys* is also present but in somewhat lower numbers. Several bones were identified as Rodentia with no genus or species designation.

Several large mammal species are represented. Land mammals of the order Artiodactyla are present in significant amounts, as white-tailed deer *Odocoileus virginianus,* domesticated cattle *Bos taurus*, peccary Tayassuidae, wild boar *Sus scrofa,* and sheep-goat *Capra* are present at the site with some regularity. The brown-throated sloths *Bradypus variegatus* and tapirs *Tapirus bairdii* are present, but in low frequency. Primates are present in low frequency. Mantled Howler monkey *Alouatta palliata* represented by 1 cranial fragment. *Homo sapien* cranial fragments and teeth are present across all units, however the greatest number was located in unit 51.

Manatee *Trichechus manatus* is the only marine mammal present and is represented by a drilled tooth and rib fragment (not in tables).

Taphonomy in mammals is diverse. Evidence of marrow extraction, gnawing, cut marks from a smooth edge object, chop marks, machine saw marks, drilled holes, and other forms of working are present in mammals with the exception of primates. Burning also is found in all groups except primates.

The reptiles are dominated by three species of sea turtles, *Chelonidae mydas*, *Eretmochelys imbricata,* and *Caretta Caretta.* Lower numbers of *Caretta Caretta* are present. The majority of sea turtle remains are from carapace, plastron fragments and limb bones, with the occasional phalange. Green iguanas (*Iguana iguana*) are the next most common reptiles in the assemblage. The only other reptiles present are snakes squamata, which was represented by very low numbers of vertebrae (Table 5).

Birds, Aves, and amphibians, Amphibia, are less common across units 49, 50, and 51. Only a few specimens of Aves could be identified to species. They are red

jungle fowl *Gallus Gallus,* parrot (Psitaccidae), and osprey *Pandion haliaetus.* Taphonomic markers of birds are limited to cut marks present on *Gallus Gallus* specimens*.* Amphibia are represented in low frequencies by the presence of *Bufo marinus* and frogs *Anura.*

Ceramics
Ceramic analysis began with analysis of samples representing historic imported wares. These ceramic types include refined earthenware, stoneware, ironstone, pearlware, and cream wares. These wares are limited to the upper 40cm of the site and are heavily fragmented. Unit 51 only produced 4 small sherds of historic imported wares. Identification was achieved through the use of comparative samples and historic ceramic typology manuals online and in the UC Berkeley Historical Archaeology Lab. Ceramics were found in all excavation levels but were most common in the upper 50 cm of the deposit. In deeper deposits more complete vessels are present.

Identified ceramics were given their own unique bag and paper label detailing the corresponding label of the parent bag. Staying consistent with the process undertaken in faunal analysis, historic imported wares recovered from unsorted midden bags were labeled (of FS#....). All identified historic imported wares were recorded in a database detailing the identifying markers (Table 6; Table 7).

Remains of broken ceramic vessels made with local red clays were the most common artifacts recovered from all units. A total of over 36 kg of these locally made ceramic artifacts were collected. The majority of these are undecorated body sherds of varying thicknesses. These undecorated sherds range from dark to light brown in color with occasional darkening due to burning. Many have a band visible in the section of broken edges indicating incomplete firing. While some sherds appear eroded, most of these ceramic artifacts are well preserved with interior and exterior surfaces intact.

These red wares are present in large numbers and are often heavily fragmented. After washing and drying, many of the red wares shows signs of deterioration leaving behind only a clay dust. Sherds less than 2cm in circumference were not further identified. In addition, sherds consisting of only the cortex and lacking an inner and outer surface were not considered in the identification.

The identification process consisted of defining the characteristics of each sherd. These defining characteristics consist of inside surface anatomy, outside surface anatomy, vessel shape or curvature, thickness, and use wear. Five basic vessel types were identified which included, open or closed cooking vessels, serving vessels, and open or closed storage jars (Table 8). Sherds belonging to open storage jars display the basic characteristics of being smoothed on both sides with a curvature that indicates the vessel was designed to be used open. These sherds often display painted decorations on the inside near the rim and may have painting, slipping, or brushing on the outside.

Sherds representing closed storage jars are defined by smoothing on the outside and a more porous inner surface. The curvature of these sherds indicates a more restricted shape and design. Serving vessels sherds are generally thin walled

and smoothed on both sides. These vessels are often made from fine clays and are slipped on both sides.

Sherds belonging to cooking vessels are defined by the presence of burning. These vessels display burning on the inside or outside. They are generally thick walled and rough or porous on the outside and smooth on the inside.

All red ware ceramics were counted and returned to their original field specimen bag. Quantitative counts of red wares were counted separately from imported wares and entered into a database (see Table 8 for summary).

Glass
Glass artifacts were sorted and labeled in similar manner to faunal remains and ceramics. Glass was present in the top 30-40cm of the site, with the exception of unit 51. Quantitative counts were gathered for each glass type. Glass types include beer bottles, wine bottles, case bottles, medicine bottles, lamp glass, and window glass Using the SHA's guide to bottle glass and the UC Berkeley reference collection for glass, each fragment was defined by color, element, and structural markers. Each bag of glass was counted and recorded in a database.

Metal
Metal analysis was limited to a search for fragments that represent cooking vessels or utensils. One fork was found in the upper layers of unit 49. No other metal was analyzed for this dissertation.

Plant Remains
The majority of the carbonized plant material appears to represent various types of wood. While relatively rare, various carbonized fruit, nut and seed coat fragments are present. The carbonized plant remains are currently undergoing analysis at UC Santa Barbara. A preliminary report on the plant remains is provided for reference (Lana Martin 2013).

Radiocarbon Dating of carbonized plant materials was obtained on samples submitted to Beta Analytic, Inc. via Brian Damiata. The results are detailed in the attached report (Damiata 2013).

All other materials collected during this project will be analyzed at a later date. A detailed discussion of the ecological and environmental elements of this research will be presented in another forum.

Curation

All archaeological materials recovered by this project will be permanently curated in Panama. The local landowners have expressed the desire to store the bulk of artifacts, or at least representative samples of artifacts recovered from Sitio Drago at STRI, where materials are currently being stored. STRI has provided limited support to construct a dedicated curation structure in Drago. Construction of this facility is planned for a future field season. If curation at Drago becomes untenable, then all recovered archaeological remains will be curated at the appropriate facility designated by INAC.

In the next chapter I will discuss the results of the project, my vision for the praxis of Diaspora Archaeology, and my plans for continued research in Bocas del Toro in the future.

Chapter #5 Discussions and Conclusion

This project is an investigation into the African Diaspora and an archaeological approach that is based on exploring the African Diaspora in a complex, multi-ethnic, multiracial situation where I was able to draw on excavations, archival documents, and ethnography to infer the process of culture change and emergent identities. In this chapter I will present my perspectives and approach to Diaspora and demonstrate how this research fits into a broader transnational Diaspora project. Through an ethnographic approach to African Diaspora archaeology I will reveal the historical consciousness of Bocatorenos, captured by the phrase "Somos Piratas" ("we are pirates"), and demonstrate how an early 19th century pirate identity has become an identity that unifies Bocatorenos and repels European modes of racialization. To accomplish this goal, I present the Bocatoreno narrative of place known as "the Bocas Way." I demonstrate how the "Bocas Way" is conceptualized and incorporated into my project through collaboration and the implementation of African Diaspora archaeology.

When I speak of Diaspora I'm considering the general idea of dispersal of people following a traumatic event in the homeland to two or more foreign destinations. When I denote specifically African Diaspora I am referring to the Transatlantic African Diaspora, which is the dispersal of African peoples around the Atlantic as a result of the traumatic transatlantic slave trade. Embedded in this notion of Diaspora is a racialized system of oppression that brought together ethnically different Africans who developed a shared consciousness. Both the racialized system and a shared consciousness continue to operate today, impacting people who are part of the African Diaspora.

Diaspora Definition

Broadly speaking, the theoretical notion of African Diaspora, as used within this dissertation, speaks to the many movements of African people around the world as a result of the traumatic Transatlantic Slave Trade, where evidence of cultural retention or affirmations of an African identity are present (Cohen 2008). I recognize that an African Diasporic identity is accompanied by a symbolic interest in a return, and in cultural artifacts, products and expressions that show shared concerns and cross-influences between Africa, the Caribbean and the destination countries of Caribbean peoples. In addition there are indications that ordinary Caribbean peoples abroad, in their attitudes, migration patterns, and social conduct, behave in ways consistent with the idea of a cultural diaspora (Cohen 2008).

Diaspora becomes a way of making sense of one's place in the world by way of a series of moments where the contradictions of everyday life become visible. I emphasize that with the transatlantic slave trade came a racialized system of oppression that brought together ethnically different Africans who developed a shared consciousness. I argue that through an African Diasporic approach a shared consciousness emerges which intimately connects members of the African Diaspora through a unifying identity of Blackness. I also recognize that while individual experiences with institutional racism will be unique to each person, the types of

opportunities and constraints people encounter on a daily basis will resemble those confronting African Diasporic peoples as a group.

Both racialized systems and a shared consciousness continue to operate today. Diaspora here becomes a transnational project, which aims to unify the shared experiences of African peoples across the globe and promote the development of a new consciousness. As Hintzen and Rahier suggest this process of coming into a new consciousness involves recognition, revelation, resilience, thriving and the actualization of a new consciousness (Hintzen and Rahier).

Through this new consciousness there develops an agenda centered on a commitment to finding the subject-place of Africans in any social, political, economic, architectural, literary, or religious phenomenon with implications for questions of sex, gender, and class. It is a defense of African cultural elements as historically valid in the context of art, music, education, science, history and literature and a celebration of centeredness and agency. It is a commitment to lexical refinement that eliminates pejoratives about Africans or other people.

Three Approaches to the African Diaspora

To understand how the process of racialization and the notion of Diaspora are operationalized in Bocas, I am specifically thinking of Diaspora as three intersecting modes of scholarly engagement that are in constant dialogue (Figure 19). For one, I see Diaspora as an analytical or interpretive tool that speaks to the historical consciousness of Diasporic people. Diaspora here is a way of understanding the experience of Diasporic people through theory and is the most common use of the term in academic circles. Diaspora as an analytical tool opens the door to understanding difference and functions as a starting point for understanding the intersectionality of identities and standpoints. In a very meaningful way it operates in the same register as feminism and queer theory to bring to light the different perspectives of African Diasporic and other marginalized peoples.

Another approach is Diaspora as practice. Diaspora in this way is how one does the work of Diaspora. It is the ways I relate to the community of Bocas and the things I do to enact a specific approach to creating a community centered project. When Diaspora is enacted as a category of practice, it makes claims, articulates projects, formulates expectations, mobilizes energies, and appeals to loyalties. It is often a category that results in strong normative change. It does not so much describe the world as seek to remake it (Brubaker 2005:12). In this sense, diaspora becomes an active project that seeks to evoke change. We see this in community partnering, which is increasingly being practiced in archaeology. However, I would argue that part of the practice of Diaspora has to be ethnographic.

Diaspora as a political tactic is the desired outcome that comes as a result of the work that has been done. The goal here is to use scholarship to effect institutional change in the communities I collaborate with. As a political tactic, Diaspora actively fights discrimination and other forms of oppression. Through the outcome of specific processes and practices a transnational identity emerges (Sökefeld 2006:267), that seeks to empower and create resources. In archaeology, this approach to Diaspora has not been actualized in the discipline. However, I argue

that it can be achieved through ethnography and the recognition of institutional problems that plague a particular segment of the community under investigation.

I recognize these three overlapping approaches to Diaspora as operating on multiple scales/levels. First, I understand Diaspora as global phenomena that have impact on the different regions of the world where African Diasporic people reside, the communities within these regions, and the individual households within these communities. In this dissertation I am focusing on the community and household levels. However, I understand that my research is situated at the regional level of an under-researched fringe area of the Caribbean with global implications for explaining this site in terms of a broader transnational African diaspora.

"Somos Piratas"

The historical consciousness of many Bocatorenos is "Somos Piratas" meaning "We Are Pirates". This narrative suggests that the modern inhabitants of Bocas del Toro are deeply connected to 18th and 19th century pirates who settled the island. This consciousness relates to oral histories recalling Afro-Caribbean and indigenous Panamanian, Costa Rican, and Nicaraguan ancestors, who were provisioned with guns and ships by the British to raid Spanish forts along the Caribbean coast. The British were reluctant in offering such accommodations, as they feared a backlash from putting weapons in the hands of Blacks and Indians. However, the more immediate concern of the British was halting Spanish expansion along the Central American Caribbean coast. They came to view the Black and native Central Americans as the lesser of two evils.

As the British feared, these newly empowered mercenaries became a force for all people in the region to reckon with, as they raided Spanish and English settlements, as well as coastal native villages for supplies and slaves. Bocas became an important hub for these pirates as they used the complex waterways of the archipelago to elude the Spanish Armada and Royal Navy. The archipelago also was an important place to obtain supplies, trade, and repair ships.

As European powers gained a stronger hold on the waters of the Caribbean and the age of piracy began to slow, many of these pirates retired to familiar lands that lay outside of European control. Here they became fisherman and farmers who traded with merchant ships and others seeking supplies. For many of these retired pirates Boca del Drago became a strategic location for livelihood, as they sought out the supplier position of the trade networks they had become accustomed to using during the age of piracy (Exquemelin 1678; Pinart 1883; Roberts and Irving 1827).

Bananas and Cultural Transformations

Today very few people live in Boca del Drago. The emergence of the banana industry is the primary reason for the settlement's decline. In the early 1890's American banana farmers settled the region ultimately paving the way for the United Fruit Company to take control (see ch 1). In 1899 the United Fruit Company placed the company's regional headquarters in what is now Bocas town. The presence of new jobs pulled a great deal of Drago's inhabitants into the bustling banana towns of Bocas and Almirante. The UFC also brought with them a large number of Jamaicans and Bahamians to Bocas to work on these mainland banana towns, further

complementing the existing Caribbean influenced culture. Some of the highland dwelling Ngobe also joined the Bananero work force. After the Panama Canal was completed other groups such as Chinese also sought employment as bananeros in Bocas, which in turn attracted wealthy Panamanian Mestizos from the Canal Zone. After the UFC was decentralized the company's high-ranking Mestizo elites, who were brought to Bocas and placed in positions of authority within the banana company, began accumulating land in the region (Stephens 2002; 2008).

The UFC not only contributed a number of different cultural groups to the area, but it also brought a racialized hierarchal system, which placed all Black and Indian people at the bottom of the social and economic scale. Those Bocatorenos who became part of the system often found themselves entrenched in struggles for basic human rights. Since the plantations were primarily located on the coastal mainland those who stayed in Drago were able to maintain their livelihoods as fishermen and farmers without much interference. To adapt to the new monetary economy some of these Dragonians supplemented their fishing and farming livelihoods with employment as lineman, where they maintained UFC telephone lines on their farmlands (ie. Alberto Blight and Roberto Peanok).

Today there is a strong back and forth relationship between Jamaicans and Bocatorenos that continues to reinforce Bocas' Afro-Caribbeans. Likewise the Ngobe Bugle in the mainland highlands also continue to contribute to the culture, as many Ngobe migrate to the island and mainland towns to work, live, and mix with those of Afro-Caribbean decent.

Getting to Know Bocas

I first came to Bocas in 2005 as an undergraduate to work on a Pre-Columbian archaeological project in Drago, when I immediately took note of the diverse ethnic and cultural mélange of the island. As an Afro-Creole with African, Muscogee, and French roots I noticed that the people looked like me. To reinforce my observation many Panamanians told me "that I have the face of the Panamanian." Out of intellectual curiosity I started informally investigating the cultural influences that made the people seem so familiar. In my search I discovered that the culture primarily consists of self-identified Afro-Caribbeans and indigenous Panamanians, with contributions from Latino, Chinese, and Anglo European and American retirees and adventurers.

To add to my curiosity, while participating on the Pre-Columbian archaeological project I unearthed 19th century imported artifacts in the upper layers of the pre-Columbian site. The presence of European ceramics, glass, and other trade items raised questions as to who were the historic inhabitants. This was particularly perplexing as very few people live in Drago today.

After discovering 19th century imported artifacts in the upper levels of the ancient site and observing the complex cultural community I began to ask questions regarding the relationship of Bocas people in town to early 19th century artifacts I had uncovered.

I aspired to know when this cultural mélange that I was witnessing began? I also was curious about the relationship between these different cultures at first contact. In a quest to answer my life questions of cultural transformation I wanted

to know which cultural elements did they choose to keep and forfeit in the negotiation of this new and distinct culture.. And, finally I desired to know how this relationship developed and changed over time to represent the modern day Bocatoreno culture. In order to investigate these questions, as a graduate student I planned out the stages of research which now comprise this dissertation.

An Ethnographic Approach to African Diaspora Archaeology

Early in my archaeological career I had the opportunity to work on a number of African Diaspora and Indigenous American archaeological projects around the world. On these projects I encountered communities that were comprised of diverse groups of descendant and non-descendant stakeholders. Through these experiences I internalized the importance of community engagement and sought to push my practice further with the use of extensive ethnography.

At my research site in Bocas, I was able to develop an ethnographic approach to understand the socio-political climate before I started excavation, and that I continued throughout the duration of the project. The ethnography proved to be a very successful component of my to African Diaspora archaeology. In particular, I was able to work within the framework of the community to achieve my goals, while at the same time paying close attention to how my presence and research goals impact the people in the community.

In my ethnography I collected data in naturalistic settings by observing and taking part in the common and uncommon activities of Bocatorenos. I was able to demonstrate to the people that I could adjust and adapt to the concrete conditions of everyday Bocas life and gain their trust. Over my eight-year presence, I achieved a close and intimate familiarity with community members, their everyday life practices, identities, and ideas of the past. These relationships were forged by ethnography and my quest to challenge familiar institutional issues that connected us through a shared consciousness.

Building a collaborative research team

Through the ethnography different socio-political factions began to emerge, often representing competing interests. A crucial next step in my ethnographic approach was to compile a collaborative team of researchers with a vested interest in the archaeological culture. I devised a plan to work within the framework of the community to design an archaeology of reciprocity with mutually beneficial research goals. The only condition for joining the research team was recognition that the research project is a collaborative endeavor in African Diaspora research, which explores the African Diasporic and indigenous Panamanian contributions to Bocas del Toro, Panama, through the eyes of Bocatorenos.

I presented the research questions and goals to the community through public talks, school visits, and casual conversations. After talking with several interested residents I discovered a desire to rekindle what many Bocatorenos felt is a dying culture and a loss of pride. Several Bocatorenos found comfort in the notion of cultural collaboration I presented. Some of these community members expressed interest in the idea of an archaeological investigation of the past and decided to take an active role as participants. In addition to Bocatorenos I incorporated U.S. and

Panamanian scholars, as well as participants in the Outreach Program of Berkeley's Archaeological Research Facility (see Table 10 for a full list of the team and contributors).

The Research Team at Work

      In my efforts to reach out to the community in order to gain knowledge of the past, I introduced the idea of an archaeological project that would revitalize and disseminate the stories we collected, to the world and more importantly local Bocatorenos. The notion of reviving the past through archaeology garnered a great deal of interest from local community members, so much that we could not meet the demand of talking to all interested individuals on a one-on-one basis. In order to include the masses of Bocatorenos interested in participating in the dialogue we initiated a series of community talks at local cultural events and meeting places. We also visited local schools where we introduced elementary and high school students to the theoretical and methodological concepts of anthropology and archaeology, careers in research, stewardship, and the importance of recovering the past for future generations.

Reformulated Research Question

      In dialog with the research team it became apparent that the multiplicity of my initial research questions were confusing to locals. They explained that in Bocas simplicity is a better way to engage the community. So together we reformulated the research questions to ask one simplified question "how have Bocatorenos actively maintained the Bocatoreno culture over time?" This simple and to the point question proved useful in collecting information on the past and gave informants more space to talk about issues of the present and future. Through a reflexive ethnographic approach, the team and I fostered a community engaged archaeological project that centered on collaboration and dialog. The ethnography proved successful in identifying different factions in the community and assisted in building the research team.

An Ethnographic Moment "The Bocas Way"

      I continued the ethnographic method as we began to inquire about the historic past of Bocas. My initial method of outreach consisted of unstructured conversations or simply talking to people about the past and what they knew. A common issue surfaced about the present state of Bocatoreno culture whenever people spoke of the past. As was discovered during the ethnographic formation of the research team, it is popular belief among Bocatorenos that their culture is dying out. In my ethnography I recognized an emerging form of oppression inherent in the daily lives and worldviews of Bocatorenos. The issues often centered on land ownership and a newly introduced racially based form of marginalization and exploitation taking root.

      As I continued to engage ethnographically with the community I began to see Bocatoreno identity emerge. To speak specifically to my observations I want to introduce you to my field project, as it is understood by one of my community members and team members. The following encounter took place in Boca del Drago

as Don Enrique and I walked across the terrain discussing past places of importance and how he uses the land today in his everyday life. Don Enrique Dixon is a self-identified Bocatoreno, landowner, and descendant of the historic population under investigation. Don Enrique is Ngobe but strongly identifies as Afro-Panamanian. It was a warm sunny day just after a light rain and I was walking with Don Enrique as he reminisced about the good old days. In our trek we came across a fence line and a sign written in English that read "private property." Don Enrique explained that this was the entrance to a settlement of Americans and Europeans that the locals call Gringolandia. The presence of the sign sparked a conversation about land ownership and Don Enrique felt compelled to share his thoughts on what he refers to as the "Bocas Way". In a somber tone, as he shook his head he said,

> in the old days Bocas people helped each other… if
> your child was joining with another [getting married]
> you tell da man over on the next side, my son wants to
> fish there and build a house. And he say no problem.
> Everyone helps build da home, everyone parties and
> everyone comes. There's no problem you see. If you
> don't use the land, you don't own it. But that's not
> them way [Non-Bocas people], they take more and
> more until we're all gone. That's not how Bocas people
> do it, That's not the Bocas way.

These sentiments are very commonly expressed in Bocas. As indicated by Don Enrique the most important element of a Bocatoreno identity is the way you treat people. Reciprocity is at the core. You take what you need and give what you can. Many Bocatorenos believe that those living in Gringolandia have a different concept when it comes to landownership. In my conversations with several people living in Gringolandia it was clear that their ideas of landownership are more individualistic and less communal. A self-identified Texan and retired teacher explained an issue he was facing with the local Bocatorenos regarding a 20-acre plot of land in Drago. He stated, "They [Bocatorenos] are stupid business people. They think the land is theirs even though they sold it. When I first bought my plot they kept coming around, collecting from our trees, fishing on the beach, and leaving their canoes there. I got tired of it and put up a fence to keep them out. That reminds me I need to fix the fence near the road."

The Gringolandia situation is particularly troubling for Don Enrique, as his antecedents had used this land for subsistence for hundreds, possibly thousands of years. The idea of putting up a fence to keep people off the land was unheard of. Sure there was land ownership in the past. People often speak of mango and hobo trees near their homes belonging to them, however, it was not part of Don Enrique's worldview that someone could own large plots of land and not use it. However, the recent political climate has forced him to rethink his position and collect a paper trail demonstrating landownership (Dixon Collection 1970; 1996).

Land titles

The issue of land ownership is further complicated by the fact that there have been no titles on the disputed land in the past or in the present. Without official land titles the non-citizens previously did not have right of possession to the land in Drago. As a result, Mestizos, Europeans and Americans have used money and influence to sway politicians to enact policies to title land and change the laws, while at the same time making it difficult for Bocatorenos to make claims or maintain property (Wickstrom 2003: 45).

The issues over land stem from a recent policy enacted by the Panamanian government deeming Bocas del Toro a tourist zone. As an incentive to develop the area the government offers subsidies to developers (Naso 2009; Ngobe-Bugle 2009). The quest for government-subsidized development has increased land values in Bocas, creating a frenzy in land claims. With greed and deception at the core fraudulent land sales and purchases by outsiders are taking place at an alarming rate. With little political influence Bocatorenos living in Drago are being displaced by development.

Those who have overcome the issue of fraudulent land claims still have to deal with another issue. In 2008, the government, along with the World Bank, instituted a policy to title property in Drago. The policy requires those with land claims to have the property in question surveyed by the government agency Pronat or risk losing a claim on the property. In order to have the survey completed by Pronat, the agency charges a service fee upwards of $15,000 in some cases. The financial requirements of the policy become particularly difficult for Bocatoreno farmers and fishermen, as the Pronat fee in these cases are more than five times the annual salary of those living in Drago.

These Bocatorenos are placed in the difficult position of finding a way to mitigate the land-titling problem. In some instances Mestizo, European, and American entrepreneurs looking for development opportunities offer to buy large portions of land from Bocatorenos for an amount equal to the Pronat fee. By selling the land these Bocatorenos are left with a fraction of the land they used to occupy and the entrepreneurs are in a position to build hotels and resorts on land they would otherwise not have access to. The interesting thing is that these entrepreneurs are the same people influencing the policy in the first place. Their disguised ploy to help Bocatorenos maintain their land is in fact a plan to manipulate Bocatorenos into selling off portions of prime property for very low amounts.

Archaeology as a Political Tactic

It is here that the political tactic of archaeology surfaces. In my conversations with Bocatorenos facing the land titling issue I was able to find a way to supplement the government mapping agency requirement. Through pedestrian surveys I identified archaeological sites on the disputed land. In a collaborative effort and as part of my permit with Patrimonio Histórico, INAC, Republica del Panamá, I partnered with local Bocatorenos. I cartographically surveyed individual property plots and mapped the archaeological sites within the property. Because INAC and Pronat are interlinked as Panamanian government entities the maps served as official cartographic maps. Since the work is a community project the maps created through

community archaeology are therefore property of the community. As a result, Don Enrique took advantage of the maps and they were used to satisfy the government's requirement for survey, reducing the fees to a manageable amount.

Although Diaspora as a political tactic is spotlighted in this instance, diaspora as practice and an analytical tool are simultaneously at work (Figure 19). The practice is exemplified by the on the ground archaeological survey which sets the stage for the political action to take place. Likewise the untangling of the emerging processes of racialization facing this Diasporic community speaks to similar constraints that face other Diasporic communities in their battles to maintain property as legitimate citizens. By creating a stage through which the archaeological research gives voice to these silenced people, the work of Diaspora is taking place.

Racialized Systems

What makes Bocatorenos so interesting is that a multiethnic community that recognizes its Afro-Caribbean and indigenous heritage is making these expressions of marginality. Their relationship became a way to actively resist a European racialized hierarchal system. However, as indicated above, the Bocas way is losing footing in the region as the European racialized hierarchal model is taking hold. This ethnographic engagement led me to question how people worked to maintain this sense of community.

I recognized that the racial landscape of this island was different than I had experienced in other Diasporic communities. In particular there are racialized discourses about blending among Bocatorenos that are different from my experiences in other European controlled places.

English One Drop

While growing up in the multiethnic community of South Los Angeles I noticed that the relationships between African Americans, Latinos and Pacific Islanders shared some similarities as well as some differences to what I later experience in Bocas. In Los Angeles I was aware that a racialized system was at work, which I identified as the English one-drop model. In this system blending is less desirable, as any person with one drop of African American blood is considered black and of a lower socio-economic status. Even those who did not identify as Black were placed into the racial category based on the physical characteristics they shared with Black people (dark skin, curly hair, facial features) (Hickman 1996).

I also saw this English model operating in the Southeastern United States where I lived in a predominantly African American community with a smaller Creole contingent. As a multiethnic Creole, I was not white. As in Los Angeles I was considered Black despite the fact that my heritage is comprised of more than 60% Anglo-American and Native North American. As a Black American in the one-drop system I did not have access to the luxuries of white society. However, I did have an elevated access to resources compared to darker skinned African Americans.

As a first year graduate student I had the pleasure of working in the West African country of Benin where I experienced another racialized system at work. In Benin the system of mixing is extremely limited. It operates through segregation, keeping different racial and ethnic groups completely separate. As a mixed race

foreigner I was considered Yovo, which is often translated as white. In this system I was a white person just as much as my Anglo colleague. As a result, I was afforded luxuries not available to the Black Beninois.

Casta System
During the same year I was in Benin I also had the opportunity to work in Omoa, Honduras where I experienced a racialized system operating on a different register. In the Honduran system the African people are said to have disappeared or left. However, there was evidence that these people were still there. In fact, the Africans were amalgamated into the community through a process, which encourages disappearance through blending. The Honduran system is reflective of the Spanish Casta system, where an individual's status is measured by the physical and cultural traits they share with a particular racial group (Davis 2001). Basically the more white you are, the higher your social status. Consequently, the more African or indigenous you are, the lower your social status. Therefore it was considered advantageous to blend the lower status groups out of existence. Unlike the one-drop rule those with small untraceable amounts of African blood can occupy a higher social status. However, they are still regarded with skepticism.

Bocas System
As I collected ethnographic data on the historic inhabitants of Bocas it became apparent that a long history of cultural exchange had been in place between Native Panamanians and Afro-Panamanians. The relationship stems from Spanish and English systems that racialized the dark skinned Ngobe as the "Black Indians." While these native Panamanians were racialized as "Black", other indigenous groups received the more ameliorable "Red" designation. As part of the dehumanizing process of racialization the Ngobe have historically been described by the Spanish as uncivilized barbarians far from the reach of God (Fernández Guardia 1918). These ethnocentric ideas are directly related to the Ngobe's reluctance to trade and interact with the Spanish. When early Spanish explorers visited Ngobe lands the Ngobe retreated into the highlands taking with them all of their worldly possessions. They refused to take part in the Spanish way of life or interact with the Spaniards on any level (Fernández Guardia 1918; Roberts and Irving 1827).

When Afro-Caribbeans began to settle the region the Ngobe were more receptive to trade and exchange. The Ngobe were particularly interested in trading for metal products such as machetes and adzes. There was something different about the approach of the Afro-Caribbeans that made them more appealing as trade partners. As the relationship evolved a shared identity of Blackness emerged which set the foundation for a Black celebrated Bocatoreno culture.

Ngobe and Afro Antillean Families
Unlike my experiences in other places, in Bocas, the Spanish and English models of racialization are not at play; instead there is another form of blending taking place, often referred to as the Bocas Way. The Bocas way of blending finds two groups meeting on terms that are not defined by a racial hierarchy but rather relates to

kinship ties. In fact, these ties are an active means of subverting racialization by two groups victimized by the English and Spanish systems.

As I continued the ethnography I discovered an intimate interfamily relationship between the Ngobe and Afro-Panamanian families of Bocas. Until the 1960's it was common practice for Ngobe children from an early age to live with and be raised by Afro-Panamanian families. In fact a large number of my informants were either raised by Afro-Panamanian families or had family members who were ethnically Ngobe. Like other children in the family these adopted children learned a trade, were schooled in English, and carried on the family name. Many of them intermarried with Afro-Panamanians to contribute to what is now the modern multiethnic community of Bocas del Toro.

This particular entanglement initiated the formation of new identities. It became apparent that I was witnessing the results of a unique form of ethnogenesis at work. Specifically, Afro-Panamanians and the indigenous Ngobe hold a strong Black identity. These ethnically distinct Bocatorenos recognize the individual contributions of each ethnic group to their overall ethnic make-up; however, they also retain an individualized ethnic identity. These identities surface at different times. The individual identities are often used to explain a more distant past while the shared Bocatoreno identity is used as a unifying marker to legitimize one's right to place, their political stake, and a shared consciousness. This is exemplified by a deep historical connection of place, language, religion, family and food.

While this system may minimize racial differences there is differential treatment along ethnic lines. In particular, the relationship is not two-way. Afro-Panamanian children are not living with Ngobe families. However, as indicated by Orlando Roberts in 1827, a mulatto man was living among the Ngobe in an Ngobe village (Roberts 1827:60). This raises new questions that require future research.

Pedestrian Survey, Archives, and Ethnography

In order to investigate the Drago relationship and unique form of ethnogenesis archaeologically, I turned to archival research, pedestrian surveys and ethnography to identify places of importance and pinpoint sites.

The 2009 ethnographically guided pedestrian survey revealed a number of surface artifact concentrations within the Drago culture area. We surveyed four areas that were said to have been where the historic inhabitants had lived (Punta Cauro, Mimbi Timbi, and two sites at Sitio Drago). All four points surveyed produced a substantial amount of surface historic artifacts. However, the most numerous intact artifacts were located in Sitio Drago indicating a large population (Figure 9).

In support of my surface collection discovery, archival documents suggest that Afro-Caribbeans were well-established at the northwest point of Sitio Drago as early as 1883. At that time Alphonse Pinart visited the province and described the "territory of Bocas del Toro" stating, "to the present hour [it] is found still in power of the Indians and of the populations of African origin." He describes Drago in particular stating, "I discovered in Bocas del Toro, a small population of 500 inhabitants situated about a sandy point of the island of Drago, or of Colón. The houses, all of wood, extended at the end of a windy street, sheltered by immense groves of palm trees; and the habitants, almost exclusively of the African race, made

a sufficient market of coconuts, turtle shells, and sarsaparilla (Pinart 1883: 2-3)." Pinart's account details the ethnic contributions of people living in Drago at a time when neither the Spanish nor the English had firm control over the region. He offers details about the housing structures, subsistence and trade networks that also survive in the historical consciousness of modern day inhabitants. Further guiding my research, I uncovered a 1914 plan for development of Drago (Figure 6). The map details the projected plan as well as existing structures, which correlate with other sources of information.

Through the ethnography and oral histories I discovered that the historic people of Drago and the surrounding peninsulas were extended families who interacted on a daily basis. These families worked, supported one another with collaborative subsistence efforts, and managed trade networks together. This data meshed well with the data collected from the pedestrian surveys and archival documents. With these multiple sources of information guiding the research I decided to focus the archaeological excavations on the historic community of Drago

Historical memories of past residents recall five patriarchs occupying households in Drago (Charlie Walters, Roberto Pinook, Marco Iglesias, Alberto "Boti" Blight and John Thorpe). All five men are said to have been fisherman, however, John Thorpe is also known to be a farmer and Albert Blight a teacher who also made charcoal from mangrove roots for the community. These stories are patrilineal in their description and when I asked if these men had wives the answer was yes, but their names and everyday contributions are not part of the historical consciousness of modern men and women of Bocas. The gender disparities present in these stories are provocative and will require future research. Since I already had a sample from earlier excavations on former Iglesias land holdings I wanted to focus my efforts on other portions of the site.

In order to gain a broader sample of the site in 2009 and 2010 I attempted to sample other households along the beach in Drago with posthole and test excavations. In my investigation I discovered that the part of the site with the most direct exposure to the Caribbean has suffered extreme weathering from recent tropical storms and climatic change. Oral histories recall the site receding more than twenty-five meters over the last 50 years along the beach from Pinook's to Boti Blight's homestead. Over the years people have moved further and further back into the swamp as a result of beach erosion. I witnessed an episode of this erosion and move backwards when from one field season to the next (2009 to 2010) one storm deposited more than 30cm of sand atop of the site and eroded as much as 10 meters of beach in some areas. As a result, several meters of the site and surface features identified in previous seasons were now under water. Some the features seem to be intact. However, recovery will require underwater archaeological methods to adequately recover the assemblages. These collection methods were beyond the parameters of this dissertation and will be an area of focus for future research.

Iglesias and Serracins
The area of the site with the most intact deposits is located between Casa Boti and the Drago Historic Cemetery. The land in this part of the site was historically occupied by familia Iglesias. Oral histories and archival documents recall the

Iglesias' as one of the first outsiders to settle the region (Alphonse 1938: 39; Iglesias Family Papers 1899, 1923). In addition to the long occupation of the site the Iglesias' are one of the only descendants of the historic population still living in Drago. Their catchment area once included as much as 15 hectares of the site (Iglesias Family Papers 1899). However, recent immigrants and competing land claims have diminished their property holding to a small 92 square meter plot. This plot has since been divided among family members.

The Iglesias historic occupation once included the Serracin's land holding where I first discovered the historic site. With a barrage of competing land claims and uncertainty regarding the government's titling effort, the Serracins decided to halt all excavations on the land in their possession.

Throughout the ethnography I interviewed several Iglesias family members who enjoyed sharing their stories of the past. However, when our conversations surrounded archaeological excavations they often displayed skepticism and discontent. Their experiences with archaeology were directly connected to issues surrounding land claims and the disturbance of family burials. These experiences formed a view of archaeology as a marginalizing and intrusive practice.

Through the ethnography I discovered that the Iglesias and Serracins were deeply involved in an intense land battle. The Pre-Columbian archaeological excavations that had taken place before the advent of the historic project had allied the archaeological project with the Serracins. As a result, the Pre-Columbian archaeological project was viewed as oppositional to other community members' interests, specifically those who are Native and Afro-Panamanian. In particular, the archeological project's role in fostering an emerging imbalance of wealth was recognized by several influential community members. Financial support provided to the Serracins strengthened their land interests in Drago while marginalizing others. These disgruntled community members argue that the accumulation of wealth and subsequent land accumulation has elevated the Serracins' political status, by establishing recognition and influence in the government (Figure 1). The political presence has helped substantiate the Serracins' land claims, further aggravating the land ownership issue.

By allying with the Serracins without taking the time to investigate the socio-politics of the community, the project recognized the Serracins as the only stakeholders and as a result it silenced other factions. The approach further aggravated current social situations and strengthened existing forms of structural inequality through the unequal distribution of funds that contributed to an imbalance of wealth and power.

The Iglesias are one family in the community that has come to see archaeology as counter to their interests. I found that the episode that highlighted the feud centered on Serracin-sanctioned excavations of Iglesias family graves. The issue was recalled in an interview with Raul Holstan. Raul stated that when the road to Drago was constructed, it cut through the middle of the historic cemetery (Figure 5). After the road was completed the Serracins living in close proximity claimed the southern portion of the cemetery as their property. In reflecting on his feelings about their claim Raul said, "My family is buried on that land…One day I went out to clean the graves and many of the stones were gone. Those guys [Serracins] took up

all the gravestones and put a fence. They stole the land...they don't own the land, no one can, it's the cemetery." To complicate the situation further, with Serracin permission the Pre-Columbian project in 2006 began excavations on the area previously known to be the cemetery. Raul and other community members witnessed the desecration of these ancestral graves and confronted the Serracins and the chief archaeologist. As related in Chapter 1, the archaeologist in charge suggested the claims made by Raul and other community members were unsubstantiated and the graves his team had uncovered were not part of the cemetery. These statements raised several issues regarding identity, heritage, scientific privilege, and Bocatoreno rights. However at this point, I focused my efforts on the community's immediate concerns with the ongoing excavations.

When I examined an electric resistivity survey conducted by the Pre-Columbian research team (Figure 20) and coupled it with my topographic survey (Figure 5), I noticed an event of apparent resistivity present on the land in question. This subsurface archaeological feature is consistent with a topographical feature that extends from the cemetery across the road and into the contested area (Figure 21). With this information I can confidently say these events are consistent with oral histories stating the road disturbed the cemetery. I can also say with confidence that the area under archaeological investigation is indeed related to the event in the cemetery. Through this analysis the information provided by community members was empirically substantiated.

Drago Historic Cemetery: Diaspora as Practice

With issues of land ownership at the heart of community sociopolitics, gaining access to conduct archaeology on the land currently occupied by the Iglesias or any of their allies was difficult. The ethnography coupled with issues of family burials drew my attention to the Drago historic cemetery, its history in the community, and the identities connected to this place. The ethnography revealed the importance of preserving family burials. The issues of encroachment and culture loss facing the Drago Historic Cemetery had become a representation of the struggles Bocatorenos were facing in their home-place. With help from local Bocatorenos I carried out the initial stages of a restoration where I uncovered and repaired fallen grave markers, defined boundaries of the cemetery, and removed brush and other debris. From this engagement, the cemetery moved from being a place of contest to a place of collaboration, as it became a common ground issue for the historical archaeological project and those interested in preserving the archaeological culture. Furthermore, doing this work established my commitment to the community and created reciprocal relationships.

The cemetery project is one example of Diaspora as practice (Figure 19). The work done on the cemetery became a unifying project that brought the archaeology and community members together. It preserves African Diaspora history and fights actions that attempt to destroy or misrecognize African Diasporic people as illegitimate. Politically the research attempts to halt the intrusion on the cemetery and in the future reclaim burial sites. The research conducted on the cemetery also produced empirical data regarding the size and shape of possible graves. This element of the research proved to be priceless data in the next stage of my research.

The cemetery project turned out to be extremely useful archaeologically. However, outside of the ability to non-invasively identify graves outside of the cemetery, graves do little to explain how Bocatorenos maintained the culture over time. I needed to investigate the households of the 19th century inhabitants in order to answer my questions. The Iglesias property was once again of interest, specifically because of the family's long occupation of the island.

Trust Rebuilt
The cemetery project once again came to my aid in my research as the relationship I built with the Iglesias and other community members changed the people's minds about the aim of archaeology. As a result, Acasio and Alonso Iglesias invited me to conduct research on their current landholding. Raul Holstan was equally excited by the research, however, Raul's mother Veronica Chen was still hesitant and opted out of having archaeological research conducted on her portion of the land.

The research of Acasio and Alonso's property began with ethnographic interviews of Iglesias family members. In the ethnography Iglesias family members provided oral histories of life in the old days and where their ancestors houses were on the property were located (Figure 12). The ethnographic information helped identify the construction of historic housing and locate evidence of foundations on the property (Figure 13).

The next step in the research was to conduct a magnetometer survey of the Iglesias property to identify and avoid possible graves. After the strategic locations of households were found we sampled the site. The excavated units produced a high diversity of artifacts. Artifacts from units with the clearest stratigraphic evidence were analyzed for this dissertation. These units are 49, 50, and 51.

Artifact Interpretations
The three analyzed units produced evidence of multiple stratigraphic events. Radiocarbon dates and stratigraphy in these units suggests there are at least four occupations at the site (Figure 15). In direct relation to the historical consciousness of Bocatorenos, these layers were given the names Pirata 1 (mid to late 19th century-present), Pirata 2 (mid to late 19th century), Pre-pirate 2 (1040 – 1210AD), and Pre-pirate 3 (890-980AD).

Artifacts specific to foodways became of the highest interest in explaining cultural transformations. This was in direct relation to ethnographic evidence, which revealed that foodways are an important marker of Bocatoreno identity. This notion was most eloquently captured by Lavinia Dean, a Bocatorena, small hotel owner and retired Banana worker. When I asked what makes someone Bocatoreno, besides being born here? She responded rather quickly,

> "Its da food you eat. You see Bocas people eat da fish wit da rice and beans and da coco. Only Bocas people eat that way. Fried fish is Bocatoreno tambien, oh yes with da patacones, that's Bocas... Jeri, you know Ron Don?... da soup wit da fish? Well if you eat Ron Don then you are a Bocatoreno. That's it, you can only be from Bocas."

This ethnographic moment with Lavinia directly connected foodways with the emergence of Bocatoreno identity. To bridge connections between these narratives and the archaeology I decided to examine ceramics and faunal remains in my investigation of foodways. The fauna represent the food stuffs that were procured by 19th century Bocatorenos while ceramics function as the vessels for storing, cooking, and serving the food.

Faunal Remains
In my interpretation of animal bone I recognized changes and continuity in the use of terrestrial mammals, fish and reptiles in foodways.

Today sea turtles are an important part of Bocatoreno foodways and so was the case in the Pre-pirate and Pirata periods. They provide eggs, meat, and are a valuable trade resource. Throughout both archaeological periods sea turtle remains from three species (*Chelonidae Mydas, Eretmochelys Imbricata,* and *Caretta Caretta*) are found in significant numbers (Table 5). The presence of cut marks on the limb bones and the discarding of carapace and plastron fragments indicate that these animals were butchered at or near the site. These turtles were most likely used for consumption and trade.

I support this argument with evidence collected in the ethnography and archives, suggesting sea turtles were an important trade resource in the Pre-pirate period (Dugard 2006). This resource exploitation continued into the historic period, as visitors sailing through the archipelago traded for turtles and turtle eggs (Pinart 1883; Exquemelin 1678). These resources became a sought after commodity for sailors, as a result of their easy storage and long shelf life (Exquemelin 1678). Hunting sea turtles has only recently declined in Bocas, as residents have become aware that sea turtle over-exploitation is leading to rapid extinction (STRI). In Bocas, the iguana has a legacy of over-exploitation that is reminiscent of the sea turtle situation. They are highly sought after for their meat as local Bocatorenos consider them a delicacy. Archaeologically, these reptiles were continuously exploited through both periods at the same frequency.

Continuity in foodways pertaining to the use of terrestrial mammals was recorded in the use of agouti and paca (Table 4). These native animals are consistent throughout all Pre-pirate and Pirata layers and are said to have historically been part of the local cuisine (Linares 1976). These animals are still eaten today (Smith 2005); however, a stigma is associated with those who eat them, classifying them as 'low class bush people' (Serracin 2006).

Peccary, which is present in the Pre-pirate era, is less common than the agouti or paca. In the Pirata era, domestic pigs replaced peccary (Table 4). Despite claims that there are peccary in Bocas today I argue that the absence of peccary in the upper levels of Pirata 1 might be attributed to over exploitation of the species. The misidentification of feral pig as peccary is a common mistake. The presence of feral pigs in the Pirata 1 correlates with archival documents and oral histories of pirates leaving domestic pigs on islands, so they can reproduce and then be hunted during their next visit (Exquemelin 1678; Dampier 1697:263; Johnson 1719:231). According to these pirate accounts, feral pigs grow tusks and hair and exhibit

similar behavior to peccary. Without knowledge of the differences in cranial elements and tusks, it's an easy mistake to make to identify feral pigs as peccaries.

Deer are present in both contexts. However, we see a boom in the Pirata 2 period followed by a complete absence in upper levels of Pirata 1. The sudden disappearance of deer correlates with the introduction of sheep, goat, and cow during the historic period (Table 4). This suggests that white-tailed deer on the island were hunted in the Pre-pirate era with moderation; however, during the early Pirata period they are in high demand and over-hunted. I draw this conclusion based on the fact that all species of deer are extinct from the island today.

As indicated by Lavinia, fish are extremely important to Bocatoreno foodways (Table 2). This notion is also represented in the archeology, as fish represent the highest volume of faunal remains in all periods. In fact, fish represent 61% of all analyzed remains. This is consistent with archival and oral historical information recalling the inhabitant as local fishermen. It is further said that these historic inhabitants trapped turtles for money, but ate fish for subsistence.

In my investigation I took note of changes in the diversity of fish from the Pre-pirate period to the Pirata period (Table 3; Table 9). In particular, I recognized a much higher diversity of fish in Pre-pirate contexts than in the Pirata period. While the Pre-Pirate period represented a greater diversity of species of fish, the Pirata period represented a significantly smaller number of species at a higher volume. In addition, in the Pre-pirate contexts I found several net weights, especially in unit 49, (this unit is closer to the shore), while there was a complete absence of net weights in the Pirata contexts. The ethnographic research and oral historical information suggested that poles and hand lines were used in historic times and into the present, with small nets used for bait-fishing.

 In the analysis, I also recognized the different environments of the fish in these periods. In the Pre-pirate era this included high numbers of fishes from estuaries, flat bottoms and coral reefs. In the Pirata era there was a higher concentration on larger, and today more sought after, open-water fish (Table 3).

With these lines of evidence I conclude that fishing practices changed from the Pre-pirate era, which is defined by fishing with nets and eating whatever swims into your net, to the Pirata, where more focused fishing practices requiring hooks were enacted. These observations indicate that although there were continuities and changes in fishing practices, the importance of fish did not waver.

Ceramics
The locally made red ware ceramics have been considered to be of ancient origin, rather than historic. Their presence in the historic layers has been attributed to post-depositional disturbances as result of farming practices (Wake 2013). Although I had previously accepted this idea, I began to question its validity. The more I excavated, the more I saw the same trend occurring across the site. Moreover, the clearly defined stratigraphy of units 49, 50, and 51 suggested that these are intact deposits. I determined that my assumptions were correct after interpreting both categories of ceramics (Table 6; Table 7; Table 8). In examining red ware ceramics as a part of foodways, I paid close attention to vessel design. As indicated in the chapter 4, I defined five vessel types. These vessels represent three uses in

foodways, consisting of serving vessels, jars, and cooking vessels (Table 8). I subjected the historic imported wares to analysis using the same criteria.

In my examination of ceramics, I noted that 100% of all ceramics are in local tradition during the Pre-Pirate period. However, in the Pirata period there is shift, but not a disappearance of locally made ceramics to historic imported ceramics. In the Pirata period, storage jars slightly shift, but are still in production. There is only a minimal increase in the presence of historic imported ceramics. I attribute this change to the emergence of new trade networks and the introduction of durable hollow wares of the imported variety. The relatively small increase is a result of size, cost, access, and the simple fact that storage jars are not for display. There was no need for costly imported wares as they already had jars that worked just fine. On the other hand, cooking vessels in the Pirata period remain at 100% local red wares. I attribute this to the absence of metal (cast iron) cooking vessels recovered from the site and a resulting continued reliance on the local ceramic tradition to make pots in the variety that supports the stews and other pot dishes that are important to Bocatoreno identity.

Although storage and cooking vessels are present with only slight changes, serving vessels see a large decrease in the locally made tradition, while the historic imported wares increase significantly. In my analysis I noticed an overwhelming number of teacups and bowls of the imported variety present. These cups and bowls served the same function as the locally made predecessors and could be used to eat pot dishes such as Ron don.

Brightly Colored
The statistically significant presence of cups and bowls also introduces the idea that Bocatorenos intentionally replaced their locally made wares with a more aesthetically pleasing imported variety. The aesthetic argument rests on the observation that the imported ceramics analyzed at the site represent an unexpectedly high variety of colors (Table 6; Figure 22).

These colors represent another element of Bocatoreno identity, one suggesting that Bocas people are "brightly colored." As I engaged with the topic of "brightly colored" ethnographically I came to understand the notion as a metaphor representing the energetic demeanor of Bocatorenos, the multiplicity of people, the tangible products of their lives, including the clothes one wears. One way this aspect of identity is enacted is through the painting of houses (Figure 23). Bocas houses are painted in a variety of vivid colors, which are locally considered to be uniquely Bocatoreno. Although this may seem to be typically Caribbean, the unique aspect of the Bocas houses is that Ngobe who live in Drago also paint their houses in these bright colors. With this shared symbolic value operating in so many aspects of Bocatoreno life I find it to be a useful means of interpreting ceramics, housing, and food.

Conclusions
These lines of archaeological evidence about architecture and foodways speak to the multiethnic relationships among Bocatoreno people. It is here that Diaspora functions as an analytical tool (Figure 19). Diaspora archaeology, as presented here,

helps us identify the day-to-day lived practices that Bocas people engaged in. I recognize that a shared consciousness served to create this shared identity, but it also was a tactic to prevent racialization from taking root. This is a field site where those racialized colonial structures are not in place that seek to label, divide, and categorize people. It is a community that is actively fighting against those structures we see at play in the Spanish and English systems through an identity rooted in kinship, treatment of others, and foodways. And what we can see in the archaeology is that these two cultures in contact were finding common ground with one another.

Throughout this dissertation, I have demonstrated how these intersecting approaches to Diaspora have operated in my research. I have illustrated the political tactic through my contributions to fighting disenfranchisement in land titling and fostering a revived interest in the Bocas way. I have illustrated the practice of Diaspora by using ethnographically informed community archaeology to develop my research program, which led to the formulation of questions about Bocatoreno identity. I have demonstrated through ethnography that I was able to identify cultural aspects in the modern community that became important avenues for research on the past. I have illustrated the analytic through historical documentation on the emergence of Bocatoreno identity and how looking at the analytic of race as conceptualized in different colonial systems provided an entrée for understanding difference in this community. Together these analytics further our understanding of this under researched part of the Diaspora.

This approach is a model for Diasporic research that can be built on to understand Diaspora as it operates on multiple scales. The Bocas study is a multi-level study. In this dissertation, I have presented the community and household levels with implications for regional and global impacts.

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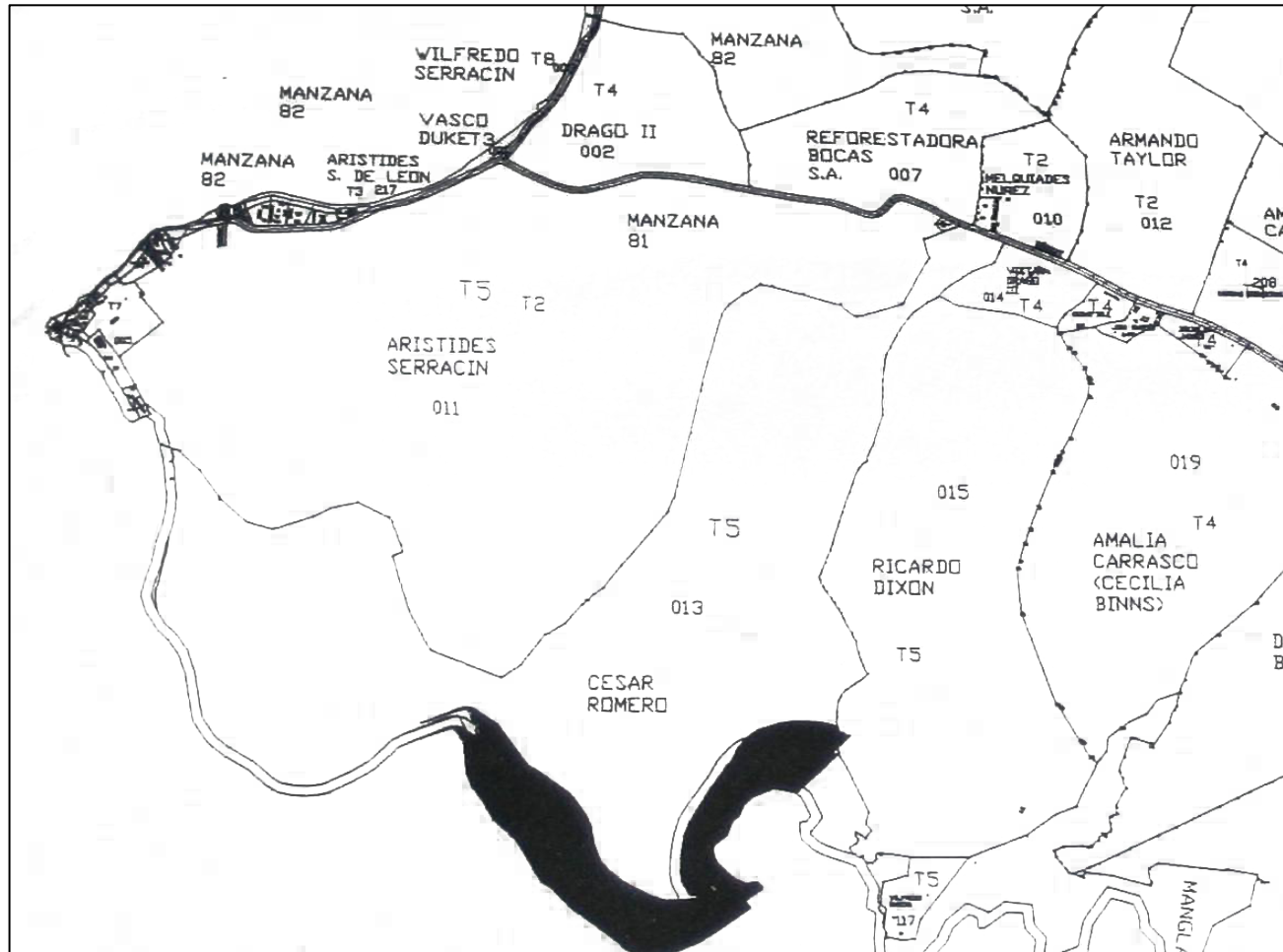   Research Press, Santa Fe.

Figure 1: PRONAT Land Titling Survey 2008.
Preliminary results of the land titling policy enacted by the Panamanian government and the World
Bank.
The boundaries detailed in this map are incomplete and do not reflect a finalized decision by Pronat or

Figure 2: 1864 Map of the Bocas del Toro Archipelago, by Manuel Ponce de Leon
Courtesy of David Rumsey's Map collection, Comision Corografica, Bogota [Columbia].

Figure 3: Isla Colon Bocas del Toro, Panama

Figure 4: Starfish Beach Resort Development Plan
Large 3 story homes and hotels to cater to wealthy tourists
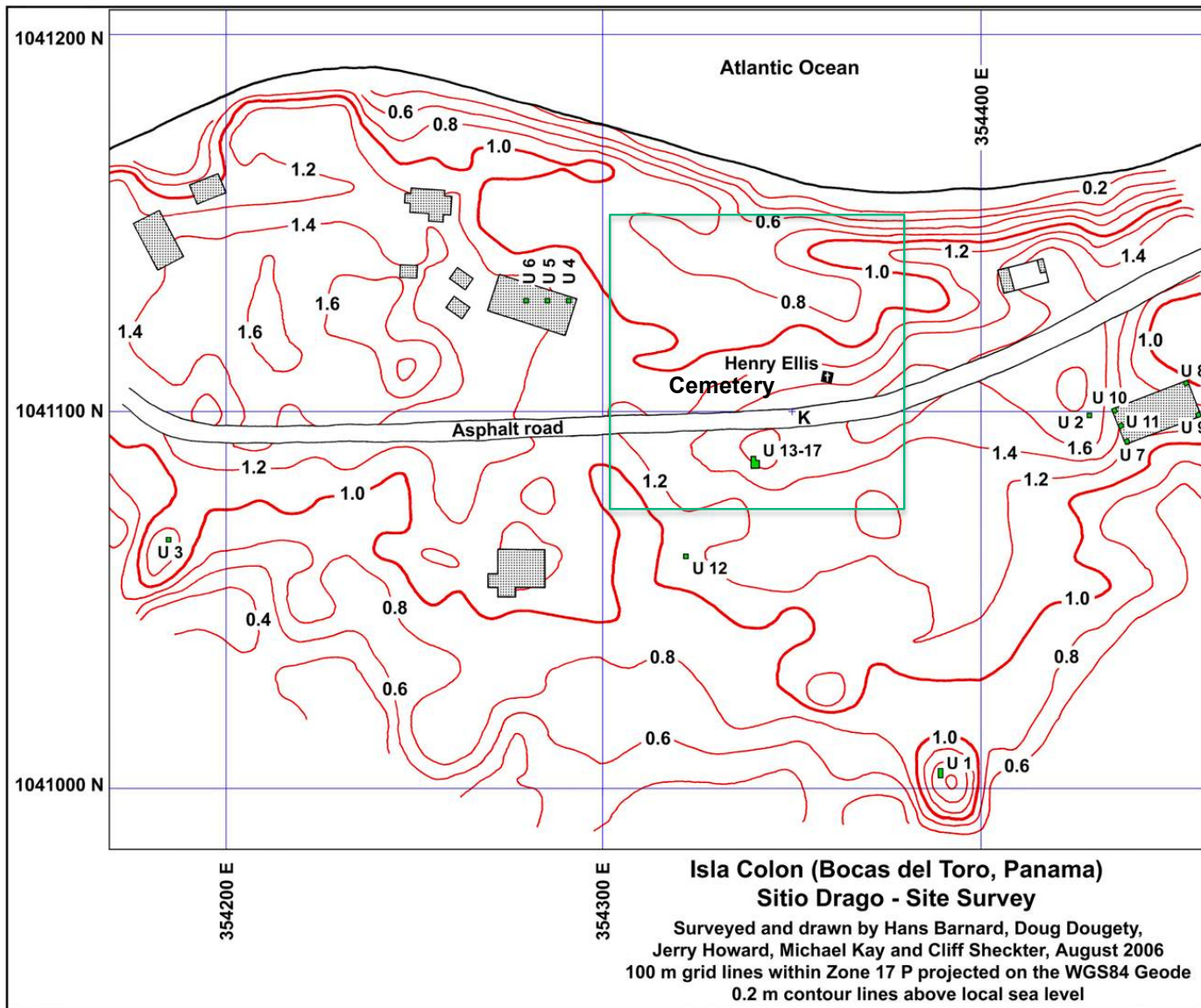
Figure 5: Boca del Drago Total Station Survey Core
U# =Excavation units. The historic cemetery is defined in green. The road splits the two halves of the
cemetery. Today only the north side has marked boundaries
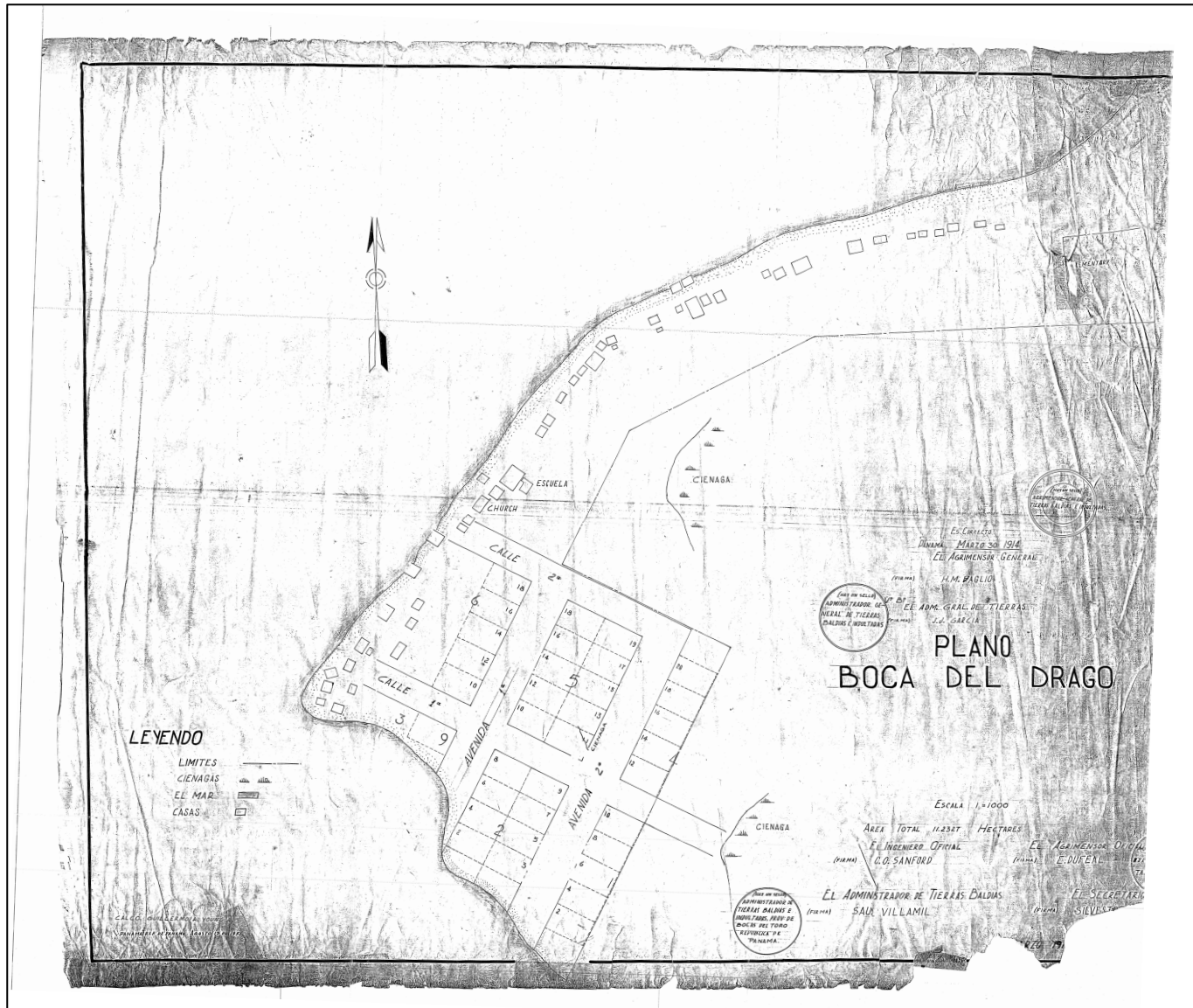
Figure 6: 1914 Historic Map and Development Plan for Boca del Drago
The map detail several dwellings including a school and a church

Figure 7: 2009 Posthole Survey
Survey consisted of 5x5 meter postholes excavated to 80cm in depth or until the water table was reached.
Survey too place on the ITEC field station and Fatima properties.

Figure 8: 2010 Magnetometry Surveys and Unit Locations
6 grids were placed in areas where historic habitations were thought to be.

Figure 9: 2009 Pedestrian and GPS Survey
Survey revealed surface artifacts in 4 distinct areas. Artifacts were most heavily concentrated at Sitio Drago 1.

Figure 10: 2011 Magnetometry Grids
We conducted the above survey after Bocas community members developed an interest in how non-invasive geophysics can be used to avoid graves. 6 Grids were placed in areas were graves are known to have been found.
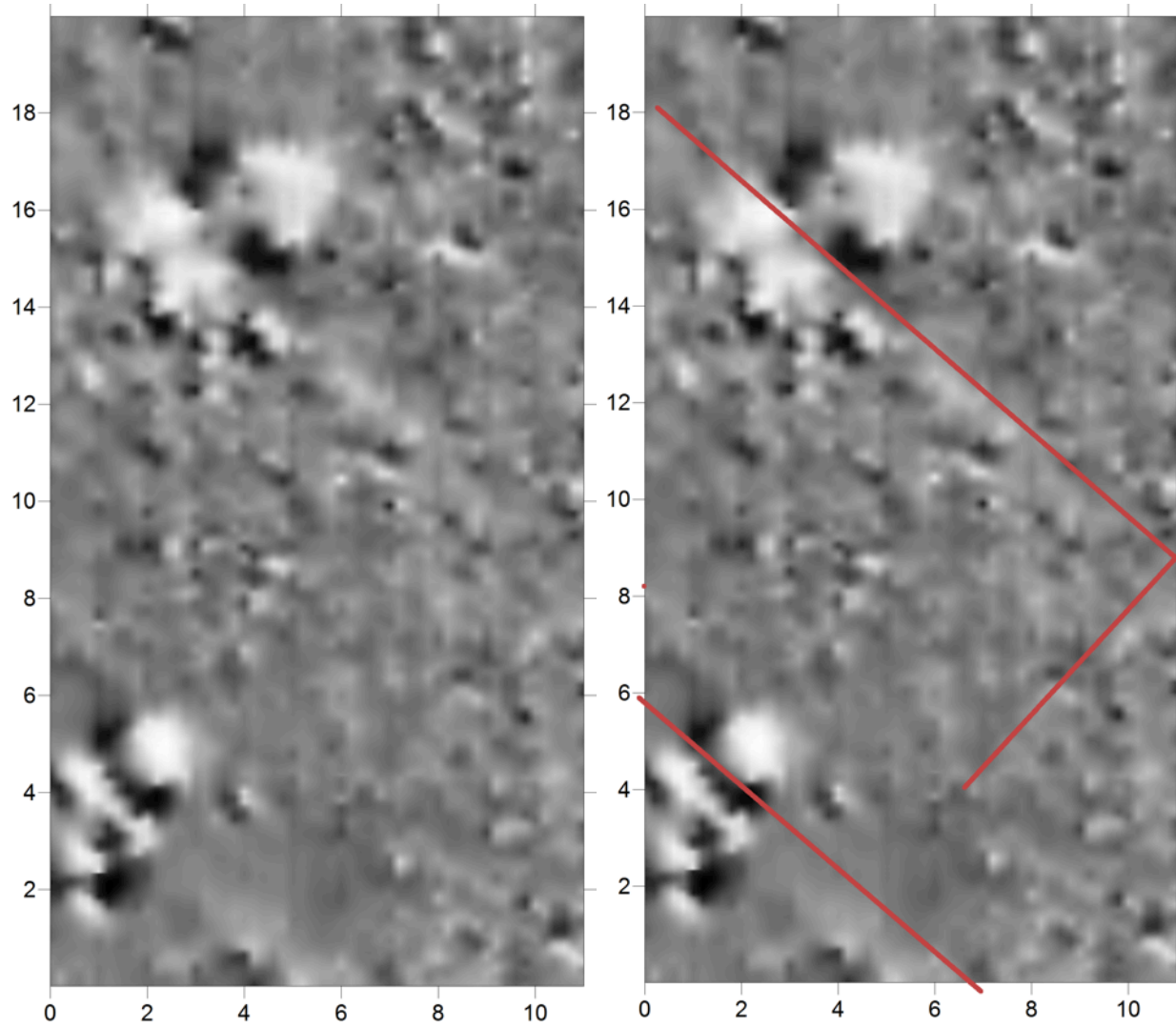
Figure 11: Iglesias 1 Magnetometry Survey
Survey revealed rectangular feature. Remnants of a house foundation or drip line.

Figure 12: Iglesias Property Lines and Oral Historical Knowledge of Homesteads

Figure 13: Wood Post from Historic Foundation
The location of this wood stump was revealed in oral histories collected.
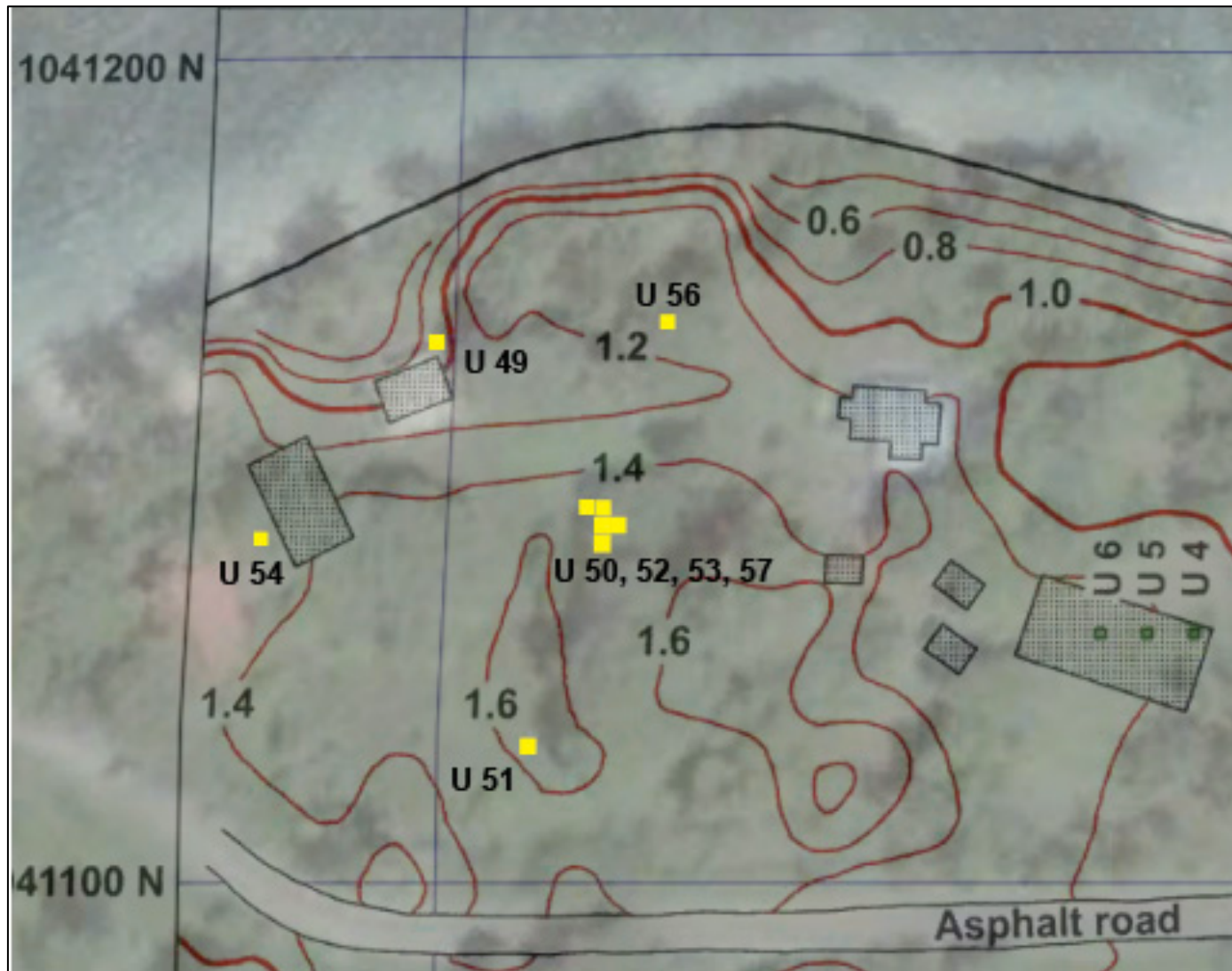
Figure 14: 2012 Iglesias Excavations with Drago Total Station Core Overlaid on Google Map
Map details previous excavations as well as the 2012 excavations
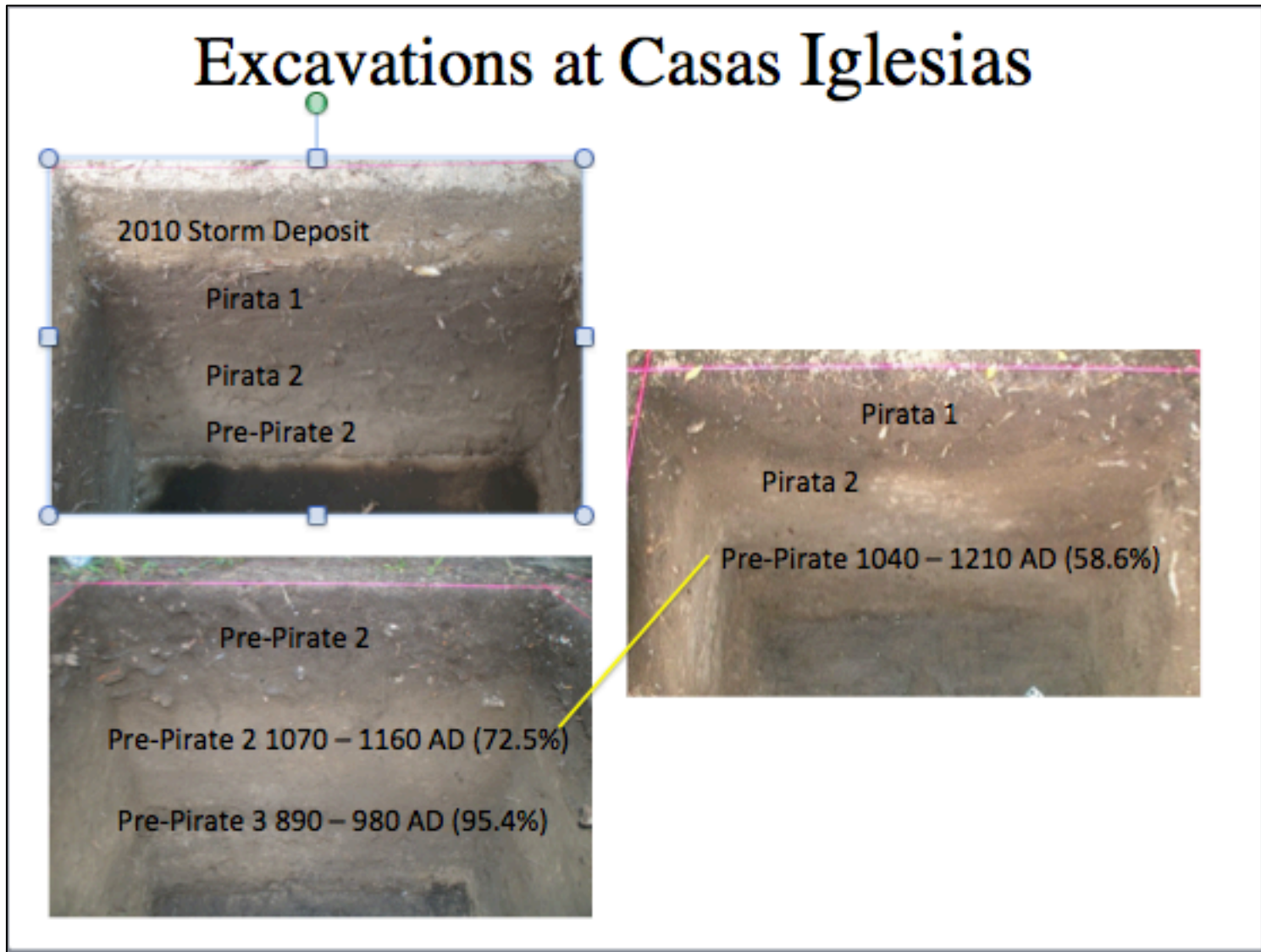
Figure 15: Stratigraphic profiles of Units 49, 50, and 51.
Radio carbon dates have been added to the picture and are based on depth.
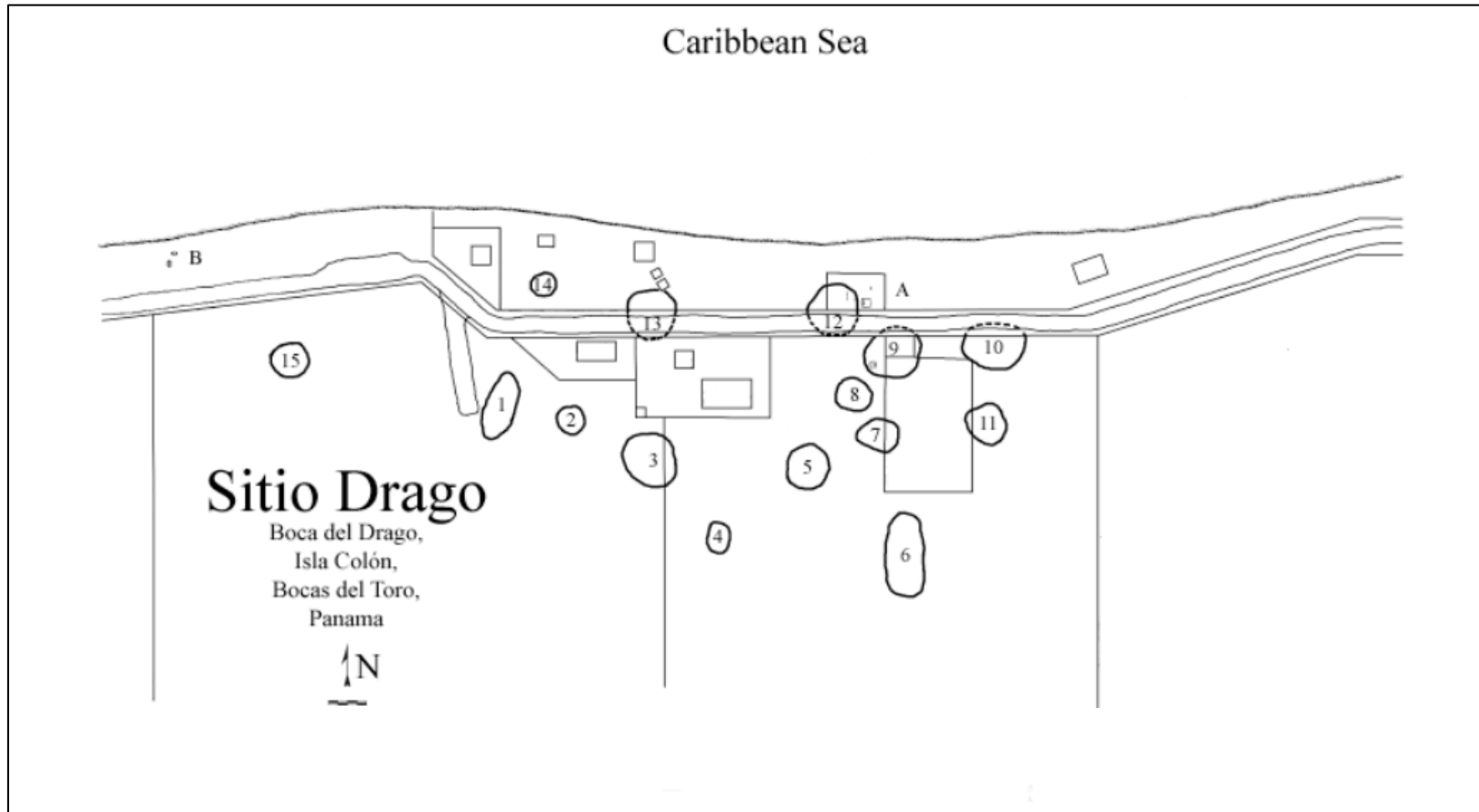
Figure 16: Illustration of Low Earthen Mounds at Sitio Drago (Wake 2004).
Numbered ovals corresponds to mound numbers. Mounds 13 and 14 are located on Iglesias current landholding.

Figure 17: Unit 50 52 Damages from Heavy Rains
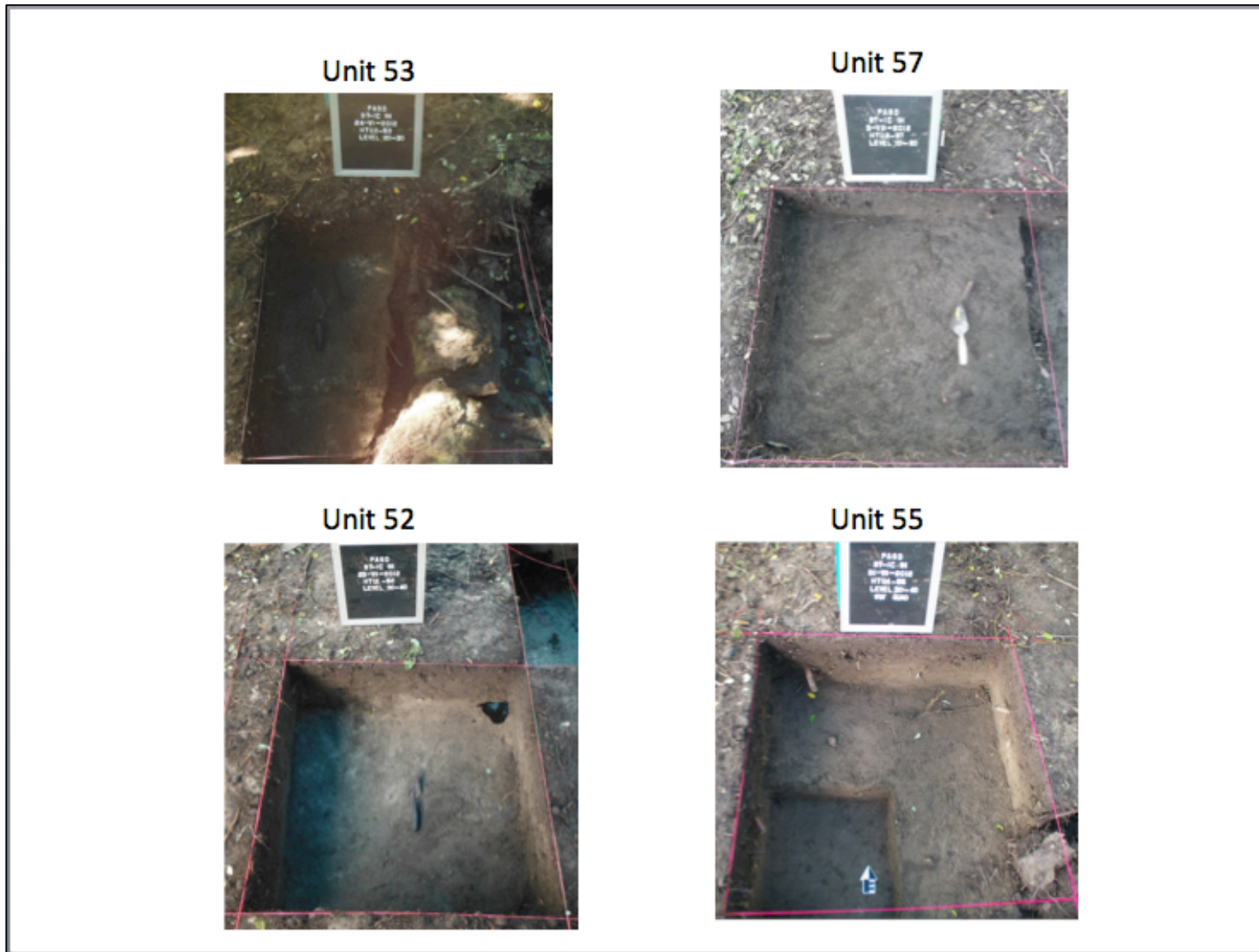
Figure 18: Unit Profiles for 52, 53, 55, and 57
These units were excavated following a historic trash pit

Perspectives of African Diaspora

Diaspora as an Analytical Tool

Understanding through theory

The work of Diaspora

Diaspora as Practice

Diaspora as a Political Tactic

Conscious change as result of the work being done
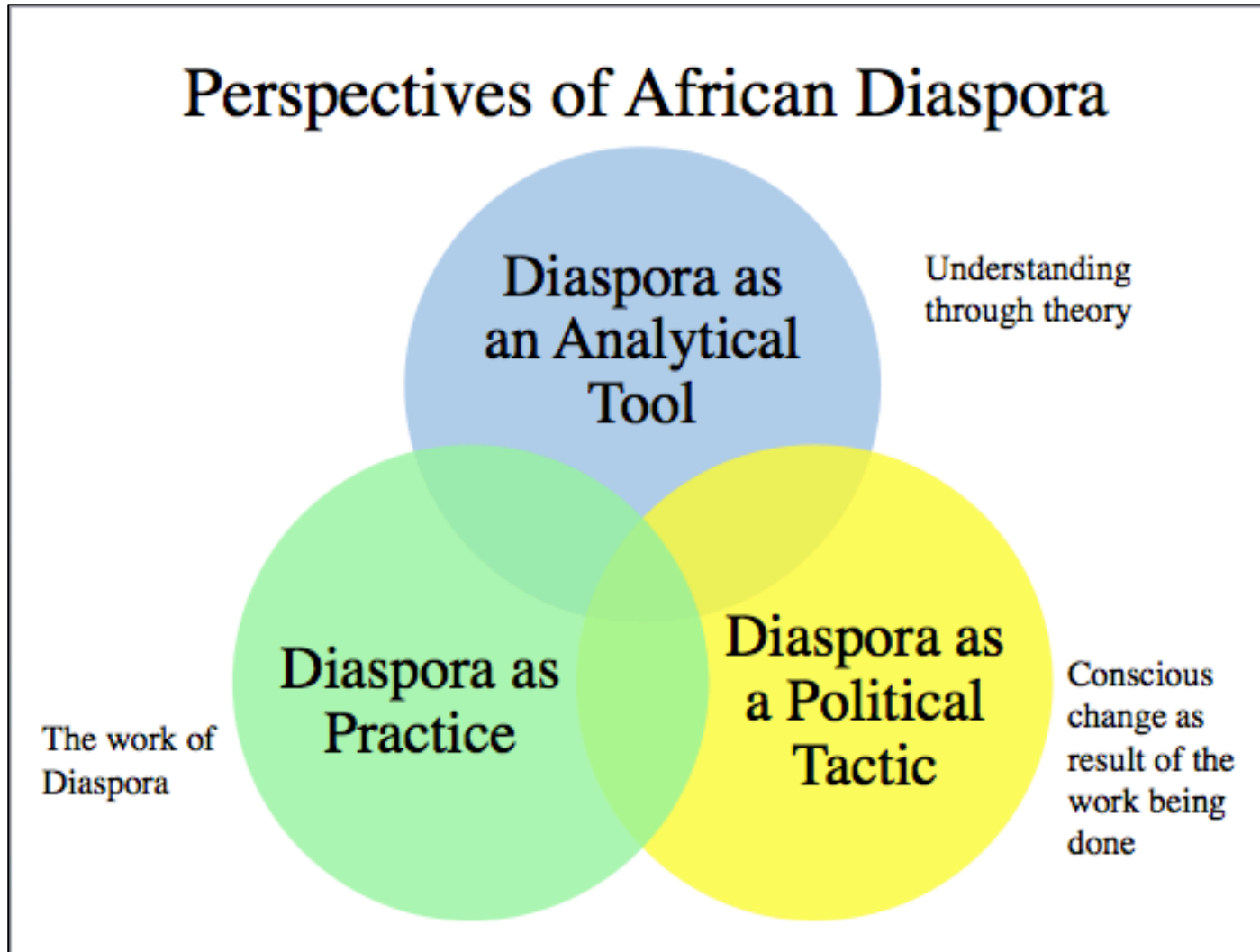
Figure 19: Perspectives or Approaches to Diaspora
Three overlapping and intersecting uses of Diaspora that are used as conceptual and mobilizing framework for research.
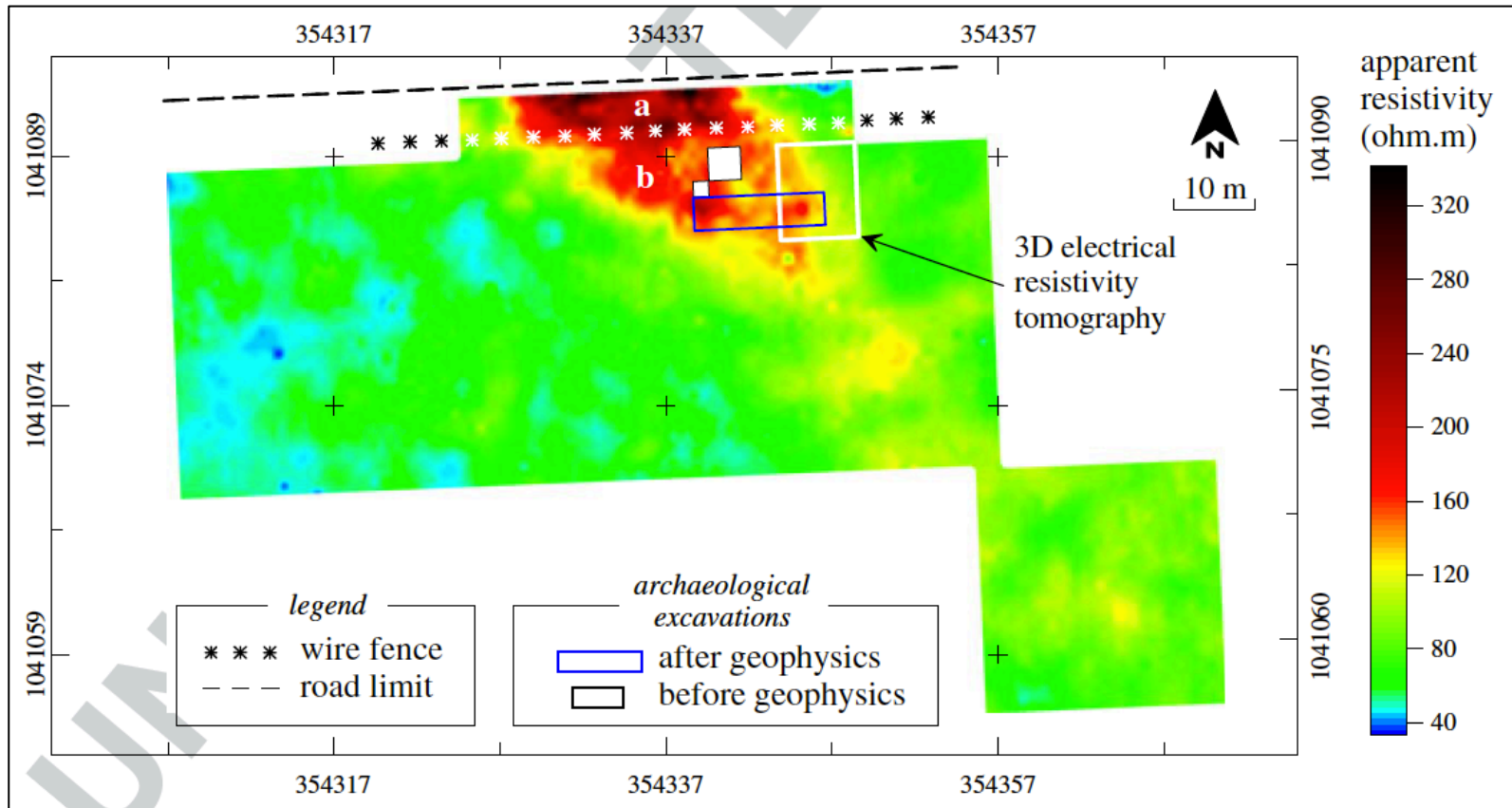
Figure 20: Electric Resistivity from Sitio Drago (Wake et al. 2012).
This electrical resistivity survey preformed on Serracin land, coupled with topography data demonstrates clear evidence that the event of apparent resistivity and where graves were found by archaeologists, extends into the modern cemetery boundaries.
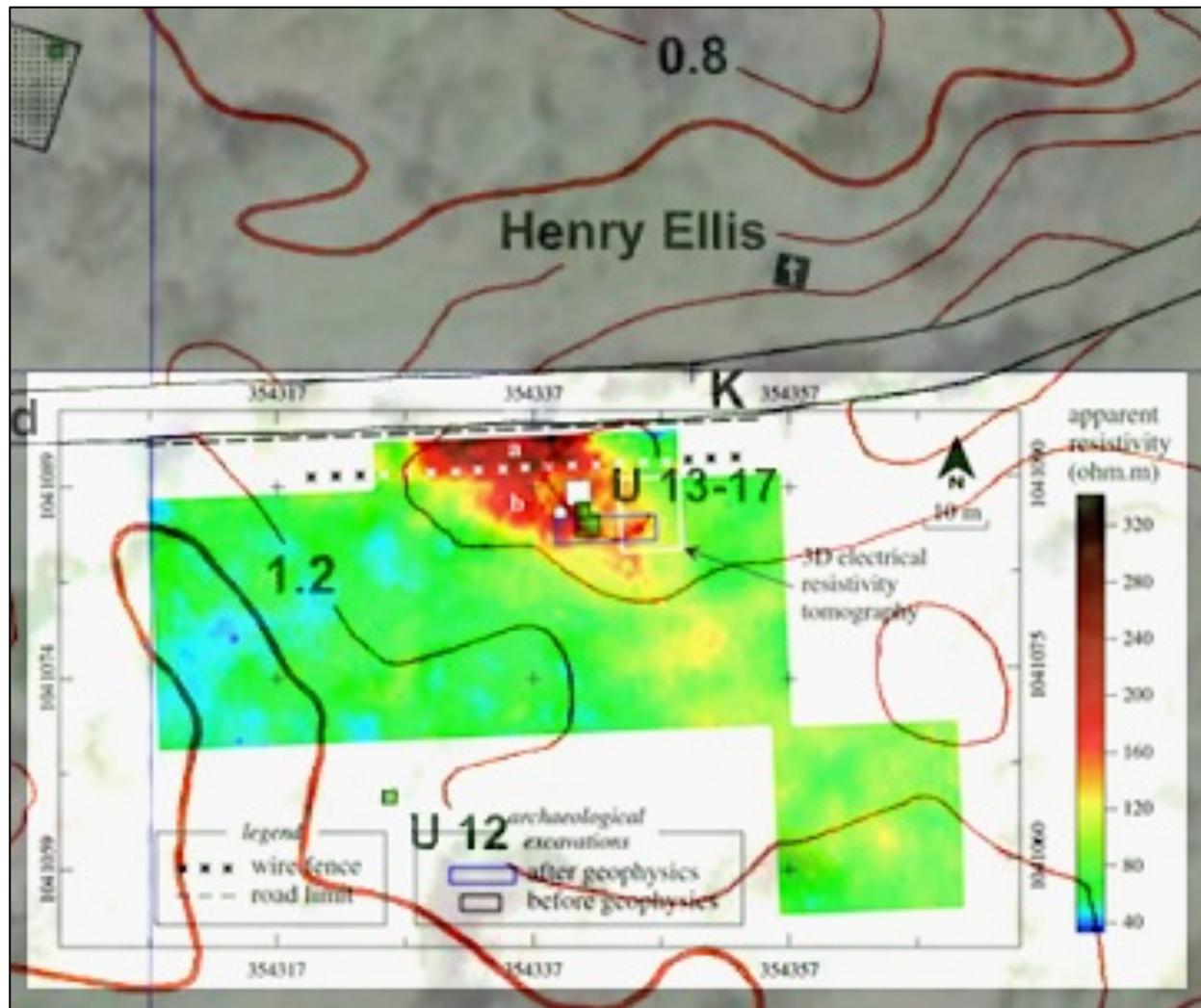
Figure 21: Resistivity Overlay
This image demonstrates that the boundaries of the cemetery extended across the road as was evident by the discovery of burials.
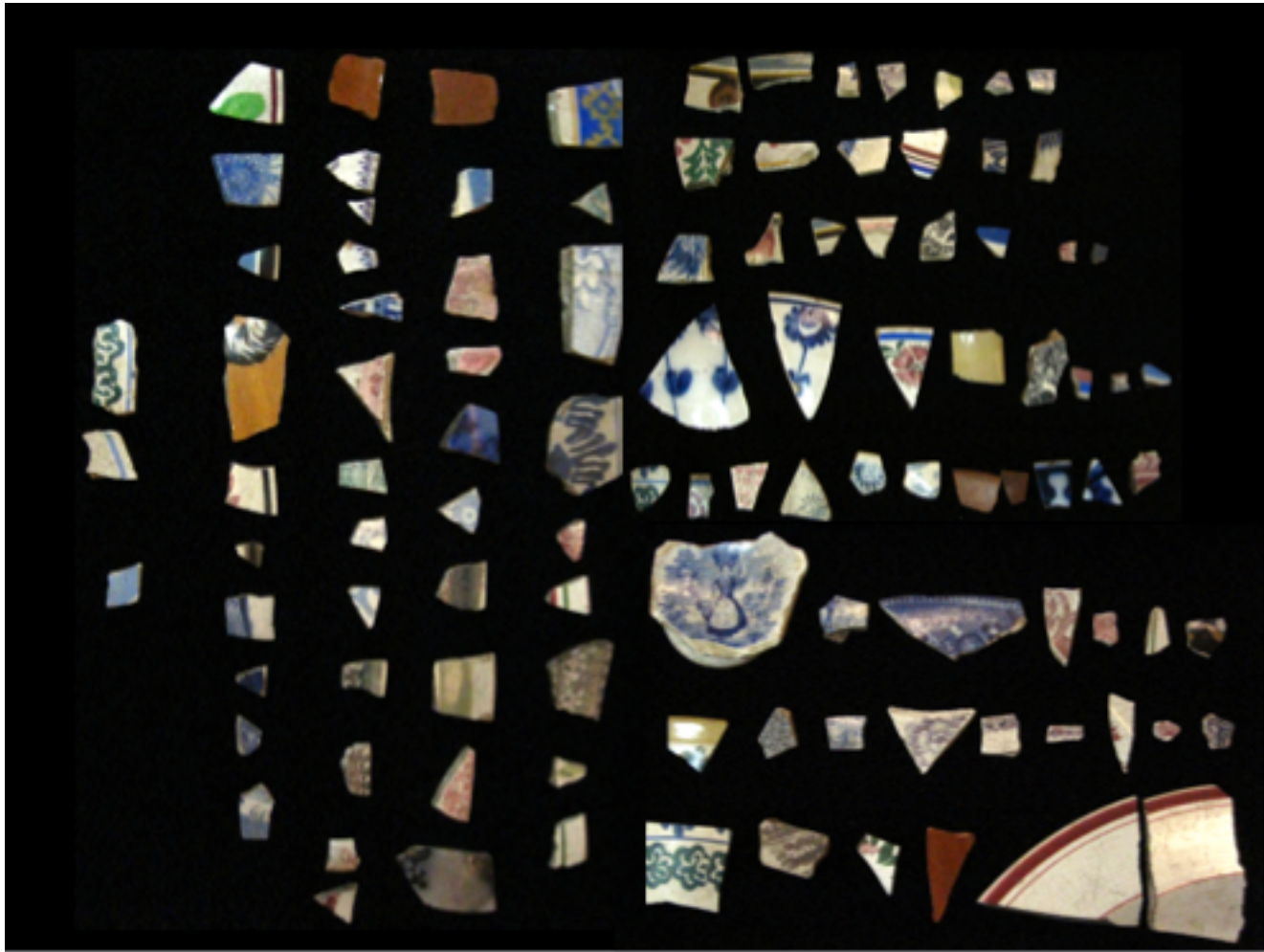
Figure 22: Brightly Colored Imported Ceramics

Figure 23: Brightly Colored Caribbean Houses of Bocas

	Europe		Mainland North America									
			Northern U.S.		Chesapeake		Carolinas / Georgia		Gulf states		U.S.A. unspecified	
	Embarked	Disembarked	Embarked	Disembarked	Embarked	Disembarked	Embarked	Disembarked	Embarked	Disembarked	Embarked	Disembarked
1501-1550	637	452	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1551-1600	266	188	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1601-1650	120	85	0	0	141	100	0	0	0	0	0	0
1651-1700	3,519	2,896	3,615	2,826	16,011	12,088	0	0	0	0	189	133
1701-1750	4,997	4,126	15,886	12,874	103,680	83,889	49,444	41,143	8,095	7,215	994	852
1751-1800	1,258	1,113	13,184	10,916	38,517	31,522	123,175	102,253	5,430	4,447	439	371
1801-1850	0	0	417	338	78	68	80,059	66,777	11,997	10,014	554	507
1851-1866	0	0	0	0	0	0	350	303	126	110	0	0
Totals	10,798	8,860	33,102	26,955	158,427	127,668	253,029	210,477	25,648	21,785	2,176	1,862

|	British Caribbean												
	Jamaica		Barbados		Antigua		St. Kitts		Grenada		Dominica		British Guiana
	Embarked	Disembarked	Embarked	Disembarked	Embarked	Disembarked	Embarked	Disembarked	Embarked	Disembarked	Embarked	Disembarked	Embarked
1501-1550	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1551-1600	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1601-1650	137	97	33,113	25,877	0	0	932	762	0	0	0	0	0
1651-1700	119,071	91,005	203,611	155,712	7,922	5,985	3,377	2,717	264	230	0	0	0
1701-1750	390,931	323,198	204,062	169,121	75,512	62,768	67,939	55,521	1,288	912	0	0	0
1751-1800	621,851	534,004	160,056	135,205	75,998	64,467	85,633	72,470	141,596	121,850	117,755	101,473	33,509
1801-1850	80,361	71,291	8,115	7,246	5,437	4,818	2,986	2,678	6,331	5,696	9,681	8,573	47,001
1851-1866	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	1,212,351	1,019,596	608,958	493,162	164,869	138,038	160,866	134,148	149,478	128,688	127,436	110,046	80,510

	British Guiana	St. Vincent		Montserrat / Nevis		Trinidad / Tobago		Other British Caribbean		French Caribbean			
										Saint-Domingue		Martinique	
	Disembarked	Embarked	Disembarked	Embarked	Disembarked	Embarked	Disembarked	Embarked	Disembarked	Embarked	Disembarked	Embarked	Disembarked
1501-1550	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1551-1600	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1601-1650	0	0	0	0	0	544	470	0	0	0	0	628	545
1651-1700	0	0	0	28,865	21,979	1,868	1,474	5,412	4,168	6,731	4,924	23,450	17,994
1701-1750	0	0	0	24,554	19,850	0	0	7,686	6,250	221,116	183,932	123,444	100,196
1751-1800	30,647	56,504	50,471	5,532	4,566	22,807	20,657	46,606	39,894	682,391	583,878	70,020	60,101
1801-1850	42,039	9,457	8,436	521	450	23,905	21,402	24,679	21,822	903	808	43,502	38,075
1851-1866	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	72,685	65,962	58,907	59,473	46,845	49,124	44,002	84,384	72,134	911,142	773,543	261,043	216,911

	Guadeloupe		French Guiana		French Caribbean unspecified		Dutch Americas Dutch Caribbean		Dutch Guianas		Danish West Indies		Spanish Americas Cuba
	Embarked	Disembarked	Embarked	Disembarked	Embarked	Disembarked	Embarked	Disembarked	Embarked	Disembarked	Embarked	Disembarked	Embarked
1501-1550	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1551-1600	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1601-1650	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
1651-1700	4,119	3,350	3,360	2,546	12,068	9,326	98,076	84,029	47,903	40,128	22,610	18,146	434
1701-1750	2,722	2,108	4,728	3,867	5,415	4,368	48,905	42,131	99,268	84,333	16,544	12,574	4,210
1751-1800	51,163	41,675	12,056	9,797	5,462	5,211	26,222	23,915	165,163	144,835	65,257	56,034	74,375
1801-1850	29,843	25,739	16,674	14,389	8,627	7,386	0	0	28,654	25,355	25,455	22,244	614,982
1851-1866	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	195,989
Totals	87,846	72,872	36,818	30,599	31,573	26,291	173,204	150,076	340,988	294,652	129,867	108,998	889,990

		Puerto Rico		Spanish Central America		Rio de la Plata		Other Spanish Americas		Brazil Amazonia		Bahia	
	Disembarked	Embarked	Disembarked	Embarked	Disembarked	Embarked	Disembarked	Embarked	Disembarked	Embarked	Disembarked	Embarked	Disembarked
1501-1550	0	0	0	2,717	1,903	0	0	60,771	42,554	0	0	0	0
1551-1600	0	0	0	68,854	48,206	0	0	109,574	76,708	0	0	6,644	5,647
1601-1650	0	0	0	225,779	158,598	876	699	27,707	19,894	0	0	135,967	115,517
1651-1700	336	382	305	42,312	33,267	7,320	5,681	8,491	6,724	2,044	1,096	229,565	197,956
1701-1750	3,408	478	383	28,580	22,207	35,161	27,901	2,059	1,393	8,806	4,181	473,585	416,045
1751-1800	64,625	12,342	10,235	3,105	2,681	9,332	7,643	5,795	5,058	73,979	67,557	431,482	399,859
1801-1850	546,225	18,118	15,960	707	639	30,301	25,322	492	412	77,872	69,397	457,919	414,350
1851-1866	163,947	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1,146	981
Totals	778,541	31,320	26,883	372,056	267,499	82,990	67,246	214,889	152,743	162,701	142,231	1,736,308	1,550,355

	Pernambuco		South-east Brazil		Brazil unspecified		Africa		Totals	
	Embarked	Disembarked	Embarked	Disembarked	Embarked	Disembarked	Embarked	Disembarked	Embarked	Disembarked
1501-1550	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	64,126	44,909
1551-1600	22,108	18,571	5,600	4,770	334	287	0	0	213,380	154,376
1601-1650	144,199	122,038	94,948	80,712	2,535	2,139	267	172	667,893	527,705
1651-1700	138,102	124,484	162,834	140,371	167	143	4,045	2,950	1,207,738	994,971
1701-1750	202,294	184,178	320,210	281,461	7,224	5,987	814	516	2,560,634	2,168,888
1751-1800	156,758	145,158	525,741	475,099	10,852	9,493	2,637	1,801	3,933,985	3,440,981
1801-1850	296,576	259,054	1,492,012	1,275,932	42,950	35,992	150,805	132,132	3,647,971	3,181,568
1851-1866	438	350	7,228	5,568	0	0	20,332	17,998	225,609	189,257
Totals	960,475	853,833	2,608,573	2,263,914	64,061	54,041	178,901	155,569	12,521,336	10,702,656

	Grenada		Spanish Central America		Totals	
	Embarked	Disembarked	Embarked	Disembarked	Embarked	Disembarked
1501-1550	0	0	2,717	1,903	64,126	44,909
1551-1600	0	0	68,854	48,206	213,380	154,376
1601-1650	0	0	225,779	158,598	667,893	527,705
1651-1700	264	230	42,312	33,267	1,207,738	994,971
1701-1750	1,288	912	28,580	22,207	2,560,634	2,168,888
1751-1800	141,596	121,850	3,105	2,681	3,933,985	3,440,981
1801-1850	6,331	5,696	707	639	3,647,971	3,181,568
1851-1866	0	0	0	0	225,609	189,257
Totals	149,478	128,688	372,056	267,499	12,521,336	10,702,656

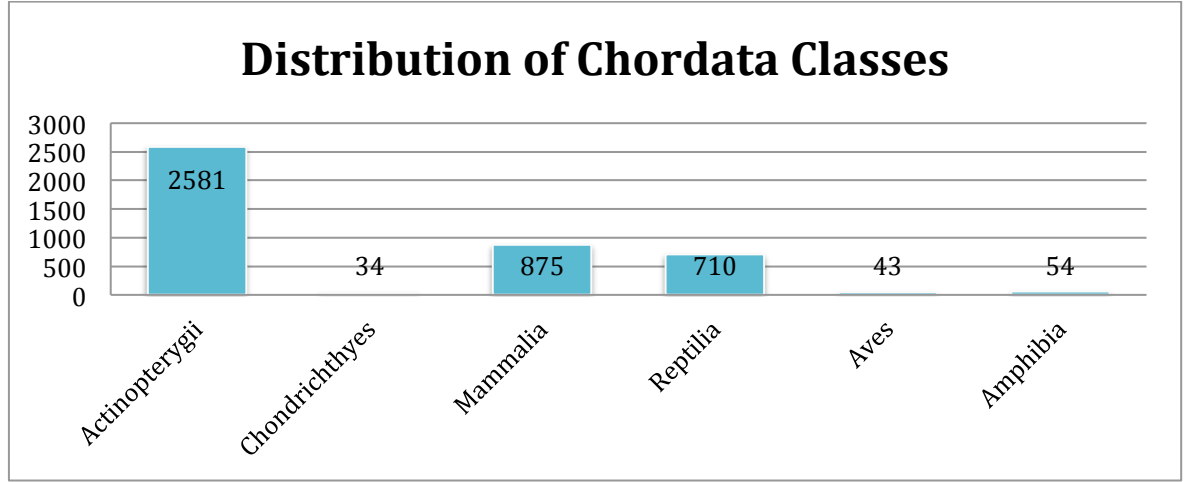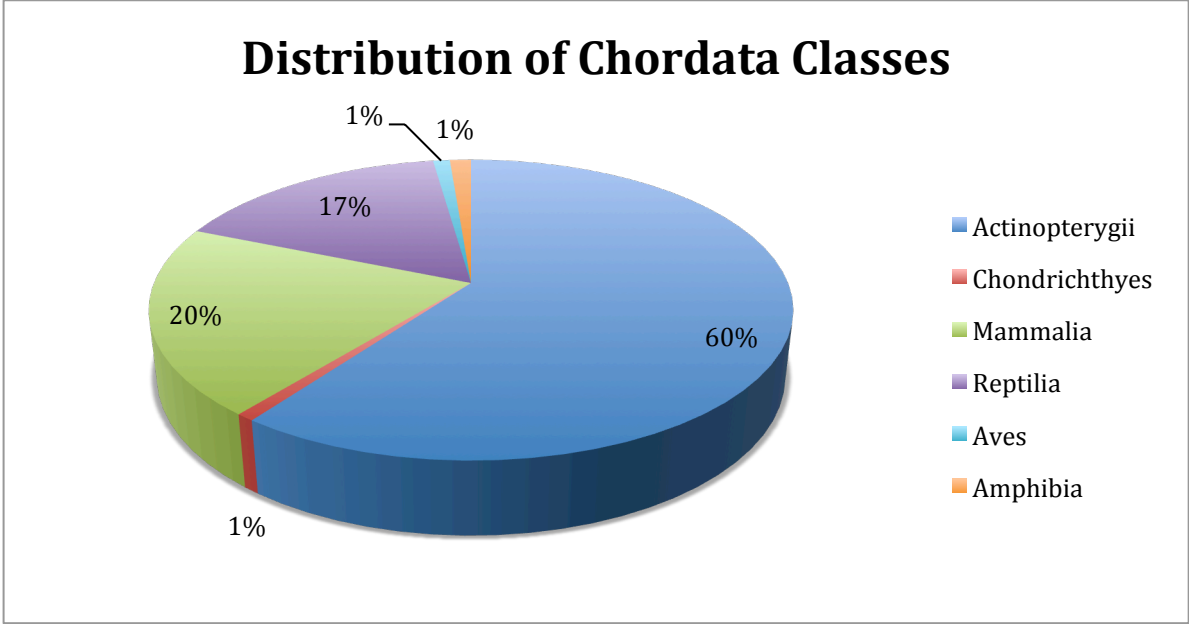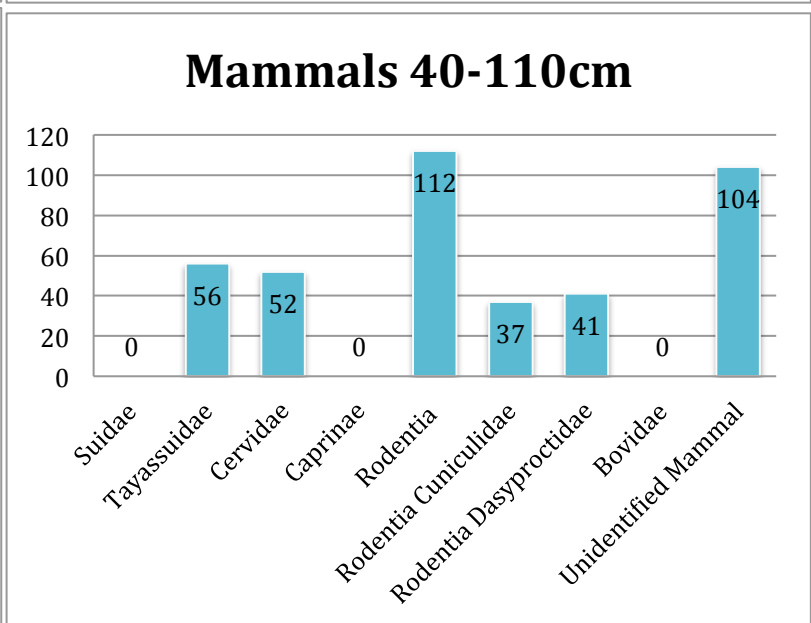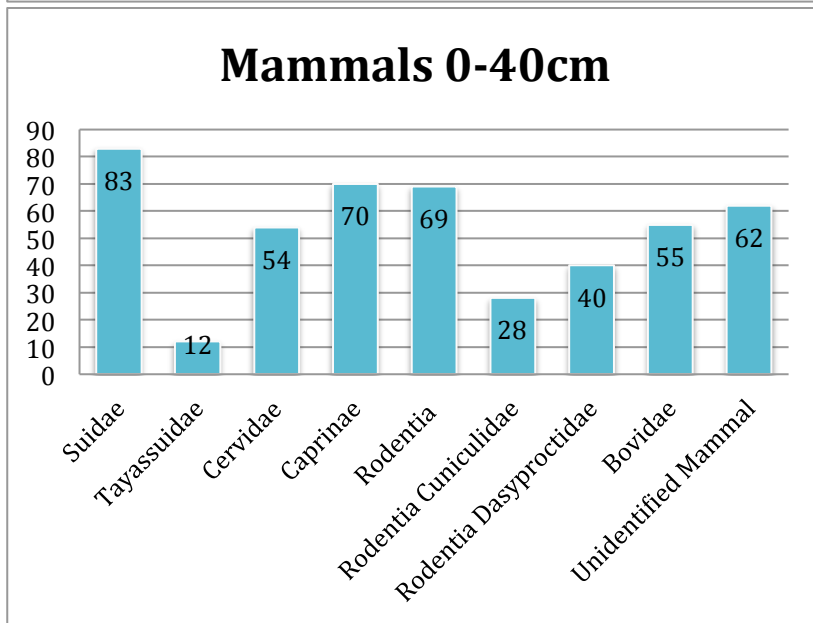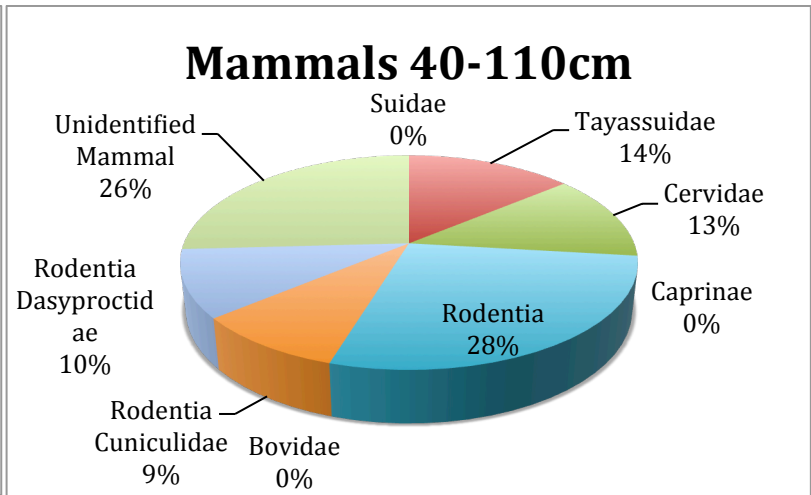**Table 1: Slave Trade Catchment Numbers for Bocas (Eltis 2009).**

Table 2: Distribution of Identified Chordata Classes
This table represents the number of animal classes identified and the their percentages

Taxon	Unit 49	Unit 50	Unit 51
Abudefduf	0	0	1
Acanthuridae	3	1	0
Acanthurus	8	0	4
Aetobatus narinari	0	0	2
Albula vulpes	5	5	76
Ariidae	60	34	0
Bagre Marinus	0	14	0
Balistes	7	1	2
Balistes vetula	0	0	2
Balistidae	1	1	0
Batrachoididae	5	2	0
Belonidae	0	16	7
Bodianus	0	10	0
Bodianus pulchellus	0	0	1
Bodianus rufus	0	0	10
Calamus	0	0	1
Carangidae	87	66	0
Caranx crysos	0	0	97
Caranx hippos	0	0	4
Caranx	118	87	161
Caranx latus	0	0	4
Carcharhinus	1	2	1
Carcharhinus cf. limbatus	0	2	2
Cathorops	0	7	106
Centropomus	0	0	2
cf. Istiophoridae	0	0	1
Chloroscombrus	0	5	0
Chloroscombrus chrysurus	90	46	88
Clupeidae	73	7	79
Ctenosciaena gracilicirrhus	0	0	5
Cynoscion	0	0	1
Cynoscion jamaicensis	0	0	1
Dasyatiade	2	0	0
Dasyatis	1	0	1
Diapterus	0	0	1
Diodon	2	0	3
Diodontidae	3	0	0
Elops saurus	1	0	0
Epinephelus	4	1	6
Epinephelus itajara	0	0	1
Euthynnus aleterattus	33	1	119
Gerreidae	4	6	2
Gerres cinereus	0	0	3
Gymnothorax	0	1	1
Haemulidae	7	4	6
Haemulon	22	68	13
Haemulon flavolineatum	0	0	17
Haemulon *parra*	0	0	10

Haemulon plumieri	0	0	27
Haemulon sciurus	0	0	7
Halichoeres	0	0	1
Kyphosus sectatrix	0	2	2
Lachnolaimus maximus	1	0	0
Larimus breviceps	0	22	29
Lutjanus analis	0	0	18
Lutjanus apodus	0	0	7
Lutjanus	66	188	112
Lutjanus jocu	0	0	2
Lutjanus synagris	0	0	95
Megalops atlanticus	23	1	7
Micropogonias furnieri	5	8	3
Mugil sp.	3	0	8
Mycteroperca bonaci	0	0	1
Mycteroperca	0	0	1
Ocyurus chrysurus	0	0	6
Oligoplites	0	19	4
Rachycentron canadum	0	0	1
Rajiformes	2	0	0
Sanopus barbatus	0	0	2
Scaridae	15	18	0
Scarus	1	0	8
Sciades	9	0	12
Sciaenidae	4	1	0
Scomberomorus	11	27	50
Scomberomorus maculatus	0	0	2
Scombridae	68	54	0
Scorpaena sp.	1	0	0
Selene	7	0	6
Seriola	0	2	2
Serranidae	57	0	0
Sparidae	26	0	0
Sparisoma radians	0	0	5
Sparisoma rubripinne	0	0	4
Sparisoma	71	0	7
Sparisoma viride	0	0	1
Sphyraena	74	46	66
Sphyraena barracuda	0	0	6
Sphyraena guachancho	28	0	17
Stellifer colonensis	0	0	13
Strongylura	0	0	1
Teleostei	0	447	140
Trachinotus	2	0	5
Tylosurus crocodilus	4	0	60
Total	**637**	**645**	**1,174**

Table 3: Genera and Species of Fish Identified by Unit

Mammals 0-40cm

Unidentified Mammal 13%
Suidae 18%
Tayassuidae 2%
Cervidae 11%
Bovidae 12%
Caprinae 15%
Rodentia 15%
Rodentia Dasyproctidae 8%
Rodentia Cuniculidae 6%

Mammals 40-110cm

Suidae 0%
Unidentified Mammal 26%
Tayassuidae 14%
Cervidae 13%
Caprinae 0%
Rodentia 28%
Rodentia Dasyproctidae 10%
Rodentia Cuniculidae 9%
Bovidae 0%

Mammals 0-40cm

Category	Value
Suidae	83
Tayassuidae	12
Cervidae	54
Caprinae	70
Rodentia	69
Rodentia Cuniculidae	28
Rodentia Dasyproctidae	40
Bovidae	55
Unidentified Mammal	62

Mammals 40-110cm

Category	Value
Suidae	0
Tayassuidae	56
Cervidae	52
Caprinae	0
Rodentia	112
Rodentia Cuniculidae	37
Rodentia Dasyproctidae	41
Bovidae	0
Unidentified Mammal	104

Distribution of Reptiles

Squamata
Colubridae/ Boidae
1%

Iguanidae
1%

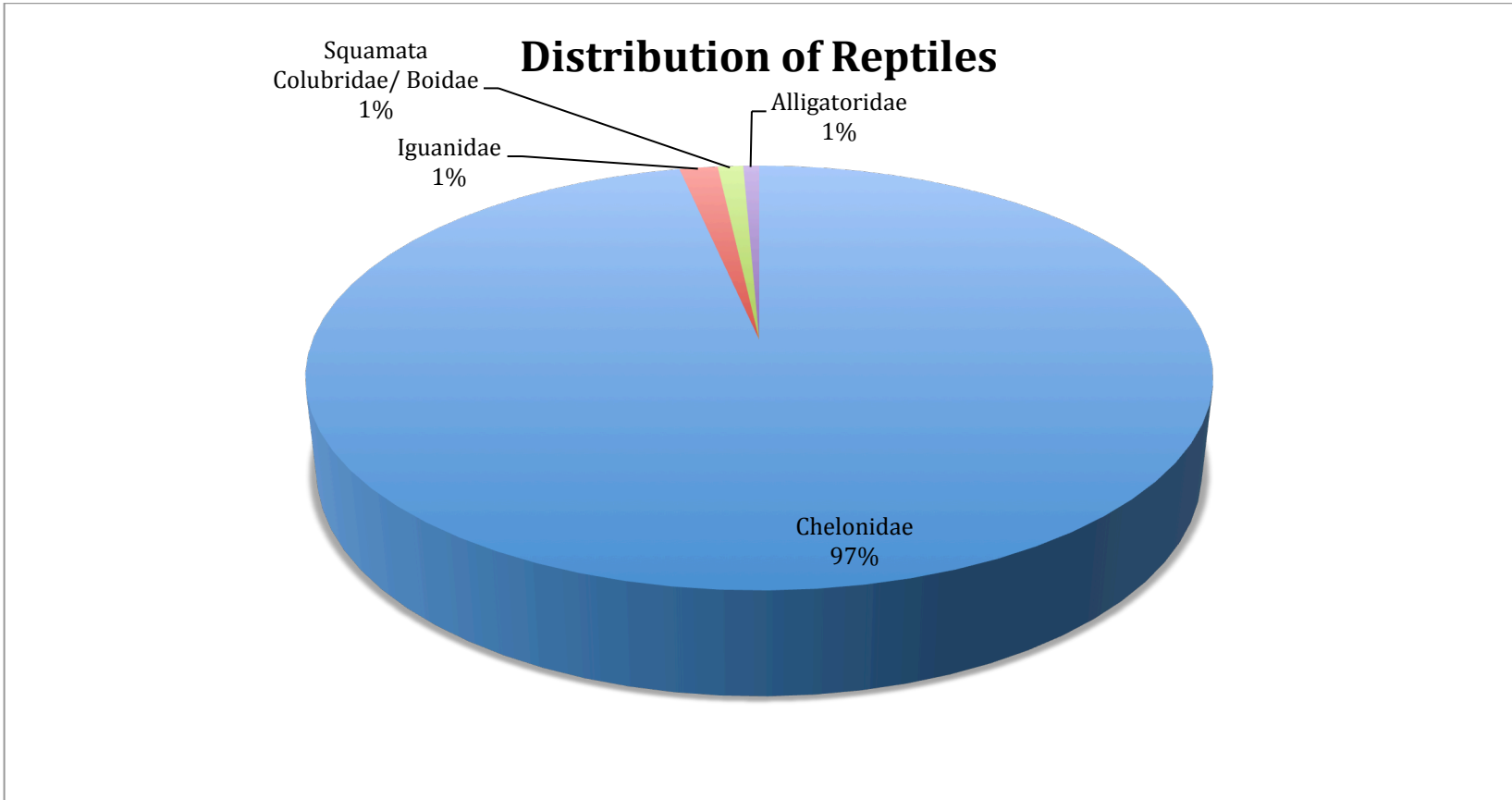Alligatoridae
1%

Chelonidae
97%

Table 5: Distribution of Reptiles
Table represents total number of reptiles across all levels. Sea turtles make-up the majority reptiles in all levels.

Décor color
Black
Black/ Red
Black/Blue
Blue
Brown & Blue
Brown & Lt Blue
Brown & Olive
Brown or Black
Dark Blue
Dark Blue/ Green
Dark red/ Bright Green
flow black
flow blue
Green
Green/ Red
Lt Green
Lt. Blue
Lt. Blue/ Dark Green
Mauve/ Cobalt
Moss Green
Moss Green & Lt Blue
Mustard Gold
none
none
Orange slip/ Black & White Worm
Purple
Purple or lavender
Red
Red or Mauve
Yellow stamp/ Blue & Yellow band
Grand Total

Table 6: List of Historic Ceramic Color Variations

Vessel Type	Count
ale bottle	
bowl	
bowl carinated	
bowl shallow or saucer	
large bowl/ hollow	
mug	
pitcher	
plate	
plate or saucer	
saucer	
small plate or saucer	
teacup	
Unidentified	
Grand Total	

Table 7: Vessel Type of Historic Impor Ceramics
Vessel counts across all analyzed units

	Ware Type	Storage Jars	Service Bowls, Cups	Cooking
Historic	Imported NISP	14% 52	96% 674	0%*
Historic	Local Made NISP	86% 320	4% 28	100% 241
Pre-Pirate	Imported NISP	0	0	0
Pre-Pirate	Local Made NISP	100% 867	100% 269	100% 556

Table 8: Locally-made Ceramics compared with Historic Imported Ceramics

Distribution of Genera	Number of Genera Identified in Total	Historic 0-40cm	Pre-Pirate 40-110cm
Number of Fish Genera	50	19	41

Table 9: Fish Genera represented in different periods

Smithsonian Tropical Research
Institute
National Science Foundation
Archaeological Research Facility UC
Lowie and Olson
Stahl
Laurie Wilkie
Rosemary Joyce
Kent Lightfoot
Ugo Nwokeji
Luis Hernandez
Raul Holston
Alonso Iglesias
Marciano Iglesias
Acasio Iglesias
Fatima and Chino
Ricardo "Don Enrique" Dixon
Enrique Dixon Jr.
Plinio Gondola
Rachel Collins
Delores Piperno
Familia Romero
Alexis Mojica
Alexis Miranda
Willie and Juanie Serracin
Bolo Serracin
Ana Schafer
Justin
Clanrad
Lavinia
Marlon Smith

Tomeko Wyrick
Nico Tripcevich
Steve Shackley
Meg Conkey
Hardy Frye
Leigh Raiford
Charles Henry
Michael Blakey
Brandon Nida
Pat and Kitty Wade
Gloria Keng
Stephanie Lujan
Edmund Cardenas
Margurite DeLoney
Sarah Davidson
Bryan Cockrell
Lauren Nareau
Faye Johnson
Sara Gonzales
John Chenoweth
Shaun Ossie-Owusu
Julie Kircher
Rachel Gulbara
Sophie Young
ITEC
Peter Lahanas
Lana Martin

Table 10: List of Project Contributors