

REFRAMING DIASPORA: SOUTHEASTERN AFRICAN CONTRIBUTIONS TO
BIOSOCIAL VARIATION IN ATLANTIC AFRO-DESCENDANT GROUPS

By

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To Mom and Dad

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BIC	Bayesian Information Criterion
GPA	Generalized Procrustes Analysis
HCA	Hierarchical clustering analysis
IBD	Isolation by distance
PCA	Principal component analysis
PC axis	Principal component axis
Q-Q	Quantile-quantile
TP	Time Period
VOC	Dutch East India Company (Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie)

DEFINING TERMS

African diaspora	The generational (and often violent/traumatic) displacement of Africans from their homeland that creates physical, cultural, or symbolic barriers preventing their/their descendants' return
Biosocial variation	The integration of biological and archival data to understand how slave trade sites relate to one another, as well as how each site's history may have shaped its biology and social groupings uniquely
Creole	A person who is born within the enslavement site they are part of
Decedent	The skeletal remains of a historic Black person
Group	A sample of decedents or archival documents that represent a slice of time in a specified location
Indian Ocean decedent	An African/Afro-descendant decedent who was enslaved and/or buried in an Indian Ocean site
Malagasy people	Indigenous African and Asian inhabitants of Madagascar, particularly during the colonial period
Provenience	The location and estimated time period in which a decedent was excavated, usually as part of an archaeological investigation (Joyce, 2013, pp. 49–51)
Site	A specified location with provenience that a group is associated with
Steward	A person given the power to determine the fate of a set of human remains

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The African diaspora refers to the global dispersal of millions of Africans as a result of colonial slave trading. While the forced migration of West Africans to the Americas is predominantly discussed in the historical literature, there is also evidence of migrations of Southeastern Africans to the Americas in the same time period, and West Africans to Southeastern Africa. This suggests that examining these points of overlap could reveal novel connections among sites of the slave trade that are not traditionally put in dialogue. To that end, this dissertation analyzed the biosocial effects of enslavement in three selected regions of the slave trade: Barbados, St. Helena, and Cape Town.

To assess the biological variation of enslaved persons in these regions, I used geometric morphometrics (skeletal shape analysis) to estimate rates of biological diversity and degrees of relatedness. This process involved 3D scanning and virtually reconstructing cranial remains to enable skeletal landmark data collection and statistical analysis. Additionally, I conducted text analyses of archival newspapers and identified themes of how enslaved persons were essentialized. I then integrated these datasets

through visual and descriptive comparisons to assess whether these biological and social patterns correlated across sites.

My findings demonstrated that Southeastern African contributions to Atlantic diasporic regions were more notable than would be expected from global migration data alone. The Cape Town and St. Helena groups showed the highest biological affinity, while the Fort Knokke (slave ship victims at the Cape of estimated Mozambican ancestry) and Barbados groups had the highest within-group variance scores. In other analyses, some decedents from St. Helena showed overlap with Fort Knokke, suggesting that Southeastern African ancestry may have contributed to the St. Helena group. The archival datasets showed that, even during the late stages of the slave trade, descriptions of appearance and behavior of enslaved and recaptive people remained salient, which in the St. Helena sample were used to evaluate captives' value in the emerging apprenticeship system that arose to replace enslavement. These patterns support the notion that the shifting labor systems of the 19th century corresponded with changes to migration flows and enslaved/recaptive origins.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Slave Trade Migrations and Formulations of Diaspora

Systemic slave trade migrations during the 15th-19th centuries resulted in the global dispersal of millions of Africans (Madrigal, 2006; Walvin, 2014). These trade routes were largely controlled by European trading companies such as the Royal Africa Company, Dutch West India Company, and Dutch East India Company/VOC (Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie). However, unauthorized pirates and smugglers were also known to participate in unsanctioned trading, leaving the details of many slave trade journeys tenuous or inaccessible (Pettigrew, 2013). Of the colonial slave trade routes, the trans-Atlantic slave trade is the most widely studied and best understood slave trade system (Walvin, 2014; Yelvington, 2004). Also known as the Triangular Trade due to its roughly triangular course, the trade comprised three “legs”: the shipment of European goods to Africa, the enslavement of Africans and transport to the New World, and the shipment of New World goods to Europe (Yelvington, 2004, p. 25). It is estimated that this system displaced at least twelve million people of mainly West African descent. These journeys consisted of unidirectional migration flows from the African continent to the Americas. The dominant enslavement system connected to the trans-Atlantic trade was plantation slavery, which transported disproportionate numbers of male slaves (Walvin, 2014; Yelvington, 2004).

Although the characteristics of the trans-Atlantic trade hold true for millions of enslaved people and their descendants, focusing only on this slave trade system obscures the full scope of European slave trading. Namely, the impacts of slave trade migration extend to the Indian Ocean. Relative to the trans-Atlantic trade, the Indian

Ocean slave trade began earlier and captured fewer people for enslavement (Allen, 2015; Worden, 2016). This trade also encompassed myriad nationalities and ethnicities that were not restricted to Africans; South/Southeast Asian, East Asian, and Arab people were also commonly enslaved. The enslavers themselves also represented diverse backgrounds; Muslim traders controlled most of the flows occurring in East Africa in the earlier stages, and European traders later carved colonial slave trading strongholds in Southeast Asian spaces, particularly island spaces in the Indonesian archipelago (Allen, 2015; de Silva Jayasuriya, 2009). Unlike the unidirectional migrations of the trans-Atlantic trade, Indian Ocean trade migration flows were multidirectional. Africans were transported within Africa or from Africa to elsewhere, and Asian and Middle Eastern captives were transported to parts of Africa, resulting in these groups commonly laboring alongside one another (Ewald, 2000). This implies another key distinction from the trans-Atlantic trade: the Indian Ocean slave trade did not hinge entirely on the premise of racialized enslavement (Campbell, 2004). Although racialization was certainly still a factor, given that these enslaved populations were still non-European, the recruitment strategies did not necessarily conflate slave status with African origin. In contrast to the disproportionately high transportation of men in the trans-Atlantic trade, the Indian Ocean trade transported mostly women. This demographic difference relates to the tendency of most Indian Ocean enslavement contexts to rely on household slavery instead of plantation slavery (Hofmeyr, 2007).

In both of these trades, European regions such as Great Britain, Portugal, Spain, France, and the Netherlands engaged in power struggles in order to monopolize slave trade export and import regions (Pettigrew, 2013). One means of solidifying these

footholds on the African and Asian continents was developing chartered, or royally sanctioned, trade companies. The rise of charters legitimized slave trade networks and provided companies with financial and legal protection. Among the most prominent of these companies were the British Empire's Royal Africa Company, and the Dutch Republic's Dutch West India Company and Dutch East India Company. While Portugal's early establishment of organized slave trading allowed it to maintain a monopoly over African regions like Angola during the 16th-17th centuries, its influence waned as other European regions expanded their involvement (Rawley & Behrendt, 2005). In particular, Britain became a leading slave trade stakeholder by the 18th century. The passage of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 granted Britain the *asiento*, the sole right to supply 4,800 African slaves annually to Spain's American colonies, which vastly expanded both the demand and profit margin for slave recruitment (Fryer, 1984). Ultimately, the Royal Africa Company, controlled by England, forcibly transported the most Africans to the Americas of any single slave trading company (Pettigrew, 2013, p. 11).

Between the trans-Atlantic and Indian Ocean trades, only the trans-Atlantic slave trade is traditionally framed as being part of the "African diaspora." For example, South Africa, despite its direct association with the VOC, tends to not receive as much direct association with trans-Atlantic or Indian Ocean trade networks. Prior to 1749, the majority of Cape Town slaves originated from Southeast Asia, with substantial importations of Africans occurring during the late 18th – early 19th century (Worden, 2016). There is a wealth of academic discourse in South Africa concerned with the history and legacy of enslavement of Africans and South Asians in the Cape (Ross, 2022; Shell, 1994; Worden, 1985). However, the differences in structure between the

trans-Atlantic and Indian Ocean trades seem to have distanced the Cape and other Indian Ocean spaces from African diaspora discourses, which I argue may limit understanding of the slave trade's impacts and connections among members of the diaspora.

Formulations of Diaspora

My use of the term *African diaspora* broadly refers to the generational (and typically violent or traumatic) displacement of Africans from their homeland (Butler, 2001). Under this definition adapted from Kim Butler, a barrier, whether physical or symbolic, obstructs diaspora communities' returns to their homelands (Butler, 2001). Further, this displacement precludes cultural integration with the hostland. This social exclusion from the hostland serves to further reinforce the traumas of displacement and alienate descendants from their histories, a phenomenon Sharpe (2016) describes as living "in the wake" of enslavement. Although every diaspora context is unique and context-specific, dissecting a diaspora's geographic scope, who qualifies as members of it, and the degree of cohesion of those members are all points of consideration in theorizing a diaspora community. My intent in this section is not to give an exhaustive review of theories of diaspora, but rather to briefly review the arguments that contribute to my own formulation of it.

In addition to the features of diaspora described above, a diaspora community is often framed as one with collective identity. One definition of collective identity is the integration of diverse modes of experience into a coherent whole, expressed through cultural and political action (Clifford, 1997; Tsagarousianou, 2017). Applied to the African diaspora specifically, this means that diasporic Afro-descendants often seek to "build...transnational imagination and connection" with other Afro-diasporans

(Tsagarousianou, 2017, p. 59). However, these criteria are not easily applied to the Indian Ocean slave trade, given its multiethnic composition. Even if centering Afro-descendants in the Indian Ocean world, whether or not these individuals or groups choose to adopt the notion of collective identity varies. Hofmeyer (2007) argued that descendants of the Indian Ocean diaspora generally have not manifested a yearning to maintain cultural memory or preserve a constructed idea of the homeland. This seems to be the case with Afro-Sri Lankans, who in ethnographic interviews culturally identified with Sri Lanka and did not express a desire to return to Africa. However, these same respondents also maintained certain African art styles and often self-identified with Africans as “Ape jatiye ekkenek” (“someone of our race”), suggesting a perception of shared experience (de Silva Jayasuriya, 2009, p. 21).

Scholars such as Paul Gilroy have disrupted the homeland-hostland binary altogether. Gilroy (1993) examines the “Black Atlantic” world as one with deep ties to the sea, representing a space of journey that is liminal to the origin and destination. Here, Black migration is a complex network of routes that emerge from the homeland, culminating in diverse identity formation across the diaspora. More recent iterations of this focus on the sea emerge in the work of scholars like Tiffany Lethabo King, who uses the sea as a metaphor for describing both the oppressive ships of colonialism and the shoals (literal and metaphorical) that disrupt them (King, 2019). I adapt Gilroy’s concept of liminal space to refer to the in-between of not just homeland and hostland, but also of slave trade migration systems. The overlap in the trans-Atlantic and Indian Ocean migration routes have impacted the diversity of diaspora communities (e.g., social structures, phenotypes, whether they identify as members of the diaspora at all).

The framing in this study therein shifts the concept of African diaspora from being a mainly unidirectional, trans-Atlantic scope to one that is inclusive of trade intersection and multidirectional migration.

I emphasize that my aim is not to conflate the African diaspora with Asian diasporas, which also refer to systemic global displacement but differ from the African diaspora in their migration history, scope, and biocultural formation (Chuh & Shimakawa, 2001; Said, 1979, 1985). Rather, I aim to expand the framing of the African diaspora to include the full extent of outward migration flows from the African continent. Given that, the concept of diaspora presented in this study posits that South/Southeastern African countries (e.g., South Africa, Mozambique, Madagascar) are Indian Ocean spaces. This distinction is central to the analytical framework, as enslaved people were transported from these places to both the local Indian Ocean slave trade network and spaces across the Atlantic (Allen, 2015). This means that regions in Southeastern Africa represent an overlap between Atlantic and Indian Ocean trade networks. Though journeys from Southeastern Africa comprised a small percentage of the slave ship journeys to the Americas, the region's contribution to both Indian Ocean and trans-Atlantic trade networks still included over half a million people. For South Africa in particular, enslaved persons arriving in colonial Cape Town originated mainly from South/Southeast Asia, mainland Africa, and Madagascar and the Mascarenes (Worden, 2016). This has potential significance for global slave trading networks, given the evidence that some individuals of Southeastern African origin were transported to the Americas and some West Africans were transported to the Cape (Allen, 2015; Worden, 2016). Thus, analyzing Southeastern African regions alongside

other Atlantic spaces may yield novel understanding about their contributions to the biosocial diversity of diaspora communities.

Biological Approaches to Studying the Slave Trade

The fragmented biohistories available for African descendants remain an obstacle in contemporary contexts, as numerous diaspora groups still lack connections to their African ancestral backgrounds (Agnew, 2005; Butler, 2001; Clifford, 1997; Hamilton, 2006). Additionally, health ailments and predispositions that disproportionately affect African diaspora groups may require biohistory-informed interventions (Pearce et al., 2004; Robbins et al., 2007). Biological and bioarchaeological approaches to slave trade research help bridge this gap by parsing migration histories and long-term biological effects of the African diaspora. To date, there has been a wealth of bioarchaeological and biological approaches to study the African diaspora. While an exhaustive review of the findings of these studies is beyond the scope of this chapter, it is important to acknowledge that the research questions and approaches in this study build on a rich tradition of using multidisciplinary approaches to elucidate slave trade migration history (Blakey, 2001; Blakey & Rankin-Hill, 2009; Fricke, 2020; Fricke et al., 2020; F. Jackson et al., 2004; Laffoon et al., 2020; Maass, 2022; Madrigal, 2006; Pearson et al., 2011; Schroeder et al., 2014; Shuler, 2011; Shuler & Cunningham, 2023).

Genetic and isotopic approaches have shown that considerable biological variation exists among African diaspora groups (Benn-Torres et al., 2008; Cavalli-Sforza et al., 1994; Excoffier et al., 1987; F. Jackson et al., 2016; Jenkins, 1982; Madrigal, 2006; Schroeder et al., 2013). More recently, geneticists have used ancient DNA and isotopic methods to reconstruct probable geographic and ethnic origins of enslaved

peoples (Fleskes et al., 2021; Pereira et al., 2001; Sandoval-Velasco et al., 2019; Schroeder, Havisser, et al., 2014; Schroeder et al., 2013; Wesp & Sandoval-Velasco, 2020), as well as the patterns of health and disease that were prevalent in these populations (Fleskes et al., 2023). However, these methods are destructive and not always feasible in historic contexts. To that end, craniometric analyses can supplement these analyses as a non-destructive means of estimating biological relationships. In the following sections, I discuss the ethical concerns surrounding the use of cranial morphological approaches, as well as its value and role in the present study.

Historic Race Construction in Craniometry, Ethical Concerns

Cranial shape has historically been used as a measure to categorize people and estimate their relatedness. However, cranial morphological studies of human variation have a fraught history that still present ethical and methodological concerns for biological anthropologists. During the 18th century, the premise that external traits like cranial shape and facial features were reliable ways to judge character traits and mental capacity gained widespread acceptance (Hutchinson, 1997, pp. 7–10). One iteration of this biological determinism was racial essentialism, the idea that races exhibit biological or genetic “essences” that signal unalterable behavioral properties (Little & Sussman, 2010, pp. 22–23). Racial essentialism was the predominant framework of the era for classifying and interpreting human cultural and biological differences.

Racial essentialism of the era not only relied on a concept of unalterable racial properties, but it also imposed hierarchy upon these racialized groups. This form of race construction is what Charles Mills termed the somatic norm (1997, p. 61), in which the European body is centralized as the ideal. Under this formulation, the degree of difference in appearance from Europeans corresponded to farther proximity from

personhood. Since this system was constructed to be viewed as objective, the norming of the European physical form permeated into intellectual pursuits to justify these pre-existing hierarchies. In some scientific descriptions of physical traits, groups who were regarded as alien or inferior (e.g., African descendants) received disparaging and animalistic comparisons:

[In description of the Negro race's defining characteristics] ...The projection of the lower parts of the face, and the thick lips, evidently approximate it to the monkey tribe; the hordes of which it consists have always remained in the most complete state of utter barbarism. (Cuvier, 1833, p. 50)

The race construction Cuvier is appealing to here is explicit. He implies that people who share some suite of physical or geographic characteristics comprise one human "type" with intrinsic features, which, in the case of non-Europeans, indicated group-wide inferiority and intellectual inertia. These declarations of concrete racial boundaries were widely accepted, despite the ongoing disagreements among scientists about the number of human types, such as in Julien-Joseph Virey's identification of two races, Johann Blumenbach's five races, or Burke's sixty-three races (Darwin, 1888, p. 226; Tuttle, 1866, p. 35).

Although cranial studies date back to at least Greek antiquity, its application to distinguishing racial differences did not emerge until the 1700s. Notably, during this period Pieter Camper developed the "facial angle" to quantify variation in degrees of forehead slant and jaw projection. In his estimations, a more acute facial angle, associated with sloping forehead and projecting jaw, approximated closer to the facial angle of non-human apes. Thus, he argued a vertically oriented forehead and reduced jaw projection aligned with the European beauty ideal, while the reverse, often associated with Africans, was the antithesis of that ideal and aligned with apes (Meijer,

1999). Similarly, Johann Blumenbach's personal collection of hundreds of human skulls formed the foundation of his assertion of five major human races, or "varieties." He explained these racial differences through a theory of "degeneration," in which he argued that degenerative properties operate on *Bildungstrieb*, or the living formation and organization of an organism to deviate from its developmental path. Eventually, he applied this theory to human variation, in that degeneration produces new species and subspecies (Richards, 2000, pp. 17–20). His work in race science was instrumental in establishing craniology's legitimacy as a scientific discipline, and heavily influenced later researchers of human skull shape.

One of the most prominent figures in craniology is Samuel George Morton, a physician and scientist, who became one of the most respected scientists of his era and was credited by some as the "father of American physical anthropology" (Little & Sussman, 2010, p. 14). Morton collected human crania from many parts of the globe, and he measured the features and cranial capacity of these individuals. Through his publications, Morton reaffirmed and expanded his predecessors' interpretations of differences in cranial form among races. His measurements of cranial capacity presented Europeans as the race with the greatest cranial capacity (and, implicitly, the greatest intellectual ability), all the while asserting that his racial classifications had no hierarchy (Renschler & Monge, 2013). His classification of humans into 22 discrete races exceeded the number of many of his contemporaries, but his discussions of human variation still largely referred to Negroid, Caucasian, and Mongoloid categories (Stephen J. Gould, 1978; Morton, 1849). The studies of Morton and other race scientists set a precedent for the extrapolation of scientific concepts to the public sphere. Morton's

racial interpretations were eagerly adopted by pro-slavery and eugenics advocates (Armelagos & Goodman, 1998). Further, the bodies of marginalized decedents were and continue to be disproportionately represented in human remains collections (Redman, 2016; Sumner et al., 2022).

The anthropological discipline has long since condemned race scientists' assertions that cranial features reliably indicate race and behavioral capacities (Albanese & Saunders, 2006; Armelagos & Goodman, 1998; Littlefield et al., 1982). However, modern craniometric studies still have the potential to perpetuate harm. Research in anatomical collections that does not critically examine historic inequalities tied to accessioning has been critiqued as reinforcing the status of underrepresented communities as research subjects (Watkins, 2018). Further, a range of institutions have curated historic human skeletal material in ways that are strongly contested by decedents' direct descendants and community advocates (Dunnivant et al., 2021). Thus, the discipline is currently in a process of transformation, in which more practitioners are advocating for cognizance of the potential harms perpetuated by engaging in research in unconsented skeletal collections. Further, the field is beginning to place more emphasis on researchers acknowledging the incompatibility of human variation with racial typologies, and engaging in transparent, equitable communication with descendant communities (Passalacqua & Pilloud, 2022; Watkins, 2022). Despite the transformative work being conducted by some scholars, there remains a lack of consensus about conducting studies of human remains without defaulting to or imposing racial categories in the research design or the ensuing interpretations. I

describe this issue further in Chapter Two, specifically as it relates to my own theoretical and methodological shifts in conducting human remains research.

Cranial Variation in the African Continent and Diaspora

This section reviews the topic of human cranial microevolution, with particular attention to its insight on African diaspora migration history. As a point of clarity, human cranial variation reflects genetic history, such that in the absence of directly accessible genetic data, cranial morphology can be used to infer genetic relationships among populations. However, as the previous section argued, using this measure in adherence with discrete racial categories is unable to accurately represent the diversity of genetic history. Thus, the following discussion of evolutionary theories and cranial studies does not suggest that human populations are static or pure.

Modern Human Cranial Microevolution

Cranial shape in modern humans is influenced by both neutral and selective evolutionary processes (Harvati & Weaver, 2006). Cranial morphology has been found to correlate relatively strongly with genetic and geographic data, supporting the idea that neutral forces (e.g., genetic drift, gene flow) predominantly explain cranial variation in modern humans (Hubbe et al., 2009; Relethford, 2004, 2010). However, selective forces have also been found to influence cranial morphology in geographic regions with extreme climates or divergent evolutionary histories (Hubbe et al., 2009; Relethford, 2010). These forces seem to influence parts of the cranium differently; Harvati and Weaver (2006) found that facial shape reflects climate, while neurocranial and temporal shapes reflect neutral genetic distances. Cranial morphology is also influenced by secular change, a process of morphological changes over time that result from

biological responses to environmental cues (Weisensee & Jantz, 2011). Secular changes rely on underlying cranial developmental plasticity and may be a response to major demographic transitions, such as changes in mortality or stature (Weisensee & Jantz, 2011; Wescott & Jantz, 2005). However, the extent to which cranial variation is attributable to developmental plasticity is debated (Pigliucci, 2001; Spradley, 2006).

Among these debates of interpreting how environment and genetics relate to one another as mechanisms of human cranial morphological change, morphological integration and modularity approaches examine the constraints on phenotypic possibilities for human cranial evolution. This principle relies on the idea that, because some degree of cranial shape remains constant to maintain its structure and functionality, there can only be so many cranial phenotypic outcomes. Morphological integration refers to the non-independence of coordinated parts in a structure that allow proper function of the whole (Olson & Miller, 1999). The units of modularity are modules, which have internally strong connections among its parts (ie., are strongly integrated) but are weakly connected to other modules (Klingenberg, 2009, p. 405; Richtsmeier & DeLeon, 2009; Wagner, 1996). As high levels of morphological integration are typically associated with lower evolution rates, and modularity measures are associated with more rapid evolution rates, identifying these patterns can inform expected rates of evolution across skeletal regions (Arlegi et al., 2018). Dramatic environmental changes have variable effects on patterns of morphological integration and modularity; they can produce higher or lower estimates, sometimes within the same sample. These fluctuations are in some cases dependent on a range of factors, such as

the duration of the ruptures or the ontogenetic stage of the study sample (Gonzalez et al., 2011).

In contrast to the focus on morphological constraints and unequal heritabilities, the Isolation by distance (IBD) model argues that genetic and morphological distributions are highly correlated, and selective influences are minimal or randomly distributed (Relethford, 2004, 2010; Relethford & Bolnick, 2018; Stojanowski & Schillaci, 2006). The IBD model posits that genetic distance is a function of geographic distance, and geographic distance can serve as a reliable proxy for genetic data (Hubbe et al., 2009; Relethford, 2010). IBD model advocates acknowledge that some groups deviate from this pattern, such as Peruvians who were observed to be more similar to other New World groups than would be expected based on geographic distance alone. They attribute exceptions like this to the more recent migration histories for regions like South America, their “newer” settlements placing them further from “genetic equilibrium” (Relethford, 2009). Similarly, in Relethford et al.’s (1997) study of Great Famine-related migration in Ireland, the patterns also deviated from this geographic distance expectation, which the authors attributed to the short migration period studied. The IBD model has not gone uncontested; scholars such as Smith (2016) suggested that the neutral evolution observed on a global scale cannot necessarily be extrapolated to local scales. Further, Smith (2011) argued that “in cases of multiple colonization events of a region by genetically differentiated groups,” the assumption of geographic distance being a proxy may not always hold true (e.g., Melanesian groups). Stronger critiques against the IBD model posit that this approach of reconstructing human variation ignores the hundreds of years of colonialism that profoundly impacted human biological

variation (McLean, 2019; Roseman, 2014; TallBear, 2013). As a direct response to the IBD model, McLean (2019) proposed a model that merges DuBoisian and Darwinian theories. He argued that this model conceptually shifts human variation research to trace racism rather than race. This means that, rather than attempting to identify static or “pure” racial categories in analyses of global human variation, focusing on systems of racialization (which governed where people lived, died, and started families) would provide more accurate insight on these context-specific biological changes.

Other approaches to studying human cranial evolution use alternative methods to parse morphological change. For example, Mary Jane West-Eberhard’s model argued that “...changes in environmental factors lead to individual variants as a result of phenotypic accommodation” (Weisensee & Jantz, 2011, p. 557; West-Eberhard, 2003). From this premise, if these environmental factors are recurring, the phenotypic changes can in turn produce long-term selective changes to the genotype. Other evolutionary theories applied to cranial evolution such as the Constant Heritability or Mutation-drift Equilibrium models posit that the rate of morphological divergence among groups is directly impacted by the strength of genetic drift (Lande, 1976; H. Smith, 2011). Under Constant Heritability, a population’s within-group variance/covariance matrices should be proportional to their between-group variance covariance matrices if they evolved neutrally. Thus, a lack of proportionality suggests selective influence in the population. Other approaches avoid model-bound methods altogether (i.e., model-free approaches) to assess migration structure and scale without imposing assumptions (Spradley, 2016).

A prominent means of operationalizing these (at times conflicting) concepts is through the practice of biological distance analysis, or biodistance. Biodistance analysis is the study of “data derived from skeletal remains to reflect population relatedness (similarity/dissimilarity) through the application of multivariate statistical methods” (Hefner et al., 2016, p. 3). This methodology seems to have its origins in the work of Franz Boas, as he used an empirical quantitative approach to understand human variation (Pilloud & Hefner, 2016, p. xxiii). As the discipline has evolved, statistical support has become increasingly important to human variation studies. Although there is variation in how contemporary biodistance analysis is practiced, a prominent approach, particularly in bioarchaeological studies, is that of Stojanowski and Schillachi, (2006, p. 51) (Table 1-1). Their approach relies on the premise that sampled groups in a biodistance analysis are not “natural” populations, but are instead temporally aggregated groups that provide insight about one period of time in a particular context. This approach has core assumptions that may not be appropriate to use in all biological datasets (e.g., the minimal and random distribution of selective effects), but it seems to be applicable to most modern human contexts. Stojanowski and Schillachi’s approach has been applied to an array of research topics, from intra- and inter-cemetery studies to ancestry estimation to admixture analysis.

Cranial Variation of the African Continent and African Diasporic Populations

In this section, I review the patterns of cranial morphological variation observed in African and Afro-descendant groups. Before doing so, I acknowledge that the sample groups included in the following studies may not be representative of the regions they sought to compare. This is because many of the sample groups are part of museum collections, lack provenience, and are described with racialized descriptors such as “US

Blacks,” “Khoisan,” or “Coloured.” Further, the rationale for decedents’ placement in a given racial group are typically not described, requiring a researcher to rely on the classifications without context (A. Morris, 1987). Thus, while these studies are useful for understanding the patterns of biological variation that exist for Africans and Afro-descendant populations, I regard them critically in how they inform the present dissertation.

Cranial biodistance on the African continent

Cranial biodistance studies have analyzed variation in sub-Saharan Africa. Cranial variation has shown high correlation with genetic data (Franklin et al., 2010; Spradley, 2006). Given the geographic structure of global genetic data (Relethford, 2010), this should imply similar correlations to geographic distance. However, some studies have found little correlation between geographic distance and cranial morphology in sub-Saharan African groups (Hiernaux, 1972; Kitson, 1931), although this notion has been challenged more recently (Keita & Shujaa, 2000). Ribot (2004) found that cranial variation on the African continent is not clinal, supporting Kitson (1931) and Hiernaux (1972). Group classification accuracy rates are also quite variable, which Ribot (2004) argued may be a result of homogenization, which is a decrease in biological distinctiveness among groups due to extended intracontinental Bantu migrations. Despite this, other studies have found significant regional differences in cranial morphology and size (Franklin et al., 2006; Froment, 1998; Humphries, 2011; Spradley, 2006). Franklin et al. (2006) observed that features such as the curvature of the occipital bone and morphology of the subnasal region are specific to southern African populations relative to other African regions (Franklin et al., 2010). Crania categorized as “Khoisan” have shown unique morphology, and are suggested to have

“influenced the morphology of some southern African Bantu-speaking populations” (Franklin et al., 2010, p. 33). Features that are shown to be sexually dimorphic in indigenous South Africans (e.g., cranial size, forehead contour, nuchal region, zygomatic arch projection) are similar to other African populations, but differ from other groups in the range of variation for these features (Franklin et al., 2006).

These studies appear to agree that at least some sub-Saharan African regions have distinguishable morphologies. This idea is supported by Stull et al. (2014, p. 206.e5), which found that although the South African “Coloured” group are known to have the highest level of genetic admixture among predominant South African racial groups, their cranial morphology is distinct from “White” and “Black” groups. More broadly, cranial variation in South Africa corresponds to the three largest group racial divisions in the country (White, Black, Coloured). This finding was interpreted as a consequence of the historical racial stratification that maintained separation of South African groups, which led to population stratification over time.

These studies suggest that sub-Saharan Africa is morphologically diverse, with variable patterns of within- and among-region variation. However, many of these studies still rely on racial typologies that likely obscure the full variation that exists within regions of the African continent. For example, even within the South African context the constructed category of “Coloured” is diverse, including people of mixed indigenous (e.g., Khoekhoe, San, Xhosa), African (e.g., Mozambique, Madagascar), Asian (e.g., India, Indonesia), and European ancestry. Thus, even though “Coloured” is treated as a cohesive racialized group, in reality it represents a diverse set of histories loosely linked by the processes of colonization and admixture (Adhikari, 2009; Harries, 2014).

Cranial biodistances of the slave trade

Cranial biodistance analyses have also compared variation between the African continent and diaspora sites. Early craniometric and anthropometric studies found substantial morphological differences between West African and Afro-American groups (Cobb, 1939; Herskovits, 1928, 1930). Trevor's (1958) craniometric study inferred that Afro-American groups showed distinct morphology relative to West African and European groups, suggesting that their morphology was unique and not intermediate. More recently, Spradley's (2006) study compared West African, Afro-American, and Euro-American sample groups from several time periods, and found that West African groups were more similar to one another than any American groups were to each other (Spradley, 2006). Further, Afro-American groups showed secular changes (Spradley, 2006). Contrary to prior findings that attributed increased facial height in Afro-Americans almost wholly to admixture (Angel, 1976), Spradley (2006) inferred that gene flow, selection and plasticity likely all contributed to cranial variation. A more recent study of this nature was Humphries' (2011) study comparing cranial variation among African, Caribbean, and Latin American groups. This study observed a close relationship between Angolan, São Tomé, and Afro-Antillean Panamanian groups. Further, the Afro-Antillean group was similar to a Mexican reference group, "possibly suggesting a similar indigenous and/or African origin" (Humphries, 2011, p. 3).

For the New York African Burial Ground (NYABG), one of the largest diaspora skeletal assemblages in North America, craniometric data confirmed African ancestry for most individuals, with "roughly equidistant" biodistances to Ghana, West Central Africa, and South Africa, and more distant connections to Malian and Kenyan groups (Keita & Shujaa, 2000). This largely supports findings of modern genetic studies, which

estimate that African-American groups are most closely related to West/West Central African groups (Choudhury et al., 2018). Biodistance approaches have also been applied to diaspora case studies. Ribot et al. (2017) compared cranial variation between a sample group of enslaved Africans in Cuba to a South African group. Both sites were found to be morphologically heterogeneous, with higher variation in the Cuban sample group (Ribot et al., 2017). Authors interpreted this higher heterogeneity in the Cuban sample as a possible result of higher extra-local gene flow in Cuba than in Cape Town due to higher numbers of enslaved persons in Cuba (Ribot et al., 2017; Walvin, 2014).

These studies have made valuable contributions to understanding Afro-descendant cranial variation. Most of these approaches have posited the African diaspora as a predominantly Atlantic Ocean framework, meaning that reference groups tend to focus on West African sites as potential ancestral groups (Humphries, 2011; Spradley, 2006). Given the over 12 million West Africans that were transported to the Americas, this approach is justifiable (Walvin, 2014). However, Ribot et al. (2017) observed similar cranial morphology between a Malagasy reference group and a group of enslaved Africans in Cuba, which is supported by historical data (Allen, 2015; Worden, 2016). Similarly, the New York African Burial Ground craniometric study showed that, among the African reference groups, South Africa had relatively high affinity to the burial ground decedents. These findings suggest that Southeastern African regions (i.e., Indian Ocean regions) may influence morphological variation at diaspora sites more than previously thought. Despite this evidence, this area of research remains largely understudied.

Text-based Archival Representations of Enslaved Persons

Representations of enslaved persons most commonly emerge in the archive, here referring to public-facing or institutional records of their acts, aesthetics, and perceptions through the lens of elites or the enslaved themselves. This section aims to address the text-based forms of these representations. Although entertainment media (e.g., portraiture, films, music) comprise a significant portion of portrayals of the enslaved and have received exhaustive attention in a wealth of literature (hooks, 2014; Lugo-Ortiz & Rosenthal, 2013; Pieterse, 1992), they are beyond the scope of this study.

The primary form of documenting enslavement is through slave trade ship manifests and plantation records. Slave trade ship manifests describe information such as slave trade ship names and destinations, the number of enslaved persons on board, and the number of people who survived the journey. These records attest to the massive scale of African diaspora migration (Curtin, 1969; Eltis & Richardson, 2008), but their limitation is that they represent enslaved persons in mainly commodified terms (Bell, 1988; Fett, 2016; Patterson, 1982). Similarly, plantation records include demographic information such as marriages, kinship, ages, and labor roles, a framing that inextricably associates them with a plantation and assesses their value as laborers. This mode of description is also present in post-abolition contexts. Following the abolition of slave trading by the British in 1807, illicit enslavement still persisted. The West African Squadron, a British Royal Navy squadron tasked with suppressing the slave trade, combed through the Atlantic Ocean during the 19th century to seize slave trade ships. In this period, the enslaved persons on board these seized ships were most commonly transported to the Caribbean (Lloyd, 2012). During this process of formal

emancipation for people on these ships, court registers documented all of the formerly enslaved persons present, containing information such as name, stature, and brief physical descriptions (e.g., scarifications on their body, individuating features) (da Silva et al., 2014; *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade - Database*, 2008). These post-abolition records differed from enslavement era records in their purpose; they served as formal documentation to prevent emancipated persons from being re-enslaved.

Less frequently, enslaved persons participated in their own textual representation through nuanced primary accounts, primarily in the United States, Caribbean, and British contexts (Douglass, 2009; Equiano, 1837; Escott, 1979; Manzano, 1996). Earlier forms of these slave narratives, such as Olaudah Equiano's, interrogated their spirituality, using their religious conversion as a means of seeing the wholeness of themselves (Equiano, 1837). In this vein, some explorations of spirituality were used as philosophical arguments to condemn enslavement. For example, Ottobah Cugoano's narrative argued that God would take revenge on England because of the immorality of the trade, based on his formulation that enslavement is conflictual with Christianity (Cugoano, 1787). This type of narrative differs from those that arose in the antebellum period in the United States, which were strategically published by the American Anti-Slavery Society to abolish the US enslavement system and decentered religious appeals in favor of social and political ones. For example, the details of escape, as well as detailed descriptions of kin networks, were both key to the structure of most antebellum narratives (Sekora, 1987, p. 493). In both cases, the voice of these formerly enslaved persons are present but heavily influenced by white social agendas (Sekora, 1987).

The primary mode of textual representation of enslaved persons that I examine throughout this dissertation is in historic newspapers, specifically fugitive slave advertisements. Because enslaved persons were regarded as vessels for labor, as well as investments by enslavers, fugitive slave advertisements became a widely used means of attempting to recapture runaways and “recoup” their investments (Hodges & Brown, 2019). These advertisements were typically 1-2 paragraphs in length, and they were written from enslavers’ perspectives. Due to this framing, the perspective of these advertisements is biased, making them ill suited for understanding enslaved persons’ perspectives. However, because their purpose was to accurately identify slaves in order to recapture them, the advertisements often contain extensive descriptions of runaways’ physical and behavioral characteristics, their birthplace, their social network, and their potential escape strategies (Bly, 2016; Bontemps, 2008; Heuman, 1985; Hodges & Brown, 2019).

From this basis, it becomes possible to read against the original intent of these archival documents to interpret the experiences and perceptions of enslaved persons, particularly ones who resisted their enslavement. Critical and subversive analyses of fugitive slave advertisements demonstrate the broad utility of these forms of data. In particular, they show the personhood of the enslaved, and the subversive tactics they used to increase their agency (Bly, 2016; Fuentes, 2016). Some of these tactics of resistance would most likely have been unrecognized by enslavers:

Whether by looking downward and avoiding eye contact or assuming a limp stance, fugitive slaves’ demonstrations of deference unmistakably served as a cover for other designs. Not uncommon in West African societies, these articulations of sass recognized authority. But in the New World, they communicated something else. Misleading in their acknowledgement of power, runaways’ downward looks functioned as a defense mechanism, a way of

disengaging, averting, and redirecting the undesirable gazes of their watchful masters. (Bly, 2016, p. 475)

These analyses of fugitive slave advertisements have mainly focused on particular regions of the slave trade, such as the Caribbean or the United States. There remains a research gap in comparing the racialization of the enslaved shown in these advertisements across enslavement contexts.

Statement of Problem

Due to the lack of written records about enslaved Afro-descendants' experiences written from their own perspectives, they continue to be a group whose lives have yet to be fully uncovered. Further, the information that does exist about them, whether historical, literary, or bioarchaeological, is rarely synthesized across enslavement contexts and academic disciplines, making it challenging to identify the connections that exist among them. This dissertation hopes to synthesize some of these data and address identified gaps in the literature.

The theoretical discourse around the African diaspora has shown two predominant frameworks of defining and conceiving of the diaspora: the homeland-hostland binary, and the sea. Both are articulated as frameworks that shape the ways Afro-descendants build their identities based on their ancestral connections to the slave trade. In both cases, there is a strong emphasis on Middle Passage journeys in particular, in which mainly West or West Central Africans were enslaved and transported to the Americas. However, other enslavement spaces in the diaspora, such as sub-Saharan African spaces (e.g., Cape of Good Hope), or small islands (e.g., St. Helena, Cape Verde), are not typically included in these overarching diaspora discourses. Given that there is historical and preliminary biological evidence suggesting

that Southeastern Africans contributed substantially to diaspora group formation in the Americas, it is important to examine the nature and extent of their connection to other enslavement sites (Allen, 2015; Ribot et al., 2017). Further, the microevolutionary patterns of island enslavement spaces warrants further attention. Population stratification, which is a process that occurs in groups with recent histories of high genetic admixture and non-random mating, has been observed in the Caribbean (Benn-Torres et al., 2008, p. 90). In island enslavement spaces, the tendency toward high genetic admixture coincided with historically enforced separations that restricted local gene flow among groups. Thus, it is possible that in island sites the within-group variance would remain high due to local group separations.

Examining broader patterns of migration that occurred during slavery (e.g., trans-Atlantic, Indian Ocean, intra-American) enables clearer understanding of the emergence of certain diaspora biological and social groups, which in turn has significance for how modern Afro-descendants conceive of their ancestry and identity. In this vein, this dissertation uses cranial morphological and archival evidence to argue that incorporating underrepresented regions in African diaspora discourse, particularly Southeastern African regions, has the potential to uncover biological and social relationships of enslaved persons that have not been conveyed in predominant literature.

Limitations to Assessing Biological Migration History

One limitation of this study is the scope, as the included sites of analysis (Barbados, St. Helena, and South Africa) are not inclusive of Central/South American regions. This precludes interpretations of how the sampled sites' migration systems may have intersected with the Brazilian slave trade, through which the highest number of

enslaved persons on record were transported (Walvin, 2014). Another potential limitation is the exclusion of provenienced anatomical collections from the study sample. Anatomical collections greatly expand sample robusticity, but (in addition to their ethical dubiousness) using such collections requires the researcher to presume that the racial/ethnic group assignments of decedents are both accurate and representative (A. Morris, 1987). Removing such groups from the study (a process I describe further in Chapter Two) considerably reduced and changed the structure of the full sample size for the present study, thus limiting the types of questions that could be posed.

The degree of specificity in understanding trade routes may also be limited by the chosen type of biological data. Craniometric analysis is useful as a non-destructive approach for studying historic groups, particularly in contexts where ancient DNA analyses are not feasible. However, the ability to identify geographic origins based on only morphological data is limited. For example, macro-ethnic affiliations of individuals of the NYABG were established based on craniometric analyses, but precise group affiliations could not be confirmed on that basis alone (Blakey & Rankin-Hill, 2009; Keita & Shujaa, 2000). Nonetheless, cranial biodistance analysis expands understandings of diaspora group composition, how groups related to one another, and the extent to which these patterns echo what is supported by migration data.

Research Questions

This dissertation asks the following questions:

- Q1: Which sampled groups show genetic continuity as estimated by cranial morphology, and how do these data identify evidence of gene flow not otherwise described by historical migration data?
- Q2: Given the social and legal restrictions that created physical separation among many enslaved persons, do some sites show stronger evidence of population stratification and genetic isolation?

- Q2A. Do island sites have the highest within-group variance relative to Southeastern African sites?
 - Q2B. Do statistical cluster analyses identify subgroupings across geographic borders (e.g., a cluster that includes South Atlantic and Caribbean sites)?
- Q3: Which sampled sites' archival descriptions of enslaved persons are similar in their social positioning of the enslaved? What aspects of enslaved persons' lived experiences appear to be prominent in these sites?
 - Q3A. Does the representation of recaptive status in the archive differ from that of enslaved persons?
- Q4: Which sampled sites' archival representations of enslaved persons describe racialized subsets of the enslaved population (with ascribed intrinsic behaviors and/or aesthetics)?
- Q5: When integrating biological and archival evidence within each enslavement site, which sites demonstrate high correlations between biological and archival estimates of among-and within-group variation?

Table 1-1. Assumptions of biodistance analysis, from Stojanowski and Schillaci (2006, p. 51)

- 1) holding mutation rates and selection effects constant, genetic drift and gene flow affect allele frequencies within and between geographically proximate populations sharing similar environments
 - 2) populations are accurately represented by samples of archaeological human skeletons that accumulated over an extended period of time, in other words, the samples used are not natural biological populations but temporal aggregates or lineages
 - 3) that changes in allele frequencies result in measurable changes in skeletal traits (phenotypes) that can be characterized in a mathematical manner
 - 4) environmental effects on phenotypic variation within populations are minimal or randomly distributed among the samples being studied
 - 5) inheritance of phenotypic variation is additive (due to the action of multiple genes each with a small effect on the phenotype) and resemblance among relatives is strong.
-

CHAPTER 2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: A REFLEXIVE APPROACH

Framing Reflexivity

Reflexivity refers to a set of practices in qualitative research where researchers “self-consciously critique, appraise, and evaluate how their subjectivity and context influence the research process” (Olmos-Vega et al., 2022, p. 2). In this framing, subjectivity is not considered a barrier to research, but rather a tool to capitalize on, and to provide complex insight into the formation and evolution of a given research project. Though my work does not only engage with qualitative data, I see reflexivity as an appropriate means of exploring the motivations and ethics of all parts of this project. In the following section, I use personal, interpersonal, and methodological reflexivity to 1) explain how my prior experiences have influenced decisions I have made through this dissertation (personal), 2) to analyze the power dynamics involved in my work (interpersonal), and 3) to consider the impacts of my methodological choices on my results and interpretations (methodological) (Olmos-Vega et al., 2022). I also utilize research refusal, which is the practice of placing conscious limits on research that could recapitulate harms placed on marginalized communities. These limits are done in service of generating new ways of interpreting data, as well as enabling systemic critiques (Tuck & Yang, 2014, 2014).

My perspective on the ethics of working with human remains has fundamentally changed since the start of this project. In submitting a dissertation that relied on my access to and study of human remains, I find it necessary to be transparent about my own discomfort in working with this subject matter. This is especially so because of the current dialogues in biological anthropology and other fields unfolding around the ethics

of studying and curating human remains. While the importance of community engaged research, reburial, and repatriation has long been raised by some researchers (Blakey, 2001, 2020a, 2020b; Watkins, 2018), the more recently contested curation of Afro-descendant remains (e.g., the MOVE bombing, the Samuel G. Morton cranial collection) has brought these issues to the forefront of the biological anthropology and bioarchaeology fields (Bishara, 2020; Passalacqua & Pilloud, 2022). It is in this context that my discomfort with human remains grew to levels that I could no longer ignore, which eventually culminated in a significant restructuring of my project. Despite this, in many ways I am still part of the system I critique, as my project still includes data collected from unconsented human remains. I do not find the changes I have made to my project to be a satisfactory solution. However, I see these changes as an exercise in making decisions that (in my view) are more respectful of the former personhood of the decedents I studied.

Entering graduate school, I had the kind of emotional distance from working with human remains that is considered standard in the field. I was able to look at a skeleton on a workstation at a museum and think to myself, “There is so much to learn.” Some part of me knew that it was odd to think about remains in this way; after all, human remains once belonged to a complex, living person. But from the stance of the biological anthropology field, human remains can provide insight into the lives of the deceased who are unable to share their stories. We are invited, perhaps expected, to use these remains to understand the past. As an Afro-descendant, this ethos once appealed to me. I had a keen awareness of what Christina Sharpe (2016) referred to as living “in the wake,” or the aftermath of the slave trade’s atrocities that continue to rupture the

present of Black people. In particular, one aspect of living in the wake is that parts of our histories are inaccessible to us. Growing up, I questioned where I may have come from beyond my family's Caribbean ancestry, but the nature of slave trade records (which typically expressed enslaved people as numbers) largely excluded written records of the perspectives of enslaved persons. This, combined with the heavy involvement of smugglers in slave trading who forwent written records of their journeys, has created considerable gaps in slave trade migration history. These gaps prompted questions for me about how I am connected to other diaspora spaces, and more broadly what happened to my more distant ancestors. As I became acquainted with the fields of biological anthropology and bioarchaeology, I observed that African diaspora burial grounds and the skeletal remains and/or artifacts contained within them are often all of what historic Afro-descendants were able to leave behind. Thus, skeletal remains seemed like a key form of evidence that could be used to fill in the gaps of traditional historical data. Further, allowing my symbolic ancestors' remains to "speak" via anthropological approaches felt like a mode of advocacy.

During my time working in human remains collections, the absent consent from decedents was not addressed or acknowledged. Rather, the standards of professionalism (e.g., formal/informal processes to enable access to human remains collections) seemed to serve as a proxy for demonstrating that the remains were treated respectfully. To gain access to these spaces, I typically had to communicate with the collections manager and submit some kind of summary of intent and desired sample size. I recall how easy some of these processes felt. While in these spaces, the professionalism around working with the remains typically included handling remains

carefully over cushioned surfaces, and refraining from circulating photographs or scan data publicly. I now view that emphasis on careful handling of the remains in collections institutions as a means of preserving their value as research objects rather than their value in and of themselves (discussed further in the next section). While I didn't recognize it at first, the conflict between not knowing what "respecting" remains amounted to and the continued progression of my work grew.

Over time, my discomfort with this conflict reached a point of complete stagnancy. The emotional weight of not feeling like I was doing right by the decedents I was working with had finally reached a breaking point, and I could not progress with my project as it stood. Thankfully, I had a discussion with a mentor who, rather than telling me my work was right or wrong, posed these simple, but powerful, questions to me:

1. While the remains of Afro-descendants exist in an institution and are beyond my control to change their fate, what can I do to understand more about who they were for ours/our ancestors' sakes?
2. Would this research shed light on the Black experience?

I still have not entirely resolved these questions, but grappling with them has pushed me to remove or rework the parts of my project that seemed in conflict with the aim of meaningfully contributing to understanding the Black experience. In some cases, these changes meant removing some sample groups for which I had already collected data, or meant I would need to establish collaboration with various community groups. Other changes were abstract ideals I always had, but made explicit. Ultimately, these changes are embedded into my theoretical framework; I cannot discuss them divorced from one another. For this reason, I use the next section to introduce my theoretical framework while weaving in these reflexive choices.

Current Framework

The theoretical approach I use in this study is directly influenced by myriad researchers of the slave trade, enslavement, and critical theories of race. Many of the scholars I cite in this section are ones who I encountered at pivotal times in my dissertation journey, and who fundamentally impacted my work. I connect their theoretical contributions to my own theoretical framework, as well as to the changes I have made to my study.

Navigating Power in Human Remains Research

The work of Frantz Fanon has been instrumental in developing my theoretical articulation of human remains. Frantz Fanon was a Martinican psychiatrist and philosopher whose two most prominent works, *Black Skin, White Masks* and *The Wretched of the Earth*, continue to have resonance with scholars of race and post-colonialism (Browne, 2015; Gordon, 2015; Mbembe, 2003). The two concepts Fanon articulates that have become central to my own theoretical framework are alienation and spatial compartmentalization. Fanon frames alienation as a distortion of the Black psyche in response to a racially hostile environment, in which the minds of Black people internalize antiblack standards and aspire to European ones. Alienation also refers to a highly racialized environment that seeps into nearly all manners of social life, from social interactions to education, and results in a Black person losing control of how they present their body or how others react to it (Fanon, 2008). Since I encountered his work in 2018, I grappled with how these concepts of power and displacement apply to the dead. I found my answer when I put the concept of alienation in dialogue with Fanon's concept of spatial compartmentalization. Spatial compartmentalization refers to the stark separation of colonist and colonized physical spaces, in which colonized spaces

are defined by inhospitable living conditions and heavily reduced mobility, while colonist spaces are well-resourced and enable colonists to traverse either space as needed (Fanon, 2004, p. 4). Fanon describes the depth of this disparity in passages like this one:

The colonist's sector is a sector built to last, all stone and steel...The colonist's feet...are protected by solid shoes in a sector where the streets are clean and smooth, without a pothole, without a stone...The colonized's sector...is a disreputable place inhabited by disreputable people. You are born anywhere, anyhow. You die anywhere, from anything. It's a world with no space, people are piled one on top of the other, the shacks squeezed tightly together...The colonized's sector is a sector that crouches and cowers, a sector on its knees, a sector that is prostrate. (Fanon, 2004, p. 4)

My understanding of these disparities were further informed by the concept of necropolitics, which dissects the disparities around death, such as in the ways that people die, how bodies are treated upon death, and the level of systemic intervention in place to protect the living (De León, 2015; Mbembe, 2003). Necropolitics can emerge in the apathy of governments to avoid preventable deaths (e.g., providing access to clean water and healthcare). The disparities around how and why people die are rooted in the value that the government and other state-sanctioned entities place on the lives of decedents. For those who are not valued, this has consequences for their burial outcomes (Mbembe, 2003).

Drawing from Fanon's concepts of alienation and spatial compartmentalization alongside the notion of necropolitics, I developed a theoretical model called the "Black Postmortem Subject" to apply these concepts to the theorization of human remains (Table 2-1). This naming is set up as an analogue to Fanon's concept of the "Black Subject," which positioned Black self-determination as non-existent, leaving Black persons' circumstances to be determined externally. Though bleak, the Black Subject

can also represent transformation, through which a Black person engages in a struggle to combat racialized subjugation to live for themselves (Sithole, 2016, p. 25). Fanon's framing is heavily inspired by his own experiences in activism alongside marginalized groups, particularly during the Algerian War (Gordon, 2015, pp. 8–11). This framing centers activists and non-academic voices as being pivotal catalysts of transformation for both existential and social circumstances.

In the “Black Postmortem Subject” model, alienation refers to the violation of culturally defined burial norms, whether in the initial burial or in later encounters that result in a decedent's removal. In a similar vein to Fanon's concept of spatial compartmentalization, here it refers to the stark differences between the spaces associated with remains that are deemed nonsacred objects and those associated with sacred remains. Exteriorization, in this context referring to the process of conceiving of and treating remains as objects without deeper meaning, relies on a process of distancing oneself from the dead and strategically omitting the value of the remains that would warrant culturally-defined respectful burial. The process of exteriorization relies on intentional omission, which is the strategic omission of value or complexity of a decedent, therein implicitly justifying their haphazard treatment. As one example of this lack of protection for decedents, alienation by manipulation is an instance where a decedent is unburied and tampered with long after the original burial, such as being placed on display in a museum or home. Given the ubiquity of displaced historic Black decedents, it is clear that many of them have been subjected to this fate.

My development of this theory was part of what pushed me to make methodological changes to my project. At the start of my project, I included sample

groups from unprovenanced anatomical collections. Including such collections meant that the accuracy of racial/ethnic group designations would be dubious and unlikely to represent entire geographic regions (A. Morris, 1987). However, the high numbers of skeletons curated in unprovenanced collections stood to greatly increase my sample size, which in turn would allow a more thorough understanding of connections among African diaspora groups. I later realized that this justification was directly challenged by the above theoretical model.

Unprovenanced human skeletal collections represent a massive colonial enterprise. Most of these collections are located in the Global North, curating human remains from all over the world that were often obtained through grave-robbing and without consent from decedents or their kin (DeWitte, 2015; Highet, 2005; Shelbourn, 2006). When a collector historically received a skull, there were wildly varying amounts of information about the deceased, most commonly only a racial/ethnic affiliation. Under these collection circumstances, remains are largely divorced of context and analyzed typologically, seen as a “type specimen” for a given group. In the cases where these assessments are made and there is no supporting evidence available/sought (e.g., collector confirmation from village members, collector knowing how the decedent self-identified/was perceived by their community prior to their death), making any assumption that these categorizations are correct is quite tenuous.

It occurred to me that if the only information available about a decedent in a collection is that they were a “Bushman” or “Negro,” a continuation of their inaccurate and harmful racialization in life, what could be gleaned from them was the typology systems of certain time periods, not a nuanced understanding of human variation. As

such, it obfuscated the very information I intended to study. Further, I determined that this manner of curation constitutes the alienation by manipulation I describe in the abovementioned model, the process in which a decedent is unburied and relocated to exist in a compartmentalized space. The existence of historic Black decedents in unprovenienced human skeletal collections is a result of their unconsented unburial and use as display objects. It felt like a conflict of interest to develop a theory that describes the displacement and display of remains while simultaneously validating this practice of exteriorization by studying unprovenienced collections. Consequently, I removed the unprovenienced collections I had initially included in my study, and I do not include any prior measurements I collected from them in this dissertation.

The Black Postmortem Subject theoretical model, above all else, is one that illustrates the power dynamics involved in human remains processes ([Table 2-1](#)). In all cases, the living cannot derive consent from a decedent, making any treatment ultimately an approximation of the decedent's wishes, or a reflection of the amount of value ascribed to the decedent. If we regard a set of remains as sacred, the treatment is likely to align with burial and handling that is consistent with culturally defined modes of burial (e.g., inscribed headstones, burial shrouds). Conversely, if remains are regarded as nonsacred and without value, it becomes justifiable to violate these defined burial norms, such as in placing them in unmarked graves or putting them on display. Thus, the fate of a decedent is directly tied to who is empowered to be their steward.

As if this isn't a clear power imbalance in itself (as the dead cannot advocate for themselves), those who are empowered to be stewards are disproportionately *not* direct or symbolic descendants of the deceased. As it relates to the decedents in this study,

this disparity is an extension of the heavy restrictions imposed on the agency of enslaved persons in all manners of social life, including burial decisions. Thus, even if a decedent's kin regarded them as valuable, their ability to carry out rites befitting that was limited. Instead, the stewards steering burial decisions often regarded enslaved decedents as lacking that value, which made rushed or anonymous burials justifiable.

This lack of kin involvement is still observed in contemporary practices, as museums and universities often steward unburied decedents without consulting or collaborating with their direct or symbolic descendants. The most widely known resistance to this practice is found in the New York African Burial Ground project in the 1990s, which, under Dr. Michael Blakey's leadership, sought community collaboration throughout the project, culminating in a community-led reburial ceremony and the construction of an interpretation center. More recently, archaeological projects demonstrate the ways that descendant communities can strengthen research projects when researchers approach projects with community support, explicit plans for reburial and memorialization, and accountability to the communities in which they work (Fleskes et al., 2021; Justinvil, 2019). I take inspiration from the Anson Street Burial Ground Project in particular, as it departs from the concept of knowledge production only belonging to the researcher, instead co-producing knowledge through community collaboration and transparent decision-making (Fleskes et al., 2023; Fleskes et al., 2021). The project emerged from a collaboration with the Charleston-based Gullah Society, which was designated as an official steward of the Anson Street Burial Ground site after its discovery. Researchers with this project gained explicit permission and feedback from Afro-descendant residents and community advocates in Charleston prior

to the start of the project, and they continued to solicit feedback from them throughout the project. Following the completion of these analyses, the decedents were reinterred in a ceremony grounded in African spiritual traditions (Fleskes et al., 2021). These considerations led me to make the decision for my dissertation to gauge the public benefits of my work and consult a descendant community or equivalent body whenever possible. This decision was fully realized in St. Helena, one of the sites where I conducted research.

St. Helena as an Entry to Community-engaged Research

When I first learned about the Rupert's Valley burial ground, a burial ground holding the skeletal remains of formerly enslaved Africans, I contacted the island's research coordinator, Dr. Rebecca Cairns-Wicks. She informed me that some prior research projects on the island had been extractive, yielding no tangible benefits to the island. Thus, she suggested that a successful application to conduct research with this site would need to establish rapport, demonstrate clear community benefit, and to pose no barrier to their reburial schedule. She stressed that the process would be long, and it was; I applied in 2019 and received notice of its acceptance in 2022. However, during this time I was able to build relationships with the St. Helena Government, the St. Helena National Trust, and their Liberated African Advisory Committee, the committee tasked with reburying the remains. In doing so, many St. Helenians (also called 'Saints') knew about me and my work years before I set foot on the island, which significantly improved how my research was received by the community. Further, I was able to communicate with islanders and community advocates about how my work could align with community interests. What was most exciting about this process was that even though I initially viewed Dr. Cairns-Wicks' advice as a set of requirements to carry out

my intended project, the process of meeting people and critically thinking about my work's impact and relevance to people on the island transformed my goal. The goal evolved into one in which I sought to conduct a project that was informed by and meaningful to the Saints. To that end, the community benefits (some completed, and others in progress) are as follows: sharing all 3D scans and data with the Liberated African Advisory Committee, mentoring and compensating a student intern, educational outreach and curriculum creation, public presentations and interviews, and a collaborative facial approximation project.

Listening to community stakeholders as I prepared my application prompted new questions and realizations for me. The island's emphasis on supervised and collaborative research made me think about my prior experiences in studying human remains. I recalled my time in museums, left alone in a vast room of boxes containing skeletal remains. I was trusted to handle the remains by other scientists, who determined who was eligible to access them. I wondered if these institutions ever proactively sought descendant community input to inform the research performed in the collections. I also wondered if approved research projects were ever held to a standard of addressing the question posed to me by my mentor of whether this research would shed light on the Black (or other marginalized groups') experiences. These thoughts were underscored by the many presentations I saw at academic conferences that used Black remains in their samples, but seemingly as a means to an end rather than as a route to understanding more about Blackness or descendant communities. The St. Helenian context inverted this power dynamic: instead of scientists determining the value of remains and the questions that should be asked about them, island

stakeholders articulated a threshold for scientists to meet, and they ensured that the research process was transparent to islanders.

A rewarding and challenging aspect of embarking on community-engaged research is the diversity of perspectives among a given community. No group of people is homogeneous, and the ways that people define ethical or respectful practice is not absolute. This tension complicates where and how a scientist should intervene. The journey toward commemoration on the island started long before my involvement, beginning with an excavation in 2008 and culminating in reburial in August 2022. During this period, the archaeological investigation yielded valuable knowledge about the lifeways of enslaved and liberated people on the island. In the midst of it, islanders seem to have evolved in their reception to the site. Based on stories I received before and during my time on the island, while some people on the island were vocal and invested in advocating for government-sponsored efforts of commemoration from the start, others seemed to feel disconnected from the site, not seeing the burial site as housing their own ancestors. As time has gone on, more consciousness has been developed around the site, and I recall speaking to Saints during my fieldwork in 2022 who referred to the decedents buried at Rupert's Valley as "our ancestors" and an important part of their history. The complicated history around the Rupert's Valley site, which is so important to understanding the ways in which Saints wish to commemorate this site in the present day, spurs new research questions and approaches for me. For example, in my future projects, I will center descendant community collaboration to ask biohistorical and ethnographic questions about comparative diaspora identity formation.

These benefits to my research approach were only accessible to me through community-engaged practice.

Historic Constructions of Race

As referenced in Chapter One, the dehumanization of African peoples received justification from a European intellectual tradition of “Enlightenment,” beginning in the 17th century (Edwards, 2009). This period consisted of a reinvention of how Europeans defined themselves, in which they shed their previously theological understanding of humanity for one of colonial power, characterized by quests of categorization and subjugation (Foucault, 1970, p. 386; Wynter, 2003). The philosophical, and later evidence-based, studies of race that positioned Blackness as the stark opposite to the European “somatic norm” created a narrow means of understanding human variation (Mills, 1997, p. 61). To keep constructed racial boundaries intact in the public and academic imagination, it was necessary to heavily deemphasize within-group variation. In doing so, this also shaped understandings of racial admixture:

[In describing dynamics of mixture in Latin America]: “While in an abstract sense mixture might not need purity, in contexts of hierarchy, mixture is made meaningful only in relation to relative purities. (Wade, 2017, p. 4)

This notion from Peter Wade suggests that the very recognition of mixture inherently defends the integrity of the original “pure” ancestral groups producing the mixture. Applied to enslaved peoples, the mixed identity actively played into the somatic norm spectrum as well, where they typically approximated more closely to the European norm and consequently were perceived to be closer to consciousness. Even so, interracial mixture in those contexts embodied the peculiar combination of supposedly altering or bettering blackness while simultaneously reiterating the inability of blackness to change.

However, as much as 'Black' racial categorization has been historically presented as static, its use has evolved in response to social forces.

Although a comprehensive analysis of these shifting conceptions of race are beyond the scope of this chapter, a prominent example of the shifts of racial categories is in the rule of hypodescent, in which historic classifications of biracial or multiracial people were subject to rigid assignment to the more marginalized background of the two lines of ancestry (Sharfstein, 2007). While traditionally presented as a concept that emphasized the notion of racial purity, there was a significant amount of permeability of the color line that allowed many people of partial African descent to effectively "become white" in social and legal spheres (referred to as "blanqueamiento" in Latin American contexts) (Godreau et al., 2008; Haney Lopez, 1997; Sharfstein, 2007). In some legal cases, laws of maternal descent (in which maternal slave status was inherited by an enslaved woman's descendants) were applied to maintain the conflation of Blackness and slave status, while other cases instead relied on appearance. An example of the latter is in the 1835 case of *State v. Cantey*, in which a criminal defendant alleged that prosecution witnesses were ineligible to testify against him due to the standing statute prohibiting testimony by people of color against white people. The witnesses in question were descendants of a biracial great-grandfather, thus giving them 1/16 African ancestry. On the basis of the witnesses' physical features that did not show "clear visible admixture" and their reception and treatment as white people in their communities, the witnesses were deemed white by the jury (Sharfstein, 2007; *State v. Cantey*, 1835). This case demonstrates an interesting tension. In the time period when this court case occurred, the typical way of distinguishing slave status was through laws

of maternal descent. However, in this case, to do so would mean to deem a person a slave/Black who appeared white in every way other than their remote African ancestry, thereby undermining the idea that white people were, by definition, not slaves.

These clear inconsistencies that existed in historical race construction, such as the migration of biracial people to white communities who eventually “became white” and legal definitions of whiteness (Sharfstein, 2007), form an underlying theme of my work with the subject of enslavement. The regions discussed in this study – the Caribbean, Southeastern Africa, and the South Atlantic – all feature enslavement histories that have created highly admixed populations, which have directly impacted their lived experiences. Thus, my interpretations of biological and social variation in these spaces are directly informed by these recurring classifications and reclassifications of race.

Biological Evolutionary Principles

As introduced in Chapter One, researchers of human microevolutionary morphological change have proposed a range of strategies for parsing genetic and environmental data. It is true that some of these theoretical approaches are mainly differences in research foci and are not necessarily in conflict. For example, morphological integration focuses on the cohesion of anatomical parts, while secular change focuses on the changes of those parts over time in response to social transformations (Olson & Miller, 1999; Weisensee & Jantz, 2011). However, some of these theories are in direct contradiction; namely, there is a tension surrounding the estimated nature and degree of change that modern humans have made since the era of colonialism. On one end of this spectrum is the isolation by distance model (or neutral evolution hypothesis), which posits geographic distance as a reasonable proxy for

genetic distance. On the other end exists models such as Shay-Akil McLean's DuBoisian-Darwinian model, which aim to trace *racism* rather than race to elucidate human variation.

The isolation by distance model posits that human populations' global cranial morphology patterns relate to one another by degree of geographic distance (and that geographic distance is a reliable proxy for genetic distance), with few exceptions. The model also assumes that genetic and phenotypic patterns are typically highly correlated. This model generally operates on deeper time scales, meaning that for the process to reflect these predicted patterns, there is a certain period of time required for populations to exist in relative isolation to reach genetic equilibrium that is consistent with the isolation by distance model (Relethford, 2010). For example, IBD-based studies often omit North American groups from analyses of global cranial variation altogether, suggesting that human migrations to North America occurred too recently to accurately reflect genetic equilibrium as described in the model (Harvati & Weaver, 2006; Relethford, 2010).

Principles of the neutral evolution hypothesis have been applied to studies representing various time periods, collection types, and sample demographics, suggesting its status as a multifaceted model (Harvati & Weaver, 2006; Hubbe et al., 2009; H. Smith, 2011). Where applications of the neutral evolution hypothesis garner more criticism is when they are applied to groups that represent a shallow time scale (i.e., within the past several hundred years). Scholars such as McLean (2019) posit that gene flow and human variation in the colonial era occurred in a manner that the neutral evolution hypothesis is ill equipped to accommodate. As it pertains to the African

diaspora, the notion of genetic and geographic distance being comparable does not account for the highly disproportionate displacements from sub-Saharan Africa occurring during the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Following these displacements, genetic admixture became a significant consequence of enslavement, as culturally and genetically diverse swathes of African ethnic groups were placed in common locations, and admixture with Europeans (often forced) is widely acknowledged (Benn-Torres et al., 2008; Parra et al., 1998; Stojanowski, 2004). Further, European nations influenced the gene flow of the diaspora populations they formed in the Atlantic; legal restrictions often relegated enslaved people to certain living quarters, maintained marriage restrictions, and structured labor and space around skin color (Haney Lopez, 1997). These are all contexts that influenced population structure (e.g., mate choice) (Madrigal, 2006). Thus, what ensued from enslavement is the “result of human demographic events and the official institutional and interpersonal management of the breeding of colonized subjects” (McLean, 2019, p. 91).

In the present study, I rely on basic assumptions that follow the approach of biodistance analysis, one of which describes environmental effects to be randomly distributed among study groups. The validity of this assumption is supported by Martinez-Abadias et al.’s (2012) study of the Hallstatt ossuary series, which showed that phenotypic covariance structure is a reliable proxy for genetic affinity. Further, cranial studies of African diaspora contexts such as Spradley (2006, p. 113) suggest that, even with the occurrence of secular changes, there is an overall strong association between genetic and cranial morphological distributions in Afro-descendant groups. On this

basis, I treat selective influence as a nuisance variable that is unlikely to pose a substantial barrier to interpreting group variation.

In a similar vein to McLean's (2019) work, my study of human morphological variation in enslavement contexts aims to divest from an ancestry-laden model, which usually relies on preconceived notions of group membership and features. To do so, I framed the decedent sample groups that I study as just that – groups. This means that in my framework I do not rely on catalogued identifications of Blackness in museum or archaeological records, which often use metrics that fall into preconceived ranges of variation, ranges which may not be accurate to apply to enslavement period groups. Instead, I posit that the decedents I study were buried in similar enslavement contexts that infer some similarity of lived social experience. I use that premise, combined with historically informed expectations, to interpret biological variation in each group. This means that the sites I study may include decedents that may not have been classified as 'Black' while they were alive. While this could complicate understandings of who exactly is buried in a given site, it is important information for building an unbiased understanding of the formation of biological groups, however diverse. These complexities then lend themselves to further analyses of subpopulation structure, which is valuable in spaces known to have had extended separation of groups that, over time, would have given rise to new, isolated subgroups.

I recognize that the biological groups that I study in this dissertation are a small slice of the vast variation represented in the slave trade, and as such may contain sample biases in age and ascribed gender. This sample bias limits the conclusions I can ultimately draw from this study. However, I think this approach allows me to more

effectively assess unique enslavement sites on their own terms. In spaces such as Rupert's Valley in St. Helena, for example, the decedents buried at the site represent a range of African ethnicities, from Angola to the Congo to Mozambique. Sites like this would likely show much higher variation than sites where there is generational history and biological "homogenization," thereby representing a biological group that does not necessarily have the same type of racialization as some other Atlantic sites. Thus, being able to measure the variation of sites like this and let the data shape my conclusions, rather than the other way around, is the route I found to be the most promising.

Table 2-1. Modified table from Cunningham (2023)

Black Postmortem Subject Model
1. Shaping Postmortem Status: Manner of burial for human remains is often a reflector of the previous social status and the degree of agency the decedent's community has in performing their traditional burial customs
2. Exteriorization: The state of the remains of a historic Black decedent in which they are conceived of as a nonsacred object, receive treatment that violates culturally derived burial norms, and are spatially compartmentalized
a. <i>Intentional Omission</i> : Strategic omissions of a decedent's sacred value
b. <i>Initial Conception</i> : A conception of a decedent that follows or violates culturally defined norms; if it is a violation, it is a form of exteriorization
i. <i>Culturally defined respectful burial</i>
ii. Alienation by postmortem status- a violation of culturally defined burial norms
c. <i>Reconception</i> : A reconception of a decedent following an encounter between the living and a decedent after their initial conception; if it is a violation of culturally defined norms, it is a form of exteriorization.
i. <i>Culturally defined respectful (re)burial</i>
ii. <i>Alienation by manipulation</i> - A violation of culturally defined norms resulting in the tampering or removal of a decedent
1. External indicators
a. <i>Display</i>

CHAPTER 3 SAMPLE GROUPS AND ANALYTICAL METHODS

This chapter describes the sample groups and methods I used in this dissertation. The first section describes the sample groups I included in the analyses and their respective contexts, and the second section discusses methods, divided into three categories: biological, archival, and biosocial integration. The biological sample groups include cranial remains associated with excavated historical archaeological sites of varying time period, region, and enslavement context. I selected the archival samples to be comparable in region to the biological sample groups. The archival sample includes excerpts from historic accounts and newspapers, most commonly fugitive slave advertisements. The last section relies on the combination of data from the biological and archival sample groups.

Sample Groups

The biological sample groups for the cranial morphology study comprised cranial remains of N=85 adult Africans/Afro-descendant decedents spanning the colonial era. Adults were defined in this study by eruption of maxillary third molars with closed apical ends of roots and complete fusion of the sphenoccipital synchondrosis (Buikstra & Ubelaker, 1994; Kasper et al., 2009; Shirley & Jantz, 2011). Although studies such as Olze et al. (2007) have observed population-specific differences in molar eruption rates, these disparities are estimated to differ in periods of less than one year. For decedents exhibiting incomplete third molar eruption, I consulted the above classification and Olze et al. (2007) to decide whether to include them in the study sample. Sampled biological groups include decedents who were buried at four provenienced archaeological sites in

the Caribbean, Southeastern Africa, and the South Atlantic (St. Helena), each offering unique insight into slave trade migration and the lifeways of its decedents.

To consider the potential effects of estimated biological sex on variation, I referred to the sex estimations in the archaeological records for each site. However, these measures were only consistently recorded in the St. Helena and Barbados groups, with the sex ratio for St. Helena overwhelmingly male and for Barbados evenly represented. Otherwise, the estimations were either absent or classified decedents as ambiguous. Given the sporadic presence of sex estimations in the dataset, I did not use it for hypothesis testing. However, I described any notable patterns related to sex estimation in the principal components analysis results in Chapter Four.

The archival samples represented a small collection of descriptions of enslaved people from regions and time periods that were comparable to the biological sample groups. Thus, the archival sample included documents from Barbados, South Africa, and St. Helena. Notably, these documents were all dated to the 19th century, meaning that all interpretations of social positioning related to what is referred to as the “declining era” of the slave trade and the decades directly following it. The archival resources included fugitive slave advertisements, as well as historic accounts from historians, clergy, and physicians. Barbados and South Africa have an extensive record of fugitive slave advertisements, making those documents amenable to chronological and regional study. In contrast, St. Helena, given its isolated status and small population, was ill-suited for high rates of escape of enslaved runaways. While escapes would still occur (typically by sea), it made documents like fugitive slave advertisements less common (Gosse, 1938, p. 183). Another challenge was that the biological sample for St. Helena

dated to a post-enslavement period (1840s), meaning that the few fugitive advertisements that circulated on the island were from an earlier time period. For this reason, for St. Helena I used other archival documents that included similar modes of description for enslaved people.

I present the biological and archival sample groups together under the three geographical regions of analysis: St. Helena, Barbados, and South Africa. (Note: although South Africa was known as the Cape Colony during the period of study, I also often refer to “South African” sites throughout for clarity while comparing groups.)

St. Helena

St. Helena is an isolated overseas British territory in the South Atlantic Ocean. The island was discovered by Portuguese navigators in the early 16th century. By the 17th century, the British East India Company effectively gained control over the island, largely cementing Britain’s hold on the island afterward. The population of St. Helena was historically composed of English settlers, enslaved Africans and South Asians, and South/East Asian indentured laborers, culminating in a modern population that has diverse ancestry and cultural history (Gosse, 1938; Kitching, 1937; “Saint Helena,” 2022).

Enslavement on St. Helena was active from the early colonization period of the island in the mid-17th century. As found elsewhere, sanctioned violence was commonly exacted against enslaved people from the start of the island’s settlement by the East India Company. For example, in slave codes established in the 17th century, punishments for acts such as “saucy language,” theft, or assault included (but were not limited to) lashings, castration, and branding (Gosse, 1938, p. 383; Schulenburg, 1999).

Regions of the island such as Ladder Hill gained an infamous reputation for being the site of grisly executions for enslaved people (Kitching, 1937, p. 54). In terms of labor roles, enslaved labor was initially largely restricted to agriculture, mainly in the cultivation of yam. As the island's settler population expanded, more enslaved people and resources (e.g., livestock, construction materials) were transported to the island (Gosse, 1938, pp. 127–128). Thus, the roles of enslaved laborers became more varied, such as kiln operation, masonry, butchery, tailoring, fishing, and washing (Fox, 2017). The island's turn toward emancipation was gradual, occurring in phases on the island through the 1830s until an ordinance abolishing enslavement was passed in 1839 (Fox, 2017; Pearson, 2016).

Biological sample group: Rupert's Valley ("Liberated African" burial ground)

- TP: ~late 1840's
- N=40
- Data Type: Virtually reconstructed surface scans

Rupert's Valley, located in St. Helena, is a burial ground containing decedents who are now referred to as Liberated Africans. After the site was discovered during the island's airport construction project, the British Government's Department for International Development funded archaeological investigations of the burial ground in 2007-2008 (Pearson et al., 2011). The project, led by Dr. Andy Pearson, oversaw the excavation of 325 decedents from both single and multiple interment graves, along with artifacts and organic material such as fingernails and hair. The excavation included a small fraction of the number of burials at the site; an estimated 8,000 decedents are buried at Rupert's Valley in total, relative to the over 26,000 Liberated Africans who were brought to St. Helena.

This referent of 'Liberated Africans' is rooted in 19th century British slavery suppression policies. In 1809, following the 1807 British abolition of slave trading in the British Empire, the British Royal Navy established a West Africa Squadron that was tasked with seizing illegal slave ships (Burroughs, 2015). Of the squadron's ship seizures, most occurred near West and Central Africa, and others occurred on the South American coast and open waters (Pearson et al., 2011, p. 152). St. Helena, previously a key trade port during the height of the slave trade, became a widely used destination for temporarily housing formerly enslaved Africans before they were taken to their ultimate destinations (Pearson, 2016; Schulenburg, 1999). Upon their departure from the island, most of the Liberated Africans were transported to British Guiana, Jamaica, Trinidad, or South Africa (E. Jackson, 1905, p. 261). However, St. Helena lacked the housing or medical infrastructure to support the thousands of liberated Africans arriving to the island, leading to many of them dying before integrating into the community or being transported elsewhere (Pearson, 2016).

Osteological evidence from the site has shown young ages for the decedents, ~54% of them under the age of 18, and one-third of them roughly twelve years or younger. Pathologies and stress indicators such as Schmorl's nodes, osteoarthritis, linear enamel hypoplasias, and cribra orbitalia were observed among decedents, with the first two mainly afflicting adult males. Evidence of scurvy was present in ~21% of the decedents. Combined with evidence from historical records, these indicators of health suggest that there was inadequate food supply and a lack of protection from disease for decedents during their forced migration (Pearson et al., 2011, p. 157). Skeletal fractures were present in ~6.5% of decedents. Projectile shards were recovered from two

decedents, implying that they were shot; these victims were approximately 7-12 years old. The circumstances of their deaths are inconclusive, but Pearson et al. (2011, p. 157) argued that the most likely scenario would have been that this occurred on board the slave ship at the hands of enslavers or West African Squadron officials.

Based on historical accounts, the 'Liberated Africans' may have originated from regions along the Congo River, Angola, or the Mozambique coast (McHenry, 1845, p. 2; Pearson et al., 2011, pp. 152–154). Genetic analysis of the remains of 20 decedents aligns with this account to some extent, suggesting origin from West Central Africa (e.g., Gabon, Angola). In both forms of evidence, it is clear that the group is heterogeneous, likely representing many African ethnic groups (Callaway, 2016; Sandoval-Velasco et al., 2019). Dental modification, a feature that often denotes sub-Saharan African origin (Handler, 1994; Mack & Blakey, 2004) was observed in 115 of the decedents, with patterns such as filing incisors in an 'M' shape or squared.

Regarding burial conditions, the vast majority of the decedents were directly deposited into the ground, with the exception of five coffin burials for four neonates and an adolescent (MacQuarrie & Pearson, 2016). This factor, combined with the inclusion of up to seven individuals per burial, suggests that these burial conditions were rushed (Pearson et al., 2011, p. xviii). As all of the babies who died at the site were buried in coffins, this suggests evidence of a devoted funerary practice that was not afforded to others at the site. One of the neonatal coffin burials in particular highlighted this:

The neonate was buried wearing a cap of white cotton gauze with satin ribbon. Its head had been placed on a pillow and a small quilt of red-dyed woollen cloth had been placed over the body. A cotton tabby textile, secured by pins, had also been wrapped around the neonate. Two silver coins had been placed over the eyes, and the leather sole of a single child's shoe lay by the head. (MacQuarrie & Pearson, 2016, p. 62)

Of the 325 skeletons excavated from the site, thirteen of the decedents were buried with objects of adornment, including beaded necklaces, iron hoops, and a copper alloy bracelet. These artifacts are argued to have either been created prior to the decedents' enslavement, or to have been made during their time on the slave ship or in the Liberated African depots in St. Helena (MacQuarrie & Pearson, 2016). Some of these artifacts seemed to have had both aesthetic and cosmological properties. For example, one of the young decedents (2-3 years old) was buried with a bead and perforated bovid horn necklace. Antelope horns were used in some African spiritual belief systems at that time (e.g., West African Vodun) to protect the wearer against illness or malignant spirits (Lima et al., 2014; MacQuarrie & Pearson, 2016, p. 60). Similarly, another young decedent was buried with a copper alloy bracelet, which some Yoruba groups used to ward off spiritual and physical danger (Akande, 2017; Handler, 1997b, p. 112; Herbert, 1984, pp. 261–261; MacQuarrie & Pearson, 2016, p. 61). Notably, copper bracelets of a similar nature were found at the diaspora site of Newton Plantation in Barbados (discussed below), buried with an African spiritual practitioner (Handler, 1997b).

Archival samples

McHenry, G. (1845). An account of the Liberated African Establishment at St. Helena. *Simmond's Colonial Magazine and Foreign Miscellany*, 5, 172-183.

- Data Type: First-hand account

McHenry, G. (1863). Visits to Slave-Ships. In *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*.

- Data Type: Article

George McHenry was a physician who served as a surgeon and superintendent of the Liberated African Establishment at Lemon Valley, St. Helena (McHenry, 1863). Lemon Valley served the same purpose as Rupert's Valley, receiving and temporarily providing shelter and medical care to formerly enslaved Africans starting in 1840 (Pearson et al.,

2011, p. xviii). Lemon Valley ceased operating as a depot for Liberated Africans after 1843, while Rupert's Valley continued to operate into the 1860s. During McHenry's service on the island, the Liberated Africans suffering illnesses from either depot were typically transported to the hospital he managed in Lemon Valley (McHenry, 1845, p. 46). Beyond the common illnesses contracted in the arduous slave trade journey (e.g., dysentery, scurvy), some slave ships sustained outbreaks of infectious diseases like smallpox by the time they reached the island (McHenry, 1845, pp. 55–57).

Two documents by George McHenry are included in the present study. The first document is McHenry's (1845) detailed account of his service at the Liberated African Establishment at Lemon Valley. This account describes his perceptions of the formerly enslaved people in the depot, as well as his estimations of their origins, their religious and cultural beliefs, and their level of assimilation to European norms. He also describes instances of Liberated Africans escaping from the depot. The second document, also written by McHenry, is a pamphlet describing his visit to a slave ship soon after its arrival in Lemon Valley. McHenry's accounts are not neutral; he depicts a racial hierarchy in his ranking of the cultural complexity of the Africans in the depot relative to European practices. However, these documents are nonetheless illustrative of how Africans, in this case recently freed, were perceived and socialized in St. Helena, especially since the practice of enslavement had only just ended on the island (Fox, 2017).

Melliss, J. C. (1875). *St. Helena: A Physical, Historical, and Topographical Description of the Island, Including Its Geology, Fauna, Flora, and Meteorology*. L. Reeve & Company.

- Data Type: Book Excerpts

John C. Melliss was a Colonial Surveyor on St. Helena, a post he inherited from his father. He wrote a historical account of the island that comprehensively described the geology, flora, and fauna of the island, with less emphasis on the island's inhabitants or cultural history (Gosse, 1938, p. 429; Melliss, 1875). Even so, he devoted some sections of the book toward describing the island's relationship to the Liberated Africans. The present study includes three excerpts from Melliss's book. The first is an account of Melliss's visit to a slave ship arriving on the island in 1861. The second and third are excerpts in the book that describe his perceptions of the Liberated Africans and his racial typology of the St. Helenian population. He perceived the Liberated Africans as being considered inferior by Afro-descendant and mixed race St. Helenians, which impacted recaptives' status on the island (Schulenburg, 1999, pp. 238–239).

Gray, R. (1852). *Cape of Good Hope: Journals of Two Visitations in 1848 and 1850*. Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

- Data Type: Chapter Excerpts (p. 103-113)

Robert Gray served as the first Anglican Lord Bishop of Cape Town, beginning his role in 1847 (Gray, Robert (A), n.d.). Soon after assuming his post, he published an account of visits he made through the Cape Colony in 1848 and to St. Helena in 1849. The intent of these journeys was to assess the rigor of religious instruction and resources, consecrate church and burial spaces, and support local benevolent societies (Gosse, 1938, p. 319). During his visit to St. Helena, the Liberated African depots were still active, and he encountered a captured slave ship and the Liberated African Establishment as a result. The present study includes his description of encountering both spaces. In his writings he described the horrific conditions of slave ships, and he

lamented the lack of spiritual instruction in place to promote the conversion of Liberated Africans to Christianity (Gray, 1849, pp. 103–113; Schulenburg, 1999, pp. 233–234).

Jackson, E. L. (1905). *St. Helena: The Historic Island from Its Discovery to the Present Date*. Thomas Whittaker.

- Data Type: Chapter Excerpts

Emily Louise Jackson lived on St. Helena under a government contract to serve as Headmistress of the Girls' School, and she eventually developed a lace industry and courses to disseminate the trade on the island (Gosse, 1938, p. 430). Despite not being trained as a historian, her historical account of the island is comprehensive and has served as a precursor for historical texts to follow, such as the work of Gosse (1938) or Kitching (1937). In the present study, I include Jackson's descriptions of the Liberated Africans, which include quotes from archival documents (e.g., letters from colonial officials and local publications). These quotes describe topics such as the Liberated Africans' conversions to Christianity, as well as their instances of escape from the Liberated African Settlement and rebellion on recaptured slave ships (E. Jackson, 1905, pp. 263–267). Though her references to the Liberated Africans are relatively scarce, they are particularly insightful because they show the original verbiage as well as Jackson's interpretation of those quotes.

Barbados

Barbados serves as the second of three regions under study in this dissertation. In the context of enslavement, Barbados is commonly referred to as the “birthplace of British slave society” (Beckles, 2016, 2017). By the mid-17th century, the island had shed its previous economic system that relied on the indentured servitude of white laborers and established itself as a large-scale enslavement system. The product of

sugar vastly dominated most of the economic production on the island, as was later observed in much of the Caribbean (Beckles & Downes, 2006; Dunn, 1972; Fuentes, 2016, p. 30). This economy subsumed most of the employment capacities, meaning that roles formerly occupied by white laborers (e.g., carpenters, masons) were replaced by slaves, leading to higher demands for enslaved labor. This, combined with the departure of wealthy plantation owners to English estates, led to the Black population on the island exceeding the white population by the 1670s, cementing its status as a majority-Black population since that time (Beckles & Downes, 2006; Ligon, 1657). During the island's rise to dominance, it also gained an infamous reputation for the violence exacted on enslaved Africans, which was legalized with the adoption of the 1661 Slave Codes (McDonald, 2019, pp. 200–205; Rugemer, 2013). This high-stress environment amounted to disproportionately high mortality rates and low fertility rates for women (Higman, 1995; Shuler, 2005b).

Biological sample: Newton Plantation burying ground, Christ Church, Barbados

- TP: ~1660-1820
- N=8
- Data Type: Virtually reconstructed surface scans, bioarchaeological report

Newton Plantation Burying Ground in Barbados (ca. 1660-1820) has been central to the development of African diaspora bioarchaeology in the Caribbean. Originally excavated in 1971-1973, yielding 101 decedents, and subsequent excavations in 1997-1998 yielding 49 additional decedents, the site has been studied extensively. Original excavations found many of the skeletal remains in multiple interment burials, some commingled (Handler & Lange, 1978). Combining archaeological evidence with ethnohistorical approaches, much information was amassed in the 1970s toward understanding life in enslavement in Barbados. In terms of healthcare, enslaved people

in Barbados received healthcare from designated plantation physicians, supplemented by their own spiritual healing practices. In the context of Newton Plantation, Handler (1978, p. 11) argues that one of the decedents practiced Obeah, a set of healing and spell-casting traditions observed in Afro-descendant Caribbean communities (Bilby & Handler, 2004). He based this interpretation on the burial's seclusion from the others and prone body position (the only instance of this positioning found at any Caribbean site), arguing that these features mean that he may have been feared by his community (Handler, 1996).

Other archival and osteological evidence observed at Newton Plantation shows widespread disease, poor nutrition, frequent growth disruptions, and low adult stature relative to other Caribbean sites (Handler & Corruccini, 1983; Handler et al., 1982; Handler & Lange, 1978; Shuler, 2005a, 2011). The majority of archivally reported deaths were attributed to infection, most commonly tuberculosis, tetanus, dysentery, leprosy, measles, cold and fever (Handler & Lange, 1978). The osteological evidence from the 1997-1998 investigations of Newton Plantation showed that infectious lesions were concentrated in the lower limb regions (Shuler, 2005a). Also common at Newton Plantation were dental wear facets on teeth due to habitual use of clay pipes, suggesting that the distribution of pipes among the enslaved population may have been used as an "internal reward system" (R. Corruccini et al., 1982; Shuler, 2005a, p. 72). The diets of enslaved people at Newton Plantation and elsewhere are inferred to have been low and carbohydrate-heavy, including corn, small amounts of saltfish and pork, molasses, sugar cane juice, and rum (Handler & Corruccini, 1983, p. 75; Shuler, 2005a, p. 114). Food acquisition for the enslaved population consisted of a combination

of importing goods from other islands and allotting plots for enslaved persons to communally tend crops and animals (Handler, 1972; Handler & Lange, 1978; Shuler, 2005a).

More recent isotopic analyses have presented the first clear evidence of Barbados-born versus African-born decedents (Laffoon et al., 2020). The isotope studies also found high levels of lead present in both adult and child skeletons; this high content is argued to be connected to contaminated rum, whether directly consumed by adults or indirectly consumed in utero (Schroeder et al., 2013). Skeletally manifested trauma rates were surprisingly low (6%), and low relative to urban enslavement sites in the US. However, the frequent localized periosteal inflammation and low mean age at death (~19.95 years) suggest that structural violence at Newton Plantation still translated to shorter lifespan and characteristic markers of stress on the body (Shuler, 2005b, 2005a, 2011). The lack of skeletal indicators of violence should not be taken to mean that enslaved persons who worked and died at Newton Plantation were not subjected to physical violence. Archival records attest to the excessive physical violence and high mortality rates at Caribbean enslavement sites (Beckles, 2016; Hunt-Kennedy, 2020; McDonald, 2019). The more likely explanation is that markers of violence did not manifest skeletally. For example, much of the violence enacted on enslaved persons, such as head trauma, lashing, or cropping ears, are acts that would be unlikely to be identifiable from skeletal evidence alone (Fuentes, 2016; Hunt-Kennedy, 2020; Paton, 2004).

Archival sample: Barbados Mercury, and Bridge-town Gazette

- TP: 1807-1816
- N= 516
- Data Type: Fugitive slave advertisements

Based in Bridgetown, Barbados, the *Mercury Gazette* newspaper began printing and circulating its issues in 1762. In 1805, the newspaper was renamed as the *Barbados Mercury and Bridgetown Gazette*, and continued publication for several more decades. Over time, many of the preserved issues of these newspapers have sustained extensive damage, prompting the island to pursue digitization efforts to preserve them. Scholars and archivists Lissa Paul, Ingrid Thompson, and Amalia Levi led digitization efforts for the newspaper in 2018, funded by the Endangered Archives Programme (Levi & Inniss, 2020). The database, currently hosted on the open access *Digital Library of the Caribbean* database, contains primary data spanning 1783-1848 (*Barbados Mercury, and Bridge-town Gazette*, n.d.).

The newspapers contain a range of information including but not limited to sales, opinion pieces, legal hearings, and fugitive slave advertisements. Despite the rarity of traditional marronage (the formation of independent runaway settlements) in Barbados due to its sparsity of mountainous or forested areas, temporary and permanent runaways were still a persistent concern for enslavers, making fugitive slave advertisements a common feature of the island's newspapers (Handler, 1997a). As a dataset, fugitive slave advertisements are clearly biased, as they are written from the perspective of enslavers attempting to recapture escaped enslaved persons. However, they provide vivid descriptions of the enslaved. For example, many of the advertisements describe their health, physical features, behaviors, social connections, and potential escape destinations. These details are all relevant to understanding the ways that enslaved persons were perceived and treated in these spaces. Although an exhaustive review of the research conducted with these advertisements is beyond the

scope of this dissertation, recent endeavors such as Marisa Fuentes' (2016) intersectional study of enslaved women as a means of decolonizing the archives' perspectives and foci demonstrate the subversive possibilities for engaging with these archives.

The advertisements are typically 1-2 paragraphs in length, beginning with a phrase connoting escape (e.g., ran away, absconded, reward) and ending with the name of the advertisement subscriber. The subscriber is usually, but not always, also the enslaver. For the present study, I collected and transcribed advertisements from the *Barbados Mercury, and Bridge-town Gazette* newspaper in the Digital Library of the Caribbean database. For the present sample, I included all unique advertisements spanning 1807-1816, and I excluded repeated advertisements with identical or nearly identical text from the sample.

South Africa

South Africa, specifically Cape Town, is the final region of analysis in this dissertation. The Cape Colony was initially controlled by the Dutch East India Company, or Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC), from 1652-1795. Afterward, it was primarily controlled by the British until the Cape Province, the predecessor to the Republic of South Africa, was established in 1910 (Kootker et al., 2016; Shell, 1994). Prior to 1749, the majority of Cape Town slaves originated from southeast Asia, with emphasis on Indonesia, India, and Sri Lanka. During the late 18th – early 19th century, these migration flows began to shift to the African coast, particularly from Madagascar (Shell, 1994; Worden, 2016). Similar to Caribbean enslavement spaces like Barbados, the likelihood of being freed through manumission was low. For example, during the last three decades of enslavement at the Cape, 1,656 enslaved persons in Cape Town were

manumitted (just over 5% of the enslaved population in Cape Town) (Bank, 1991, p. 13; Worden et al., 1998, p. 105). In some cases, however, free and enslaved people commonly existed within the same households (Penn, 1999, p. 95).

In addition to the diverse community of enslaved people, indigenous Khoekhoe (or Khoikhoi), San, and other Black groups lived among them and were subjected to similar forms of coercive labor. While some early collaboration between indigenous groups and European colonists (or trekboers) may have been mutually beneficial, as trekboers expanded this frontier northward and eastward and became more acclimated to the land, the interactions between them became much more exploitative (Newton-King, 1999, pp. 40–41; Penn, 2005, pp. 18–23). This culminated in violent clashes and land loss for indigenous communities in the Cape, while indigenous people were simultaneously incorporated into the Cape Colony labor and social system. For example, while indigenous people could not be enslaved by law and could sue their employers for poor treatment, they were, similar to enslaved people, still subjected to violence and restricted agency under contract in the colony (Ross, 1999, p. 7). Further, this dramatic loss of land led to large numbers of indigenous people living in Cape Town and working in similar spaces as enslaved people. The shifting modes of forced labor sources over time created a Cape settlement that, in addition to Europeans, included non-European slaves, exiles, and convicts, formerly enslaved people, and indigenous people (Kootker et al., 2016). Given the prominent representation of VOC employees and settlers in the Cape, enslavers were typically Company affiliates or private owners (Worden, 2016).

Approximately 63,000 enslaved people were transported to the Cape during the colonial era, not accounting for the many enslaved people who were born in the Cape, whose numbers exceeded those of imported enslaved people in parts of the 18th and 19th centuries (Shell, 1994; Worden, 2016, p. 393). Of these migrations, the majority were directed by the VOC, with some exceptions. For example, Harries (2014, p. 189) described the 'Middle Passage' that impacted the Southwest Indian Ocean, which manifested in a diaspora of Mozambican descendants in the Cape, Reunion, Mauritius, and Madagascar. These modes of forced migration often echoed the arduous and dangerous journeys from the African interior to the slave ship that were integral to the Middle Passage journeys to the Americas.

Biological sample groups

Fort Knokke, Cape Town, South Africa

- TP: ~1818
- N=13
- Data Type: Virtually reconstructed surface scans

Fort Knokke was constructed in 1743 to the east of the Castle of Good Hope, a star-shaped structure surrounded by a moat and armed with cannons (Cox, 1995). The changes in political power over time, combined with the unsatisfactory initial construction of the fort, led to a series of improvement projects to the complex, including building an outlook tower and reinforcing ramparts. Fort Knokke was demolished in 1926 to clear for railroad construction. Its significance reemerged in 1953, when Ronald Singer, then-professor in the University of Cape Town Anatomy department, was called to do a rescue excavation due to workers encountering human remains (Cox, 1995; Singer, 1953). These burials were located in a mass grave roughly 100 yards from Fort Knokke. Singer proceeded to remove the skeletal remains of 25 decedents. He noted

that the shallow, beachside burials suggested the decedents were victims of a shipwreck buried in a mass grave. Singer also observed a high frequency of dental modification, a widespread practice across sub-Saharan African groups but not typically practiced in the Cape. These findings supported his conclusion that these decedents originated from other African regions (Singer, 1953).

A complicated aspect of the discovery of this burial ground is that Singer identified another burial site near to Fort Knokke, of seven skeletons (described as “robust males”) buried in coffins. It is now interpreted as likely that these sites are two separate excavations, and two separate burial contexts. Present museum records do not distinguish between these two excavations, but researchers have since used anatomical and isotopic methods to tease apart group membership. Specifically, Cox’s (1995) undergraduate thesis argued that several decedents, believed to have been from the second excavation, had nitrogen and carbon isotopic values that reflected consumption of C₃ grains in a temperate climate like Europe and were comparable to values in other historic European studies (Cox, 1995, p. 73). I included some of these decedents in the present study and interpreted them further in Chapter Four.

An undergraduate study by Henrietta Rose-Innes reviewed the patterns of age, biological sex, pathologies, trauma, and ancestry of the decedents from both excavations at Fort Knokke. Using age estimation techniques based on dental eruption, epiphyseal wear, and rib anterior ends, Rose-Innes (1992) observed that about half of the decedents at the site were adults above the age of 21. For pathologies, frequency of cribra orbitalia was high while periosteal infection and stress indicators were low (Cox, 1995, pp. 10–12; Rose-Innes, 1992). Cox (1995) performed further analyses with this

group, one of which included expanding Singer's (1953) observations of high rates of dental modification in the group. Cox identified four patterns of modification in the group:

1. all four upper and lower incisors are chipped to points
2. a notch between the first incisors and pointed lateral incisors
3. a square chip removed from the distal corner of the maxillary first incisor
4. a rounded or semicircular chip off the mesial corner of the maxillary first incisor (Cox, 1995, pp. 17–19)

The observation of dental modification patterns does not necessarily elucidate specific group membership or meaning, as the motivations for the practices vary. For example, sometimes these practices were done for aesthetic reasons or as a signal for transitioning to adulthood (Cox, 1995, pp. 13–17; Handler, 1994; Van Reenen, 1964). However, as described above, in the context of the enslavement these practices were not often able to continue beyond the first generation, so they provide useful insight into identifying status as a first-generation enslaved person, which would have had unique lived experiences attached to it.

Isotopic and archival analyses have confirmed that the decedents associated with the first of Singer's two excavations were victims of the 1818 *Pacquet Real* shipwreck (Cox & Sealy, 1997). The *Pacquet Real*, a Portuguese slave ship, recruited slaves from Mozambique and attempted to stop in Table Bay to re-stock provisions before it completed its route to Brazil. Although the violent winds of Table Bay were known to have caused multiple shipwrecks throughout Cape history, the *Pacquet Real* is the only ship to have wrecked near to Fort Knokke while carrying a large number of enslaved people (171 people). Based on available archival records, the enslaved people who survived the wreck became "Prize Negroes," meaning that they were seized

and placed under apprenticeship labor, a system that has been criticized as closely resembling enslavement (Cox & Sealy, 1997; Saunders, 1984, 1985).

Cox's (1995) study argued that the presumed victims of the *Pacquet Real* shipwreck may have originated from the Makua, Yao, and Maravi groups, who were the prominent exploited groups in Mozambique during enslavement. This interpretation is based on isotopic profiles (which sampled several regions of crania/postcrania for each individual) and a survey of dental modification ethnographic studies. The isotopic values indicate that these decedents' diets during childhood were based on C₄ tropical plants, and they underwent a change in diet shortly prior to their deaths. The values also demonstrate that the decedents originated from diverse landscapes.

Various Localities, Cape Town, South Africa

- TP: Colonial era Cape Town (~1652-1872)
- N=24
- Data Type: Virtually reconstructed surface scans

As it relates to colonial era archaeological sites in Cape Town, one illuminating area of research is in the isotopic studies of Cobern Street, an 18th century burial of marginalized people. The site has shown isotopic evidence of both first-generation enslaved people from Africa and Asia and locally born people. Additional evidence from artifacts such as a shackle buried with a decedent suggest that some of the decedents may have been felons, and other aspects like burial orientation suggest that some of the decedents may have practiced Islam (Cox et al., 2001; Kootker et al., 2016). The present study sample does not include Cobern Street. However, the diversity of origin and status at Cobern Street is illuminative of the coexistence of new migrations and Cape-born people that often culminated in similar social status and burial outcomes.

The decedents included in this sample group were buried in colonial era Cape Town, in close proximity to the Cobern Street site (Fig. 3-1). As this sample group merges several excavations and contexts, this group must be interpreted more broadly than the others. For example, the limited context provided for these decedents do not provide insight into specific time periods, nor does it distinguish who was born in Cape Town versus others who originated elsewhere. This limits broader interpretations about migration history. However, these data are still useful for understanding the populations who occupied the marginalized spaces within Cape Town, and what those patterns may say about the patterns of variation in the area. To estimate the extent that this sample group forms a true group, the within-group variance tests (described below) were used to quantify the amount of morphological diversity shown within the sample group and determine if distinct subpopulations were present within the group.

Archival sample: The Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette

- TP: 1826-1834
- N=145
- Data Type: Fugitive slave advertisements

The *Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette* was a South African newspaper that began publishing issues in 1800. Despite the English control of the Cape Colony at the time of its inception, the gazette was conceived as a bilingual publication (Dutch and English) to facilitate communication through the previously established language of Dutch (Botma, 2021). Its ownership changed hands several times, beginning with private owners, then the British colonial government, briefly the Dutch, and back to the British. The newspaper, among many other archival materials that provide insight into South African history, has recently been digitized as part of the *Biography of an Uncharted People* project pioneered by Stellenbosch University. The project aims to

synthesize archival data (e.g., newspapers, birth/marriage/death records, slave registers) to articulate a cultural history of South Africa that intentionally includes the experiences of marginalized groups in it (*Biography of an Uncharted People*, n.d.).

The *Government Gazette* excerpts included in the present sample comprise fugitive slave advertisements within the Cape Town area. Similar to the Barbados archival sample, these advertisements were vignettes written from the perspective of enslavers to recapture the enslaved, simultaneously describing details of their appearance, behavior, and social connections. These advertisements have recently been the subject of the *Fugitives* project, a collaborative effort at Stellenbosch University between forensic artist Dr. Kathryn Smith, Visual Arts PhD student Pearl Mamathuba, and History PhD candidate Karl Bergemann. The project used fugitive slave advertisements from the *Government Gazette* and the *Zuid-Afrikaan* to create digital composite portraits of the runaways described in them. The portraits featured the original advertisement text, but displayed them backwards to “visually scrambl[e] the dominant voice (and racial and social biases) of the slave owner or apprentice master who placed the advertisement” (VIZ.Lab, 2021, p. 2).

Analytical Methods

This study consists of three methodology categories:

- Biological Methods
- Archival Methods
- Biosocial Integration Methods

The first two categories, biological and archival, present methods of analyzing specific data types on their own terms. This means that I used biological statistical analyses to evaluate relationships within and among sample groups, and I used thematic analysis to identify themes in the archival data. The third category is not a new dataset, but rather a

synthesis of the data gleaned from the first two categories, so the third section is largely contingent on the results from the first two. For example, I needed to first calculate variance scores for my biological dataset to have the data to compare its diversity to that of the archival sample.

Biological Methods

Creating 3D surface scans for analysis

To enable statistical estimation of the cranial shapes of the decedents in the present sample, three-dimensional laser surface scans were created, from which Cartesian landmarks were collected (described further below). Most of the scans from the present study were created using an EinScan Pro 2X 2020 3D scanner, a structured light scanner that has settings for fixed and handheld operation. The remaining 3D scans were created using a NextEngine 3D Laser Scanner. The EinScan Pro 2X scans were created using 'Fixed Mode,' which required placing the scanner on a tripod and placing the cranial remains on a turntable at a 13-inch distance from the scanner. As the EinScan is a portable scanner, it was angled 45 degrees downward to capture objects placed on the turntable. The scan setting was set to 8 divisions per scan. For the Newton Plantation (Barbados) sample group, skeletal remains were scanned using a NextEngine 3D Laser Scanner at a distance of 22 inches, also set to 8 divisions per scan. For both scanners, the remains were rescanned as needed to capture all surfaces of the object; in some cases, this required Sculptex clay or a cork ring to keep the object in place. Following scanning, the views were aligned, a mesh model was created, and the mesh was saved as .obj and .stl files for data collection (Boucherie et al., 2022, p. 56; Garvin & Ruff, 2012, p. 662).

Virtual reconstruction prior to GMM analysis for fragmentary remains

As the skeletal remains from the studied sample groups were often fragmentary or missing regions of the cranium, additional steps were required to collect landmarks from broken or incomplete skeletal samples. For disarticulated crania, each fragment was scanned using the methods described above and exported as individual .stl and .obj files. All fragment meshes were imported into 3D Slicer for virtual reconstruction (*3D Slicer image computing platform*, 2022; Fedorov et al., 2012; Gering et al., 2001; Kapur et al., 2016; Kikinis et al., 2014; Pieper et al., 2006), following adapted guidelines from Zollikofer and de León (2005). To aid fragment alignment, a reference skull (a simplified mesh of one of the Newton Plantation decedents that had higher skeletal preservation) was imported into the viewer and global axes were toggled on. The Transform Editor was used to translate and rotate fragments (Fig. 3-2). The transform matrices of each mesh were saved (or “hardened”) and saved as new meshes. The transformed meshes were stitched into one .stl mesh in MeshLab using the ‘Flatten Visible Layers’ function (Cignoni et al., 2008).

Landmarks as estimators of shape

This study used a 3D geometric morphometric approach to assess human cranial shape patterns in sampled African and Afro-descendant diaspora groups. Geometric morphometric methods statistically measure biological shape and shape change (Bookstein, 1991; Mitteroecker & Gunz, 2009). This methodology relies on the identification of biologically homologous (fixed) landmarks, Cartesian coordinates that represent the locations of anatomical structures, to estimate a form. A biologically homologous landmark in this context refers to a point whose location is representative of structures (e.g., bones, muscles, fascia) that are reflective of the biological and

evolutionary similarity among/within species. These biologically-informed landmark coordinate data are used to statistically analyze the structure of variation in the sample. These landmarks are generally classified into three types: Type I (sutural intersections), Type II (the peak geometric protrusion of a surface), and Type III (biological structures that are dependent on the orientation or the location of other landmarks), ranging from the most to least precise (Sholts et al., 2011, p. 536). Although fixed landmarks provide valuable insight, there are shortcomings in the degree of shape information that can be gleaned from them. For example, Goswami et al. (2019) argued that morphometric studies using only fixed landmarks measure cranial vault shape poorly.

One way of addressing these limitations posed by fixed landmarks is by using “fuzzy” landmarks. Fuzzy landmarks occupy more area than one single point because they capture an aspect rather than a precise fixed point (Valeri et al., 1998). For example, the Type III landmark *opisthocranion* refers to an “instrumentally determined” posterior-most portion of the skull, meaning that its collection requires a manual or digital identification of the highest value relative to the point *nasion* (Buikstra & Ubelaker, 1994). As there are potentially multiple points that may meet this criterion, a common approach to reduce error is by collecting a given fuzzy landmark several times and calculating the average coordinates (Valeri et al., 1998, p. 120).

Another strategy to address the limitations of fixed landmark analyses is through the inclusion of sliding curve-semilandmarks. Sliding curve-semilandmarks have become a widely used supplement to fixed landmarks to capture subtle aspects of surface morphology (Freidline et al., 2015; Gunz & Mitteroecker, 2013; Gunz et al., 2005). Further, they have been argued to capture cranial vault morphology more

accurately than fixed landmarks (Goswami et al., 2019). Whereas fixed landmarks are chosen with the intention of precise placement, semilandmark curves capture arbitrary coordinate information along a biologically meaningful curve. This means that the individual points along the curve are not, in themselves, homologous, and so the individual points' placement matters less than the curve's alignment with the projected line set by the startpoint and endpoint of the curve. Fixed landmarks are used as the start point and endpoint of each curve to constrain, or define the boundaries of, the movement of the semilandmarks (Gunz & Mitteroecker, 2013).

Data collection

This study used homologous fixed landmarks, fuzzy landmarks, and sliding curve-semilandmarks (Gunz & Mitteroecker, 2013; Gunz et al., 2005; Schlager, 2012). Three fuzzy landmarks (right/left *parietal boss*, *opisthocranion*) were included to capture the shape of the cranial vault.

Prior to data collection, I defined the list of landmarks to be included in the study (Table 3-1), and produced images and diagrams demonstrating landmark placement (Appendix A). As the sample includes fragmentary and virtually reconstructed cranial remains, guidelines for landmark placement addressed this as needed. For example, in the St. Helena sample, due to destructive sampling from a prior study by another researcher the temporals were absent from most decedents. Subsequently, landmark points like *asterion* had specific instructions for data collection in cases where the temporal was absent (Table 3-1).

For landmark data collection, each decedent was imported into 3D Slicer software in orthographic view (*3D Slicer image computing platform*, 2022; Fedorov et al., 2012; Gering et al., 2001; Kapur et al., 2016; Kikinis et al., 2014; Pieper et al.,

2006). The Markups tab in 3D Slicer allows the creation of different landmark types. MarkupsFiducial was used for fixed homologous landmark sets, and MarkupsCurve for curve-semilandmarks. As fuzzy landmarks tend to produce the highest error rates, I triangulated the “true” position of these landmarks by collecting each three times (at the beginning, middle, and end of each data collection trial) and calculating the average (Valeri et al., 1998). For curves that were located along the midsagittal plane (e.g., ‘Frontal Curve,’ ‘Nasal Curve’), I followed the midsagittal plane in a straight line to collect the semilandmarks. For bilateral curves, I used the placement of the start points and endpoints to define the curve for the semilandmarks to follow. I resampled each curve to a set number of landmarks using the ‘Resample’ function in the Markups tab. The ‘Resample’ function allows an argument of constraining the curve to the surface of the 3D scan. The benefit of constraining the curve to the scan surface is to avoid incorrect landmark placement, such as a point placed beneath rather than on the scan surface. However, the limitation is that the skeletal surface must be intact for the function to work correctly. As the present study sample was largely fragmentary, it was infeasible to constrain all curves. For this reason, I did a combination of constraining and unconstraining curves based on the level of fragmentation. When the skeletal portion of a given curve was intact, I constrained the curve to the surface of the 3D scan. When it was not, I used the present skeletal portion to estimate and project the remaining coordinates of the curve along the same plane, leaving the resample function unconstrained. Each decedent trial had its own Excel spreadsheet, which included the averaged fuzzy landmark coordinates. Further, because the biological sample was still

fragmentary after virtual reconstruction, the landmarks omitted from each data collection trial were also documented in the spreadsheet.

For all landmarks, two data collection trials were performed for each individual, and the trials were averaged.

Semilandmark testing

The complexity of anatomical structures should be considered when selecting the number of semilandmarks that is appropriate to describe the shape of a curve. For example, curves such as the 'Frontal Curve' are sexually dimorphic and population-variant regions of the cranium, so using a higher number of semilandmarks to estimate its shape could identify some of these novel axes of variation (Franklin et al., 2010, 2006, p. 233). However, incorporating curve-semilandmarks into a study poses potential problems for morphometric analyses, as it can create an unbalanced distribution of landmarks across a given form, with disproportionately high concentrations of points at certain regions. This can result in an analysis such as PCA overestimating a curve's importance in contributing to variation (Watanabe, 2018). Thus, it is important to attempt to capture as much information as is useful without distorting a dataset. To that end, I ran a confirmatory test to aid my selection of semilandmarks for more complex curves.

I used the 'Frontal Curve' as an example of a high-complexity curve to assess the effects of semilandmark number on distinguishing between individuals. I created a subset of the biological sample that included five decedents with high skeletal preservation. Their frontal curve raw coordinates were downsampled to the following semilandmark amounts: 5, 8, and 13. I ran a PCA for each iteration, and the PCA for the 13-semilandmark iteration showed novel patterns of variation not accounted for in the iterations of 5 or 8 semilandmarks. For example, the 5-semilandmark PCA assigned

87.82% of the variance to PC1 and 8.22% to PC2, while the 13-semilandmark PCA assigned 70% of the variance to PC1 and 21.71% to PC2 (Table 3-2). This suggests that the 13-semilandmark configuration showed additional aspects of variation relative to the 5- and 8-semilandmark tests. Based on these observations, I applied this concept to the full biological sample in this study by using 13 semilandmarks to represent the curves that had more complex morphologies ('Frontal Curve', 'Lower Orbital Curve').

Combining data types

The biological sample included 3D laser surface scans from two different scanners. There are cautions in combining different data types, as doing so may increase interobserver and intermethod error, particularly in species with little intraspecific variation (Robinson & Terhune, 2017). Further, CT scan data are argued to have the highest precision for Type I landmarks, while laser scans may be most suitable for Type III landmarks (Sholts et al., 2011). In the study sample, the considerable intraspecific variation among human crania was expected to exceed smaller amounts of error variance introduced by different data types. Further, data from surface scans are shown to have overall low error measures and seem to be appropriate for most types of craniometric research (Sholts et al., 2011).

Generalized Procrustes Analysis

Generalized Procrustes Analysis (GPA) is the means by which landmark coordinate data are converted into shape variables. This process translates coordinate data for each individual/specimen to the origin (the point where axes intersect), scales them, and rotates them based on a least-squares criterion, with the ultimate aim of aligning the coordinates across the sample as closely as possible (Bookstein, 1991; Gower, 1975; Rohlf & Slice, 1990; Zelditch et al., 2012). The GPA aligns the forms in a

dataset by using the differences from the translation, rotation, and scaling parameters as references to assess specimens' relatedness to one another in the analysis (Richtsmeier et al., 2002; Rohlf & Slice, 1990).

Landmark error study

To evaluate the repeatability of the fixed landmarks included in the present study, I performed an error study, developed in collaboration with Drs. Valerie DeLeon and Samantha McCrane (personal communication, 2018). The study comprised two trials of landmark data collection for the cranial remains of five human decedents curated at the University of Florida. The aim of the analysis was to test whether the selected fixed landmarks (Table 3-1) could adequately distinguish among individuals, and whether data collection across three different observers were consistent. Two cranial views were required to collect all landmarks, meaning that each trial produced two raw coordinate lists that needed to be aligned and merged into one list. Four reference points that were accessible in both views were collected at the start of each trial, to be stitched together afterward. Landmark data were then collected directly from the cranial surface in two views using a MicroScribe GTX Digitizer, and coordinate data were formatted as NTS files. The NTS files of the two cranial positions were imported into Morpheus software and merged into one coordinate list. The three fuzzy landmark trials for each data collection trial were averaged, and the reference points were removed from the landmark list. These data were imported into *geomorph* for visual analysis using GPA and PCA scatterplots.

The study demonstrated that the landmarks were able to distinguish among decedents despite measurement error. However, there was a low but significant effect of interobserver error on the dataset. The major interobserver issues were with all fuzzy

landmarks, and with pterion (ptp) and ectomolare (ecm). The small consistent errors were at the landmarks frontoparietal temporale (fpt), opisthion (opi), and zygomaxillare inferior (zmi). Other small consistent errors were at the landmarks jugular process (the anteriormost projection of the jugular process of occipital), stylomastoid foramen (sty), and pterygoid hamulus (the endpoint of the hamulus on the sphenoid pterygoid plate), which were removed from the present dataset. For the fpt, opi, and zmi landmarks, their definitions were revised prior to use for the present study.

Accounting for sample size imbalances

Sample size is a crucial factor in statistical analysis. If a sample size is too small relative to the magnitude of the difference, a statistical test cannot discriminate differences in the data (Dalgaard, 2008). Under conditions of limited sample size, statistical power is lower and Type II errors (the failure to reject a null hypothesis that is false) are more likely. Another related issue is unbalanced sampling, where one sample size is substantially smaller than the other(s). For example, in a one-way ANOVA test, highly unequal sample sizes may impact the homogeneity of variance assumption. Although tests like these are resistant to moderate departures from the assumption, attempts to assess the extent of variation among groups may produce inaccurate estimates (Wickens & Keppel, 2004). Given the unbalanced nature of the biological sample size in the present study, it is necessary to evaluate the normality and structure of the dataset and perform analyses that will enhance its statistical strength. To that end, resampling or permutation methods can improve the robustness of a dataset (although it cannot ameliorate or “fix” problems of nonindependence or biased sampling). I used normality tests and a permutation-based Procrustes ANOVA to address these issues.

Normality tests

I assessed the normality of the biological dataset using a Q-Q plot and a histogram (generated using the R *Morpho* package 'histGroups' and 'qqmat' functions, respectively) to assess the normality of the data prior to performing the tests. The 3D coordinate matrix generated from the Procrustes superimposition standardization process (described in next section) of the full sample was used to test normality. A histogram is a barplot that represents measurements as various intervals and counts the frequency of observations for each, while Q-Q (quantile quantile) plots show the quantiles of two probability distributions. The 'qqmat' function calculates and plots Mahalanobis distances of the data matrix against a dummy matrix based on a Gaussian distribution (a representation of a normal distribution). Results from these tests strongly suggest that the data are not normally distributed. The histogram is negatively skewed with unbalanced distribution among the sample groups, reflecting their sample size differences (Fig. 3-3). Further, in the Q-Q plot (which relies on alignment with a diagonal line to suggest normal distribution) the majority of the points do not connect with the line path, and the points form a sigmoidal shape instead of a 1:1 line (Fig. 3-4).

The data taking this form in the Q-Q plot recalls the associations of sigmoid curves with some features of population growth; along the curve populations may become established rapidly until reaching a limit, and then after meeting some kind of leveling force it maintains or crashes this growth (Hipkins & Cowie, 2016, p. 3). This metaphor seems apt for the nature of data collected from enslavement era burial contexts, in which decedents' lives, and how and where they were buried, would have been in flux. The following tests I describe aim to account for this by using both numerical and descriptive modes of analysis, one of which includes permutation tests.

Statistical tests

I primarily performed statistical analyses using the R *geomorph* and *Morpho* packages (Adams et al., 2022; E. Baken et al., 2021; Schlager, 2017). I read the dataset into R using the 'readland.nts' function, which reads an NTS file containing a list of landmark coordinates (in this case three-dimensional). I used the 'define.sliders' function, which sets endpoints and identifies the landmarks that were allowed to "slide" along the curve. I then subset the coordinates to omit the start and endpoints of each curve, as they replicated the fixed landmarks that were already collected. Missing landmark data were estimated using the 'fixLMtps' function in the *Morpho* package in R. This function uses a thin-plate spline interpolation to calculate the decedents' shapes that are most similar to each decedent with missing landmarks, and then deforms the shape of the decedents who have no missing landmarks onto the decedents that do. However, based on the radial basis function in this interpolation procedure, the accuracy of this function is limited by the degree of dispersion between landmarks. Given the extensive fragmentation of some decedents in the dataset, as well as the consistent absence of temporals in the St. Helena group specifically ([Appendix B](#)), I ran the function and visualized the cranial shape of each decedent in three dimensions to assess whether the function worked properly. I removed the decedents whose estimations were grossly inaccurate. For example, [Figure 3-5](#) visualizes a decedent with landmark estimation performed by the 'fixLMtps' function, showing clear inaccuracy. In total, 27 decedents with landmark estimations appearing in this manner were removed from the original N=112 sample, resulting in a revised sample size of N=85. Once I finalized the decedents to be included in the present analysis, I ran the 'fixLMtps' function for two subsets of the sample (St. Helena, and a group including the rest of the

decedents), creating two separate 3D arrays. I merged them into one array using the 'abind' function, and then I used the 'gpagen' function in R to perform Procrustes superimposition on the merged data.

To revisit the research questions posed in the study, Question 1 asked:

- Q1: Which sampled groups show genetic continuity (as estimated by comparing mean cranial shapes of each group)? How do these data identify evidence of gene flow not otherwise described by historical migration data?

I used principal components analysis (PCA) as the starting point for answering this question. PCA reduces large datasets to decipherable axes of variation, referred to as principal components. The principal component (PC) axes each represent a certain proportion of the total variation observed in the dataset, emphasizing an aspect of cranial morphology that is associated with the trends of the principal component.

Further, the first PC captures the primary aspect of shape variance. This output is useful for directly plotting two principal components against one another (commonly PC1 and PC2 because they account for the highest percentage of variation in the dataset) and observing how data points are distributed. For this kind of output, the data points that are clustered more closely together likely have higher similarity. For the present study, I used the PCA to visualize general patterns of relatedness, inferred as genetic continuity, in the dataset.

To more precisely quantify the among-group differences observed in the shape data, I used the 'procD.lm' function in the R *geomorph* package to perform a Procrustes ANOVA (which calculates pairwise distances among group means relative to within-group variances) to test the effect of group category on shape variation (Adams et al., 2022; Baken et al., 2021; Zelditch et al., 2012). I ran the Procrustes ANOVA with permutation procedures. The function relies on two key concepts: 1) that Procrustes

distances can be used as an effective measure of shape relationships (Anderson & terBraak, 2003), and 2) that this concept can be operationalized as a non-parametric means of analyzing multivariate data (Anderson, 2001). The function compares the shape variation accounted for by the input model's independent variables to a "dummy" dataset of residual values permuted 1,000 times (Adams et al., 2022). This permutation relies on a resampling procedure referred to as RRPP. When RRPP is enabled in the 'procD.lm' function, residual shape values from a reduced model are calculated and randomized based on the linear model's parameters. The residual shape values are then added to the model's predicted values to generate "pseudo" values, which are used to calculate the sum of squares. This procedure may ameliorate the issue of unbalanced sampling; as the procedure generates so many permuted (pseudo) values generated in the model, the potential outliers that exist in the data become less likely to distort patterns of among-group affinity. Further, use of RRPP has been shown to produce higher statistical power, which by extension decreases the likelihood of Type II error (a failure to reject a null hypothesis that is false) (Anderson & terBraak, 2003). I used the results of the Procrustes ANOVA to create a new PCA plot that projects the data onto eigenvectors of the fitted values. Fitted values refer to the predicted response variable values based on the input factor, which in this model was group category (Adams et al., 2022).

Using the fitted model produced from the 'procD.lm' function, I used the 'pairwise' function from the *RRPP* package to calculate the among-group pairwise distances among group means and their associated P-values (Collyer & Adams, 2018, 2019). The 'pairwise' function uses the ANOVA model fit to identify fitted values across all

permutations relative to a group variable (in this case the variable is the site), and calculate least squares means and the pairwise statistics among those means.

I used the 3D plotting feature in *geomorph* to visualize the morphological trends represented by each PC axis. I plotted the minimum, maximum, and mean shape along the axes with the highest amount of variation to identify localized shape patterns and interpret how those signals differ from decedents of different sites.

Question 2, which addresses within-group variation and subgrouping, asked:

- Q2: Given the social and legal restrictions that created physical separation among many enslaved persons, do some sites show stronger evidence of population stratification and genetic isolation?
 - Q2A. Do island sites have the highest within-group variance relative to Southeastern African sites?
 - Q2B. Do statistical cluster analyses identify subgroupings across geographic borders (e.g., a cluster that includes South Atlantic and Caribbean sites)?

I used the 'pairwise' function (introduced in Question 1 methods) to calculate within-group variances within each group. The function calculated variance scores for each site, as well as the pairwise distances between variances and their significance. This test allowed identification of the sites that had the most diverse decedents within it. For identifying subgroupings within and across the sites under study, I performed a hierarchical cluster analysis (HCA) in R using the *MCLUST* package. HCA is a statistical test based on an algorithm that estimates finite Gaussian mixture models and uses a Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC) to estimate an optimal number of clusters to divide the sample (Scrucca et al., 2016). This unbiased means of assessing variation relies only on Procrustes distances, not site categories, to inform its groupings. Relating to Q2B, the BIC may identify more than one cluster within the same site, showing evidence of subgrouping in one region. Alternatively, the analysis can potentially sort

decedents from different sites into the same clusters, which show possible overlap between sites.

Allometry

The strong statistical correlation between shape and size (more specifically the impact of size on shape variation) means that superimposition does not fully exclude the effects of size on its own (Gould, 1966; Gunz & Mitteroecker, 2013; Mosimann, 1970). Genetic and environmental contributions both seem to factor into human cranial allometry (Klingenberg, 2016). For example, Harvati and Weaver (2006) found that cranial vault and temporal size correlated with climatic variables, and Hubbe et al. (2009) found that northernmost populations were associated with overall larger cranial vaults. In other cases, studies have shown conflicting findings on the relationship between sexual dimorphism and allometry (Franklin et al., 2010; Rosas & Bastir, 2002; Weisensee & Jantz, 2011). To account for these potential effects of size on shape in the present study, I ran allometric tests to test the effects of size on shape variation in the sample. I used the 'procD.lm' function in the R *geomorph* package to perform a multivariate regression of Procrustes coordinates and log-transformed centroid size (Mitteroecker et al., 2013, p. 3). I also re-tested the 3D shape coordinates using form space analysis, which appends the log-transformed centroid size to Procrustes coordinates (also referred to as the shape tangent space) (Gunz & Mitteroecker, 2013; Klingenberg, 2016, p. 126). The value of this method is that it creates a space that explicitly represents size through centroid size, making it easier to distinguish between shape and size signals (Mitteroecker et al., 2013, p. 2). To do so, I used the 'procSym' function in the R *Morpho* package without symmetrization and repeated the principal components analysis for the full sample.

Archival Methods

This study used thematic analysis to analyze archival descriptions of enslaved persons. Thematic analysis, a form of qualitative text analysis, is a method that elucidates “collective or shared meanings and experiences” across a dataset (Braun & Clarke, 2012). Arriving at these shared meanings relies on the collection and categorization of codes, which are systematically labeled excerpts of text that 1) illuminate a feature/pattern in the dataset, and 2) are relevant to the research question and builds toward identifying meaningful themes. To distinguish between a code and a theme, Braun and Clarke (2012) have used the analogy of a brick house, in which the codes are the bricks and tiles and the themes are the composite of those units (the walls and roof) (Braun & Clarke, 2012, p. 61). The advantage of using thematic analysis is that it is easily adaptable to other disciplines, as the theoretical approach to coding and interpreting data is established by the researcher. However, because it is so flexible, it has been criticized for its potential lack of replicability or transparency. Braun et al. (2019) have since distinguished subcategories within thematic analysis that each have different assumptions for coding and interpreting data. These three approaches are: coding reliability thematic analysis, codebook approaches, and reflexive thematic analysis. Coding reliability approaches use a structured codebook and multiple coders in order to assess the level of coding agreement, and are largely quantitative in their approach; codebook approaches use a structured codebook but are still broadly qualitative in their framework; and reflexive thematic analysis rejects the notion of an “accurate” way to code data, instead framing coding as a process that is flexible and bears the stamp of a researcher (Boyatzis, 1998; Braun et al., 2019; Brooks et al.,

2015). To determine which of these three approaches are most appropriate for a given study, the researcher must make several choices prior to starting with data collection:

- Research questions asked
- Inductive or deductive data collection
- If deductive, the theoretical framework
- Codebook structure

The research questions that are developed for thematic analysis depend on the intended scope of the project, as it determines what the study is trying to uncover while also stating its limitations. For example, a broad scope study could focus on the topic of racism, while a narrower scope study could focus on an instance of racism, such as discrimination in the workplace. Once this decision is established, a researcher can then assess the literature on their chosen topic, as well as whether they have an existing theoretical lens that is relevant to apply, both of which inform whether a study should take an inductive or deductive approach. Following this, the theoretical model and codebook (if applicable) can be developed.

For this study, I asked the following questions:

- Q3: Which sampled sites' archival descriptions of enslaved persons are similar in their social positioning of the enslaved? What aspects of enslaved persons' lived experiences appear to be prominent in these sites?
 - Q3A. Does the representation of recaptive status in the archive differ from that of enslaved persons?
- Q4: Which sampled sites' archival representations of enslaved persons describe racialized subsets of the enslaved population (with ascribed intrinsic behaviors and/or aesthetics)?

Based on these research questions, I selected a deductive research design. In text analysis, deductive research design refers to a top-down approach where “the codes and themes derive more from concepts and ideas the researcher brings to the data” (Braun & Clarke, 2012, p. 58). This usually means that the theoretical framework of the researcher is applied to the coding process through the creation of a codebook. A

codebook is a comprehensive list of codes used during a study, including detailed descriptions of criteria and examples. For this study, I developed a codebook a priori, which was informed by the dataset structure and my theoretical framework ([Appendix C](#)). Codebook definitions followed the format of Ryan (1995), including the following categories: description, inclusion/exclusion criteria, typical/atypical exemplars, and close but no (examples of text that nearly, but not quite, fit the criteria to be coded).

My theoretical framework pulled from theories of racial hierarchy in Atlantic slavery and colonialism (Fanon, 2008; Mills, 1997; Wade, 2017), as well as works analyzing variation in enslavement landscapes (Dunn, 2014; Reilly, 2019). The approach to reading the text to code for theory-driven themes followed the premise that “writing the history of the dominated requires not only the interrogation of dominant narratives and the exposure of their contingent and partisan character but also the reclamation of archival material for contrary purposes” (Hartman, 1997). With this in mind, “reading against the grain” via latent coding was used to identify meanings in the data (Bernard et al., 2017; Downe-Wamboldt, 1992). Latent coding, unlike semantic coding (which is more descriptive and authentic to speakers’ words), searches for underlying meanings and assumptions in the data (Braun & Clarke, 2012, p. 61).

With these analytic decisions, I decided to use the codebook approach of template analysis, where the research uses a coding template to carry out a substantial portion of the analysis, and revises the hierarchy of the template iteratively until it adequately captures notable patterns in the data (Brooks et al., 2015). In this form of text analysis, the initial codebook structure is developed at the start of the study and

applied to a portion of the dataset. Once the codebook is finalized, it can then be applied to the remaining uncoded documents in the dataset.

I performed all coding and theme identification using MAXQDA software (*VERBI Software, 2021*). I used phrases/sentences as the unit of coding, meaning that I usually tagged one to three sentences per code (which each represented a pattern present in the dataset). A preliminary version of the a priori codebook was tested on a small subset of the data, and code definitions were adjusted to account for any discrepancies. The codebook was then applied to the entire dataset in MAXQDA, and in-document memos were used to record patterns observed in the data. Codes added later in the analysis were tagged as a different color, and as codes were assessed alongside one another, I adjusted the hierarchies of themes in the template.

One example of this was with codes in the dataset like 'Runaway,' 'Escaping from' and 'Negative,' which at the start of the analysis were patterns in the data that were treated as unrelated ([Table 3-3](#)). However, as the coding process continued, I linked these codes together as both relating to descriptions of the aspects of escape, particularly the ways that enslaved runaways were aided or restricted by the geographic landscape. The locations of escape, the public forms of punishment that attempted to impose restraints on escapes, and the relationships to enslavers and other enslaved people were all connected to this broader theme, so I revised the coding hierarchy to place these codes as sub-themes of 'Elements of Escape.'

After coding and reviewing all texts, the data were exported as a binarized case-by-variable matrix, with cases representing each coded advertisement and the variables representing the codes associated with each advertisement. This matrix, in combination

with descriptive comparison and tools in MAXQDA that quantify code frequency and code co-occurrence, were used to address Q3 and Q4. For Q4, to assess similarities in the themes across datasets I used the case-by-variable matrix to review code presence/absence and determine the most prevalent codes. I further analyzed the context of these codes using Key Word in Context (KWIC) analyses, code frequencies, code maps, and code relation browsers, which contextualized the ways that the same themes may have emerged differently across samples. For Q4, I created subsets within the sample groups to assess the codes associated with racialized terminologies. For example, within the 'Racial designator' code, the specific category names (e.g., 'Negro', 'Black') were extracted to form their own codes, and they were each compared to other codes in the code relation browsers and code maps.

In addition to these analytical tools, I also used a combination of several techniques that were appropriate to the format of my data. Specifically, I used word repetition (identifying the most frequently occurring words or phrases), similarities and differences (finding variability and nuance in data), missing data (interpreting meaning of the absence of data), and theory-related material (theory-based preconceived notions of patterns in data) to identify themes (Bernard et al., 2017; Ryan & Bernard, 2003).

Biosocial Integration Methods

Beyond the methods described above, my aim with this dissertation was to explore how integrating biological and archival evidence can aid more holistic understanding of the slave trade and how enslaved people navigated enslavement spaces. Further, this effort aimed to identify how these forms of data can inform one another. To that end, I asked the following:

- **Q5:** When integrating biological and archival evidence within each enslavement site, which enslavement spaces demonstrate high correlations between these forms of data? Put differently, do biological and archival estimates of variation in enslavement spaces remain consistent?

This study compared all sites (St. Helena, Barbados, South Africa) to assess the patterns of diversity in each dataset (e.g., whether the site with the highest within-group diversity is the same across biological and archival data).

As the biological and archival samples were not directly comparable, it was necessary to use measures that enabled comparison. The methods described here are not prescriptive, as some results in data output required posthoc analyses that aimed to identify more nuanced patterns of variation. I used descriptive and visual comparison to integrate the biological and archival datasets, in particular observing correlations between their observed among- and within-group variation and evidence of subgrouping.

For the biological dataset, I quantified among-group relatedness using pairwise distance values (of group means) and principal component scores. These scores indicated which sites had the lowest pairwise distances, meaning that they were the most similar in cranial shape and therefore genetic relatedness. The principal components analysis also provided a visual means of describing relationships among individuals and groups. For the archival sample, among-group relatedness was quantified by metacoding, which “examines the relationship among a priori themes to discover potentially new themes and overarching metathemes” (Bernard et al., 2017, p. 114). This consisted of formatting the text data as a fixed set of units and a priori themes (which would have been identified from the text analyses already conducted for each sample), and then creating a unit-by-theme matrix to document the presence and

frequency of each theme across all text analysis sample groups. This matrix enabled cross-site comparison among the samples included in the study. To visualize these observed differences in the matrix, I ran another analysis to confirm their alignment. Because the data structure (e.g., purpose, length, code frequency) differed among the qualitative data, to make them comparable I subset the codes that were shared by all three archival samples. I then used this reduced coding template to calculate similarity matrices and plot them using the Document Maps tool. I also used MAXMaps, a visualization tool in MAXQDA that enables individual or pairwise comparison of code frequencies (*VERBI Software, 2021*). I used these biological and archival measures of among-group variation to identify whether the groups that showed the most and least similarity were consistent across datasets.

For the biological sample, within-group variation was quantified by the 'pairwise' function variance scores calculated for each group. The function also evaluated the significance of the effect of group category on variance score to a null hypothesis of equal variance. The presence or absence of subgroups was derived from hierarchical cluster analysis, which pulls out a number of clusters informed by a Bayesian Information Criterion. For the archival sample, I used the Document Map function in MAXQDA to visually interpret the structure of variation and assess subgroups (*VERBI Software, 2021*). The Document Map function uses multidimensional scaling to calculate a distance matrix of the selected documents and plot them in 2D space. Each data point represents one document, and each data point's assigned codes are present, enabling comparisons of group clusters. I used these biological and archival measures of within-group variation and subgroups to identify whether the groups that had the

highest and lowest variance and population stratification were consistent across datasets.



Figure 3-1. Regions/localities included in the urban Cape Town sample group. (A) Corner of Prestwich and Napier Street, (B) Prestwich Street, (C) Napier Street, (D) Amsterdam Battery, (E) Corner of Strand and Burg Street, (F) Riebeeck Street.

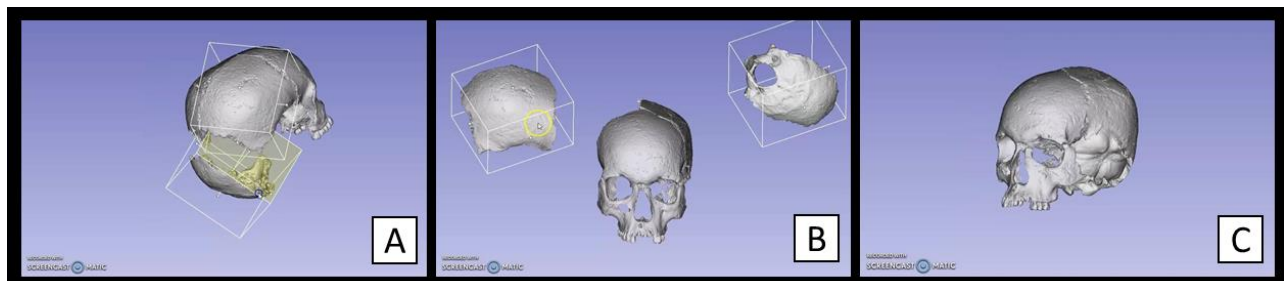


Figure 3-2. Virtual reconstruction of a decedent from Rupert's Valley, St. Helena performed by the author. Panels A and B depict the Transform Editor allowing translation and rotation of the scans. Panel C depicts the completed reconstruction. Images created using Screencast-O-Matic, software that enables screencast recording and editing.

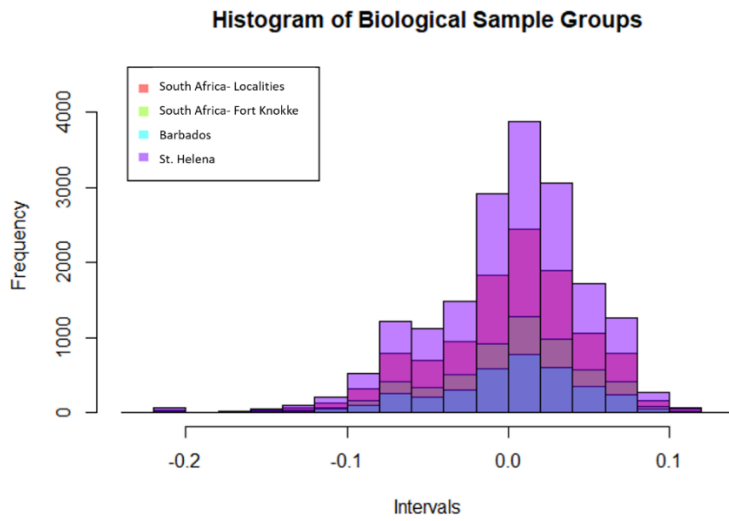


Figure 3-3. Histogram assessing normality in Procrustes-aligned landmark data.

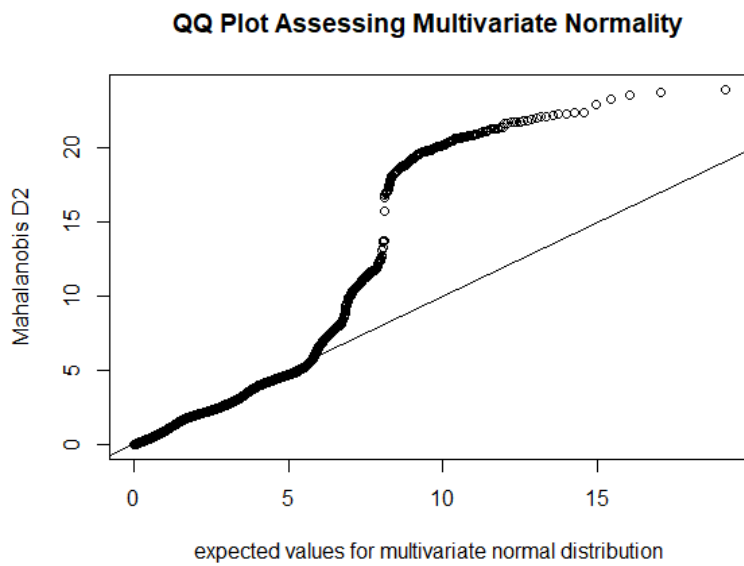


Figure 3-4. Q-Q (Quantile-Quantile) plot assessing normality in the Procrustes-aligned landmark data.

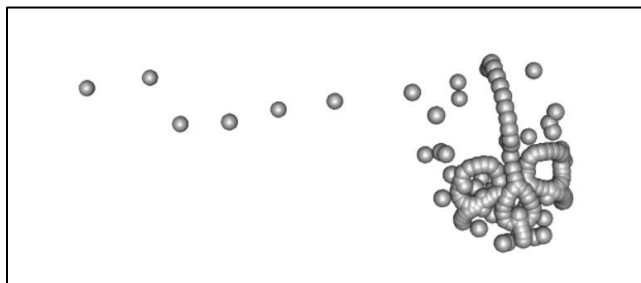


Figure 3-5. 3D plot of decedent with grossly inaccurate missing landmark estimati

Table 3-1. Homologous landmarks, curve-semilandmarks, and fuzzy landmarks used in study.

Cranial Landmarks (Anterolateral View)	Description
1- Bregma	The ectocranial midline point where the coronal and sagittal sutures intersect (Buikstra & Ubelaker, 1994)
2- Nasion	The point of intersection b/w the frontonasal suture and the midsagittal plane (Buikstra & Ubelaker, 1994)
3- Rhinion	The lowest point on the internasal suture (Franklin et al., 2006)
4- Nasospinale	The point where a line drawn b/w the inferiormost pts of the nasal aperture crosses the midsagittal plane (Buikstra & Ubelaker, 1994)
5- Prosthion	The most anterior point in the midline on the alveolar processes of the maxillae
6, 7- Dacryon	The point on the medial border of the orbit at which the frontal, lacrimal, and maxilla intersect (the intersection of the lacrimo-maxillary suture and the frontal bone (Buikstra & Ubelaker, 1994)
8, 9- Zygomaxillare anterior	The most anterior point on zygomatico-maxillary suture, on the later and inferior border of the bone (Franklin et al., 2006)
10, 11- Superior infraorbital	The superior point of the largest infraorbital foramen (Franklin et al., 2006)
12, 13- Frontozygomatic orbitale	Frontozygomatic suture at the orbital margin (Franklin et al., 2006)
14, 15- Frontomalare temporale	The most posterior point on the frontozygomatic suture (Franklin et al., 2006)
16, 17- Pterion	The intersection of the frontoparietal and anterior portion of the frontosphenoidal suture
18, 19- Sphenosquamosal	The intersection of the sphenoparietal and the squamosal sutures
20, 21- Frontoparietal temporale	The intersection of the frontoparietal (coronal) suture and the superior temporal line (Franklin et al., 2006)
22, 23- Superior zygotemporale	The most superior point on the zygomaticotemporal suture (Franklin et al., 2006)
24, 25- Anterior canine-alveolare	The intersection point of longitudinal axis of canine and the alveolar margin
26, 27- Ectomalare	The outer surface of the alveolar margins at the middle of the maxillary second molar (Franklin et al., 2006)

Table 3-1. Continued

Cranial Landmarks (Inferior View)	Description
1- Incisive canal	The junction of the posterior margin of the incisive canal (Franklin et al., 2006)
2- Maxillo-palatine	The midline intersection of maxillo-palatine suture and intermaxillary suture
3- Posterior nasal spine	The most posterior point on the interpalatine suture (Franklin et al., 2006)
4- Inferior vomer	The base of the vomer at the point of contact on the sphenoid bone (Franklin et al., 2006)
5- Basion	The midline point on the anterior margin of the foramen magnum (Buikstra & Ubelaker, 1994)
6- Opisthion	The midline point at the posterior margin of the foramen magnum (Buikstra & Ubelaker, 1994)
7- Lambda	The ectocranial midline point where the sagittal and lambdoidal sutures intersect (Buikstra & Ubelaker, 1994)
8, 9- Posterior canine-alveolare	The alveolar margin posterior to the longitudinal axis of the canine (Franklin et al., 2006)
10, 11- Palatine foramen	The point that the lateral point of the maxillo-palatine suture meets the palatine foramen
12, 13- Maxillary tuberosity	The lateralmost and inferiormost point at which the pterygoid plates meet the alveolar ridge
14, 15- Zygomaxillare inferior	The most inferior point on the zygomatico-maxillary suture (Franklin et al., 2006)
16, 17- Foramen ovale	The anteromedial point of the foramen ovale margin
18, 19- Posterior occipital condyle	The intersection of the occipital condyle at the margin of the foramen magnum (Franklin et al., 2006)
20, 21- Asterion	The junction of the lambdoidal, parietomastoid and occipitomastoid sutures (Franklin et al., 2006). If extrasutural bone is present, project the point location along the lambdoid suture in the center of the extrasutural bone. In absence of temporal, follow outline of squamosal suture and identify its intersection with the lambdoid suture.

Table 3-1. Continued

Fuzzy Landmark	Description
1, 2- Parietal boss	Ectocranial point near center of parietal that forms the lateralmost projection; site of parietal eminence
3- Opisthocranion	The most posterior point of the skull not on the external occipital protuberance (Buikstra & Ubelaker, 1994)
Curve-Semilandmark	Description
1- Frontal arch	A set of 13 resampled points collected between bregma and nasion (adapted from (Franklin et al., 2006))
2- Nasal curve	A set of 3 resampled points collected from nasion to rhinion along internasal suture
3- Mid-maxillary curve	A set of 3 resampled points collected from nasospinale to prosthion along intermaxillary suture
4, 5- Upper Orbit	A set of 8 resampled points collected from dacryon to frontozygomatic orbitale
6, 7- Lower Orbit	A set of 13 resampled points collected from frontozygomatic orbitale to dacryon
8, 9- Zygomaxillary suture	A set of 8 resampled points collected from zygomaxillare anterior to zygomaxillare inferior along zygomaxillary suture
10, 11- Nasal aperture	A set of 8 resampled points collected from rhinion to nasospinale

Table 3-2. Semilandmark test PCA results of subset of five decedents from sample.

5-Semilandmark PCA				
	Comp1	Comp2	Comp3	Comp4
Eigenvalues	0.001071669	0.000100009	3.095962e-05	1.762771e-05
Proportion of Variance	0.878226226	0.081956769	2.537121e-02	1.444580e-02
Cumulative Proportion	0.878226226	0.960182995	9.855542e-01	1.000000e+00
8-Semilandmark PCA				
	Comp1	Comp2	Comp3	Comp4
Eigenvalues	0.001131837	0.0001256677	5.044566e-05	2.637645e-05
Proportion of Variance	0.848245682	0.0941806146	3.780609e-02	1.976761e-02
Cumulative Proportion	0.848245682	0.9424262965	9.802324e-01	1.000000e+00
13-Semilandmark PCA				
	Comp1	Comp2	Comp3	Comp4
Eigenvalues	0.0006606734	0.0002047221	5.028843e-05	2.744258e-05
Proportion of Variance	0.7005140747	0.2170674945	5.332098e-02	2.909745e-02
Cumulative Proportion	0.7005140747	0.9175815692	9.709025e-01	1.000000e+00

Table 3-3. Example of code restructure in hierarchy. The top panel shows the definitions of three of the codes used in the Barbados dataset. The bottom panel shows the initial (left) and revised (right) coding hierarchies.

Code	Definition
Runaway	Any reference in document to an enslaved African/African descendant who has escaped from their present owner (also known as subscriber). For advertisements describing one person, the whole document is coded. For advertisements describing plural runaways, the description for each runaway is coded.
Escaping from	The site (e.g., plantation, store, location), and parish (if mentioned) that the runaway person escaped from. If the parish is known or easily ascertained, place in the subcode for the relevant parish instead of the 'Escaping from' parent code. If the parish is not easily discernable, place in parent code.
Negative	Descriptions of the runaway person's/network member's physical features or personality/behavior that connote a negative assessment. This may include descriptions that suggest that the runaway's physical features or behaviors/demeanor are unappealing or shocking in the view of the subscriber.

Initial Hierarchy	Revised Hierarchy
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Runaway 2. Escaping from 3. Negative 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Elements of Escape <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Runaway 2. Escaping from 3. Negative

CHAPTER 4 BIOLOGICAL SAMPLE RESULTS

This chapter provides the results of the analyses of cranial shape variation of the decedents described in Chapter 3. For this dataset, I asked the following questions:

- Q1: Which sampled groups show genetic continuity as estimated by cranial morphology, and how do these data identify evidence of gene flow not otherwise described by historical migration data?
- Q2: Given the social and legal restrictions that created physical separation among many enslaved persons, do some sites show stronger evidence of population stratification and genetic isolation?
 - Q2A. Do island sites have the highest within-group variance relative to Southeastern African sites?
 - Q2B. Do statistical cluster analyses identify subgroupings across geographic borders (e.g., a cluster that includes South Atlantic and Caribbean sites)?

In addition to addressing these questions, this chapter also provides the results of the allometric tests that interpret the effects of size on the patterns of shape variation in the dataset due to the strong statistical correlation between shape and size.

Question 1: Among-group Variation

To test Question 1, I performed a PCA, visually documented morphological changes along principal component (PC) axes and among sample group means, and calculated pairwise distances. I expected St. Helena and Fort Knokke to show the highest levels of variation, and for the South African sites to show higher biological affinity). The PCA included 85 individuals (St. Helena N=40; South Africa- Fort Knokke N=13; South Africa- Cape Town Localities N=24; Barbados N=8) (Fig. 4-1).

For the PCA, the PC1 axis represented 11.72% of the variance in cranial shape, and PC2 represented 10.78% of the variance. Of the decedents with estimated biological sex, only the Barbados group showed separation by sex, with documented males having the highest PC1 scores. The first seven PC axes accounted for just over

half of the shape variation in the dataset, and the first twenty PC axes accounted for ~80% of the variance (Fig. 4-2). This means that the variation was not apparently driven by one dominant morphological trend, but was instead a compilation of many smaller among- and within-group trends.

The PCA generated eigenvalues, proportion of variance, and minimum and maximum shape coordinates for each axis. Although the shapes being analyzed were 3D, it was useful to plot them in 2D plots to show relationships among data points for selected PC axes. In the plots, each data point represents one decedent. As a point of clarity, the PC values calculated in a PCA are arbitrary. The meaning of PC scores is dependent on the data points and the degree of variance assigned to each PC axis.

In the plot for PC1 and PC2, the groups showed relatively even distribution across the PC1 axis. Along PC2, Barbados had overall higher PC2 scores and Fort Knokke had lower PC2 scores, and the other two groups had relatively even distribution (Fig. 4-3). Increasing PC1 scores related to lateral orbital and zygomatic shifts, anterior shifts of the posterior neurocranium, and more prognathism. Increasing PC2 scores showed inferior shifts of the facial skeleton, narrowed neurocranium, and medial cranial base and zygomatic shifts (Fig 4-4). PC3, similar to PC1, showed similar dispersion along the axis for all groups with the exception of the Barbados group, which formed two clusters along the axis. Increasing PC3 scores had reduced orbital dimensions, medial zygomatic shifts, posterior shifts of the posterior cranial vault and cranial base, and anterosuperior maxillary rotation. PC4 had relatively even distribution across the axis, and increasing scores showed superior shift of the cranial base and posterolateral shifts of the posterior cranial vault (*R/L parietal boss, asterion*). Increasing PC5 scores

showed superior shifts in *bregma* and anterior shifts of the cranial base. PC6 showed inferior shifts of the facial skeleton and anterior shifts of the cranial vault.

These trends suggest that, even with the overlap of data points in the PCA, there are characteristic morphological traits associated with each group. These distinct morphological traits are both facial and neurocranial. The Fort Knokke group had the widest parietal breadth and most posteriorly placed *opisthocranium*, as well as a narrower facial skeleton. Barbados had increased prognathism, greater nasal aperture height, and posterior placement of the foramen magnum. The St. Helena group showed superior position of the nasal sill, and some of the decedents in the group had a decreased frontal curvature. The Cape Town group showed anterior placement of the foramen magnum, narrower cranial breadth, and increased nasal curvature. However, it is notable that several of the PC axes had most or all of the groups evenly distributed across them, which suggest that the traits represented on those axes have similar variation across groups.

The Procrustes ANOVA testing the effect of site category on cranial shape was significant ($R^2=0.07646$, $F=2.2353$, $df=3$, $P=0.001$) (Table 4-1). The low R^2 score suggests that the effects were weak. The principal components analysis plot of the fitted values of this model captured substantially more variance within the first two PC axes than the original plot (PC1: 48.18%, PC2: 32.21%) (Fig. 4-5). Relative to the original PCA, the groups were more distinct along PC1 and 2, with the Barbados group having low PC1 scores and both South African groups having higher PC1 scores. Along PC2, it differed from the original PCA in that the Cape Town group had the highest PC2 scores.

The pairwise distances of group means were all statistically significant (Table 4-2). The Cape Town and St. Helena groups had the lowest pairwise distance between means, while the Fort Knokke and Barbados groups had the highest. Low pairwise distances suggest the closest biological relationships, while high pairwise distances would suggest groups are more distinct. Relative to the St. Helena, Fort Knokke, and Cape Town groups, which trended toward dolichocephalic cranial shapes, Barbados was more mesocephalic. And relative to Barbados, the Fort Knokke and Cape Town groups had an anteriorly placed foramen magnum (Fig. 4-6).

Question 2: Within-group Variation

For Question 2, I calculated the within-group variances of each group, and I used hierarchical cluster analysis (HCA) to identify subgroup structure in the data. The 'pairwise' function found that Fort Knokke had the highest variance score, closely followed by Barbados and St. Helena, while the Cape Town group had the lowest score (Table 4-3). However, none of the pairwise tests of Procrustes variances testing the effect of sample group category on variance scores were statistically significant.

For the hierarchical clustering analysis, the Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC) used six multivariate models, which each estimated an optimal number of clusters that existed in the sample. Of these models, three models were identified as the top models, and they each estimated optimal clusters of 7, 6, and 8, respectively, with 7 considered the best fit (Table 4-4, Fig. 4-7). I proceeded with the optimal number of 7 clusters, each of which had a cluster size minimum of 2 and a maximum of 20 (Table 4-5). I also re-tested the HCA with a reduced number of clusters (3) to interpret cluster assignments further. Classifications varied for each sample group, as all groups except Barbados had six clusters (Fig. 4-8). The majority of the decedents in the St. Helena sample were

categorized in Cluster 3. St. Helena and Cape Town had the most similar cluster sizes, in that the decedents from both groups were distributed relatively evenly into Clusters 1-6. This pattern differs from the Fort Knokke and Barbados groups, which had approximately half of their respective groups assigned to one cluster (for Fort Knokke, Cluster 1, and for Barbados, Cluster 6). Cluster 7 was unique to the Fort Knokke group. Interestingly, Cluster 4 was present in all groups except for Barbados, although it formed the smallest clusters in those groups. In the reduced cluster re-test, Cluster 3 was the largest for all sample groups except Barbados (for which Cluster 2 was the largest cluster) (Fig. 4-8).

To interpret these clusters further, I plotted cluster assignments for each decedent on the PCA plots (Fig. 4-9). There is visible separation of the clusters in the PCA outputs, particularly for PC 1-4. Cluster 4, primarily comprised of decedents from the Barbados, St. Helena, and Cape Town groups, was associated with increased prognathism, lateral shifts of the facial skeleton, and narrowed neurocranium. Cluster 1, composed mainly of St. Helena and Fort Knokke decedents, associated with superior shifts of the facial skeleton, extension of the posterior cranial vault, and inferior shift of the cranial base.

Allometric Tests

For the regression of size on shape, there was a low but significant effect of log centroid size on cranial shape as defined by Procrustes coordinates ($R^2 = 0.0205$, $F=1.8414$, $df= 1,88$, $P= 0.026$). In a follow-up regression of site on size, there was also a low but significant relationship ($R^2 =0.1208$, $F=3.7089$, $df=3$, $P=0.015$). The lowest centroid size was found in the St. Helena group, while the highest was found in the Barbados group (Fig. 4-10).

For the form space analysis, I re-ran the PCA to assess changes in the structure of variation with centroid size included. PC1 included 23.9% of the variation, and PC2 9.44% of the variation. PC axes 1-4 accounted for roughly half of the variation in the sample, compared to the original test that had half of the variation distributed across the first seven axes (Fig. 4-11). The groups were highly variable and were dispersed across the first PC axis, and there was some group separation on PC2 and PC4 (Fig. 4-12).

Discussion

Given the literature about diasporic biological diversity, as well as the wide range of time periods of the sample groups, I expected the groups to have high within-group variances with localized morphological changes, but to also show overlaps in those morphological features with other groups. Further, I expected the Atlantic diaspora sites (particularly St. Helena and Barbados), to have the highest variances, as well as a higher pairwise distance between one another than the distance between the two South African sites. These expectations were based on the notion that diasporic island spaces would have received large amounts of extra-local gene flow and greater genetic variance, due to the introduction of different allele frequencies during the slave trade.

These expectations, informed by the literature and the structure of the dataset, were somewhat supported. The principal components analysis showed that the variation was not constrained to any one axis, as the first seven PC axes accounted for roughly half of the variation in the data. This suggests that the shape variation was not confined to any one morphological trend, but was more likely a combination of many localized changes that existed among and within the groups. Further, there was much overlap among the groups, suggesting that many of these morphological traits were

shared. For group-specific trends, the Fort Knokke group had the widest cranial breadth and posteriormost opisthocranium, while Barbados and Cape Town had more narrowed cranial breadth and a superoanteriorly placed cranial vault. For the facial skeleton, Fort Knokke had a narrower facial skeleton, and St. Helena had a relatively superior nasal sill, increased nasal curvature, and slightly posterior zygomatics. In comparison, the Barbados group had similar prognathism to St. Helena, but Barbados had a larger nasal aperture height. Barbados had slightly less cranial base flexion than Fort Knokke, Cape Town, and St. Helena.

The Fort Knokke group's morphological patterns supported some of the findings from Cox's (1995) investigation of the site. Specifically, the Fort Knokke group in the present study had lower PC2 scores, and three of the decedents in the group were associated with the Fort Knokke second excavation. As Cox's (1995) study of the Fort Knokke argued, the isotopic values of decedents supported the notion that the site comprised two separate excavations; the first related to the enslaved people associated with the *Pacquet Real* shipwreck, while the second was more likely European sailors or soldiers. Three of the decedents associated with the second excavation were included in the present Fort Knokke sample. In the PCA plots, the Fort Knokke second excavation data points were among the lower PC1 and PC2 scores, and one of them had one of the highest PC4 scores. Given the relative closeness between these three decedents, as well as their occasional positioning at one of the PC extremes, this suggests that they may represent Europeans (Fig. 4-3, top, middle panels). However, the decedents from the second excavation did not seem to substantially alter the structure of the Fort Knokke group or full sample. In a re-test excluding those

decedents, the PCA distribution remained the same and Fort Knokke still had the highest level of variance. Thus, I proceeded to interpret group structure based on the full N=85 sample.

The pairwise distances that quantified degrees of relatedness among groups complicates this picture further. The pairwise distance between St. Helena and Barbados (0.03302) was slightly higher than the distance between the two South African sites (0.03116). This supports the prediction that diaspora sites outside of the African continent would have the highest pairwise distances. However, this result is qualified by the fact that the Procrustes ANOVA and all of the pairwise distances were significant, which suggests that even with the observed overlap all of these sites were morphologically distinct from one another.

The groups with the smallest pairwise distance (i.e., the most closely related groups) were Cape Town and St. Helena, while the largest pairwise distance (i.e., the most distantly related) was between Fort Knokke and Barbados. Put differently, Cape Town and St. Helena show the greatest amount of genetic continuity relative to the other groups. The relatedness between the Cape Town and St. Helena groups appears to relate to the documented migration flows between these two places in the late stages of the slave trade. Approximately 1,404 formerly enslaved 'Liberated Africans' (who were transported temporarily to St. Helena) were re-settled to the Cape Colony during the years 1840-1849 (Pearson, 2016, p. 286; Samuels, 2018, p. 8). In 1842 alone, 1,360 of these 'Liberated Africans' (mostly children) arrived to the Cape Colony and were dubbed 'Prize Negroes.' Thereafter, they would have been treated as 'apprentices'

for fourteen years in conditions that are argued to have been a form of quasi-slavery (Saunders, 1984, pp. 37–40).

This migration and others like it emerged from the growing anxiety of former Cape enslavers to access a new labor force to replace the vacuum left by the termination of formal enslavement and slave trading. Beyond the St. Helena migrations to the Cape, the ‘Prize Negroes’ brought to the Cape disproportionately originated from Mozambique and Madagascar directly, which often echoed the origins of enslaved people transported to the Cape during the late stages of legal slave trading. For example, the number of enslaved Africans forcibly transported to Cape Town during 1795-1807 (mainly from Mozambique and Madagascar, but also from regions such as [Terra de] Natal, Angola, Guinea, and Sao Tome) comprised over 40% of the total importation (Worden, 2016, pp. 396, 407). These increasing rates of Southeastern African transportation effectively formed subgroups in Cape Town, ones which would have coexisted with the mixed race, Black free and enslaved, and indigenous (e.g., Khoekhoe, Xhosa) populations that preceded the arrivals of ‘Prize Negroes.’ Based on the historical and genetic evidence associated with the St. Helena group, they seem to have had a similarly diverse ethnic composition of West, Central, and Southeastern African decedents.

Considering this history of ‘Prize Negroes’ and the overlap of Southeastern African migration with St. Helena migration flows, I expected Fort Knokke to have a closer pairwise relationship with St. Helena. The Fort Knokke decedents associated with the 1818 *Pacquet Real* shipwreck were to-be ‘Prize Negroes’ at the Cape of likely Mozambican origin from tribes such as the Makua, Yao, and Maravi (Cox, 1995), which

seemed to align with the patterns of migration described above. However, the approximations of the Fort Knokke decedents' origins are based on their isotopic values being consistent with a woodland savanna environment like Mozambique (Cox, 1995; Cox & Sealy, 1997). It is possible that these values could also correlate with regions farther into interior Mozambique/its bordering regions (e.g., the Yao and Maravi tribes were located farther in the African interior than the Makua) (Harries, 2014, pp. 181–182). As the Fort Knokke group had the highest within-group variance (even with the likely European decedents excluded), this score may relate to the high diversity of the tribes represented in Mozambique and its bordering regions. In comparison, the St. Helena group, based on historic and genetic evidence, represented not only Southeast Africa, but also potentially areas such as Angola or Gabon. This diversity of African origins would have been observable in the Cape; as described above, during the 19th century there was continued importation of enslaved and apprenticed Africans to the Cape, mainly from Mozambique but at times from West Africa as well (Saunders, 1984, pp. 41–42).

This influence of Southeastern African slave trading in the late slave trade era may also aid explanations of the extensive overlap found in the dataset. As mentioned above, even with each group having distinct morphologies, there was overlap among them in all of the PCA plots. As estimated Mozambique origin is not typically linked with transport to Barbados, one unexpected area of overlap on the PCA plots was between Fort Knokke and Barbados, particularly on PC3-5. This overlap could potentially relate to instances of Southeastern Africans being forcibly transported to the Americas (Allen, 2015). One such instance of people of Mozambican origin being transported to

Barbados occurred in 1760, when the *Jesus Maria José S Francisco Xavier e Almas* ship departed from Bahia, purchased slaves from Mozambique, and ultimately landed in Barbados (*Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade - Database*, 2008). While this record does not definitively show that all or most people on board were of Mozambican origin (as it is also possible they originated from elsewhere and traveled to the port in Mozambique), the port location makes Mozambican origin more likely. Notably, this journey occurred during the time period in which Newton Plantation was active (~1660-1820).

Alternatively, the overlap between the Fort Knokke and Barbados groups could reflect intra-American slave trade migration, wherein Barbados and other Caribbean countries re-exported enslaved people to other Caribbean nations and parts of the United States, such as New York, Virginia, and South Carolina (Welch, 2008). The overlaps in cranial shape, along with archival evidence of transport from Mozambique to Barbados, suggest that, although the African origins of the population of Barbados are not typically associated with Mozambique (or, more broadly, Southeastern Africa), there is potential for overlap between these two spaces.

For levels of within-group variation, Fort Knokke and Barbados had the highest variance scores in the sample (0.00448 and 0.00407, respectively), suggesting they were the most diverse ([Table 4-3](#)). However, the effects of group category on variance score were not statistically significant. This finding suggests that while these groups had higher levels of variance than the other groups, the sample groups seem to have comparable levels of within-group diversity. Further, the within-group population structure differed when considering the presence of subgroups. In the HCA, the BIC estimated 7 clusters to be the optimal number to distribute the dataset into. The value of

this test was to observe to what extent subgroups emerged within each given sample group, as well as whether members of different sample groups could occupy the same cluster. There was much overlap in cluster assignment, with Clusters 1, 2, 3, and 5 present in all sample groups (Fig. 4-8). It is possible that the sample size imbalance influenced the number of clusters each sample group produced, as Barbados (N=8) had five clusters while the larger groups had six. Notwithstanding that, Fort Knokke is still the only group to have any clusters that contained no other groups. This suggests that, even with all the potential migration overlap between sites, one decedent subgroup (Cluster 7) at the Fort Knokke site remained distinct.

A notable aspect of Cluster 7 is that it is the smallest cluster (N=2) and contains two Fort Knokke decedents, one of them from the second excavation. I reviewed these morphological trends as well as the original skeletal preservation of each of them. The possible European decedent had the nasomaxillary region of the cranium absent; the 'fixLMtps' landmark estimation function (which would have used a complete cranium from the Fort Knokke group as a reference for estimation) may have reduced the variance that might have emerged if that region had not required estimation. This suggests that the facial skeleton may not be the biologically meaningful trait grouping them together. The traits linking the decedents in Cluster 7 as a unique subgroup relative to the other decedents in Fort Knokke are likely based on neurocranial morphology, skeletal regions that were preserved in both decedents.

The allometric tests of the dataset demonstrated that there was a statistically significant effect of log centroid size on cranial shape in the dataset, although with a weak effect size. Notably, this effect of centroid size did not seem to be specific to any

sample group. Rather, these effects of size seemed to represent static allometry that impacted the entire sample. The form space analysis captured these size-shape relationships more fully. The form space PCA captured more variance in its first four PC axes than those of the original PCA (46.77% and 38.51%, respectively), and the distribution was similar to the distribution observed in centroid size. As expected (based on the tendency for centroid size to primarily load on PC1), the form space captured size-related changes along the first axis and assigned more prominent among-group differences to PC2 (Fig. 4-12).

Although the Procrustes ANOVA testing the effect of group category on morphological variation was statistically significant (as well as all pairwise distances), interpretations of these results must be qualified by the low R-squared value for the test (0.0746). This low value suggests that the effect identified by the model may be quite weak, and that the groups' morphological distinctiveness from one another may be subtle. For this reason, the interpretations described in this section de-emphasized the significant distinctiveness of any given group based on the ANOVA and relied more on the ways in which migratory overlap and population stratification characterized the present data.

Given that this study relies on biodistance assumptions, gene flow is considered the predominant influence on morphological diversity and selective influence is treated as a nuisance variable. However, it is still possible that phenotypic plasticity may have impacted the variation in the present dataset in ways that the research design did not account for. One possible selective influence is secular change, in which morphological changes occur over time as a result of environmental transformations. Two burial sites

in the study (Cape Town and Barbados) were in use for long spans of time (>100 years). It is possible that some of the within-group variation observed in both sites may be attributed to phenotypic plasticity. However, information about decedents' precise year or decade of birth was unavailable for both datasets, so further testing of selective influences was beyond the scope of this study. Despite this limitation, studies such as Spradley (2006) suggest that even in contexts where secular change is significant, craniofacial variation is still strongly associated with genetic patterns.

Another potential limitation on these results is the role of temporal variation. The sites included in the study represent disparate periods of use, with the Cape Town and Barbados sites representing over a century of use, while St. Helena was in use for under a decade, and Fort Knokke represented one single event (a shipwreck). Constrained periods of time like the St. Helena and Fort Knokke contexts would typically suggest lower within-group variation, as there would have been less time for new or diverse migrations to these spaces to occur. However, the results of the study seem to contradict this notion, as Fort Knokke had the highest amount of within-group variation of the four groups. Further, the effect of group on within-group variation was not significant for any of the pairwise relationships, suggesting that temporal variation may not have had a substantial impact on within-group morphological variation.

Conclusions

Revisiting the questions posed in this study, genetic continuity was a notable feature throughout the dataset. As shown in the HCA, clusters that were indicative of genetic continuity were observed across groups, meaning that nearly all clusters included all groups. The sites that showed the highest degree of genetic continuity were Cape Town and St. Helena, which suggests a level of relatedness that is not typically

represented in African diaspora discourse outside of Cape-specific histories. The other example of higher morphological affinity, based on relatively smaller Procrustes distances between group means, was between the Cape Town and Fort Knokke groups.

Some of these groups still require further investigation. For example, the Cape Town group had the lowest level of variance related to the other groups. The design of this study treated the sampled diaspora burial sites as ones that were tied to slices of time and modes of social positioning in the archaeological record. And although these burial conditions were all associated with the enslavement era, it is possible that some subaltern Europeans or non-Black people of color were buried in these spaces as well. Of all the groups, this possibility is most likely in the Cape Town group, as there was an extended history of racialized classes living in close proximity to poor white communities in the Cape Colony. This possibility may be reflected in the high stratification shown in the HCA (Fig. 4-8). More pointed interpretations of the composition of this group remain challenging, particularly because the group represents multiple locations across Cape Town and has limited provenience relative to the other groups.

For the second question, Fort Knokke and Barbados had the highest levels of within-group variance, although these measures were nonsignificant relative to the other groups. All groups showed some evidence of subgrouping, with Cape Town and St. Helena being the most similar in structure. The high levels of subgrouping suggest that population stratification was a salient feature of all four sites. This suggests that the social circumstances in these spaces involved barriers (physical, legal, social) to restrict possible partnerships and family formation among the enslaved. In the case of Fort

Knokke and St. Helena, this barrier is unique, in that it relates to the untimely deaths that precluded any opportunities for decedents to establish kin networks. There is not clear evidence of genetic isolation based on the HCA. There was one cluster that only decedents from Fort Knokke belonged to, but the cluster was very small (N=2), and one of the decedents in the cluster was from the second excavation and likely of European origin; this result requires further investigation.

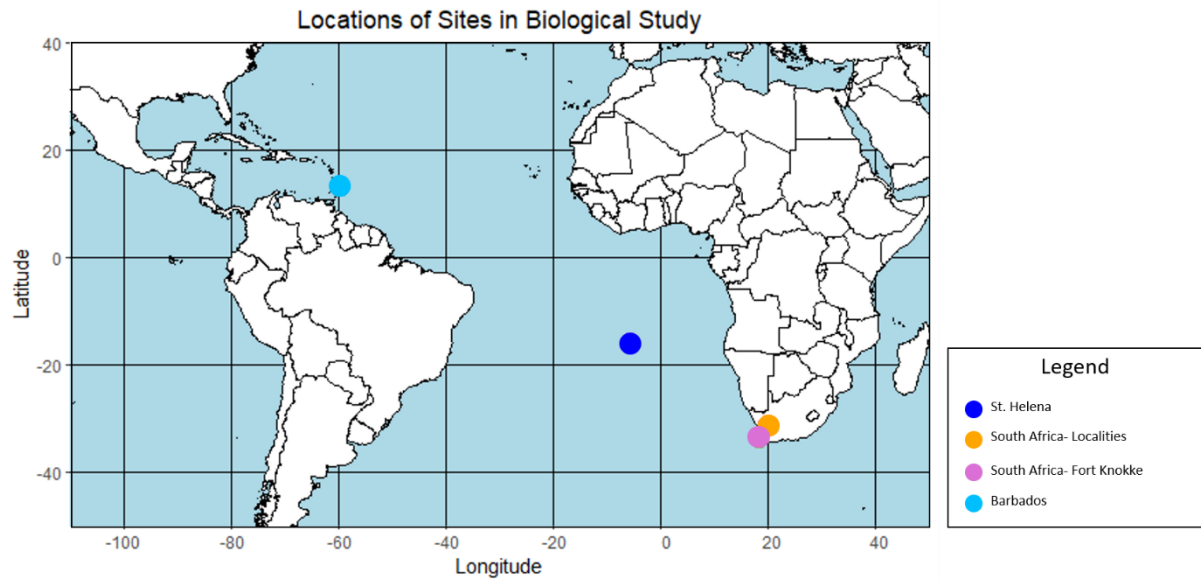


Figure 4-1. Map of locations included in the biological study. To distinguish between the two South African sites on the map, the Cape Town localities site has been shifted slightly upward from its original position.

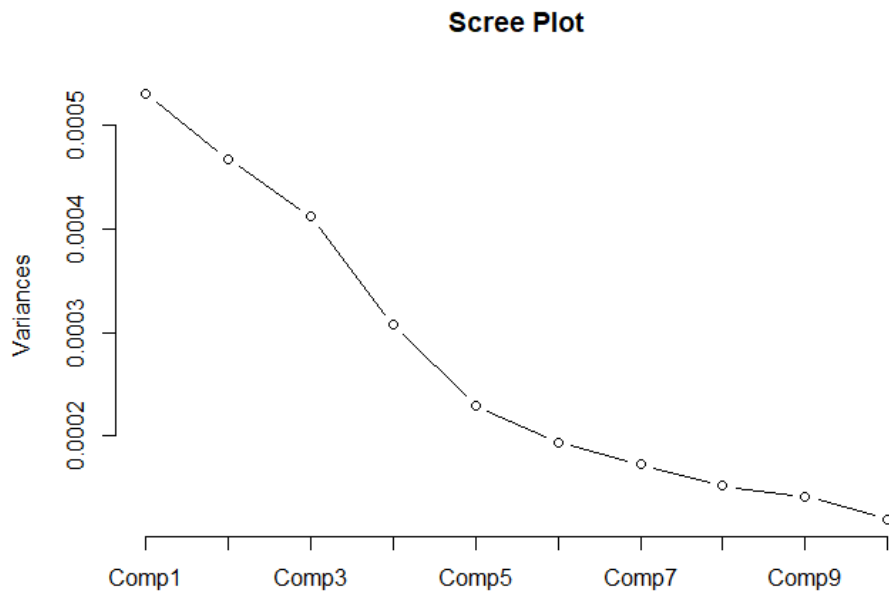


Figure 4-2. PCA Output of full dataset.

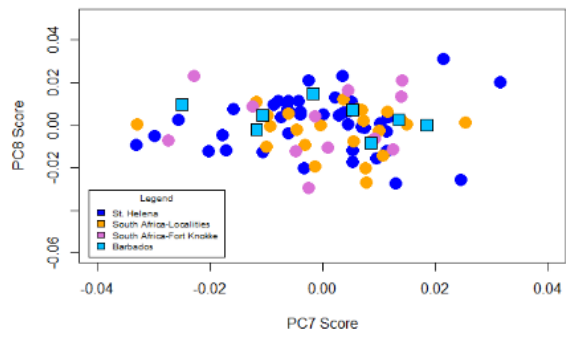
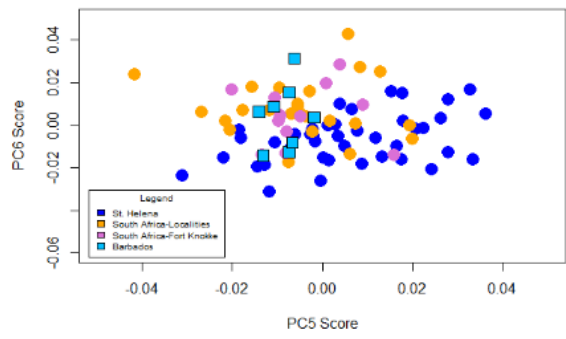
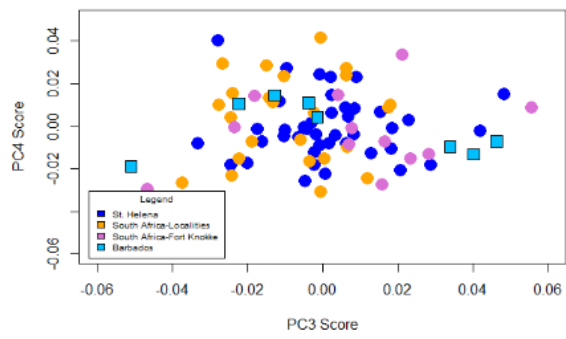
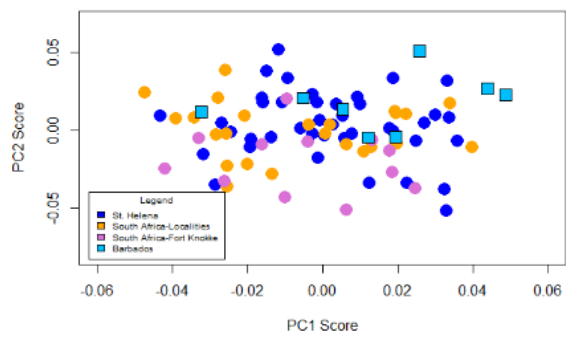


Figure 4-3. Principal components plots comparing PC1-2, 3-4, 5-6, and 7-8. Each data point represents one decedent.


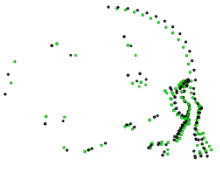


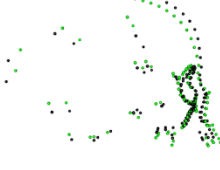


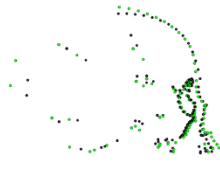



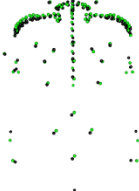

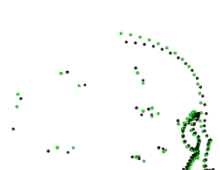


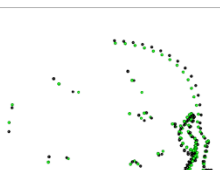
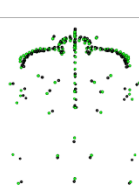
PC Axis	Anterior View	Lateral View	Inferior View
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			

Figure 4-4. Morphological trends along the first 6 PC axes. Black shows landmark placement of the minimum PC score along a given axis, while green shows the placement of the maximum.

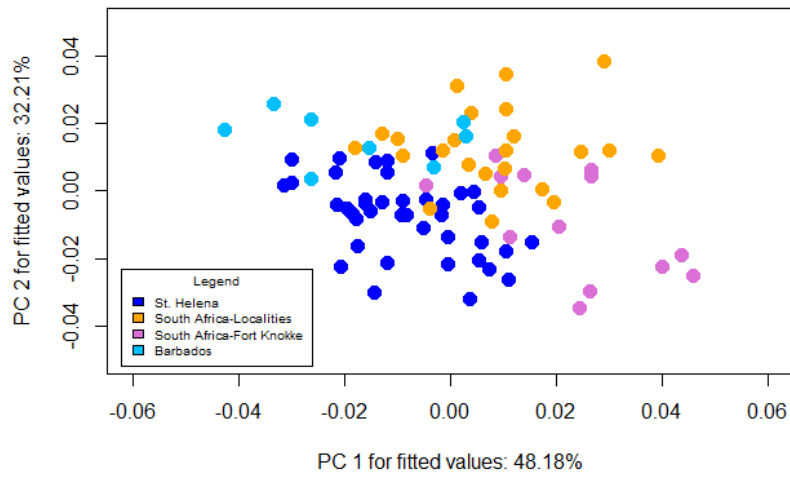


Figure 4-5. Principal components analysis plot for fitted values from Procrustes ANOVA. All data points included in previous PCA outputs are included here.

	Anterior View	Lateral View	Inferior View
Fort Knokke → Barbados			
Cape → Barbados			
Fort Knokke → St. Helena			

Figure 4-6. Shape comparisons of sample groups with significant pairwise distances.

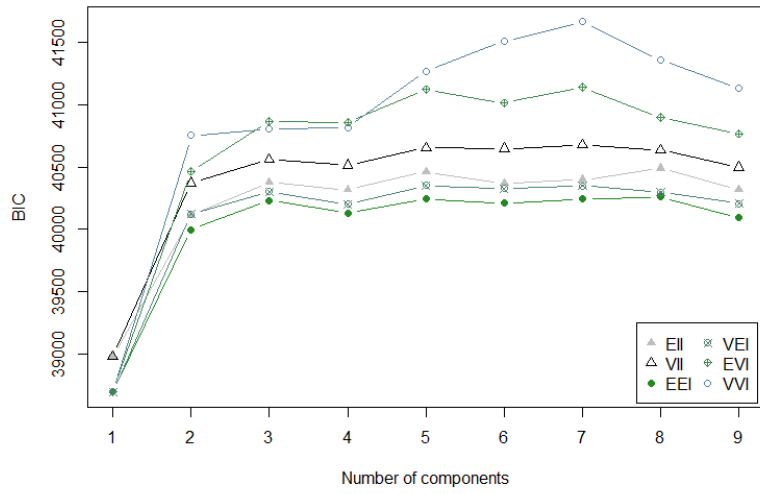


Figure 4-7. Plot of Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC) values and number of clusters in data deemed optimal for each model.

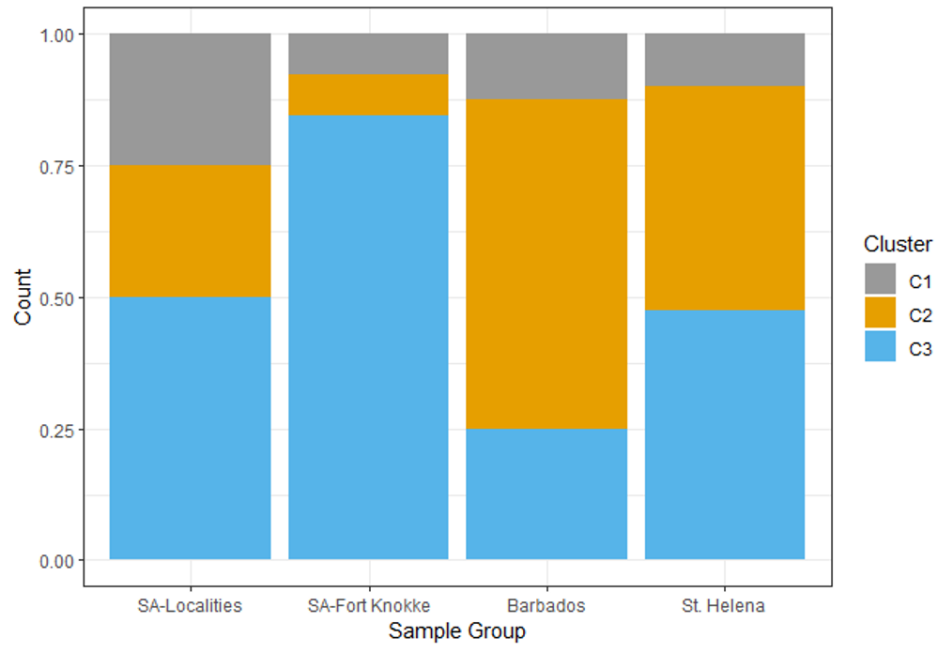
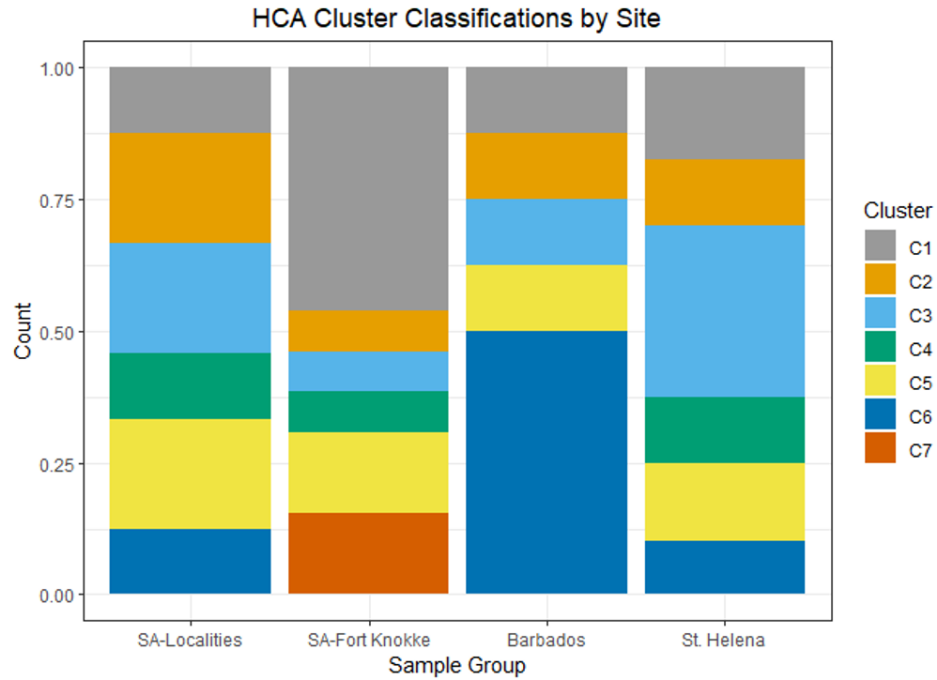


Figure 4-8. Barplot of the proportions of cluster assignments for each sample group based on Bayesian Information Criterion, for seven (top) and three clusters (bottom).

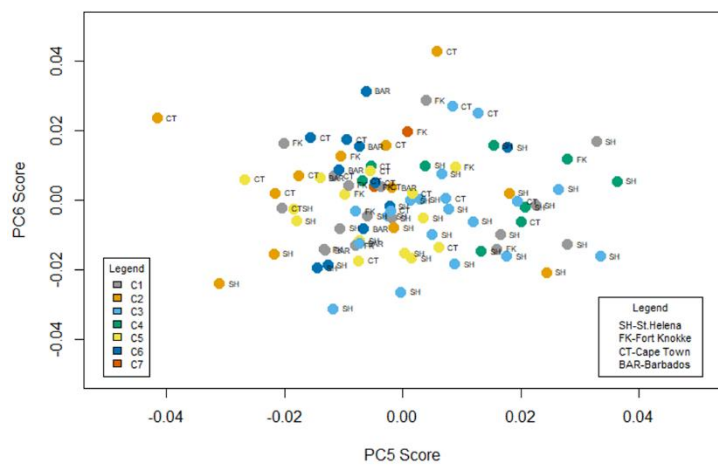
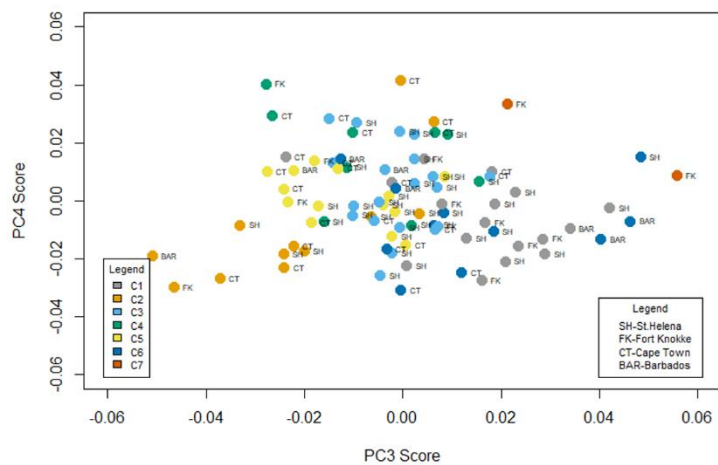
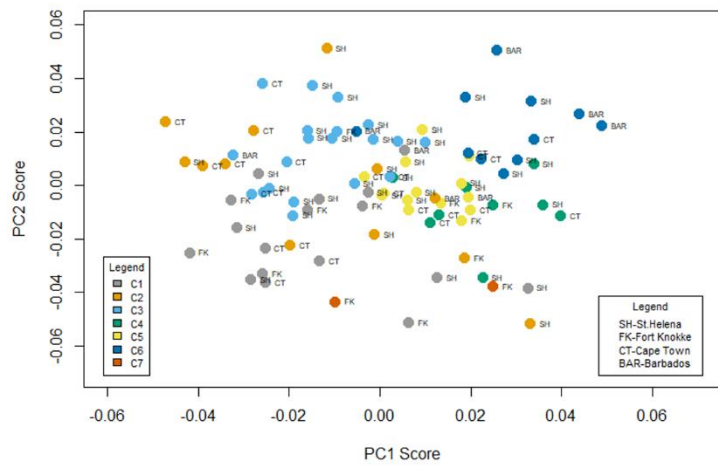


Figure 4-9. PCA plots color-coded by HCA cluster assignment and labeled with group category. The clusters show visible similarity in the plots, such as Cluster 3-5 along PC1 and 2, and Clusters 1-3 and 5 along PC3 and 4.

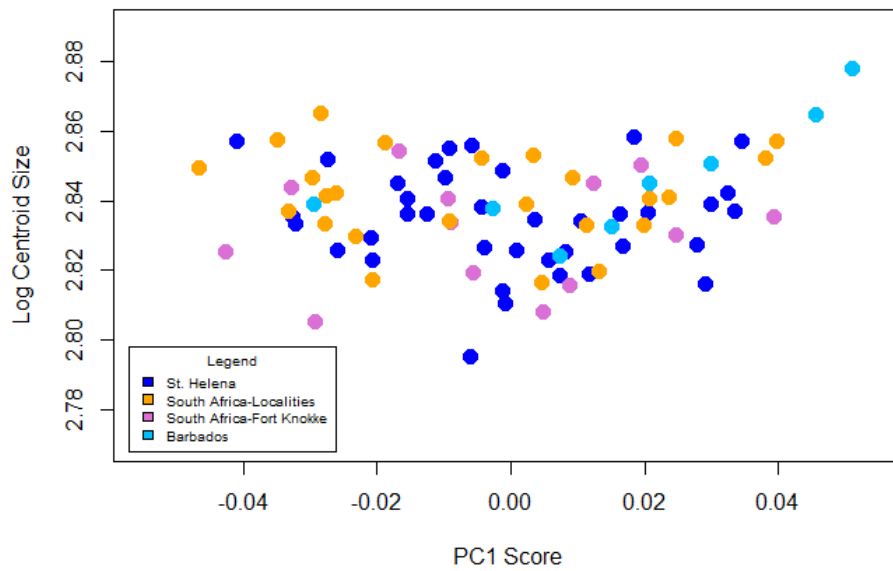


Figure 4-10. Scatterplot of sample PC 1 scores and log-transformed centroid size.

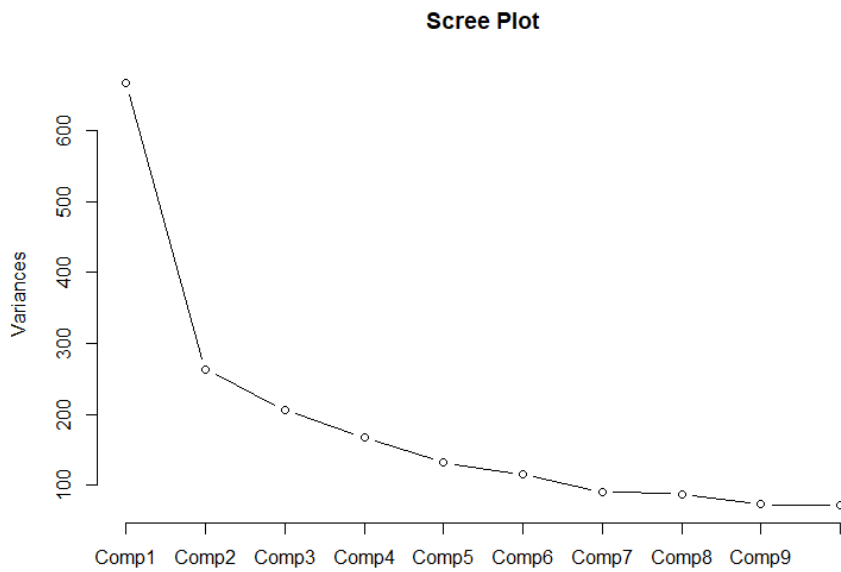


Figure 4-11. Output of principal components analysis of form space (log-transformed centroid size appended to the Procrustes shape variables as an additional dimension.)

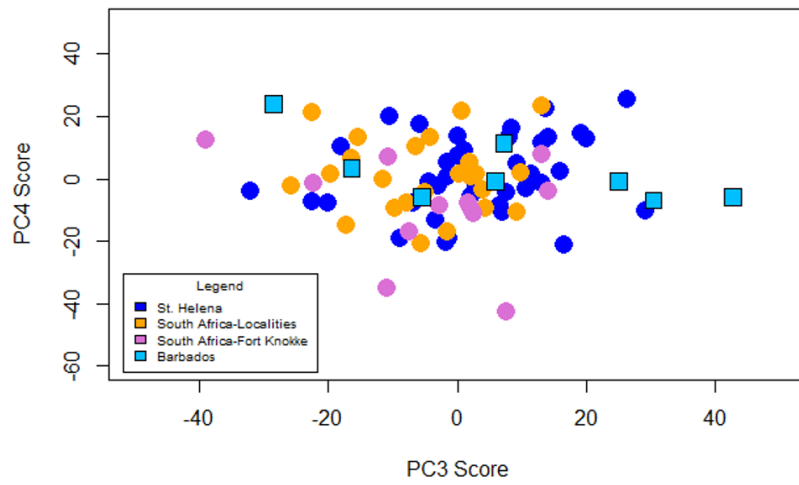
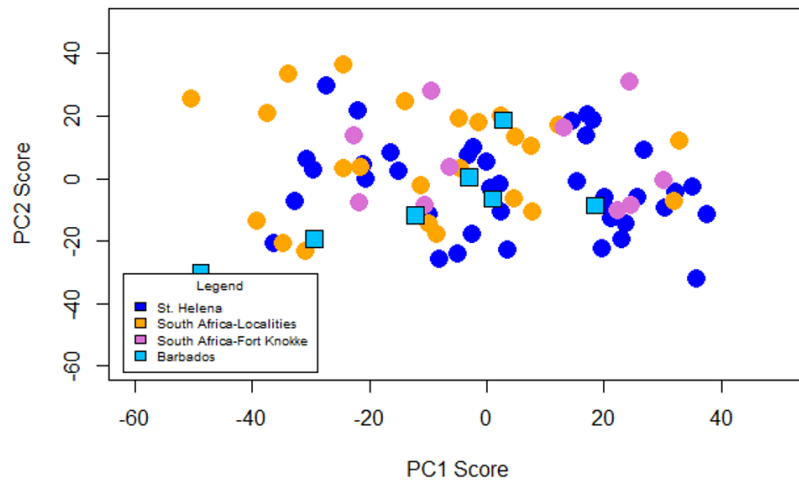


Figure 4-12. Scatterplot of the first two PC axes, with Procrustes shape coordinates augmented by log-transformed centroid size (form space analysis).

Table 4-1. Table of results of Procrustes ANOVA.

Call: `procD.lm(f1 = shape ~ site, iter=999, RRPP=TRUE, int.first=FALSE, data=gdf)`

	Df	SS	MS	Rsq	F	Z	Pr(>F)
Site	3	0.02827	0.0094250	0.07646	2.2353	5.0493	0.001
Residuals	81	0.34154	0.0042165	0.92354			
Total	84	0.36981					

Table 4-2. Pairwise distances of 'pairwise' function, based on Procrustes ANOVA fit.
UCL=Upper Confidence Limit.

Pair	Distance	95% UCL	Z-Score	P-Value
Cape Town:Fort Knokke	0.03115643	0.02798548	2.347311	0.008
Cape Town:Barbados	0.03633420	0.03339216	2.181166	0.018
Cape Town:St. Helena	0.02626639	0.02104670	3.164407	0.001
Fort Knokke:Barbados	0.04822258	0.03709340	3.348686	0.001
Fort Knokke:St. Helena	0.03379853	0.02643638	3.203504	0.001
Barbados:St. Helena	0.03301703	0.03210988	1.880074	0.030

Table 4-3. Procrustes variances for each group, and pairwise distances between variances. Variances are listed from lowest to highest, from left to right.

Variances by group				
Cape Town	St. Helena	Barbados	Fort Knokke	
0.003797623	0.003988528	0.004072880	0.004482266	
Pairwise distances between variances				
Pair	Distance	95% UCL	Z-Score	P-Value
Cape Town:Fort Knokke	0.03115643	0.02798548	2.347311	0.008
Cape Town:Barbados	0.03633420	0.03339216	2.181166	0.018
Cape Town:St. Helena	0.02626639	0.02104670	3.164407	0.001
Fort Knokke:Barbados	0.04822258	0.03709340	3.348686	0.001
Fort Knokke:St. Helena	0.03379853	0.02643638	3.203504	0.001
Barbados:St. Helena	0.03301703	0.03210988	1.880074	0.030

Table 4-4. Bayesian Information Criterion values, with top three models highlighted in yellow (in order from best fit VVI 7, VVI 6, and VVI 8).

	EII	VII	EEI	VEI	EVI	VVI
1	38978.94	38978.94	38691.69	38691.69	38691.69	38691.69
2	40110.65	40373.90	39997.26	40121.79	40465.85	40754.12
3	40375.40	40560.34	40230.99	40304.09	40867.43	40804.35
4	40318.11	40513.87	40128.88	40201.30	40859.72	40815.36
5	40461.21	40655.26	40245.22	40352.76	41123.88	41271.88
6	40367.59	40649.19	40211.26	40327.32	41015.74	41512.99
7	40397.48	40678.19	40245.41	40350.62	41143.20	41668.31
8	40491.41	40636.98	40259.06	40299.78	40899.66	41362.70
9	40320.50	40498.64	40095.15	40205.92	40769.86	41132.70

Table 4-5. Cluster number assignments

Cluster	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
N=	17	12	20	9	14	11	2

CHAPTER 5 TEXT ANALYSIS RESULTS

The qualitative text analysis performed for the datasets in this study was template analysis, a type of thematic analysis. The term template is synonymous with a “codebook,” which standardizes the criteria to code various segments of text-based data. For example, the code ‘Racial designator’ refers to all instances in a dataset where a person is described with a racialized term such as ‘Black’ or ‘Negro’ (see Methods, Chapter 3 above). The templates used to identify patterns (or themes) in the data changed at several stages of the project, making it conducive to template analysis, which allowed for an iterative style of adjusting the template to accommodate the data. In this analysis, the datasets included fugitive slave advertisements from Barbados and Cape Town, and a range of archival documents that described the “Liberated Africans” in St. Helena. The St. Helena documents were written by Europeans who visited or lived among captives and described their perceptions of and interactions with these displaced persons. It became apparent early in the analysis that each of the three sites had unique formats and coding hierarchies, making it necessary to have a unique coding template for each sample, rather than merging them and potentially missing key data. I found that doing so allowed me to more clearly assess the similarities and differences among the three sites.

This chapter contributes to a rich scholarship on the theme of resistance in enslavement era archival data. Resistance to enslavement took many forms, whether through physical violence, resource accumulation through theft or foraging, or temporary or permanent escape. Some enslaved runaways would form traditional maroon communities (settlements of enslaved runaways in secluded or inaccessible

regions), escape by land or sea to a new location, or hide in plain sight (Brown, 2009; Craton, 2009; Douglass, 2009; Handler, 1997a; Hartman, 1997; Rucker, 2008; Worden, 2018). As introduced in Chapter One, archival documents featuring detailed descriptions of enslaved people (e.g., slave narratives, fugitive advertisements) provide unique windows into both the warped lens of enslavers, as well as the subversive strategies enslaved persons used to increase their agency (Bergemann, 2023; Bly, 2016; Fuentes, 2016; Hodges & Brown, 2019). The explorations of three enslavement circumstances in Barbados, South Africa, and St. Helena aim to build on these myriad stories of resistance by focusing on the slave trade's declining era, while also comparing sites not traditionally placed in dialogue.

To present the results of this text analysis, I first explain the major changes I made to the templates, followed by an in-depth review of the major themes identified in each of the three sample groups (Barbados, Cape Town, St. Helena). Because of the iterative nature of the study, within each site's review I build on and refer back to the previous site(s). I then conclude by placing the three sites in dialogue. To revisit the research questions motivating this analysis, I asked the following:

- Q3: Are there common themes in sampled sites' social positioning of the enslaved? What aspects of enslaved persons' lived experiences appear to be prominent in these sites?
 - Q3A. Does the representation of recaptive status in the archive differ from that of enslaved persons?
- Q4: Which sampled sites' archival representations of enslaved persons describe racialized subsets of the enslaved population (with ascribed intrinsic behaviors and/or aesthetics)?

Given my a priori theoretical framework for this study (described in detail in Chapter Two), I had certain expectations about the ways that the enslaved people in these sites may have been conceived of and treated differently. For example, the data structure is

much more similar for the Barbados and Cape Town datasets, while the descriptions of the African recaptives in St. Helena are much longer in form and were written for a different audience. The purpose of the fugitive slave advertisements was to trigger identification and recapture enslaved runaways by describing their visible physical and behavioral descriptors. In contrast, the St. Helena documents focused more on the condemnation of the practice of slavery and the incorporation of African recaptives into post-enslavement British labor systems. Therefore, I expected the themes would be more similar between the Barbados and Cape groups, and that they would focus more on racializing language and positioning runaways' behaviors as deviant. I also expected the St. Helena sample to focus on descriptions of maritime journeys and African cultures.

Developing a Template

I constructed a template for the Barbados dataset prior to expanding it to accommodate the other two sites. The Barbados dataset, which included fugitive slave advertisements, spanned the years 1807-1816. The initial template focused on runaways' features that enslavers thought were relevant to include in advertisements, such as visible indicators or illness or injury, hair texture, demeanor, or signs they were not born on the island (e.g., "country marks") (Table 5-1). I also included codes to account for the ways that enslavers defined free citizens on the island, in terms of behavioral norms and modes of enforcing those norms. Lastly, I created codes for location to analyze regional variation on the island.

I tested this template on the first ~30 advertisements and noted which patterns in the text were not captured by the present template. After coding these initial advertisements, I modified the template to add more hierarchy and account for patterns

related to defining subcategories to distinguish differences in description, such as by adding subcategories under the code 'Racial designator' (e.g., 'Black,' 'Negro,' 'Mulatto'). I also created codes that referred to the surveillance of enslaved runaways, including aspects of runaways' degree of assimilation to island life that made it easier or more difficult to recapture them. For example, some runaways were described as being "well known" in certain parishes on the island, suggesting that they may not have been able to blend in easily there but may have had more social support. The final template for the Barbados dataset included much more detail than the initial template, with added hierarchies to articulate the themes I identified among these codes (Table 5-2). The three primary themes in the sample were: 'Putting on an Act,' which refers to the appearance and behavior of runaways that structure the success of their escapes, 'Citizenry,' which denotes the status of the free public in contrast to the enslaved, and 'Elements of escape,' which refers to assessments of runaways' actions and likely outcomes (e.g., possible escape locations, relationships to enslavers and other enslaved people).

As I expanded the dataset to include the St. Helena and Cape Town samples, I initially approached the template as a merged coding hierarchy so that it could apply to all of them (Table 5-3). To do so, I focused on adding codes to the template that would address the prominent patterns observed in the St. Helena documents. Specifically, the St. Helena documents gave detailed accounts of the suffering and high mortality of groups of formerly enslaved people. This is a result of the time period, in which the slave trade was abolished but it was still occurring illegally. In this atmosphere, the British led efforts to abolish the slave trade and seize slave trade ships, making their

relationship to the enslaved one of proclaimed charity rather than enslavement. Further, it is a setting where Europeans were assessing the value of ‘Liberated Africans’ and their ability to acclimate to European social and labor systems, shown through systematic comparisons of African ethnic groups’ appearances, cultures, and behaviors. I also modified the template to account for regional variation in the St. Helena and Cape Town datasets, so I replaced the Barbados parishes with parish or district names referenced in the St. Helena and Cape Town documents.

As I was coding the St. Helena and Cape Town samples, I observed that some codes that applied to both samples had different implications. For example, the ‘Skills’ code in the St. Helena context referred to the value that African recaptives could offer once being resettled into European colonies, while in Cape Town documents it referred to the skills that enslaved runaways would likely use to their advantage to receive work elsewhere. Another example is the ‘Benevolence’ code, which in the St. Helena documents was a reference to perceived moral fortitude in providing support to formerly enslaved Africans, while in the Cape Town context it referred to the enslaver’s view of their treatment of the enslaved or offers of concessions to prompt runaways to return. Following these observations, I created distinct coding hierarchies for St. Helena and Cape Town in addition to the Barbados template (see [Tables 5-4](#) and [5-5](#)).

Barbados

The Barbados sample, spanning fugitive slave advertisements dating 1807-1816, encompasses a period of significant transition for the island. Spanning the years 1807-1816, the beginning of this period (1807) marked the formal abolition of slave trading in the British Empire, although enslavement persisted unofficially and under other countries’ flags. The end of the period (1816) was the year of the island’s largest

rebellion, Bussa's rebellion. Notably, the rebellion occurred mainly in St. Philip, a populous but not urbanized parish in Barbados. The rebellion has been argued to represent a culmination of the intensifying debates around abolishing the practice of slavery altogether, combined with the decline of the economic market for sugar (Barbados' most profitable industry at the time) (Beckles, 1998a; McNaught, 2017). This tumultuous backdrop is important to consider when interpreting these documents, particularly as it relates to the ways that enslavers perceived their own status relative to that of enslaved persons.

Enslavement in Barbados was heavily racialized, as, after the mid-17th century, slave status was reserved for Africans and their descendants. Mortality rates were high on the island, with some analyses estimating that one enslaved person could labor for no longer than seven years on average (Beckles & Downes, 1987, p. 238). This suggests that enslaved people on the island were subjected to intense labor and a low quality of life, further evidenced by the high rates of slave importation throughout the island's history and the limited on-island population growth (caused by high mortality and low fertility rates) until the formal abolition of the slave trade (Higman, 1995). This system also created a European free citizenry that had a vested interest in maintaining the distinction between these racialized categories of enslaved and free. Because of this, even though there was a population of free Black and mixed race people present on the island, the economic structure and evolving legislation (e.g., prohibitive manumission costs) sought to severely limit manumission efforts (Handler, 1974; Newton, 2008). Regarding who among the enslaved population were more likely to manumit themselves, miscegenation (i.e., being of mixed race) was a factor but

certainly not the only or most important one. Self purchase, enslavers gifting manumission to elderly slaves, or free persons of color purchasing the freedom of enslaved people all became instrumental to the growth of the free non-white population (Handler, 1974, pp. 12–13; Newton, 2008, p. 5).

Another important consideration for interpreting these advertisements is the stigma of runaway status in Barbados. As in other British Caribbean spaces, escapes resulted in both temporary and permanent economic losses for enslavers, and they had the risk of inspiring other enslaved persons to follow suit. Further, runaways were positioned in legal and media settings as inherently deviant and a potential danger to the free public (Handler, 1997a; Hunt-Kennedy, 2020). Due to these perceived or actual threats to the slaveholding class, the punishments for runaways were among the most severe. Punishments for enslaved runaways included but were not limited to branding, spiked manacles or chains, severe whippings, floggings, and dismembered limbs. These often debilitating punishments would have reduced runaways' value in the labor system and limited their mobility across the enslavement landscape (Hunt-Kennedy, 2020, pp. 222–223). Acts of violence on runaways' bodies are frequently observed in the advertisements, but they are typically presented indirectly through their lasting effects, such as descriptions of scars or burns rather than the acts that caused them. These signals of violence are especially poignant when placed in the context of the high mortality rates in Barbados (Beckles & Downes, 2006).

Unlike some other Caribbean regions like Jamaica, Barbados lacked extensive mountains and forests that aided the formation of independent maroon communities, imposing limits on the frequency and nature of escape on the island. However, some

runaways were still able to build maroon coalitions, shown in the extended use hideouts of runaway groups in gullies, caves, and forests on the island (Handler, 1997a; F. Smith & Bassett, 2016). Further, in the early years of the island's colonization history, small runaway bands conducted raids of farms to sustain themselves and escape to the then-heavily forested areas of the island (Handler, 1997a, p. 185). Given the limitations on escape opportunities, the most common practices were to temporarily visit family members at another plantation, to attempt to assimilate in urban spaces, and to attempt to escape from the island by sea ("maritime marronage") (Handler, 1997a; Heuman, 1985; Higman, 1995). Some of these escapes were aided by the practice of "hiring out" that existed on the island, through which enslaved people were temporarily relocated to other plantations or businesses to procure additional income for their enslavers. The unintentional advantage hiring out had for enslaved people was that it offered more mobility to navigate the island's landscape with less active surveillance (Newton, 2008, pp. 37–38). Maritime marronage and urban escapes were not mutually exclusive concepts; some scholars have argued that some runaways temporarily escaped to urban spaces like St. Michael in order to more easily access seafaring equipment (Handler, 1997a, p. 198). In some of the advertisements in the sample, there are some references to suspicions of maritime marronage, revealing the anxieties some enslavers had about enslaved people being aided (harbored) by others and potentially departing the island altogether:

A Caution to all masters of Vessels, and other concerned – particularly to those who intend for Martinique and Guadeloupe – not to allow or admit the Subscriber's Female Slave, Sally (late the property of Ann Clarke, free coloured woman), to be received on board any vessel, as the law will be rigidly enforced against any such master, or person so allowing or admitting the said wench to embark on board any vessel. (Document 1811-06-08-2)

The highest frequency codes in the Barbados sample focused on the perceived value, physical features, and racialization of enslaved runaways. Other high frequency codes like ‘Harboring’ outlined expectations of free citizens to enforce the enslavement system, usually relating to surveillance (Table 5-6). The advertisements also described physical appearances of described runaways in great detail. For example, descriptions of skin color, physical build (e.g., “slender made,” “broad-shouldered”), eye color, hair color and texture, facial dimensions (e.g., “flat face,” “thin visage”), and even patterns of tooth loss were all commonly cited features in the sample. In some cases, the advertisements emphasized physical and behavioral features that were more likely to trigger recognition from the public (e.g., “large” features, locations they frequently visited, a notable gait), but deemphasized or omitted details that islanders may not have been as acquainted with (e.g., facial scarification or other features associated with particular African tribes).

The codes that were present in virtually all of the documents were ‘Runaway,’ ‘Reward,’ and ‘Present enslaver/Subscriber.’ Although extensive analysis of enslavers’ social and financial influence is beyond the scope of the analysis, I coded for references to a runaway’s enslaver to review how readers may have viewed these advertisements. For example, were enslavers viewed as incompetent when these escapes occurred? Considering the newspaper’s audience provides insight into the details that enslavers chose to include in the advertisements. The ‘Benevolence’ code is the only clear instance of enslavers justifying their actions to the readers, who were presumably free citizens. A typical example of the usage of the ‘Benevolence’ code is enslavers stating that the runaway escaped “without the least provocation,” suggesting they wanted

readers to perceive their treatment of their enslaved persons as charitable. Similarly, some enslavers offered pardons (presumably from violence) to induce runaways to return. This code, discussed further below, effectively projects the notion of generous care of the enslaved to the public, suggesting that they were aware of what the act of escape could imply about an enslaver. These projections of benevolence relate to the intense scrutiny of enslavers as the abolitionist movement emerged, prompting many enslavers throughout the 18th century to respond to their critics with rhetoric that on the surface supported the aims of abolition, but also argued that reforms to slavery must come from the planter class (Bergman & Smith, 2014, p. 433). This suggests that the newspaper's readership on the island likely had diverse views on the issue of treatment and abolition of the enslaved. There would have been an enslaver class with interest in maintaining the stability of that system, but there would have also been islanders with abolitionist sympathies (Bergman & Smith, 2014). The consistent inclusion of the enslaver's details in the advertisements suggest that the need for organized public assistance to recapture runaways outweighed the possible negative perceptions readers may have had of them.

Another code that was present in nearly all of the advertisements was 'Reward,' which usually was featured at the beginning or end of the document. These rewards varied greatly, described in the currency of dollars, pounds, and moidores. The value placed on enslaved runaways seems to relate to the quality of labor that they provided to the enslaver, with healthy and strong (referred to as "well-set" in the sample) runaways generally more highly valued.

Beyond the codes that were the highest frequency, I sought to assess the range of variation encompassed in these codes. For example, I performed lexical searches within the 'Racial designator' code to identify the most common racial descriptors during this time period ('Black,' 'Negro,' 'Mulatto'). I then was able to isolate each descriptor to assess its co-occurring codes, and to identify similarities in how these runaways were conceived of. I used a similar strategy within the 'Skin color' and 'Illness/disability' codes. Combining these strategies with other theme identification strategies (e.g., word repetition, missing data) enabled me to identify the following themes in the dataset:

- Putting on an Act
- Citizens and Surveillance
- Race and color fungibility

Putting on an Act

As described above, the most common form of escape was to hide in plain sight in urban spaces, such as the heavily populated parish of St. Michael (Handler, 1997a; Heuman, 1985). This strategy is echoed in the advertisements, shown through putting on an act. This act refers to enslavers placing enslaved persons on a spectrum of successful "acting," where the runaway's behavior or skills are posed as helpful or harmful to their goal of remaining hidden, most commonly in urban spaces. This notion of acting falls into two subcategories, uncontrolled and controlled. Uncontrolled acts refer to the escape strategies that are available to a runaway based on their immutable features, such as their birthplace, unique physical features (e.g., prominent scars), racial category, or skin color. A common example of uncontrolled acts are of African enslaved persons who recently arrived in Barbados; many of them had distinct cultural marks on their skin (or "country marks" as worded in the advertisements) or were not yet proficient in the English language, so their "newness" to the island would have been

visible to others (Handler, 1997a; Handler et al., 1982). In contrast, some enslaved persons were described as having the capacity to “pass for a free man,” presumably due to factors such as their appearance or language proficiency, which is something that was beyond their control but could potentially be used in a deceptive act.

In contrast to uncontrolled acts, controlled acts represent the enacting of these roles, wherein runaways assessed the immutable characteristics about themselves and used this to strategically fill an existing role on the island. Thus, controlled acts are deceptive acts that were intended to either disguise known appearances or to present as a free person in order to remain hidden:

The Subscriber will give Twenty Pounds Reward to any person or persons that will apprehend and deliver to him his Negro Man Slave named Cuffy, who formerly belonged to Mr. John Marsh. He is a man of full size, with whiskers, and very smooth face and forehead, and wears his beard very long by way of disguise. This man, when absent in his former Master’s time, was in the habit of going about in the parishes where he was not known, and undertaking the building and repairing of Negro Houses, which it is likely he now practices (Document 1808-11-05-2).

In the above instance, the runaway man, Cuffy, is described as growing out a beard to obscure his appearance. This is stated as factual, although the subscriber offered no clear evidence to support this. Another notable portion of the passage is Cuffy’s apparent strategy of seeking employment as a means of staying hidden. Other documents in the dataset show a similar strategy, where a runaway was likely to “dress like a sailor” or “act as a hairdresser.” In this way, runaway enslaved persons were able to channel their skills, whether gained from their enslavement roles or from their hobbies (e.g., basketmaking, playing card games). Whether or not it is accurate that Cuffy changed his facial hair for that reason, the enslaver’s confidence in that strategy suggests that doing so is an existing strategy that has been used on the island, or that it

is a strategy Cuffy has attempted prior. The latter seems to be more likely, because we learn at the end of the advertisement that Cuffy is a repeated runaway who previously used anonymity as an escape strategy.

Notably, because these advertisements only give us access to the enslavers' perceptions, it is impossible to know for certain whether a runaway made a specific choice to change their appearance or habits to facilitate their escape from the advertisements alone. However, the theme of 'Putting on an Act' is still illuminative of the range of ways enslaved people assessed themselves relative to the norms of the island's free class, such as in their level of language proficiency or the skills they could use to seek alternative employment, and then acted in accordance with those characteristics during an escape. And because the advertisements were written from the perspectives of enslavers, we simultaneously see how these runaway acts were being (mis)understood by their enslavers:

200 Dollars Reward. Ran away on Monday the 26th of August, from St. Pierre, Martinique, a Mulatto Man named John, about 20 years of age, 5 feet 8 inches in height, pale yellow countenance, rather open prominent eyes, full tufted hair, down look – lounging, lazy air and habit – an awkward, waddling gait—a creole of Barbados, where he has some time worked as a taylor – was sold by Mr Wm. M'Keand to Mr. Thomas T. Gautt, then of St. Pierre, and resold to Mr. James Mahon, of that Town. The object being to arrest the progress of a serious evil now too prevalent, of encouraging the profligate and licentious to abscond from even the most moderate employment, rather than to regain a worthless person, a Reward of One Hundred Dollars will be instantly paid to any one who will enable Mr. Mahon to prosecute to conviction the person or persons who carried off the said slave; Fifty Dollars will be paid for the conviction of any person harbouring or employing said slave after this notice; and Fifty Dollars will be paid to whoever will apprehend the said slave, and lodge him in Gaol, or deliver him at the Store of Messrs. Lancaster, Sampson, & Co. Sept. 17. (Document 1811-09-17)

The enslaver/subscriber in this advertisement simultaneously devalues the runaway, John, calling him a “worthless person,” while also offering 100 dollars toward apprehending alleged conspirators who encourage enslaved people to escape. The

conflict of perceived agency is shown in his clash of these two types of people: the first is the runaway, who he positions as a person who is disinclined to work and was “carried off,” or convinced to leave his enslavement; and the second is the puppet master, likely another enslaved or free person of color, who has the agency to pose a salient threat against enslavers’ interests.

In the same advertisement, considering John’s potential motivations yields a different understanding of how he navigated this landscape. We learn in the advertisement that John was born in Barbados and also lived and worked there prior to being sold to an enslaver in Martinique. The advertisement’s circulation in Barbados suggests that John’s enslaver believes that he may attempt to return to Barbados, and that there may be routes for him to do so. As Barbados was his home, John would have been familiar with spaces to blend in on the island, would have had tailoring skills to seek employment, and likely would have had social connections who would aid his concealment. Further, his ‘Mulatto’ status would likely have afforded him more latitude to present himself as free in public spaces. All of these things are representative of uncontrolled and controlled acts; both he and his enslaver were aware of these characteristics beyond his control that he could still potentially use to his advantage.

Most of the advertisements were written in a neutral tone, with occasional positive references to runaways’ appearance or skill (e.g., descriptions of “pleasing features” or speaking well). Some notable exceptions to this are negative depictions of a runaway’s character, which, in a similar vein to the above advertisement about John (Document 1811-09-17), conveyed an urgency on the part of free citizens to apprehend the runaway before other citizens could be harmed or tricked:

He is a notorious villain, and very dexterous at the game of whist, and many other games of amusement on cards, thereby rendering himself a very desirable associate amongst plantation watchmen and rangers, to the great detriment of the Proprietors (Document 1810-03-21-2).

Ten Pounds Reward Will be given for apprehending a Negro Man named Appea, formerly the property of Mr. W. Sealy, one of a lot of 24 purchased of him. This Man is about 50 years old, 5 feet 10 or 11 inches high, well set, yellow-skin, surly countenance, has several scars about his head occasioned by fighting, and a piece off one of his ears, bit out by the same cause;--he has been absent upwards of 12 months, and has eluded every vigilant attempt to take him. He is perhaps one of the most notorious villains the Country ever possessed; and a dangerous person to be at large amongst Plantation Negroes. He is famous for drawing the figure of negroes on paper, by which means he gets a subsistence, going from one Estate to another; although he seldom stays long on any... (Document 1815-07-15)

The main difference between these two runaways' positioning in these advertisements are the perceived targets of their agendas. In the first, the subscriber is preoccupied with the effect that the runaway may have had on the landowning class, particularly those who were formally tasked with surveillance. In contrast, the second advertisement focuses on the effect his actions may have on other enslaved people, such as inspiring their escapes. However, in both cases these two runaway men were framed as having malicious intentions. Part of the reason why these runaways' acts were so intolerable to the subscribers may be that their use of wit and amusement to disarm citizens, particularly ones who were tasked with reporting and apprehending runaway persons, may have been a means of manipulating appearances and increasing his access to spaces that would normally have been unavailable to him. This type of deception is what Hartman (1997, p. 8) describes as "acts of defiance conducted under the cover of nonsense, indirection, and seeming acquiescence." To the rangers and watchmen, a runaway organizing games may have been seen as a purveyor of pleasure whose demeanor suggested that they were satisfied with their enslaved status. However, our

awareness of his actual runaway status transforms his act into a potentially subversive one. Another example of subversion in disarming free citizens is in the description of a runaway called Sukey Frances, who was “...artful and most plausible; in no shape embarrassed when even unexpectedly detected in crime, but on the contrary, prepared with a story to meet every contingency” (Document 1811-06-29-2).

To tease apart other factors that may be impacting the way runaways carried out their escapes, I reviewed the two codes related to gender ('Man,' 'Woman') and assessed the codes most frequently coded with each. In a code map documenting each gender codes' distances from other selected codes, the described acts appear to differ to some extent by gender (Fig. 5-1). Advertisements of runaway men more commonly included descriptions of their “well known” status in a given parish, which could have posed a potential limitation if they would be easily recognizable to people tasked with reporting and recapture. (Note that although the 'Well known' code is visually closer to 'Woman' than 'Man' in the code map, this is likely a result of the output of projecting the multidimensional data onto a two-dimensional surface. I included line thickness between codes in the plot to aid interpretation further.) Alternatively, if a runaway was known by many allies to their escape, this could have been an advantage. The latter is implied by one runaway named Thomas, who was “...well known in the Leeward Parishes, and in Bridge-Town, where he has family and connexions” (Document 1815-9-16). Runaway men were also more commonly associated with descriptions of skills (34.26% of the runaway men advertisements, compared to 12.62% for women), which they could potentially use to informally hire themselves on other parts of the island. Proficiency in given skills seemed to work to the advantage of foreign-born men as well, such as

Jacob, a "...seine fisherman, [who] is supposed to be harboured and employed by some persons owning boats in Bridge-Town" (Document 1815-01-10). It is unclear whether the free citizens who hired these enslaved runaways were aware of their status, but it is known that some white people on the island harbored runaways and possibly also hired them (Handler, 1997a, p. 216; Heuman, 1985, p. 108). In comparison to these patterns for men, runaway women were more frequently described as "slaves." Given the higher manumission rates for women overall (Newton, 2008, p. 37), this reminder of their status may have been used to distinguish them from free Black women and, considering the co-occurrence with the 'Benevolence' code (16.02%), to also be a simultaneous admonishment of their self-presentation as free. For example, quotes such as "Eloped, some weeks past, without any provocation..." (Document 1816-08-13) portray their escapes as unjustified. Runaway women were more commonly described as escaping with one or more companions (16.5% compared to 11.76% for men), which is partly accounted for by the descriptions of their escapes with their young children. One example of this is for Helen, who was "far advanced in pregnancy, ... [and] carried with her two children, John Quaco, about 6 years old, and Jemmy, about thirty months" (Document 1816-09-14). Patterns such as these reflect that some of the acts that runaways had access to were gendered, creating different roles that runaways could assume.

Beyond the purpose of defining relationships between controlled and uncontrolled acts discussed above, I use these terms (along with the notion of "putting on an act") to evoke the dynamics of a play. Particularly, these acts reveal that the meanings of the acts are entirely dependent on whose lens they are viewed through.

From the runaway's view, to put on an act meant to assume a role that they were qualified to play, with their agency to choose a role limited by their immutable characteristics. In contrast, enslavers revealed a conflicting view of the level of agency runaways exercised in this "play"; in one sense runaways were puppet masters with the capacity to taint the actions of other enslaved people, while in other ways they were easily manipulated by others with malicious intentions, as if one of the puppets.

This theme of putting on an act is in line with the atmosphere of paranoia for enslavers that was taking hold on the island. Although most of the advertisements in the present sample precede Bussa's rebellion in 1816, there was still a preoccupation with the acts of the enslaved. This fixation conceived of runaways as being either deviants by virtue of their runaway status, or being easily manipulated by others. In both cases, the expectation was that free citizens would "see through" these acts and surveil enslaved people on a daily basis, and that enslaved people would by extension be deterred by the threat of punishment (e.g., particularly violence). This strategy reflects an attempt to re-establish control of the enslaved as the future of slavery became increasingly tenuous.

Citizens and Surveillance

In order to fully understand how the status of enslaved persons was made and reinforced, it is necessary to also delineate the terms and boundaries of those afforded full citizenship in the Barbados enslavement system. Subscribers reiterated their own positioning in the advertisements by outlining the expected behavior of respectable citizens, and the punitive measures reserved for those who did not comply. This is apparent in the 'Harboring' code, which was present in 71.9% of the sample. This code represented the expectation that free landowners uphold the legitimacy of the social

system by surveilling and reporting runaways and their allies. Some variation of the following was commonly placed at the end of the advertisement:

All persons are cautioned against harbouring or employing the said Man, as the Law will be fully enforced against them; and all Captains of vessels are cautioned not to take him off the Island.

To assess this juxtaposition of the free public against enslaved runaways further, I ran a Keyword in Context (KWIC) analysis of the word 'person' to assess what or who the term is used to describe in the dataset. The analysis showed that the word is only used to identify and address free citizens ([Table 5-7](#)). The gender-neutral term suggests that free citizens were expected to enforce the enslavement hierarchy, regardless of their career, gender, or whether or not they owned slaves. In contrast, the descriptions of runaways, which intended to recapture runaways using visible indicators, were highly gendered.

This manner of policing is also shown through the concept of surveillance, where the enslaver relied on reports from others to ascertain a runaway's whereabouts. For example, a runaway woman named Betty Hagar was "seen in the parish of St. Lucy, in the neighbourhood of Golding's Green, and Colonel Cadogan's Estate" (Document 1807-06-06). The phrasing suggests that an unnamed person who the enslaver considered trustworthy supplied him with this information, either a fellow free citizen or possibly a slave (Clarkson & Dickson, 1814; Handler, 1997a). Another form of surveillance was observed in notices submitted by free citizens who apprehended perceived runaways for the purpose of recapture by their enslaver. An example of this is in a notice submitted in 1811:

Whereas a number of Negroes and other Slaves have absconded from their owners in the neighbouring Island, and on their arrival here have passed as free people without any molestation whatsoever; and, as so shameful a practice

ought to be put a stop to, I have taken up and confined in the Common Gaol the following Negroes, that their lawful owners may recover them, otherwise they will be sold at the expiration of six months from the date of this advertisement. And I do hereby give notice, that all persons of colour who have been brought to this Island, or who may be brought here in future, unless they can give satisfactory proof of their being free subjects, will be taken up and given to the King's Receiver-General, to be proceeded against as the Law directs... (Document 1811-11-30)

Similar to the pre-existing slave codes on the island that empowered plantation management to regularly search slave houses for runaways (Hall, 1764; Handler, 1997a, p. 198), these modes of surveillance in the advertisements aimed to deter any forms of lenience in the treatment of runaways.

Another aspect of citizenry conveyed in the advertisements is the notion of benevolence, in which the subscriber reflexively assessed the cause of the runaway's escape or the factors that could induce their return. In the former, the subscriber would often deny that the runaway person had any "good reason" to leave. For example, one enslaver in St. George parish described a runaway named Peggy Ann, who "...carried off a tray of cloth of great value...[she] went away from no provocation whatever...is now in mourning for her husband, who was hung, by name Nat Croney, belonging to Joshua B. Nurse, Esq" (Document 1813-06-20). This phrasing suggests that he viewed the working conditions and social dynamics of his plantation to have been satisfactory and, more bafflingly, that the death of Peggy Ann's husband was not deemed a significant motivation for her escape. In the latter form of benevolence, the subscriber attempts to negotiate with the runaway, calculating factors that may be important to them:

All persons are forbid harbouring or concealing her, as they will assuredly suffer the penalty of the law against such offenders; -- but if she will return of her own accord, she shall be at liberty to choose an owner. (Document 1811-02-09-2)

In other cases, negotiations took the form of harm reduction, where the runaway was promised a “full pardon” if they returned to the estate of their own volition. The ‘Benevolence’ code was commonly associated with positive attributes or skills of runaway persons, suggesting that the runaways that were offered these kinds of concessions may have been considered more valuable. However, it is unclear whether these promises of “full pardon” were honored. At least in the case of receiving a pardon, there were no legal protections in place for enslaved persons who faced severe violence, or at times death, at the hands of their enslavers until 1826 (Handler, 1997a, p. 198; Handler & Frisbie, 1972). And, as described above, the punishments for runaways were often the most severe and debilitating (Hunt-Kennedy, 2020). This aftermath of these violent acts on enslaved runaways is present in the fugitive advertisements in the descriptions of cuts, scars, burns, and missing limbs. Codes for indicators of violence were present in 14.7% of the advertisements. Notably, the advertisements often described where on the body these violent acts were inflicted, but not who enacted the violence:

Absconded, A Negro Man by the name of Derry. He is about five feet four or five inches high, rather stout, and has several scars about his body, made with a sword, with the loss of part of his right thumb. (Document 1810-03-13)

The threat that runaways posed to enslavers’ power is illuminated by the descriptions of their bodies, because they show the extremes enslavers took to re-stabilize their power. Many of these acts of violence would have marked a person for life, such as an ear being cut off, or a “lame gait.” These acts were intentional signals to the free public of runaways’ ascribed low value, as well as to deter other enslaved people from following suit (Handler, 1997a; Thome & Kimball, 1838, p. 221).

It is notable that the fugitive advertisements were intended for public circulation. These gestures of negotiation and good will that are present in the advertisements suggest that the subscribers aimed to project the image that they were ethical and willing to consider the interests of their slaves. However, if taken as a projection, these sentiments should not necessarily be understood as the actual intentions of the enslaver, particularly in an era where excessive, unprovoked punishments were intrinsic to the structure of slavery on the island. Further, the projection of benevolence was secondary to the goal of extensively surveilling enslaved persons.

Race and Color Fungibility

Racial designators were coded in the dataset more frequently than skin color, with 'Negro' being the most frequently cited racial category (coded in 48.4% of the dataset). I used the Code Relations browser in MAXQDA to interpret co-occurrence between racial ascriptors and other codes (Fig. 5-2). I also ran a Keyword-in-Context (KWIC) analysis to assess the ways that each descriptor was used. In the case of 'Black', the word referred to both race and skin color interchangeably:

“Run Away from the Subscriber, a short, black Woman, well known by the name of Orian...” (Document 1810-05-19)

“Rice, 5 feet 8 inches high, 35 years of age, black complexion...” (Document 1811-11-30)

“of a dark complexion but not quite black...” (Document 1810-08-04)

Runaway persons who were racially designated as Black did not typically also get described by their skin color. This suggests that 'Black' encapsulates both categories, in that a Black racial grouping implies a dark complexion. Beyond this distinction, Blackness as it presents in the advertisements was rarely associated with codes related to newness to the island or language proficiency, suggesting that Blackness did not

represent a lack of assimilation to the island. The few times Black racialization was coded alongside descriptions of birthplace, it was to describe the runaway's Barbadian ancestry. This pattern of use may be similar to the way that the term 'Creole,' in the Barbados context referring to a Barbados-born Afro-descendant. While only two advertisements in the sample described runaways as 'creoles' of Barbados, its use demonstrates the distinction between Barbadian and other:

Ran away from the Subscriber, on the 1st inst. an African Boy named John, about 5 feet 4 inches high, very black skin, without any marks, and would pass for a Creole did he not speak English so badly, as frequently not to be understood. (Document 1807-06-09)

Here, the features the subscriber posits as intrinsic to being considered a creole of Barbados (i.e., Barbadian) is contrasted against John's apparent lack of English language proficiency. Thus, while his other features such as his skin color and physical build could present as Barbadian, the subscriber ascertains that John would betray his identity by speaking. Criteria such as these to "pass" as Barbados-born further supports the notion that Blackness as represented in the sample relates to a distinct Creole community culture. This notion echoes the documented demographic shifts on the island; by 1800, the vast majority of the enslaved population was born in Barbados (Beckles, 1998b, pp. 111–112). Further, there was a creolization of the island by that time, in which the enslaved built and maintained community ties through acts of asserted agency (e.g., building homes, organizing dances) that were influenced to some degree by their African cultures (Handler, 2002; McNaught, 2017). Thus, the 'Black' code seems to evoke similar notions of creolization, in that their Barbadian-ness was framed as part of the social landscape and used to evaluate the behaviors of Africa-born enslaved people.

The word 'Negro' represented a racial characteristic as well as a cultural entity in the sample. 'Negro' described types of houses, freckles, dances, and hair. Similar to the use of 'Black,' its use suggests a shorthand of Afro-descendant culture. However, unlike 'Black,' the term 'Negro' is used to describe any enslaved person, including "new" Africans who were born elsewhere rather than in Barbados. This is further supported by the high association of the 'Negro' racial designator with the word slave. Thus, this essentialization of 'Negro' does not further distinguish between African or Barbadian-ness. Rather, the term's usage collapses both creole and foreign-born people onto their shared status of enslavement. Runaways described as 'Negro' most commonly were also described by their skin color, build, and recognizability in a given area. This is apparent in the description of the runaway Betty Hagar:

... a Negro Girl about 18 years of age, named Betty Hagar, about 5 feet some inches high, has good features, black skin, a bushy head of hair, which she wears plaited in the way that negroes now wear their hair; large eye bones, small eyes, speaks very well, is very fond of dancing; she has been seen in the parish of St. Lucy, in the neighbourhood of Golding's Green, and Colonel Cadogan's Estate, where she passed for a free subject, under a fictitious name...
(Document 1807-06-06)

Betty's choices in styling her hair and the places she frequented are similar to other advertisements that describe runaways as dressing fashionably. These acts demonstrate that there were evolving cultural trends among the enslaved community, as well as forged spaces for runaways like Betty to engage in dancing and socialization. Further, enslaved people had increasing access to new ways of presenting themselves in this time period.

Betty Hagar's advertisement is unique in that she had previously successfully represented herself as a free woman ("passed as a free subject"). Betty, described as 'Negro,' shows a clear counterexample to the notion that passing necessarily meant that

a person had to be racialized as white or white-adjacent. Racialization was an important factor in the paths to manumission (and escape) on the island, but successful escape also related to having the right possessions and skills to make the act of passing as free convincing. For example, earlier in Barbados history a significant aspect of distinguishing free people of color was to possess a pass or ticket that proved free status. As more enslaved persons became literate in English, ticket forgery became a persistent issue for enslavers to contend with (Handler, 1997a, p. 185). Thus, there were likely runaways categorized as “Negro” who may have had access to these kinds of resources to navigate the atmosphere of surveillance that permeated the island.

In contrast to the referent ‘Negro,’ the racial designator ‘Mulatto’ was almost exclusively used as a racial category. Further, while it shared with the ‘Black’ code the notion of low association with newness to the island, it was not necessarily used as a shorthand to describe a way of life. However, runaways referred to as ‘Mulatto’ showed slightly higher rates for codes relating to birthplace and language. This may be related to the intra-American slave trade that saw extensive transport among Caribbean countries. And considering mixed race (‘Mulatto’) was a common feature across most of the Caribbean, some of the runaways described as ‘Mulatto’ in the sample were born elsewhere: “Absented herself from the Subscriber, a Mulatto Woman, named Jenny, native of Dominica, speaks French and English” (Document 1807-08-25-2). The ‘Mulatto’ code highly correlated with the ‘Deception’ and ‘Passing’ codes. Its position on the code map was close to the ‘Black’ code, suggesting that ‘Mulatto’ and ‘Black’ racial descriptors were coded similarly (Fig. 5-2). Relative to the advertisements describing ‘Negro’ runaways, the ones describing ‘Mulatto’ and ‘Black’ runaways include much less

detail. It is unclear why this is, but it suggests that since the term ‘Negro’ referred to a diverse swathe of people and characteristics, runaways with this descriptor required more information to lead to their recapture.

Summary

In the period that directly followed the abolition of slave trading in the British Empire, conceptions of enslaved persons, as well as enslavers, shifted (Heuman, 1985; Kennedy, 2015). For enslaved persons, racial and skin color descriptors connoted ways of being; Blackness was closely tied to notions of “Barbadian-ness,” while ‘Negro’ was a broader shorthand to refer to all persons sharing the status of enslavement. While this does not suggest that the term ‘Negro’ was not used in other contexts to refer to free Afro-descendants in Barbados, in the present sample they were referred to as “free persons of color.” The positioning of the enslaved also indicated different levels of performance, in that successful escapes relied on a runaway’s ability to correctly assess their immutable characteristics and strategically apply them to controlled performances. Depending on aspects of language, skin tone, literacy, or other skills, enslaved persons could adapt to various spaces. In some cases, an enslaved person’s network of relatives and acquaintances could be advantageous as a means of receiving aid in their concealment. However, it could also be to their detriment; another common feature in these descriptions was a runaway’s popularity in a particular parish, and their presence in those spaces may have risked unwanted identification.

In the process of outlining the conceptions of enslaved runaways, enslavers also used social and legal pressure to enlist the support of their fellow citizens. Their persistent reminders to the free public to surveil and apprehend runaways simultaneously identified with and admonished their fellow citizens. In a system that was

becoming easier for enslaved persons to “pass” or attempt to obtain passage elsewhere, the perceived ambivalence that enslavers felt from their peers made the security of their hold over enslaved persons that much more tenuous (McNaught, 2017; R. Morris, 2000).

Cape Town

The *Cape Government Gazette* newspaper sample spans 1826-1834, the end of which signaled the end of formal slavery in the Cape. Following the 1807 abolition of slave trading in the British Empire, the legal import of enslaved Africans to the Cape ceased, and the Cape-born slave population (referred to as creoles) subsequently surpassed the foreign-born population (Loos, 2004). As described in Chapter Two, the composition of enslaved people differed substantially in the Cape Colony relative to most sites in the Americas, with the majority originating from Southeast Asia and Southeast Africa (Ross, 2022, p. 13; Worden, 2016). In addition, indigenous Khoekhoe (Khoikhoi), San, and other Black groups were subjected to coercive labor that was similar to that of enslaved people, despite laws prohibiting their formal enslavement (Ross, 1999). In fact, indigenous laborers often had the same masters as enslaved people in both urban and rural parts of the colony (Iannini, 1995, p. 5).

The coexistence (whether peaceful or otherwise) of so many ethnic groups fundamentally shaped the racial and social hierarchy within the Cape Colony. The Cape Colony’s earliest modes of imposing hierarchy relied on the distinction between “Christians” and “heathens.” While this does not mean that racial taxonomy was irrelevant to this construction (as this classification of “heathen” still relied on the notion that non-European groups were inferior), there appeared to be at least an illusion of upward mobility and cultural assimilation available to marginalized classes (Worden et

al., 1998, p. 69). As the racial classification systems were constructed at the Cape for the marginalized classes, indigenous populations at the Cape Colony were subject to this process as well, most prominently the Khoekhoe and San. These closely related groups shared many linguistic and physical similarities, but were still distinct and diverse groups with different cultures and economies (e.g., Khoekhoe are more commonly associated with nomadic pastoralism, and San with hunter-gathering) (*The Khoisan*, n.d.). As European colonists (trekboers) began to encounter, and eventually violently clash with, indigenous groups, two racialized terms took hold: 'Hottentots' to refer to Khoekhoe peoples, and 'Bushmen' to refer to San peoples (Penn, 1999, p. 95; Ross, 2022, p. x). Beyond these classification systems often being inaccurate (e.g., many indigenous people classed as 'Bushmen' were actually Khoekhoe), they also consistently were placed at the bottom of European racial typologies (Crais & Scully, 2021; Gobineau, 1967).

Unfolding alongside the racialization of indigenous populations at the Cape, the "Free Black" class emerged as a descriptor for the slowly growing population of emancipated slaves and ex-convicts in the colony. This status was not heritable, and it was not a racial referent in the same way that the term conveyed in other slave societies; for example, ethnic groups such as Chinese ex-convicts could be considered part of the Cape "Free Black" class (Ross, 1999, p. 33; Worden et al., 1998, p. 64). Interracial marriage and partnerships were also not an uncommon practice, particularly in Cape Town; an estimated 1,000 Khoekhoe and enslaved women married European settlers (free burghers) while the Dutch East India Company/VOC (Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie) controlled the colony. Beyond formal marriage patterns, the racial

category of “Bastard” emerged to describe the children of unions between trekboers and indigenous people, trekboers and slaves, and indigenous people and slaves (referred to as “Bastard-Hottentots”) (Penn, 1999, p. 95, 2005, p. 20). These patterns fundamentally changed the social lives of the marginalized populations of the Cape, such that free and enslaved people often existed in the same family and lived and worked in the same spaces. These variations of “Bastard” status entailed different levels of agency; for example, a 1775 law required “Bastard-Hottentot” children to serve a given master until they reached 25 years old, while other ‘Bastards’ were not held to that requirement (Penn, 1999, p. 95).

Roughly 1/3 of enslaved people at the Cape were based in Cape Town, with the rest located in rural areas throughout the colony mainly performing agricultural labor (Ross, 2022, p. 25). Enslaved persons in Cape Town have been argued to have had more agency than rural slaves, with some having the mobility to hire out their skills to other people in the area and allot some of the earnings to their enslaver and retain a portion for themselves (Ross, 1999, p. 131). Similar to Caribbean enslavement spaces like Barbados, the likelihood of accumulating enough money to manumit oneself or another person was low; in 1808-1834, considered the declining era of enslavement at the Cape, 1,656 enslaved persons in Cape Town were manumitted (>5% of the enslaved population in Cape Town) (Bank, 1991, p. 13; Worden et al., 1998, p. 105). During this period, enslaved persons began to have more legal protections against family separation and physical abuse (Handler, 1997a, p. 185; Mason, 1991; Worden et al., 1998, p. 105). Despite the increased mobility afforded to some enslaved persons at the Cape, violence remained an important tool to maintain control of the enslaved

population. Most extreme during the period when the VOC controlled the Cape (1652-1795) but continuing into the 19th century, brutal punishments were used to respond to enslaved persons' various forms of resistance or violence. For crimes such as escape and theft, flogging, branding, or whipping were common responses, while for more severe offenses like assault or murder, brutal punishments included acts like live impaling, hanging, drawing and quartering, and breaking on the wheel (Penn, 1999, p. 74; Ross, 2022, p. 2). Beyond the punishments that were legally permissible, the independent acts of some enslavers and knechts (the equivalent of overseers in Cape rural enslavement contexts) commonly broke these laws by carrying out fatal beatings of slaves (Ross, 2022, pp. 29–37).

The mode of agency exerted by enslaved people in this atmosphere of intense violence was commonly escape, which is a strategy that dates to the early formation of the Cape Colony. Some enslaved people attempted to chance survival in the hinterlands, where they would be out of colonial holds but risked potentially violent encounters with Khoekhoe groups, while others used the environments that were within reach of the colony but difficult to access, such as the Paarl valleys or Table Mountain (Worden, 2018, pp. 105–106). In certain cases, runaways would form small groups that would raid local farms of free burghers and indigenous Khoekhoe, at times violently, for food and weapons. More rarely, evidence of maroon communities such as the decades-long settlement at Hangklip and larger instances of organized resistance demonstrated the presence of coalition and culture-building among the enslaved population (Ross, 2022, pp. 54–72; Worden, 2018, pp. 110–121). The relationship between enslaved and indigenous groups was often contentious; while some groups would offer aid to runaway

bands willingly, others were incentivized or coerced into aiding the VOC in recapturing runaways (Penn, 1999, pp. 74–77; Worden, 2018, pp. 105–106).

Given this history of resistance, the Cape Town sample builds on these strategies of escape by focusing on the urban sector. As the period of study (1826-1834) and urban location is similar to the Barbados sample, it makes sense that the samples shared many of the same codes. Where these two samples differed was in their most salient codes. Similar to the Barbados dataset, the codes present in the vast majority of the South Africa dataset are references to the enslaver or subscriber and reward amount. The *Cape Government Gazette* emphasized slave status in over 80% of the advertisements and racial designator in 35% of the advertisements (compared to 16.95% and 75.8% in the Barbados sample, respectively), suggesting that racial categorizations weren't as useful in distinguishing individuals among the Cape population (Table 5-8). To distinguish runaways' appearance, the advertisements mainly described physical features and descriptions of a runaway's birthplace. Similar to the Barbados sample, the Cape sample commonly referred to physical features relating to build, tooth loss, and hair texture. However, the Cape sample relied more on descriptions of clothing, and also showed that certain features were more frequently associated with certain racial/ethnic groups. For example, references to 'Hottentots' or 'Bastard Hottentots' associated with descriptions of "hollow" or small eyes, curly hair, and slender build. In contrast, runaways described with Madagascar or Mozambique origins were commonly described as having "woolly" hair, thick lips, and a stouter build. This suggests that enslavers were attempting to sort out racial "types" by grouping together these features. For birthplace, references to being born within the Cape Colony

were coded in 29.2% of the documents, and descriptions of birthplace outside of the colony (e.g., Madagascar, Mozambique, Malabar) were coded in under six percent of the documents. This suggests that construction of their hierarchy, while of course still using race as a shorthand for designating certain ethnic groups as inferior, relies more heavily on the subcategories of the slave class, (e.g., their or their parents' birthplace) to inform expected appearances. The advertisements are also male skewed, with the code for men applied to 52.3% of documents in the sample, compared to the 18.5% describing women and 33.1% that have neither gender code (Fig. 5-3).

As I reviewed the texts in the dataset, the structure of the advertisements was similar to Barbados but was less detailed overall, and emphasized clothing descriptions over facial/hair ones. The structure of racialization in the Cape context was one that relied on passing, but in a manner that differed from Barbados, wherein a runaway was presenting as a free person of color. Rather, in the Cape dataset the notion of passing was typically in the context of resembling a particular ethnic group, which shows an unintended admission of diversity at the Cape, whereas in Barbados African origins were rarely estimated. Thus, part of my aim during this process was to identify the most meaningful way of dividing the data into roughly distinct patterns of description, and whether those patterns were based on codes about racial designator, skin color, or birthplace. As an initial step, I identified the highest frequency codes, and I then used various visual methods (e.g., Code Relations, Code Map) to assess the range of variation encompassed in these codes. Combining these strategies with other theme identification strategies (e.g., word repetition, missing data) enabled me to identify the following themes in the dataset:

- Resemblance as strategy
- Ascribed belonging and value
- Citizenry

Resemblance as Strategy

As described above, the *Cape Government Gazette* disproportionately emphasized slave status rather than racial designator (Table 5-8). In contrast, Barbados had the reverse pattern, relying primarily on racial descriptors to simultaneously designate slave status, thus making references to ‘slaves’ largely redundant. This marked difference between how the Cape and Barbados samples described prominent categories in their populations is due in large part to the multiethnic structure of enslavement in South Africa. In this space, categories used to describe enslaved runaways used more detailed features about their appearance or origins to distinguish individuals among their diverse population rather than descriptors like ‘Negro’ or ‘Black.’ The absence of such terms from the South African dataset suggests that these modes of racialization were not relevant (or perhaps appropriate) for that context, where there were enough ‘Free Blacks’ and indigenous people present that non-white racial descriptors did not necessarily refer to enslaved status. In fact, the term ‘Negro’ only appeared in the sample for references to ‘Prize Negro.’ This phrase emerged in the 19th century while the colony was under British rule to refer to Africans who were seized from illegal slave ships and placed in apprenticeships in the Cape Colony (Worden et al., 1998, p. 109). The term ‘Prize Negro’ implies some level of agency, as references to it in the advertisements intended to estimate whether a runaway might attempt to represent themselves as a ‘Prize Negro.’ References to ‘Free Blacks’ were similar in the sample:

10 RD REW. ABSC, since the 11th February, my slave boy ABRAHAM, about 5 feet high, of a slender make, yellow complexion; his Parents are residing in Cape Town, in a lower Store of Mr JH Neethling, St George's-street. He was last seen in the vicinity of Wynberg, and represents himself as a free Person... (Document 1833-05-17)

The difference between 'Prize Negro' and 'Free Black' descriptors seems to be the level of assimilation to the Cape (i.e., to what extent they could effectively act as a member of those groups). Opting to represent oneself as 'Prize Negro' would a strategic choice for runaways whose physical features (e.g., scarifications) or language abilities more closely aligned with Africans born outside of the colony, such as the runaway named Rotterdam:

ABSCONDED, a Slave named "Rotterdam", native of Mosambique; he is tall and slender, has sharp pointed teeth, and was lately seen between Hout Bay and Wynberg. [H]e has in his possession a Pass belonging to a Prize Negro named "Caesar," and is by trade a mason... (Document 1827-04-13)

Rotterdam's "sharp pointed teeth" were likely a result of dental modification, a practice that was common for many African groups at the time but was not typically observed among enslaved people who were born at the Cape. His "foreign-ness" would have been apparent from this feature alone, precluding attempts to present himself as a person born in the colony. However, the presence of 'Prize Negroes' at the Cape during this period would have offered an advantage. The fact that the 'Prize Negroes' brought to the Cape often originated from the same regions as enslaved people born outside of the Cape during this period (e.g., Mozambique, Madagascar) likely further supported Rotterdam's act. Beyond these features, his possession of a pass belonging to a 'Prize Negro' shows that runaways who were unable to assimilate into the social and geographical landscape of the Cape Colony did not necessarily lack options to exert their agency. Rather, they could use their already distinguishable features to present

themselves as a member of a racial/class group that was (at least in name) afforded more agency in the labor system.

On the other end of the assimilation spectrum, the ability to convincingly pass as a “Hottentot,” “Bastard,” or “Hottentot-Bastard” was a feature present in ~33.1% of the documents, suggesting that enslavers believed that there were both distinct and identifiable physical features among groups like the Khoekhoe and mixed-race people. Similar to the Barbados dataset, these descriptors comprise “acts” that relate to both a runaway’s self-assessment of their characteristics that would aid or hinder their escape, and the subsequent strategies they used to enact their escape on this basis. In the South African sample, these acts predominantly related to runaways’ appearance, particularly as it related to their ability to “pass” as a certain racial designator based on their physical features (most commonly ‘Hottentot’ or ‘Bastard’). References to ‘Hottentots’ or ‘Bastards’ were also frequently coded alongside descriptions of physical build. Only one advertisement described a runaway’s ability to pass as a white person, describing them as a “...slave boy...[who] is nearly white and gives himself out as a free person” (Document 1833-05-03). This rare example illuminates the patterns of escape among different classes of fugitives in the Cape. White fugitives typically comprised military deserters and prison escapees. These white fugitives were often sheltered by settlers in exchange for their labor, a far safer route of escape than what most non-white fugitives had to contend with (e.g., violent confrontation with settler or indigenous groups, exposure to harsh environments) (Penn, 1999, p. 89). In contrast, codes for descriptions of “Hottentot Bastards” (whether describing the runaway as belonging to that group or passing for one) were more highly associated with descriptions of visible

injuries than other groups (e.g., runaways described as “of the Cape”). This suggests that although runaways appearing as a “Hottentot” or “Hottentot Bastard” apparently had more mobility to navigate the colony, they may also have been more vulnerable to violence.

The physical appearance of runaways also frequently included descriptions of skin color, with the most common being “yellow” (referring to lighter skin tone). While skin tone descriptions (e.g., black, brown, dark) did not appear to signify any particular mode of behavior, the skin tone “yellow” was highly associated with the use of the term “of the Cape,” a term used to indicate a runaway was born within the colony (Fig. 5-4). The template for this sample treated this term as a subcode of ‘Birthplace’ and ‘Assimilation.’ This code, similar to the ‘Black’ or ‘Creole’ terms in the Barbados sample, suggests a higher degree of assimilation to the culture of the Cape Colony (e.g., language, clothing, appearance). The strong correlation between Cape birthplace and skin color here is likely a consequence of the interracial partnerships that were growing in the colony, especially in Cape Town. The skin color ‘yellow’ was more frequent in the Cape Town sample than Barbados (Cape Town 31.7%, Barbados 14.3%). This is likely a result of generally higher admixture at the Cape than in Barbados, as well as the Cape’s multiethnic composition. Unlike the primary pattern of interracial partnership in the Barbados context (European and African), Asian ancestry was a salient aspect of interracial unions at the Cape. Asians (mainly originating from India, Java, modern Indonesia, and Sri Lanka) made up a substantial portion of the enslaved population in Cape Town, so the multiethnic unions that occurred among enslaved persons, enslaved and ‘Free Black’ persons, or enslaved and European persons often referred to Asian

ancestry as well (Worden, 2016, pp. 395–396). In the few instances (N=6) where the text referred to Asian racial/ethnic groupings were ‘Malabar’ and ‘Malay,’ birthplace did not include references to skin tone at all, suggesting that ‘yellow’ may not have been used to refer to Asian origin specifically. Rather, in this context it appears to refer to mixed-race status.

Beyond immutable physical features, to pass in this context seems to have been associated with indicators of class. For example, clothing and accessories were used as a signal of social status, for free citizens to indicate their degree of wealth and to distinguish themselves from the enslaved class. Common fashion trends of the higher social classes, particularly in the 18th century, were customs such as the use of golden embroidery threads reserved for high status government officials and the exclusive use of velvet fabric by upper class merchants (Ross, 1999, pp. 10–14). In kind, this practice of projecting status extended to how enslaved people were expected to appear. As enslaved persons were themselves symbols of enslavers’ wealth, the wealthiest enslavers provided uniforms for enslaved people that demonstrated their influence and resources to others (e.g., their enslaved coachmen wearing wool clothing, shoes, or stockings) (Ross, 1999, pp. 10–14). This system provided the white population with a means of assessing how to regard and treat the people around them, including their conceptions (and misconceptions) of what behaviors were possible for the enslaved population. For example, there was an “impression among the whites that Khoi never should wear shoes,” which, although not always accurate, inadvertently made it easier for enslaved people to convincingly represent themselves as Khoi (Ross, 1999, p. 14). These flawed conceptions of the resources available to enslaved people would have

provided additional opportunities for runaways to escape with less surveillance. This fixation on clothing in the Cape during the enslavement era is reflected in the advertisements as well, as runaways' clothing was described in 30% of the sample (Table 5-8). Most of the descriptions of clothing referred to a "drab hat"; a duffle, kersey, or chintz jacket; and leather trousers, the consistency of which suggests the types of clothing most enslaved persons had access to. However, there were some descriptions of new or "fancy" clothing:

20 RDS REWARD. ABSCONDED, from the Undersigned, the slave Boy named ADAM, about 5 feet high, of a yellow colour, has some white spots on his face, and a bent nose; speaks good Dutch; was dressed in a white moleskin jacket, fancy waistcoat, and leather trousers...J KOTZE, Sen, Blaauwberg. (Document 1832-05-25)

As commissioning new clothing could be expensive for enslavers, describing their own runaways as well dressed or having new items would have likely created a perception to readers that they were wealthy and could easily provide for their servants and slaves (Ross, 1999, pp. 10–14).

Ascribed Belonging and Value

Exhaustive speculations about the deceptive nature of runaways were not essential to the documents in the Cape Town sample. In contrast, the acts described in the prior Barbados section suggested that their enslavers often believed that the enslaved premeditated their escape, and that they found it important to dissect runaways' "plots" (e.g., describing the elaborate disguises a runaway may use) to aid their recapture. While the advertisements did show runaways exerting their agency through acts such as hiring themselves out or using an alias, enslavers' speculations usually relied on the physical appearance of the runaway or their past behavior:

ABSCONDED, from the Undersigned, on the 12th instant, a male Slave named Carel, a Native of this Colony, aged 19 years; resembles much a Bastard Hottentot, and probably passes himself as such, because he did so 4 or 5 years ago; he was dressed in a pair of leather trowsers, white shirt, and blue kersey jacket, lined with striped cotton...(Document 1830-06-18)

The enslaver referenced Carel's resemblance to a 'Bastard Hottentot,' a feature that would have aided his ability to represent himself as one. This speculation is further supported by the fact that he had done this act before. Acts of self-representation like this in the dataset (coded under 'Deception' in 23.6% of the documents) are typically explained as the runaway representing themselves as "free," as a member of a group like in Carel's case, or as still enslaved but having the consent of their enslaver. Unlike the Barbados dataset, these deceptive acts do not show extensive disguise, even though those aspects may very well be part of it. For example, descriptions of clothing and accessories in the advertisements did not include explicit speculations from enslavers of how runaways may alter their appearance. Rather, they were used as visible descriptors to trigger identification, and to perhaps denote the resources enslavers had.

ABSCONDED on the 20th instant, a male slave of the Undersigned, named MAART, of this colony, 30 years old, proportionate figure, long curly hair, resembling a bastard Hottentot, dressed in a new blue kersey jacket, lined with blue baize, leather trowsers, striped cotton shirt, and an old drab hat, taking with him several Articles of clothing, and a small iron pot which belong to him; likewise, some Silver money, viz; Half Crowns and Shillings; is accompanied by a Hottentot named Adam, about 7 years old... (Document 1832-07-27)

The iron pot "belong[s] to" Maart, which is notably a phrase that does not emerge in the Barbados dataset at all. Maart's act shows one of resource accumulation, where he stockpiled extra clothing and money for his escape. This strategy may be influenced by his decision to escape with a young child, but even with his motivation being unclear, this act not being framed as theft or as poor character is key. This suggests that

enslaved people in this space were regarded as having a domain that is separate from the enslaver, in that the resources and money that the enslaved gained access to were their own. This does not mean that they were accepted by society as equals by any means, nor does it mean that their homes or belongings were not subjected to surveillance or seizure (Worden et al., 1998, p. 63). However, the notion that some objects or spaces were their own indicates some level of agency under the limitations of enslavement.

Beyond these types of deception, which generally did not feature elaborate disguises or performances, there were some notable exceptions. One runaway, named Rachel, escaped with her daughter and was described as “pretend[ing] to be sickly” (Document 1833-11-15). Another runaway named Apollos “professe[d] to do everything - Cook, Groom, Bricklayer etc etc...” (Document 1833-01-18-2). Although these acts would not have necessarily required them to alter their appearance or dress differently, it is notable that each of them leaned into a behavior that could benefit their treatment. For Rachel, she may have been treated less harshly or avoided if seen as sickly, whereas for Apollos appearing skilled in so many trades would have increased his likelihood of obtaining alternate employment. The scrutiny of these acts attests to the cases where some runaways were regarded with suspicion, and were evaluated for their capacity to alter aspects of their behavior to give convincing performances. These performances are emblematic of the late stages of enslavement in the 1800s. Although violence and paternalizing master-enslaved dynamics still pervaded the 1800s, the formal abolition of the slave trade, combined with the slave rebellions occurring across the Atlantic and the shift toward wage labor, contributed to the decline of enslavement

at the Cape (Worden, 2018, pp. 116–118; Worden et al., 1998, pp. 102–109). This era of rebellion, particularly in the 19th century, may have inspired the disguises or personas Rachel and Apollos adopted. Most prominently, in the 1808 Swartland uprising, the slave Louis of Mauritius, the leader of the rebellion, infamously disguised himself as a Spanish naval captain who spoke no Dutch, permitting him to dine in an enslaver’s house as a welcomed guest prior to initiating the rebellion (Worden, 2018, pp. 116–118). Although the escape strategies in this dataset are not directly comparable to those used in the uprising, acts like Rachel’s (whether it was actually a ruse or not) reveal her enslaver’s anxiety about the use of disguise and strategic timing as a means of self-actualization, a characteristic Rachel shares with the participants in the uprising.

Citizenry and Surveillance

The notion of surveillance was present in the South African dataset. The code ‘Harboring,’ which refers to threats of legal or financial action to deter free citizens from concealing or hiring runaways, was present in 45.4% of the Cape documents (Table 5-8). Further, the advertisements frequently referenced runaways’ reported whereabouts, suggesting that enslavers often had informants whose insight they trusted guiding their search. The code relating to this observation, called ‘Surveillance,’ is central to many other codes in the code map, suggesting it is a concept that was present and evoked similarly across the dataset. Similar to the Barbados dataset, the stability of the enslavement system relied on its enforcement by free white citizens and people of color. Thus, it was commonplace in the Cape context to solicit (and sometimes coerce) information from settlers, enslaved people, and indigenous people that would aid recapture (Penn, 1999, pp. 74-75,92).

Although the time period of this dataset includes the last eight years of formal enslavement, which was characterized by increasing wage labor opportunities and legal rights for people of color, the enslavement system was nonetheless intact, and violence was inherent to this system as a means of maintaining order. The consequences of the violent acts enacted on enslaved people, and particularly runaways, were apparent in the dataset, whether a result of punishment or the labor they performed. Descriptions of active or healed injuries were present in ~15% of the documents, with most of the documented injuries occurring on runaway men (Fig. 5-5). The nature and form of these injuries were often left vague, but the most commonly documented types of described injuries were broken bones, visibly limited mobility in gait, scars, marks, and burns. A few of the descriptions of injuries were explicitly stated as a result of punishment:

Absconded, since the 1st of May, GOLIATH, slave of the Undersigned, about 5 feet 7 3/4 inches high, black curly hair, dark brown face, flat nose, stout proportions, has marks of punishment with the cat on his back, the print of his foot very broad... (Document 1832-08-17-2)

This runaway Goliath was beaten with “the cat,” which refers to a cat o’nine tails whip, a weapon with nine knotted leather lashes (*“Cat o’nine tails,”* n.d.). While the advertisement does not describe the circumstances that culminated in this act of violence or who carried it out, the phrasing of the act suggests that even if the enslaver carried out this act himself, he was within his rights to do so without justifying the action. Acts of punishment like these, as well as the workplace injuries that formed the violent atmosphere of the everyday lives of the enslaved at the Cape. Descriptions of injuries such as “extuberances of the breast bone” (Document 1831-04-08) or “mark[s] above the right eye...occassioned by a kick from a horse” (Document 1832-02-10) would have

served as constant reminders of enslavers' power (meted out directly by punishment or indirectly by enforcing enslaved persons' performance of dangerous labor).

Summary

The runaways described in the *Cape Government Gazette* highlight the complex atmosphere of the declining era of enslavement, in which agency for enslaved people slowly increased, while lingering anxieties remained for some enslavers that felt themselves losing power. The runaways Rachel and Apollos evoked this anxiety most clearly, as they are the rare instances in the dataset where enslavers showed disdain for their deceptive acts and named those acts explicitly. In most of the advertisements, however, enslavers did not describe elaborate acts that runaways were likely to engage in. Rather, the descriptions relied heavily on physical appearance, so that the most common form of putting on an "act" was by resembling and presenting as a member of a group that had relatively more agency in the Cape (e.g., 'Hottentots').

In describing how runaways' immutable features conferred advantages, enslavers implicitly admitted the contradiction of racializing the enslaved labor force while simultaneously not being able to accurately identify who belonged to it. This problem for enslavers is further supported by the similarities in physical description (e.g., skin tone, facial features, hair texture) between "Hottentots" and those described as being "of the Cape." While the categories "of the Cape" and "Hottentot" were not mutually exclusive, the use of the former referred to an enslaved creole population that was distinct from the latter, which referred to having some degree of indigenous ancestry. Such an issue in identification would have posed considerable problems for the Cape Colony's legal treatment of mixture, which conveyed different levels of agency to children from mixed unions depending on whether one of the parents was white,

indigenous, or otherwise (Penn, 1999, p. 95). This suggests that the system of racial construction in this context relied on the fallacy that any given group in recent history was pure, meaning that both the physical appearance and character of these groups were distinguishable. In reality, the Cape Colony represented a continuum of skin color and geographic origin, making it impossible to accurately define distinguishing characteristics of enslaved people. However, with that notion of racial purity entrenched in Cape history, despite the rapid growth of mixed-race communities through the 19th century, there was still an investment in identifying the distinguishing features of the enslaved based on these boundaries that were created.

Relative to the Barbados sample, the time period represented (1826-1834) is farther removed from both the Cape Colony's most recent prominent rebellion in 1808 and from the law abolishing the slave trade in 1807. This distance from these strong proclamations of resisting enslavement, as well as the gradual shift toward wage labor, suggest a period of increasing agency (Worden et al., 1998). However, the maintenance of the system, particularly as it related to violence, was very much intact during the sample time period. Similar to the Barbados sample, the Cape sample included descriptions of scars or burns on the body, typically without including the cause of the injuries. Only two advertisements in the Cape sample describe injuries being a result of punishment (from "the cat" or the sjambok). In an era of increasing legal protection for enslaved people (which in some cases led to fines for enslavers), it is possible that clear admissions of who performed the punishment could be viewed negatively or provide unwanted additional scrutiny in a court hearing. Thus, the many

forms of injury and illness, present in over 20% of the Cape advertisements, remained largely unspecified ([Table 5-8](#)).

St. Helena

The St. Helena sample's structure and content are distinct from the fugitive advertisements in the Barbados and South African datasets. It is the richest text of the three, in that the authors of the documents provide extensive detail about the cultural practices, appearances, and experiences of formerly enslaved Africans. However, similar to the prior two datasets, the document lacks the perspective of enslaved people. We instead have access to the internal monologues of Europeans who perceived slavery abolition as a path to moral salvation. These narratives demonstrate their ongoing construction of a racial hierarchy, in which they provided charity and funneled money toward abolition efforts of freeing those on ships, while concealing the motivations that would cast doubt on their altruistic claims. Further, this dynamic had significant implications for the fates of the Africans that inhabited the recaptive depots in St. Helena.

Although the documents in the sample use the term 'Liberated African' to describe recaptive Africans, I find the term reductive for the aim of critically assessing their degree of agency. For this reason, I use the phrase 'Liberated African' when making a point about how the term is used in the documents, but I otherwise use the terms recaptive or recaptive African to more accurately represent their social positioning.

The depot primarily referenced in the present dataset is the Liberated African Establishment at Lemon Valley, which was in use from approximately 1840-1843, while

the other depot at Rupert's Valley (the site of study in Chapter 4, above) continued operating until the 1860's (Pearson et al., 2011, p. xviii). In total, over 16,000 African recaptives were transported to the island for their formal liberation before their integration into the island or, in the vast majority of cases, their relocation (Schulenburg, 1999, p. 238; Van Niekerk, 2009, p. 53). The depot usually had the following procedure when ships arrived to the port: confining Africans to a designated space to contain any communicable diseases that had spread on the ship; providing shelter and medical care; "hiring out" Africans who were healthy enough to work on the island; and lastly, placing survivors on new ships for transportation to their permanent relocation. Many Africans did not survive this process; in a poignant example, the *Julia* ship that arrived to St. Helena in 1840 was said to begin the journey with 350 people but end it with 215 still alive by the time it reached the island (McHenry, 1845, pp. 14–16). The recaptives at the depot were generally younger than the slave population at the height of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, which reflects the shifts in slave trading practices that occurred after the abolition of slave trading in the British Empire. The recaptive Africans at the depot were also culturally and geographically diverse. The physician stationed at the Lemon Valley depot, George McHenry, described recaptives as predominantly originating from regions of Mozambique, Angola, and the Congo (McHenry, 1845, pp. 2–8). This information has been supplemented by genetic evidence from the excavations at Rupert's Valley, which has shown other potential origins from West-Central regions like Gabon or Cameroon (Sandoval-Velasco et al., 2019).

Regardless of any prior alliances or antagonisms their tribes or nations may have had toward one another pre-enslavement, the recaptives at the depot all shared the

uniquely traumatic experience of having their kinship and community ties severed by enslavement, which likely incentivized them to focus on forging new relationships for both survival and social support. They tended to one another's illnesses, performed cultural dances, sang elegies for their lost relatives, and in some cases even formed romantic partnerships and had children (McHenry, 1845, pp. 52–65). We see evidence of this air of camaraderie at the depot in descriptions such as these:

It was diverting to see the groups arrive at the Station on their return from their excursions. Perhaps a dozen women would come, with their gowns drawn up, full of water-cresses, and large bundles of bitter-sweet, tied in dirty handkerchiefs, balanced on their heads, accompanied with a troop of girls, loaded with tin pots, holding their insect prey, while a parcel of boys would bring up the rear with a string or two of field-mice. (McHenry, 1845, p. 48)

Scenes like this add depth to the strategies that the Africans in this space used to cope, which is a pattern the depot shares with recaptive African depots in other parts of the world (Fett, 2016). While they navigated these new relationships, however, the recaptive Africans in St. Helena continued to face external pressures from British officials. During the period that they were on the island (usually about six months, except for the few who remained there permanently), captives occupied a liminal space between enslaved and free status, where in one vein they were told by the European officials around them that they were free, and yet their ability to govern their fate as a free person remained heavily restricted.

The dynamics of the Liberated African Establishment echo Victor Turner's analysis of sacred rituals, which names liminality as a state of "neither here nor there" relative to the constructed categories that exist in a cultural space (Turner, 2017, p. 359). In this dynamic, marginalized individuals or groups are often used as an equalizing entity, for example in "...strip[ping] off the pretensions of holders of high rank

and office and reduc[ing] them to the level of common humanity and mortality” (Turner, 2017, pp. 368–369). This characterization strongly relates to the St. Helena recaptives, as their “degraded” state was considered a signal of the failing of human morality (Pearson et al., 2011, p. 165). More specifically, the signs of malnourishment, disease, and violence reflected on the bodies of the recaptives were a testament to the inevitable and irreparable damage that slave traders caused to Africans and their descendants. The British could use this appalling practice (by then predominantly performed by Portuguese sailors) as a means by which to gauge the morality of their own actions. Their own actions, which reified racial hierarchies and inequitable labor systems, in comparison to slave trading appeared much more benign, or even commendable.

The clearest idea of this liminal space is in the transformation of recaptives’ status by the Vice Admiralty Court, which adjudicated recaptives’ transition from being a “prize” of the British Empire to a free person. In this transition, British officials lamented the conditions of enslavement and granted recaptives freedom, while simultaneously viewing recaptives as exceptions to receiving the legal protections associated with free status (Van Niekerk, 2009) (see “intentional omission” concept in Chapter Two). In treating recaptives as neither enslaved nor free, British officials were able to justify the coercion of recaptives into the apprentice and wage labor systems that were replacing enslavement in the British Empire. Because the British were able to operate under the notion of charity, they were able to effectively conceal the benefits the empire gained from having such a vulnerable population in their midst.

The St. Helena sample was coded differently from the prior two samples. Namely, the number of documents is significantly smaller and differs in structure. As

fugitive advertisements were rare in the St. Helena historical record, it was necessary to rely on other modes of textual data that still addressed the original study aims (i.e., to assess how Afro-descendants were positioned in their respective enslavement system). The difference in structure for these documents posed interpretive challenges. For example, George McHenry's account of the Liberated African Establishment at Lemon Valley is 66 pages long, the longest of any document in the full dataset by far and longer than the other documents in the St. Helena dataset. Further, the total documents used in the St. Helena sample is N=10, compared to Barbados (N=516) and Cape Town (N=130). While it is still possible to analyze codes across the ten documents, the data's unbalanced structure and small document sample size limits the ability to compare these datasets using quantitative means. To account for this, for the St. Helena sample I determined the salience of codes by using the frequency and distribution of coding segments within each document and comparing these measures across documents (Table 5-9).

The St. Helena documents, like the Barbados and Cape Town samples, included descriptions of physical features. In a vein similar to the Cape sample, there were some group-specific descriptions of appearance. For example, the 'Congos' were described as having sharply filed teeth and the 'Angolas' were associated with a muscular build and intricately braided hairstyles, while descriptions of the St. Helena 'natives' were associated with straight/loosely curled hair and "good" teeth (McHenry, 1845, pp. 2–8; Melliss, 1875, pp. 80–81). Beyond group-specific features, the documents also described the appearance of recaptive Africans as a collective, particularly in relation to the darkness of their skin color or the "woolliness" of their hair.

Across the sample documents, descriptions of behavior and measures of relative value (e.g., defining groups as better or worse than others) were present in most of the documents. Further, the in vivo code “negroes would not envy the Gods in Elysium” was also present in most of the sample documents. An in vivo code directly cites language from the text to capture a broader pattern that exists in the data. In this case, the phrase derives from a passage in McHenry (1845, p. 48), in which he draws a series of poetic comparisons of the foods that the British would reject that the recaptive Africans treasured as delicacies. More broadly, this passage shows a perception of the captives through a lens of primitivity, in which captives are seen as requiring very little beyond basic human desires to be satisfied. This notion of simple desires most prominently comes across in the mischaracterization of modes of camaraderie built among captives. One example of this is in depictions of the enjoyment some of the captives found in producing and trading beads:

No people in the world attach such extraordinary value to beads as negroes do; the possession of a few strings of them is considered a little fortune; and in the barter that they carry on between themselves, a new handkerchief, worth a shilling, will perhaps be given for a few beads of the value of a farthing...(McHenry, 1845, p. 8)

The sentiment of this passage makes assumptions about the motivations and degree of complexity that underlies the communications among captives, and also conflates activities or aesthetics with intrinsic worth. Further, it underestimates the parity of beads' economic value and complexity to contemporaneous European currencies. For example, by the early to mid-19th century, the demand for beads at the Cape Colony dramatically increased prices, pressuring European merchants to meet its supply (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2005, pp. 116–117). In vivo coding (using the direct language of

the text to describe a pattern) was also applied to instances in the text where dehumanizing language was used to describe recaptives, particularly in the accounts of the conditions of slave ships, where language such as “black mass,” “hordes,” or “barely human” were common sentiments.

As I reviewed the texts in the dataset, the St. Helena documents were most similar to the Barbados and Cape samples in the description of appearance and behavior. Similar to the Cape sample, the descriptions of physical features were often taxonomic, attempting to identify racial/ethnic types among the African groups. Where the St. Helena sample documents differed most prominently from the Barbados and Cape samples was its emphasis on the British Empire, particularly the way that its acts significantly shaped the destinations of recaptive Africans. The recaptives described in the St. Helena document, unlike most of the enslaved people described in the other samples, were only intended to inhabit the island temporarily. This had large impacts for the degree of legal protections they received, as well as the degree of infrastructure on the island that was available to support them. To aid the process of refining the coding template, I identified the codes with the highest percentages of the total coded segments for each document. This method contrasts the previous strategies used in the Barbados and Cape Town samples, in which I calculated the codes with the highest number of coded documents. I also used theme identification strategies such as word repetition and missing data to assess latent meanings in the text.

The following themes were prominent in the sample:

- Terms of Charity
- A Racial Taxonomy
 - Negro vs. African
 - Constructing shades of other

- Loss and Redefining Space

Terms of Charity

The theme of charity is present in five of the ten documents in the St. Helena sample. The concept of charity here refers to an apparently altruistic endeavor that typically requires a significant amount of financial input on the part of the provider. The St. Helena sample documents depict this dynamic by suggesting the moral fortitude and sacrificial nature of such endeavors, as well as how the receivers of the charity should feel and respond to it. These rules of engagement render the provider's incentives for carrying out this work largely invisible, a pattern most prominently observed in the 'Benevolence' code. Put differently, the 'Benevolence' code in the St. Helena context emphasized the invisible motivations of charity. Revisiting the Barbados sample, benevolence referred to enslavers' speculations of the cause of a runaway's escape or the factors that could induce their return. In comparison, benevolence in the St. Helena sample referred to the moral good of the British in their rescue and attempted social uplift of Africans. This type of benevolence featured criticism of bad actors who conflicted with their efforts, such as Portuguese slave traders. Yet, a largely unspoken tension present in this dynamic is that, despite the proclaimed moral fortitude of the British deriving from their rejection of forced migration and labor, the British project of (coercively) shipping recaptive Africans to other foreign lands remained largely unscrutinized in these documents. This passage from George McHenry encapsulates this tension:

In order to carry out the object now contemplated, of inducing a stream of emigration of Africans to the West Indies, their condition must in no part of the transition be impaired, as it hitherto decidedly has been. No link of the chain that connects together his departure from his natal soil to his arrival at a new home, in a new hemisphere, must pinch or fret the African; every step of that process

must, in order to render emigration voluntary and therefore effectual, bring an accession to his comfort and happiness. When this is accomplished, which I shall endeavour to show may be easily effected without the expenditure of larger sums that are lavished upon the present inefficient system, then is emigration not only justifiable, but a blessing to the exile who by its means becomes converted into the free, independent, and useful citizen. (McHenry, 1845, p. 1)

This phrasing suggests a condemnation of (in addition to slave traders) the bad actors in their ranks, islanders who were exploiting the recaptive population by coercing uncompensated labor. However, this passage does not acknowledge that the ultimate goal of the project of relocation also lacked true consent. McHenry appeared to believe that Europeans could effectively manipulate Africans to agree to the goal that Europeans initially set out to achieve with this process (i.e., creating a lucrative labor system to replace slavery). Thus, the form of benevolence expressed here relies on pity, limited consent, and moral righteousness. In doing so, these documents reify the pre-existing racial hierarchies of the era, most clearly in the notion that Africans' inferior condition was largely immutable and that forced migration would be to their benefit.

The other feature of this system of charity is in its portrayal of how its recipients respond to it. In the St. Helena sample, direct quotes of African captives at the Liberated African Establishment are rare. Instead, descriptions of their feelings or beliefs are inferred from a limited outsider perspective. An interesting example of this estimation is in a letter addressed to the island's governor; despite its mention of being penned on behalf of the "Liberated Africans," the wording of the letter makes it clear that this letter is not penned in their voices:

We, the Liberated Africans residing at Saint Helena, do beg to return our most hearty and sincere thanks for the care that has been taken of us since our arrival in the British Dominions, and we have become the subjects of our beloved Queen...We likewise return our most hearty thanks and praises to God for His merciful guidance in bringing us into the hands of Christian people...who have been instrumental in bringing us to return those thanks which we cannot find

words to express for our feelings towards our most Gracious Queen...We were poor, forlorn, friendless and ignorant beings, and did not know there was a God, from whom we derived our being. We cannot return the thanks we wish, but if we were called upon to defend the rights and possessions of Great Britain, we will, one and all, endeavour to defend it with our last breath...The above-signed Africans inform His Excellency that their countrymen have requested them to forward this as a respect due to the British Government. (E. Jackson, 1905, pp. 263–264)

The letter is signed with the names of three Africans, who were likely renamed while on the island: Benjamin Vemba, John Marsch, and James George. The reference to the Christian people who have guided them to find the words to thank Queen Victoria is an admission of the letter's creator. These sentiments of gratitude and receiving a gift they did not know they lacked are supported by the document's code coverage; the 'Transformation,' 'Lacking,' and 'Admiration' codes (each comprising 11% of all coded segments) are among the highest percentages in the document (Fig. 5-6). In a similar vein to the concept of ventriloquism presented by Martínez Novo (2018), this letter is a form of paternalism that "speaks for" marginalized communities, particularly in a governmental setting related to how funding and legislation is structured. The aim of this letter appears to be an appeal to prominent figures of the British Empire to provide evidence to support the impact of their project of emancipation, relocation, and apprenticeship.

An underlying theme of this letter is the push for religion as a tool of civilizing the recaptive Africans. While captives at the St. Helena Liberated African Establishment were allowed to practice their own forms of spirituality, their beliefs were poorly understood and regarded by their European observers. McHenry (1845), as well as Anglican Bishop Robert Gray (1849) lamented the lack of formal conversion among the Africans, viewing them as possessing no real religion. This is supported by the Gray

(1849) document, where the codes with the highest coverage were 'Personality/Behavior,' 'Precarity,' 'Admiration,' and 'Indignation' (Fig. 5-7). The former two codes refer to the appalling conditions Bishop Gray observed recaptives experiences on board slave ships, as well as the ever-present theme of death that haunted the ship and depot. The latter two codes relate to appraisals of European contemporaries. For clergy like Bishop Gray, missionary work was considered the solution to the perceived sorrowful and aimless lives of recaptive Africans, while the Portuguese were positioned as arbiters of an unjustified evil. As if an answer to the concerns of McHenry and Gray, in the later stages of operation at the Liberated African depots voluntary baptisms for recaptives became more common (Schulenburg, 1999, pp. 234–235).

A Racial Taxonomy

An important aspect of developing the system of charity on St. Helena was order, whether in a punitive sense or in constructing categories to make sense of the vast human difference observed on the island. The former comprised surveillance that was similar in nature to the prior two samples, in that the watchful eye of free citizens (and at times other recaptives) was an important means of controlling the space of the recaptives. The motivation for constructing a surveilled space was threefold: 1) to ensure that their health could recover enough to be placed on a ship for labor and relocation, 2) to contain communicable diseases that commonly spread rapidly on board the ships they arrived on, and 3) to acculturate them to European ideals (e.g., language, social cues, Christianity). Imposing order through categories was achieved by recording population demographics and identifying notable characteristics of tribes and nations. This practice was an extension of the thrust of scientific practices of the era, which had

a vested interest in categorizing human “types” and finding differences, usually with the ultimate aim of assembling these human types into a definitive hierarchy.

In Chapter One, I discussed the disagreements among nineteenth-century scientists in their racial taxonomies; some had five racial categories while others had 25 or more (Darwin, 1888, p. 226). The documents in the St. Helena sample appear to use this strategy to identify variation among the recaptives at the depot. Particularly in McHenry’s account, he identifies this variation by describing the appearance, perceived practices and behavior, and interpersonal relationships of the many tribes/nations around him, and uses this to construct scales of value ascribing different amounts of value among them. For example, he describes recaptives as originating from countries along the Congo River (modern day Cameroon, Central African Republic, Democratic Republic of the Congo, Republic of the Congo, Equatorial Guinea, and Gabon) to be the most... “degraded of the people of Africa hitherto presented to my observation” and goes on to discuss their low value in the slave trade and other tribes’ negative perceptions of them (McHenry, 1845, p. 2). In observing the code coverage within the McHenry (1845) document, while physical traits (particularly ones related to culture or illness) were present, the vast majority of coded segments across the document emphasized the behaviors of the various African groups represented at the depot (Fig. 5-8).

Negro vs. African

The St. Helena sample documents most commonly referred to the recaptives at the depot as “negroes” or “Africans.” While both terms are intended to generalize the group based on their shared cultures, appearances, and traumatic experiences, they

each refer to different stages of the transformation from enslaved to free status that the recaptives underwent. Notably, this is a transformation seen only from the outside, so this transformation is essentially an outsider's view of the Africans' ability to emulate European standards, rather than Africans' respective journeys in reconciling their tumultuous displacements.

In the code map comparing these two terms, 'Negro' was associated with descriptions of disease and injury; signals of trauma and death; physical features; features of their racial category, tribe, or nation that were deemed similar to or less than other groups (codes 'Similarity to,' 'Lacking,' 'Positive,' 'Negative'); and the skills they had prior to their enslavement that they were able to show evidence of at the depot (Fig. 5-9). Evidence of recaptives' skills and innovations were present in the documents, not to disrupt the notion of European superiority, but to apparently outline the value of recaptives in the post-enslavement society Britain was in the process of constructing:

From a Benguela woman I obtained the only curiosity I have seen in the possession of the negroes. It is a necklace made of little circular bits of the ostrich's shell, well polished, and each piece bored with a hole to enable string to pass through it... I suppose there are some thousands of these circular bits; and the trouble it must have cost to fashion, polish and pierce them without splitting, will prove that the negro is not destitute of ingenuity, or deficient in perseverance. (McHenry, 1845, p. 4)

Here, the skills of one group among the recaptives (the 'Benguela') are attributed to the value of the collective 'Negro' category. One exception to this pattern is in descriptions of 'Mozambiques,' who were less frequently associated with injury and disease relative to other subgroups in the Code Map (Fig. 5-10). However, references to their skills were still commonly cited as a means of suggesting their superiority to other African groups. Broadly, the term 'Negro' represents the initial state of this transformation, or the features that made up the lives of the recaptives prior to and during their enslavement.

This state is largely static, in which the diseases or injuries they suffered, as well as the deaths on the ship and in the depot, were so common as to be perceived as a feature of their condition. The documents exhaustively describe these manners of suffering, sometimes to the extent where they are unable to receive individual recognition: "...a stout negro was found dead in a grove of fir-trees, so deformed by putrefaction, that whether he died by suicide, murder, or by natural means...could never be ascertained, nor even his identity be discovered" (McHenry, 1845, p. 27). Although the majority of recaptives survived long enough to receive names and be measured and assessed by island physicians, men like this unnamed one who faced a premature death were also depicted as symbolic of this 'Negro' condition. These aspects of constructing the 'Negro' constituted a static state of immense trauma for recaptives, while they also held onto the cultural practices they had access to; both of these conditions cemented their status as inferior to Europeans. Put differently, the low status of those racialized as 'Negro' is a consequence of conceiving of recaptives as occupying a primitive status that was caused not only by their experiences on a slave ship, but also by their prior cultures. Although the description and comparison of tribes and nations were also important to the process of assigning different values to each, the conception of 'Negro' status ultimately subsumed the measures of variation observed among recaptives.

The term 'African,' like 'Negro,' was associated with descriptions of disease and injury, though not to the same extent. Where it differs from the construction of the 'Negro' is its strong association with codes that describe transformations from one emotional or physical state to another, benevolence, and the superiority of some individuals or groups of recaptives (codes 'Transformation,' 'Benevolence,' and 'Better

than,' respectively) (Fig. 5-9). As introduced above, this transformation refers to a transition toward being contributing members of the new European labor system. The code 'African' represents the late stages of this transformation, in which the British affirmed the successful absorption of recaptives into European cultural or labor norms, whether through their manner of dress, behavior, or employment. Perceptions of recaptives' behavior as slothful and their spiritual practices as inferior further fueled British officials' justifications for placing them in labor roles, positing that "...lack of employment...has a bad effect upon their health and spirits; so that when sickness overtakes them, they sink at once into a settled melancholy" (Gray, 1849, p. 108). Thus, the transformation of the "African" from the perspective of their European counterparts refers to a transition from primitive to civil, aimless to employed, and degraded to deserving of agency. And beyond this, the transformation entailed an underlying conception of recaptives as skilled imitators (Schulenburg, 1999, pp. 235–236; Spurr, 1993, p. 84; Wright, 2004), which would be the premise by which Europeans could assert and justify their status as caretakers:

...A few weeks of kind and careful treatment, nourishing food, and enforced habits of cleanliness, produce a wonderful change in their appearance and manner; they move with quickness and activity, walk erect, and chatter like their country's parrots. Being excellent imitators, they soon pick up from the assistant superintendent a series of motions in unison, sit down in rows to their meals at a motion of his hand, jump up at another, clap their hands, take off their caps, give three cheers, and replace their caps, all with the alacrity and precision of time of well-trained soldiers, or nearly so. (Anon, 1865)

This description is reminiscent of prominent media stereotypes of Afro-descendants, such as the American 'Sambo' stereotype that portrayed Afro-descendants as eternal children, largely content with their lot in life and the hierarchy they occupied (Pieterse, 1992, pp. 152–154). In evoking this kind of imagery, the transformative project for

African recaptives as demonstrated in the St. Helena sample posited that recaptives had a limited capacity to exert agency. If, at root, Africans were perceived as having limited intelligence and requiring European caretakers for their behaviors to produce a more advanced civilization, the caretakers could more easily advocate for spaces that were still under European supervision that simultaneously brought value to the empire. Recaptives' fates being centered around relocation is likely attributed to this conception of limited mental and cultural capacity; the text positions the destination space (most commonly in the West Indies or Sierra Leone) as providing a permanent home that would aid their sense of direction and growth. However, this strategy notably does not include any attempts to restore their former lived circumstances; rather, it established a new wage labor system to fill the void of enslavement.

Constructing shades of “other”

As observed in the racialization systems of Barbados and Cape Town, the racial construction of African recaptives relied on simultaneous construction or redefinition of the other groups present on the island. Doing so served the purpose of both solidifying recaptives' role in the racial hierarchy, while also establishing that role as distinct from and inferior to other classes. The latter would have been particularly relevant to the people of color on the island who predated the arrival of recaptives and, prior to their arrival, would have previously occupied the lowest classes on the island, such as the St. Helena 'natives' and the other migrants of color known as 'Lascars' (sailors who largely originated from South/Southeast Asian regions). Notably, the introduction of recaptives as a new class on the island would later be described as a “poverty-stricken, dependent portion of the population” (Melliss, 1875, p. 31) Thus, other people of color could, in

comparison to the recaptives, appear to be more successfully integrated into the British Empire. This contrast is most prominent with the construction of the “native” population on the island. As the island was uninhabited by people prior to European settlement, the population that eventually developed in St. Helena is inextricably intertwined with (voluntary and forced) migration and miscegenation (Schulenburg, 1999, pp. 235–236). ‘Natives’ in this era were described as having European ancestry but remaining distinct from it:

Europeans we are but a handful - of undoubted African parentage on both sides...We have besides, a considerable mixture of Chinese, Hindoo and other races mixed with European, partly European, and African and partly African blood in various proportions. (George, 2002, pp. 88–89)

Similar to the Cape Town sample, the boundary for who “passed” as a certain racial category was permeable. The ongoing tension about this issue is apparent in colonial descriptions of “dark people,” a category that encompasses people of complexions ranging from “deep black to a complexion impossible to distinguish from that of the purest white” (Schulenburg, 1999, p. 243). Despite this clear overlap in where the boundaries of white ended and native began, the white population seems to have been defined by boundaries of perceived genealogical purity, such as migration from Europe in their lifetime or in alliances and marital unions with other Europeans (Melliss, 1875, p. 81).

‘Native’ St. Helenians received legalized free status less than a decade prior to the arrival of the first African recaptives to St. Helena in 1840, which was likely a significant factor in explaining the overall lack of alliance that natives and other people of color on the island sought to forge with recaptives (Fox, 2017). Although the sampled documents do not reflect the perspectives of ‘natives,’ the way that Europeans

positioned them provides further insight into the apparent distance that 'natives' held from recaptives:

The habits of dependence and indolence, as well as ignorance, which so long a period of slavery has engrafted, remain to this day evident, not only in individuals, but pervading the whole character of the place (Melliss, 1875, pp. 79–80)

Shortly after the abolition of slavery on the island, the free status of 'natives' on the island was fragile and still under negotiation. The memory of enslavement would have still been salient for 'natives' when African recaptives began arriving to the island, in that they had to coexist and renegotiate relationships with the same people and places that previously subjugated them. As McKittrick (2013) argues, spatial demarcators of enslavement such as plantations or burials evolve, meaning that these sites of violence continue to shape the institutions and spaces that later occupy them. Without critically confronting these layered histories, the legacies of violence continue to serve as a "...persistent but ugly blueprint" of the futures of the space (McKittrick, 2013, p. 10).

In St. Helena, one of many spaces like this is Ladder Hill, which served as the site of a fort that surveilled incoming ships, was later a space of government housing, and much later (in 2013) was a prospective hotel location (*Forts and Batteries*, n.d.). Among the functions that Ladder Hill served, its most extreme was its use in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as a site of brutality for the enslaved. A particularly grisly instance of this was enacted on two suspected participants in a rebellion plot, Will and Randall, who were "hanged and cut down while still alive and disembowelled, after which their bodies were dismembered and their quarters and heads stuck up at the crossway as a warning to all negroes" (Gosse, 1938, p. 1694). If applying McKittrick's (2013) notion of plantation logic, such public and gory assertions of

power during enslavement across the island would have continued to haunt the collective memory of the descendants of enslaved persons afterward. Through the lens of Europeans, these memories of violence and subjugation were mischaracterized as “habits of dependence” in the ‘native’ population. And for a population who had so recently attained free status, the “habits” observed by Europeans were likely a result of their attempts to hold steadfast to the tenuous upward mobility they attained, as well as the discrimination and limited financial opportunities they still faced post-enslavement (Samuels, 2018, p. 25; Schulenburg, 1999, pp. 241–259). Further, as it related to African recaptives, the ‘native’ population (also referred to as ‘Mulatto’) benefitted from the coercive employment of recaptive Africans:

All sorts of people accommodated themselves with servants; even the fishermen, the poorest of the population...Seeing all his neighbours elevated to the rank of gentlemen, served by black domestics, the mulatto fisherman became likewise proud, and followed the laudable example set him. If he had no wages to give, he had at least plenty of work, and henceforth, instead of carrying his fish himself to his customers, he authoritatively delegated that office to his sable attendant (McHenry, 1845, p. 50)

This system was referred to as apprenticeship (similar to apprenticeship observed elsewhere in the British Empire), initiated to “hire out” recaptives to people on the island. ‘Natives,’ along with other low status people of color on the island, could engage with this system of unconsented labor, as the only requirement to receive a recaptive servant was to submit an application to the Collector of Customs. At the time of George McHenry’s period of service on the island, he reported that this application process had no restrictions by economic status or reputation. Thus, even if people of color on the island lacked the resources to pay wages or provide recaptives with clothing, they were still eligible to request the labor to what had then become a visible indicator of higher social class (i.e., African servitude) (McHenry, 1845, pp. 50–52). This apprenticeship

system, which elevated the status of some islanders based on exploitation of the recaptive population, was likely a further incentive for 'natives' to distance themselves from captives. This apparent distance between the 'natives' and captive Africans lasted long after captives' arrival; even decades after some captive Africans permanently settled on the island, their settlements were distinct from those of the natives, and the intermarriage between the groups was still relatively low (Melliss, 1875, p. 80).

The 'Lascars' emerged as another group who, by European estimations, regarded captive Africans as inferior to them. Though they were not considered native to the island (their clothing and behavior was regarded as strange and "idolatrous"), their positioning in the island's labor system was more stable than the largely transient populations formed by captives, providing them with marginal authority (McHenry, 1845, p. 51). Similar to the 'natives,' they were able to enact this power with the apprenticeship system, where they could elevate their status by applying for captive servitude. This system, through which 'Lascars' were able to rise in the racial hierarchy in St. Helena, also created tensions around how they were willing to engage with captives.

This tension is prominent in the 'Lascars' perceptions of their maritime tasks, among which included transporting sick captives on small boats between Rupert's Valley and Lemon Valley to receive medical care. The 'Lascars' "grumbled and growled excessively" about having to tend to a group they regarded as inferior to them (McHenry, 1845, p. 47). Simultaneously, the journeys on the choppy seas were unkind to the captives with the severest illnesses, which commonly led to deaths of several

recaptives in each boat ride to Lemon Valley. This scene demonstrates the extent to which class anxieties and resentments among marginalized groups on the island could create tangible harms for recaptives. It also demonstrates the manner in which the racial construction system in the St. Helena context disincentivized people of color from identifying with and advocating for one another. This pattern is apparent in the Barbados and Cape contexts as well, as the free people of color in these spaces at times re-enacted harms of enslavement by becoming enslavers themselves. For example, Rachel Pringle Polgreen of Barbados (1753-1791) was a biracial woman who, despite her own enslavement earlier in life, became a wealthy enslaver and brothel owner (Fuentes, 2010). These tensions among marginalized groups under enslavement suggest that the promise of social mobility (even if elusive or never realized) remained an effective strategy by which people of color on the island could define their superiority to recaptive Africans.

Loss and Redefining Space

The bounded space afforded to the recaptives at the depots was justified by British officials as a necessary procedure to prevent the spread of disease to St.

Helenians:

A party of soldiers...[was] instructed to prevent the escape of any of liberated Africans from the limits of the station, which extended about a quarter of a mile up the valley, and were marked by streaks of white paint laid on three opposite rocks. Between the shore and these rocks the Africans were allowed to range; but it was severely forbidden to them to pass beyond, on account of the prevalence of smallpox among them, to prevent the diffusion of which among the people of the island this measure was adopted. (McHenry, 1845, p. 16)

This argument provides medical justifications for the surveillance of the depot, suggesting that this quarantine space was mutually beneficial to recaptives and St.

Helenians. But when paired with other colonial documents in the sample that described

perceptions of the recaptives, the language suggests a perceived unpredictability of recaptives, even when assimilated into European traditions. For example, present and former recaptives were regarded by some British officials as “very tractable and well-behaved until their jealousy is excited or passion roused...,” in which state they were capable of committing violent crimes” (*Letter from the Governor to the Secretary of State*, n.d.). With this added context, it seems more likely that British officials conceived of recaptives as volatile figures that posed a threat to the safety of the citizens on the island.

This image of a painted boundary surrounded by soldiers evokes Frantz Fanon’s concept of spatial compartmentalization, in which colonists’ fear of being “irreversibly poisoned and infected as soon as they come into contact with the colonized” prompted them to intentionally separate colonist and colonized spaces (Fanon, 2004, p. 4). In this framing, the colonists’ space is well-resourced and permeable (in that colonists can move in and out of it as they desire). And in contrast, the colonized space is policed so that the colonized cannot enter colonists’ space, and it is plagued by squalor and ubiquitous death as a consequence of governmental neglect. This notion of governmental neglect or apathy is central to Mbembe’s (2003) notion of necropolitics, which relates to disparities in how and why people die as a result of a government’s ascriptions of value. In this case, the high mortality rates for recaptive Africans, largely contained within these painted boundaries, can be considered an example of how perceptions of instability and infection (whether literal or metaphorical) can influence governmental (in)action.

The devastation of home, status, and family connections that recaptives faced created a shared experience through which they could mourn and redefine themselves and their relationships. These relationships too, however, were overwhelmingly transient. A prominent theme in the sample was the precarity of their circumstances. Hanging on to life in this space was not guaranteed, with high mortality rates and the ravages of disease continuously spreading through the recaptive populations on the island. McHenry (1845, p. 26) remarked on this fragility throughout his account of the depot, of the many recaptives who would seem “healthy in appearance, would be taken sick, and in the brief space of a few hours be cut down like the flowers of the field.” As Fanon describes, in the colonized space one can “die anywhere, from anything,” in which the atmosphere of death and suffering are so common as to be numbing, for both the colonist observers and for the colonized who are confined within it (Fanon, 2004, p. 4). The numbness from recaptives was commonly read as “indifference” to their situation by British officials, such as a lack of interest in eating or engaging with other people in the depot, or, at its most devastating, attempting suicide. The indifference from British officials came across indirectly, through their dehumanizing language of recaptives:

I could not help remarking how shocking it was to contemplate the multitude of wretches gathered on every side around me, who were so closely crowded together, that they appeared to form one dense black mass, organised and endowed with motion, but seemingly with only those symptoms to indicate the possession of life. (McHenry, 1845, pp. 30–31)

This kind of language depicts creatures who are barely human as a result of their subjugation, suggesting that British officials perceived them as having the marks of their humanity extinguished, leaving only a noncommittal shell in its place. This framing does not situate the actions of the recaptives within the context of their unique experience, in

which there are myriad ways a person's body may respond to severe and compounding traumas. This persistent refusal to see recaptives as layered individuals would have made it much simpler to assume that they lacked inner complexity altogether, further empowering British officials to make decisions on their behalf.

The space that recaptives were confined to became permeable once it became financially beneficial to British officials and islanders for the recaptives to roam. Specifically, the apprenticeship system that coerced able-bodied men and boys above the age of fourteen to enter into service of people on the island created a route by which recaptives could expand their territory and identify unexplored paths. In a similar vein to the "Black shoals" that King (2019) described as disruptions (whether literal or theoretical) to the flows of the "ship" of colonial discourse and violent practice, recaptives were able to press on the weak points of the system they were ruled by to chart new possibilities of resistance. One way they did this was by escaping from the "masters" as a response to the coercive and often uncompensated labor they were subjected to. At times they would "...conceal themselves at Lemon Valley..." in the cavernous mountains and return to the station at night, where their "wives suppl[ied] them with a portion of their rations..." (McHenry, 1845, p. 52). In other cases, escaping the depot site was done to access more resources in other parts of the island. In doing so, recaptives were traversing new geographies in a similar manner to the enslaved runaways who navigated the gullies in Barbados, or the Cape Colony runaways who retreated to the mountains, all terrains that would to an enslaver or colonist appear hostile or untamed, but to runaways would be a tool for self-determination.

Beyond the utility of escaping in the context of opting out of labor, running away also emerged in the theme of seeking home. Although descriptions of returning home were not commonly addressed in the sample, this is an important aspect of recaptive experience that the authors of these documents would have rarely had access to. The act of returning home was attempted literally and symbolically by captives in the Liberated African Establishment. In the former case, this would occur once the quarantine lifted in their confined area, where captives “started off in all directions, some in the expectation of finding their way home to their countries...”(McHenry, 1845, p. 47). In the latter case, it refers to authors’ estimations of captives’ spiritual beliefs, such as the notion that “after death they will return to their much loved home and fatherland” (Gray, 1849, p. 6). For some, the notion of returning home was an impossibility, based on the premise that their home no longer existed, at least not in the manner that previously brought them safety and connection. This was a poignant aspect of the way child captives defined home. Along with the children’s devoted songs of grief honoring their lost home and loved ones, some of them framed home as unrecoverable even if they could physically return, lamenting that “mammy was no more and bapa (father) no more, and Portuguese catchy me again” (McHenry, 1845, p. 47) This quote shows that home was not only a location, but also a dense network of relationships and cultural knowledge to which they could not return.

Despite these clear barriers that limited agency and relationships at the depot, captives persisted in sharing both grief and camaraderie while on the island. One of the clearest displays of the former was done by the young captives, who would often gather in the evenings to sing a song of grief to honor their lost relatives and lament the

suffering of their enslavement (McHenry, 1845, p. 13). Scenes like this illuminate the disproportionate youth of the recaptive population, which is a consequence of the demographic shift toward recruiting the most vulnerable people following Britain's campaign to end international slave trading. The young people at the depot, though removed from their natal communities, appeared to have still received guidance or protection. Activities such as communal resource gathering, coming-of-age rituals, and organized age-specific dances allowed children to be incorporated into the recaptive community and be cared for. And for the few infants born into the depot (18 were reported by McHenry to have survived), they were typically cared for by their mothers and traveled with them around the island (McHenry, 1845).

Mutual care also occurred among the adults in the recaptive population. Recaptives would often gather to sing, dance, cook, forage, or hunt together. The group had medics among them that offered medical care, such as draining abscesses, providing herbs, or performing small amputations. There were also figures who McHenry described as "priests" who would provide spiritual guidance and forms of protection. For example, some captives wove grasses into bracelets, necklaces, and belts around their waists to ward off illness (McHenry, 1845, p. 13). The preservation of community figures such as these aided in retaining some aspects of their lost homes. Further, these figures contributed to the development of their small community, which eventually resulted in the formation of new family units.

Summary

The Liberated African Establishment in Lemon Valley, St. Helena, was a space of transformation and, most prominently, liminality. Liminality encapsulates captives' in-between status as it relates to their degree of freedom, racialization, relationships, and

rootedness. Although recaptives were no longer enslaved, the terms of freedom, at least as it applied to free citizens of the British Empire, did not apply to them. Further, the documents in the present sample used the terms “slave” and “Liberated African” interchangeably, suggesting that the document authors still conceived of the recaptives as peoples whose behavior/character remained inferior regardless of British interventions. Recaptives’ liminality also related to the space they occupied. They were unrooted to any land during their time in the depot, as their original lands were inaccessible, while the legal and social framework of St. Helena positioned them as visitors without a claim. Further, even the relationships they formed while on the island were precarious, easily disrupted by sudden deaths or transportation off island.

This liminality was a product of the system of charity the British Empire established for recently emancipated slaves. This notion of charity relied on proving the potential of Africans to become valuable sources of labor to the British Empire, with a simultaneous intent of demonstrating recaptives’ inherent inferiority that required European leadership. The latter applies to both the ways that recaptives were enabled to traverse the depot and what boundaries existed, as well as the project of relocating recaptives to other parts of the British Empire. In doing so, this project of improving Africans used a taxonomic system that distinguished between African “types,” as well as between the “Negro” that arrived at Lemon Valley and the “African” who was malleable and showed capacity to imitate European traditions.

Although death and sorrow were among the only constants at the depot, recaptives nonetheless carved new paths of resistance, be it through refusal, exploration, or community building. Some opted out of the labor imposed upon them

and relied on their new relationships to aid in their concealment, while others explored the St. Helena countryside to forage or hunt in groups. Still others, such as one recaptive boy who spent the night on the floor of a cold jail cell to resist boarding a ship that would take him to Trinidad, showed the diverse strategies taken by captives. Even though many of these attempts did not lend themselves to permanent escape or true agency, they were still actions that disrupted efforts to support the expansion of the British Empire (King, 2019).

Sites in Dialogue

The three sites included in the text analysis are in some ways remarkably similar. They all represent enslavement spaces of the 19th century, a period characterized by transition. And because all three of these spaces were part of the domain of the British Empire, they were subject to the abolition of the slave trade in the British Empire in 1807, as well as the abolition of slavery in the empire over two decades later. Although the St. Helena sample represents groups of Africans whose formal status as slaves had ended, the conceptions of Africans that the British held were quite similar to those of Afro-descendants in enslavement era Barbados and the Cape Colony. In all three samples, language served as a tool to concretely establish the ways Africans/Afro-descendants could navigate surveilled enslavement spaces, wherein “the Negro is induced to see himself as the direct result of his ‘colonialist subjugation’” (Wynter, 2001, p. 34). Racializing language in the documents was used to reinforce the idea of enslaved and recaptive persons’ otherness. For example, despite the decline of enslavement, the persistent public-facing narrative that runaway enslaved persons were deviant and a threat to the social order inevitably shaped the ways that Afro-descendants may have seen themselves or chose to resist. Further, some

advertisements would go so far as to describe runaways as having “villainous” or “notoriously bad” character. Although the nature of the documents included in this analysis precluded close examination of the perspectives of the enslaved, they do provide needed insight on the manner in which their subjugators (mis)understood them.

In the code matrix comparing coding patterns across all three samples ([Appendix D](#)), there were expected differences based on differences in data type. For example, because of the consistent structure of fugitive advertisements, I expected the Barbados and Cape Town samples to place far more of an emphasis on explicit assessments of value (i.e. reward money), location, and cautions against harboring fugitives. This was the case, and the St. Helena sample did not have this emphasis, although there were some references to fugitivity and harboring in some of the documents. Beyond these differences, there were other unexpected patterns in the data. The description of physical features (including clothing) was most prominent in the Cape sample, while descriptions of behavior and disease/injury were highest in the St. Helena sample. The Cape and Barbados datasets were gendered, with men making up the majority of described runaways, while in the St. Helena sample gender was not as salient. References to birthplace were most prominent in the St. Helena and Cape Town samples.

In the Barbados and Cape Colony contexts, aesthetics were used to surveil Black and other racialized people’s bodies (Browne, 2015). Exhaustive accounts of scars, gashes, and broken bones were publicly circulated in the advertisements alongside descriptions of runaways’ facial features, skin tone, and way of speaking, suggesting that subscribers of these advertisements did not view these types of

description as categorically different. In doing so, these advertisements encouraged close inspection of enslaved persons' bodies by the free public. In this process, the body was rendered as a spectacle and part of the public domain (Fanon, 2008).

Although the concept of surveillance was not as central to the St. Helena sample, the meticulous cataloguing of physical features and its public circulation is a clear example that the authors of the St. Helena documents also positioned the bodies of the recaptives as a spectacle. One prominent example of this was in descriptions recaptives' responses to European women visiting the depot:

Imagine the delight depicted on the ugly, black, grinning faces of the negroes at the opportunity thus afforded them of beholding, perhaps for the first time, the white skin, rosy complexion, fair hair, light eyes, lovely countenances, and elegant forms of their European female visitors! I cannot venture to say if, on the part of these, the pleasure was reciprocal. If they met with little to praise or flatter, they saw plenty to amuse and divert themselves with. (McHenry, 1845, p. 41)

This passage illuminates the manner of evaluating physical features toward constructing and refining a racialized hierarchy among recaptive Africans. This hierarchy follows that of the "somatic norm," which centers European bodies and aesthetics and conflates measures of ascribed ugliness with worth (Mills, 1997, p. 61). These types of passages not only centered European bodies and aesthetics, but also conflated the ascribed ugliness of the recaptives with what they could offer to others (i.e., amusement). The exhaustive descriptions of physical appearance of recaptives and enslaved people served as one component of the racial construction and enforcement that occurred at each of these sites.

All three sites showed the Afro-descendants in these spaces resisting their circumstances, but the strategies they opted for depended on the context. Of the three, the possibility of departing from the colony altogether was the most likely in the

Barbados context, where forged passes to gain entry onto ships, as well as the presence of enslaved or free Black sailors, made the island more conducive to those kinds of escapes. This imagery evokes the liminality of the sea evoked by Gilroy (1993) and Sharpe (2016), in which the sea can be a space of horror and displacement, but it can also serve as one of uncharted exploration and subversion. Some of the runaway advertisements in Barbados included language that seemed to express anxiety around these kinds of possibilities, warning ship captains against departing the island with any runaways on board. However, the most common form of escape in the Barbados sample was hiding in plain sight in urban spaces. Geography shaped these possibilities of escape further. Barbados lacked the highly mountainous terrain that was present in St. Helena and the Cape Colony. Although escapes to the mountains were less common by the 19th century in the Cape, the possibilities were unpredictable but vast. And in St. Helena, although the island itself was small and remote, its mountainous terrain made it easier for recaptive Africans to reach new areas and resist the coercive work conditions they were subject to on the island.

The documents in this study contained specters of violence, meaning that even though the consequences (rather than the circumstances) of violence on the body were described in great detail, there was also a deeply entrenched atmosphere of violence from which these violence acts were rooted. However, the modes of violence observed in the Barbados and Cape Town samples, unlike in the St. Helena sample, represent a key form of missing data. There are rare references to suicide attempts in both datasets, typically described as a self-afflicted wound on the throat. Regarding other forms of violence, the advertisements were descriptive of the location and type of marks

across the body, particularly if the wound affected their gait or general appearance significantly.

In descriptions of violence, the St. Helena documents were written in a different context, as these do not refer to enslaved people in a space that they were acclimated to (or born in). The St. Helena documents capture a slice of time in which all of the recaptives coming to the island were in flux; they had all seen shipmates die near them, seen the ravages of disease, seen orphaned children, and lost their own homes and families. This represents the slave trade at its most direct and dramatic, and as such, the authors of these documents addressed death and violence as a core part of this tumultuous period. Arguably, the authors of the St. Helena sample treated death gratuitously, and they spent much time in the text describing their own disgust or need to avert their eyes "...to escape the sight of horrible and loathsome diseases" (McHenry, 1845, p. 18). The reason the St. Helena documents did not shy away from death seems to be at least partly due to their attempts to justify British intervention and labor shifts. By emphasizing the degree of horrific suffering of enslaved people on board slave ships, the British could more easily position remaining slave traders as morally corrupt and place political pressure on them.

These sites demonstrate that the British Empire had multifaceted modes of racial construction that shifted to accommodate the specific features of each landscape. The structure of the data itself is most similar between the Barbados and Cape Colony samples. The fugitive advertisement structure between the two samples contains most of the same elements, both representing brief vignettes of each given runaway's features or behavior. Relative to the Cape sample, the Barbados sample

advertisements were longer with richer description of not only physical appearance and behavior, but family connections and speculations of their motivations. One factor differentiating these groups is in the racialization systems that were apparent in each space. To the extent that birthplace was used as a salient factor for building racial hierarchies, the Cape and Barbados were similar. However, the racial classifications themselves differed as it related to addressing group admixture. Mixed race (or 'Mulatto') people were present on the island of Barbados, but in much smaller proportions than at the Cape. In comparison, the racial classifications in Barbados were more similar to the structure in St. Helena, which had a group being distinctly categorized as 'Negro,' a descriptor that was largely absent from the Cape context aside from references to 'Prize Negroes.' Distinctions such as these further support the notion of how much landscape, time period, and migration flows all introduced biological and cultural diversity that enslavers and British officials had to contend with, manifesting in unique modes of essentialization at each site.

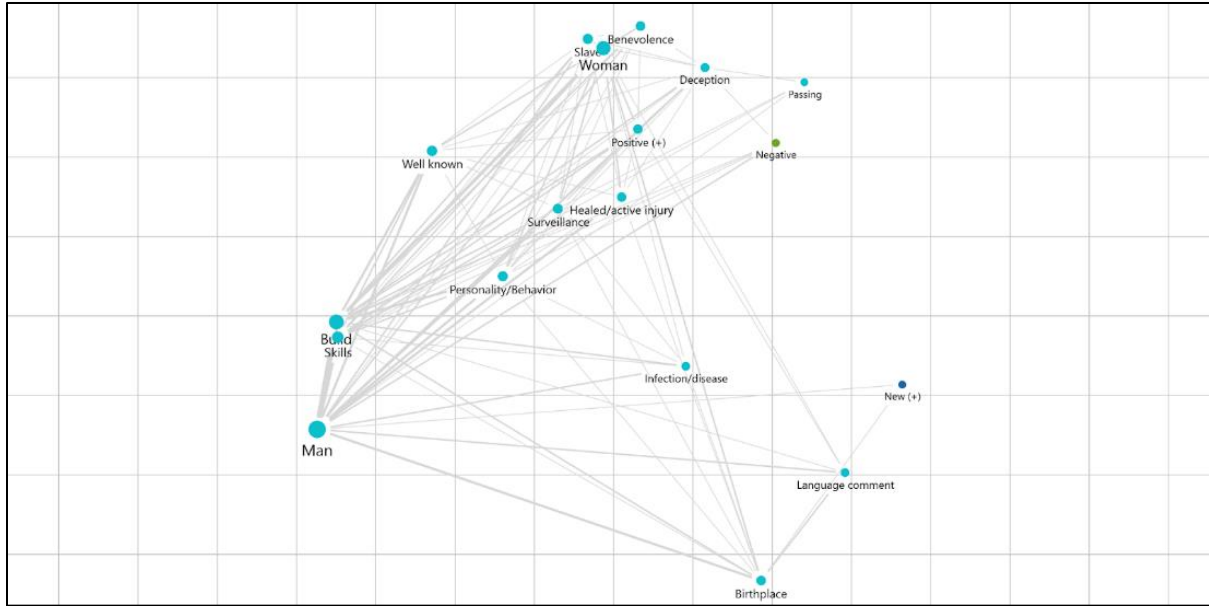


Figure 5-1. Code map comparing men and women runaway co-occurrences. The similarity measure used here quantified the frequency that any given two codes were tagged in the same document, with the highest frequencies denoted by line thickness.

Code System	Negro (+)	Black	Mulatto (+)	SUM
📄 Skin color (+)	53	9	24	86
📄 Build	86	29	33	148
📄 Disease (+)	22	5	10	37
📄 Injury (+)	33	8	12	53
📄 Birthplace (+)	24	3	6	33
📄 Language comment (+)	26	3	5	34
📄 Newness (+)	12	2		14
📄 Deception	24	6	13	43
📄 Skills	50	20	18	88
📄 Negative (1) (+)	11	4	4	19
📄 Positive (1) (+)	33	12	10	55
📄 Benevolence (+)	31	5	12	48
Σ SUM	405	106	147	658

Figure 5-2. Output of MAXQDA Code Relations tool, quantifying code co-occurrence between prominent racial descriptors and other codes. Output settings calculated sum and weights based on columns, and each “co-occurrence” was counted when both codes were present within the same document.

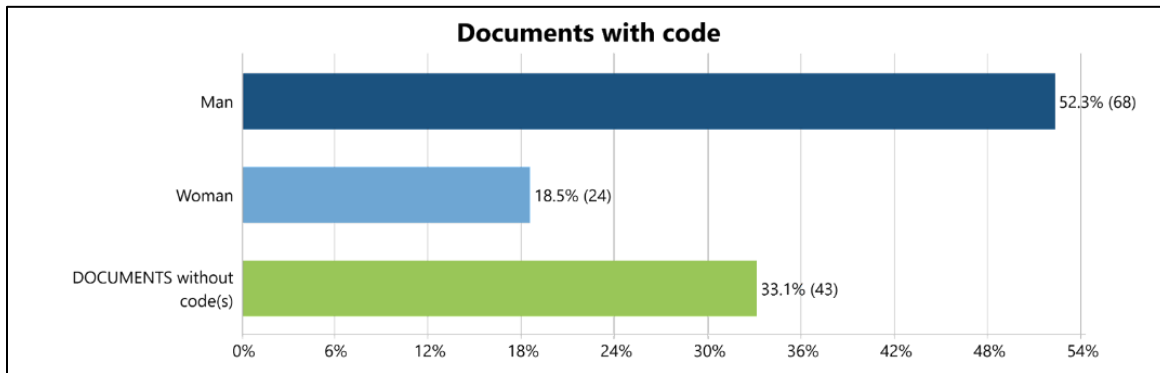


Figure 5-3. MAXQDA output bar chart of frequencies of gender codes in the Cape sample.

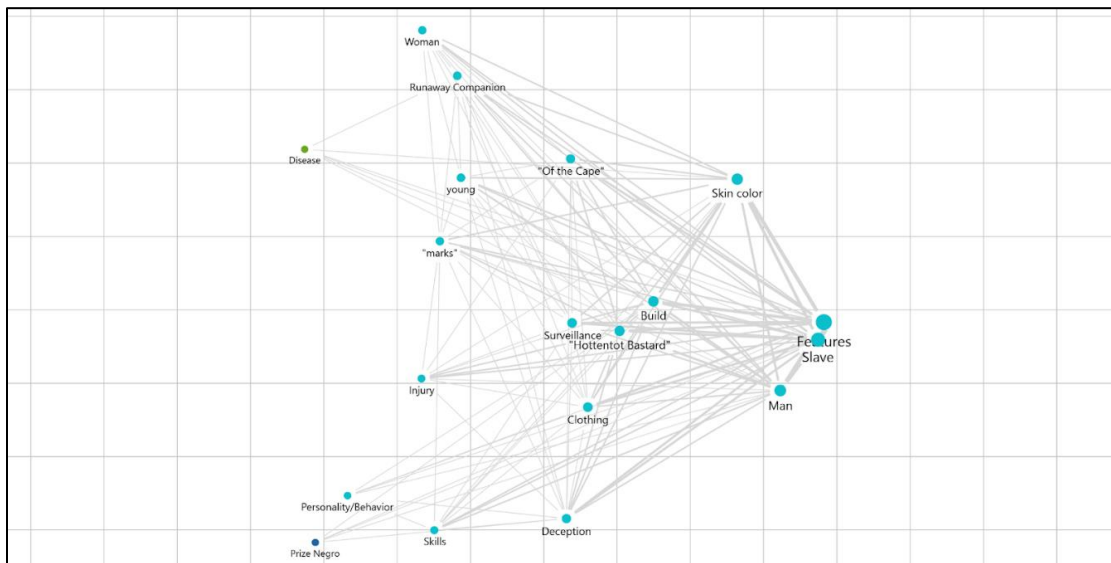


Figure 5-4. MAXQDA Code Maps comparing selected racial descriptors and birthplaces with other codes in Cape sample. The similarity measure used here quantified the frequency that any given two codes were tagged in the same document, with the highest frequencies denoted by line thickness. Line frequencies shown for code intersections of ≥ 5 .

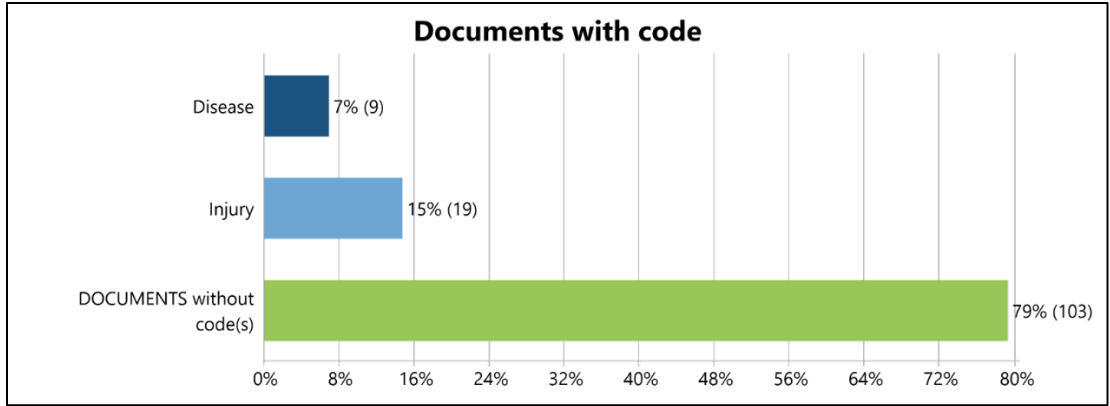


Figure 5-5. MAXQDA output bar chart of frequencies of infectious disease and injury codes in the Cape Town sample. The injury code does not distinguish between work-related and punishment, as this distinction is not included in most documents.

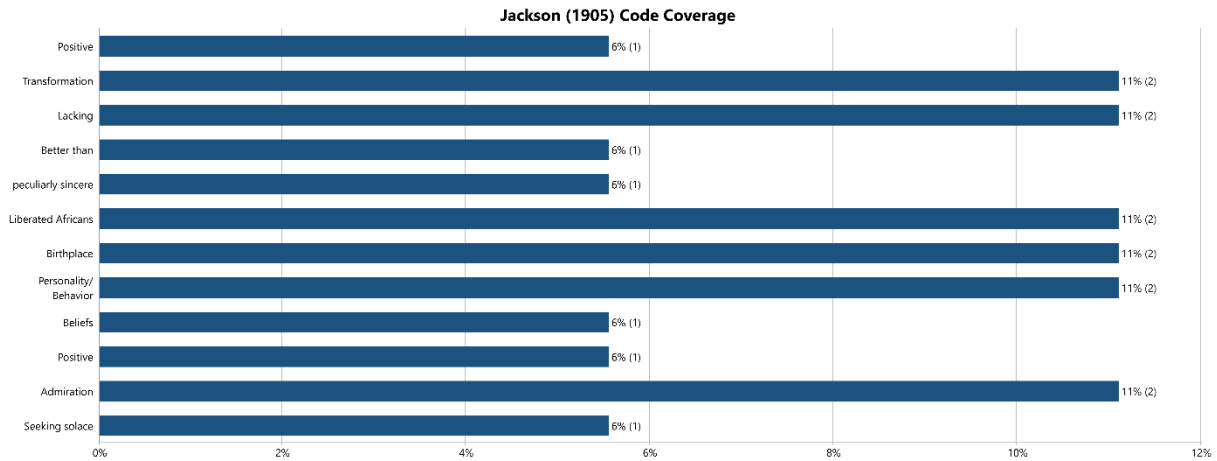


Figure 5-6. Code coverage in (1905, pp. 263–264) document from the St. Helena sample, displayed by percentage of the document's total coded segments. The 'Transformation,' 'Lacking,' 'Birthplace,' 'Behavior,' 'Liberated African,' and 'Admiration' codes have the highest percentage of coverage in the document.

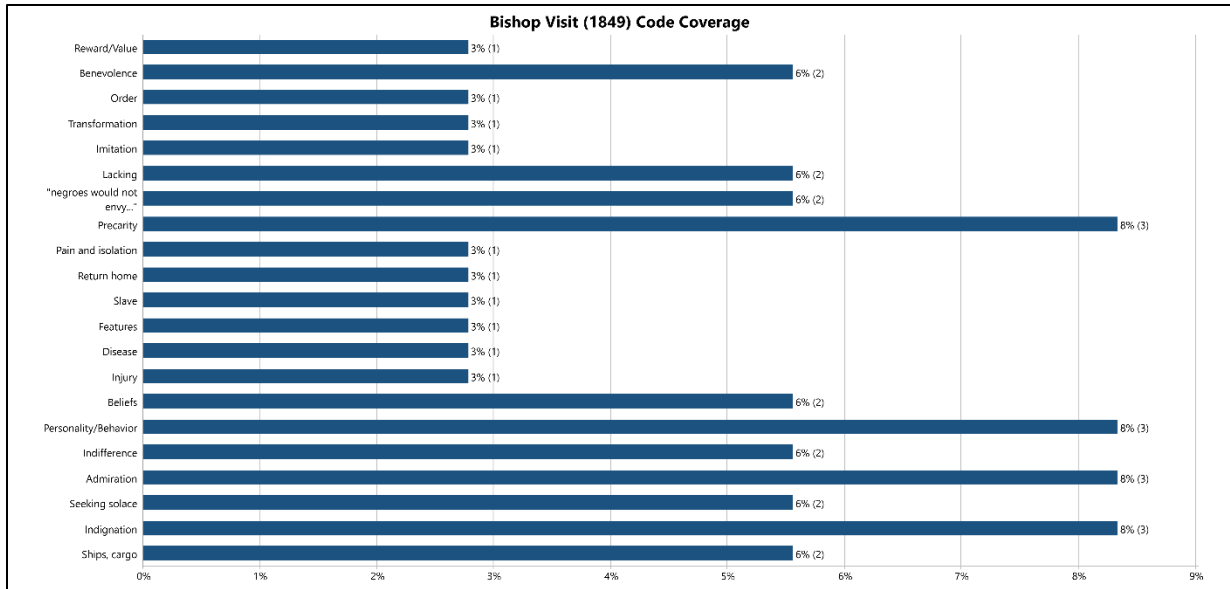


Figure 5-7. Code coverage in Gray (1849) document from the St. Helena sample, displayed by percentage of total document. The 'Personality/Behavior' and 'Precarity' (referring to the cultural practices and vulnerability of recaptive Africans), and 'Admiration,' and 'Indignation' codes (referring to the praise or censure of other Europeans) had the most coverage in the document.

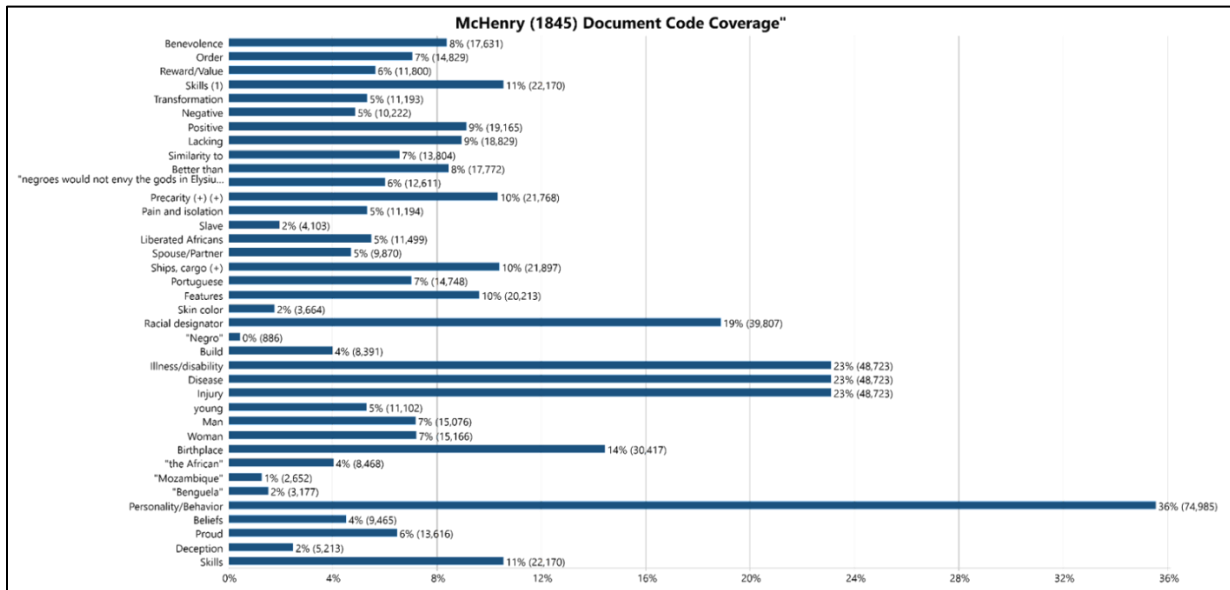


Figure 5-8. Code coverage in McHenry (1845) document from the St. Helena sample, displayed by percentage of total document. The 'Personality/Behavior' code, which documented the cultural practices of all recaptive groups at the Liberated African Establishment, has the highest percentage of code coverage.

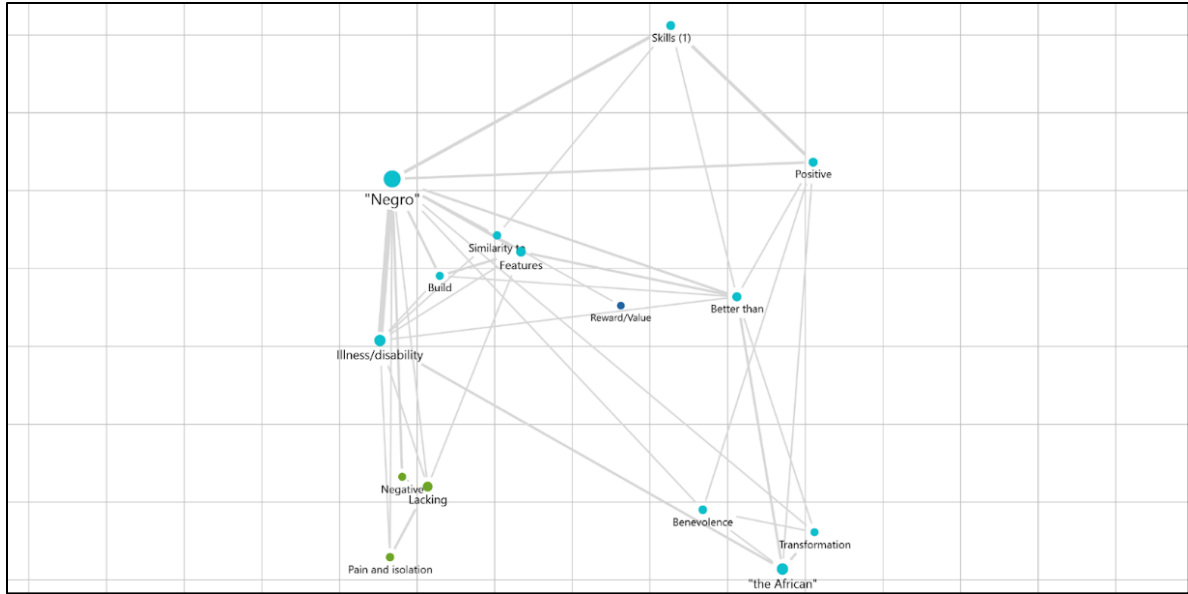


Figure 5-9. Code map comparing “Negro” and “African” descriptors in the St. Helena sample. Set to 5+ intersections in the sample.

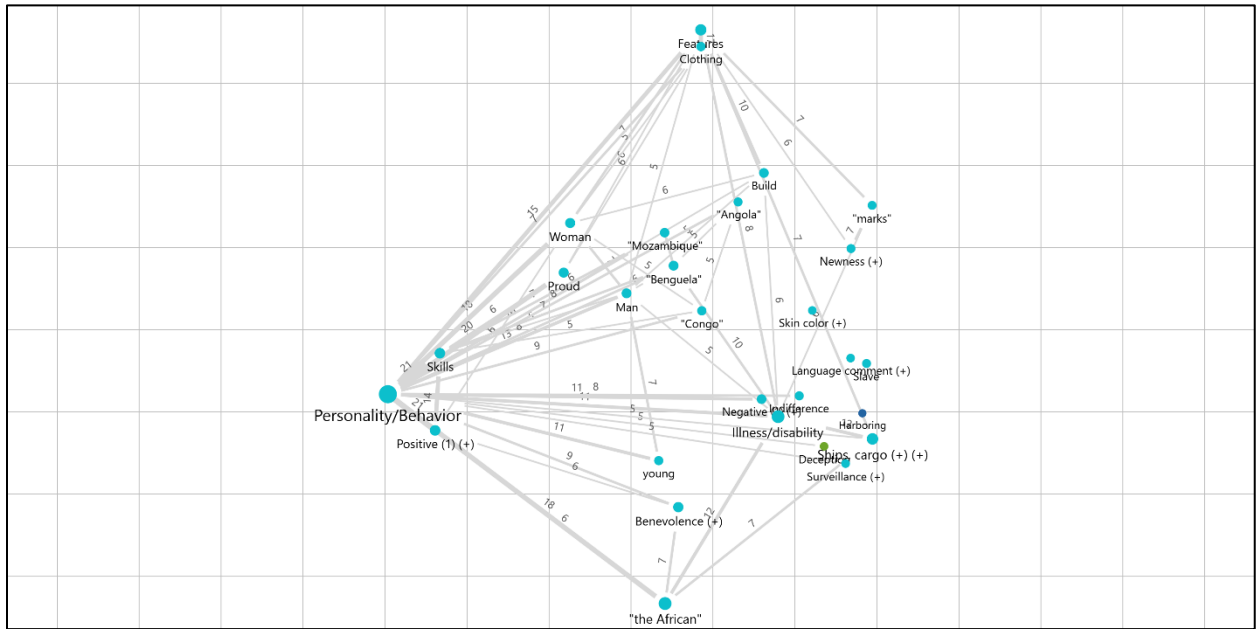


Figure 5-10. Code Map comparing racialized groups in the St. Helena sample. Set to 5+ intersections in the sample.

Table 5-1. Barbados sample initial template

- | | |
|---|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Runaway 2. Racial designator 3. Skin color 4. Described Gender <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Man 2. Woman 5. Physical features <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Build 2. Illness/disability 6. Personality/behavior <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Skills 7. Positive descriptor 8. Negative descriptor 9. Assimilation <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Newness 2. Birthplace 3. Language comment 10. Reward 11. Crime 12. Blame 13. Companion 14. Benevolence 15. Bargaining 16. Answers to 17. Present enslaver 18. Former enslaver | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 19. Location <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. St. Lucy 2. St. Peter 3. St. Andrew 4. St. James 5. St. Thomas 6. St. Joseph 7. St. Michael 8. St. George 9. St. John 10. Christ Church 20. Escaping from 21. Escaping to 22. Network Member <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Parent 2. Sibling 3. Child 4. Spouse/Partner 5. Friend/Acquaintance 23. Escape Proximity <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Adjacent/Same 2. Middle 3. Far |
|---|--|
-

Table 5-2. Barbados Sample Final Template

1. Putting on an Act (Theme)
 1. Uncontrolled
 1. Appearance (shell)
 1. Racial designator
 1. Mulatto
 2. Black
 3. Negro
 2. Skin color
 3. Features
 1. Pregnancy
 2. Build
 3. Illness/disability
 4. Young
 4. Described gender
 1. Man
 2. Woman
 5. Assimilation
 1. Newness
 2. Passing
 3. Well known
 4. Time away
 1. "Who has never yet come home to him"
 5. Birthplace
 6. Language comment
 2. Controlled
 1. Personality/behavior
 1. Deception
 2. Employment
 3. Skills
 2. Citizens and Surveillance (Theme)
 1. Benevolence
 2. Harboring
 1. Free
 2. Slave
 3. Surveillance
 4. Misc legal action
 3. Reward
 3. Elements of Escape (Theme)
 1. Runaway
 2. Companion
 3. Positive
 4. Negative
 5. Crime
 6. Blame
 7. Conclusion
 8. Answers to
 1. Object name
 9. Present enslaver
 10. Former enslaver
 11. Doubling as a slave ad

Table 5-2. Continued

1. Outside Barbados
2. Christ Church
3. St. Andrew
4. St. John
5. St. George
6. St. James
7. St. Joseph
8. St. Lucy
9. St. Michael
10. St. Peter
11. St. Philip
12. St. Thomas
12. Escaping from
13. Escaping to
14. Network shell (shell code)
 1. Network member
 2. Adversary
 3. Friend/Acquaintance
 4. Spouse/Partner
 5. Child
 6. Sibling
 7. Parent
15. Escape Proximity
 1. Adjacent/same
 2. Middle
 3. Far

Bargaining

Table 5-3. St. Helena and Cape Town Merged Sample Initial Template

1. "Worn out"
 2. Peculiarly sincere
 3. Similarity to
 4. "No man can serve two masters."
 5. Liberated Africans
 6. Enslaver/Subscriber
 7. Escaping from
 8. Escaping to
 9. Location
 1. Gauteng
 2. Eastern Cape Province
 3. Western Cape Province
 4. North West Province
 5. Sierra Leone
 6. High Knoll
 7. Cape Colony
 8. Trinidad
 9. British Guiana
 10. Rupert's
 11. Lemon Valley
 12. Off Island
 13. Billingsgate
 14. Peak Hill
 15. Jamestown
 16. Prosperous Bay
 10. Network Shell
 1. Parent
 2. Sibling
 3. Child
 4. Spouse/Partner
 5. Friend/Acquaintance
 6. Adversary
 11. Ships, cargo
 1. Portuguese
 2. East India Company
 12. Putting on an Act
 1. Uncontrolled
 1. Assimilation
 1. Birthplace
 2. Language comment
 3. Newness
 2. Controlled
 1. Deception
 2. Skills
 13. Citizenry
 1. Deterrence
 2. Surveillance
 1. Reward/Value
 2. Violence
 3. Unrecovered
 4. Recapture
 3. Benevolence
-

Table 5-3. Continued

- 4. Harboring
 - 1. Free
 - 14. Runaway
 - 1. Runaway Companion
 - 15. Features
 - 1. Skin color
 - 2. Racial designator
 - 3. Pregnancy/childbearing
 - 4. Build
 - 5. Illness/disability
 - 6. Young
 - 16. Described Gender
 - 1. Man
 - 2. Woman
 - 17. Personality/behavior
 - 1. Unmarried
 - 2. Melancholy
 - 3. Proud
 - 4. Better than
 - 5. Lacking
 - 6. Indifference
 - 18. Positive
 - 19. Negative
 - 20. Crime
 - 21. Escape Proximity
 - 1. Adjacent/same
 - 2. Middle
 - 3. Far
-

Table 5-4. Cape Town Sample Final Template.

1. Slave
2. Enslaver/Subscriber
3. Escaping to
4. Escaping from
5. Location
 1. Gauteng
 2. Eastern Cape Province
 3. Western Cape Province
 4. North West Province
6. Network Shell
 1. Parent
 2. Sibling
 3. Child
 4. Spouse/Partner
 5. Friend/Acquaintance
 6. Adversary
7. Putting on an Act
 1. Uncontrolled
 1. Appearance
 1. "Marks"
 2. Features
 1. Clothing
 2. "Worn out"
 3. Skin color
 1. Black/dark
 2. Fair/light
 3. Yellow
 4. Brown/dark brown
 4. Racial designator
 1. Hottentot Bastard
 2. Prize Negro
 5. Pregnancy/childbearing
 6. Build
 7. Illness/disability
 1. Lost teeth
 8. Young
 3. Described gender
 1. Man
 2. Woman
 4. Assimilation
 1. Birthplace
 1. Mozambique
 2. Angola
 3. Of the Cape
 4. Madagascar
 5. Malabar
 6. Malay
 2. Language comment
 3. Newness
 2. Controlled
 1. Personality/behavior
 2. Deception

Table 5-4. Continued

	3. Skills
8. Citizenry	
1. Benevolence	
2. Assessing Value (Shell)	
1. Negative	
2. Positive	
3. Reward/Value	
3. Surveillance	
1. Unrecovered	
2. Recapture	
4. Harboring	
1. Free	
9. Runaway	
1. Runaway Companion	
10. Crime	

Table 5-5. St. Helena Sample Final Template

1. Terms of charity (Shell)	
1. Benevolence	
1. "Negroes would not envy the gods in Elysium"	
2. Order	
1. Surveillance	
1. Runaway	
1. Escaping to	
2. Escaping from	
2. Racial Taxonomy (Shell)	
1. Slave	
2. Liberated Africans	
3. Appearance (shell)	
1. Features	
1. Skin color	
2. Pregnancy/childbearing	
3. Build	
4. Illness/disability	
5. Young	
2. Described gender	
1. Man	
2. Woman	
3. Group affiliation	
1. Racial designator	
2. African	
3. Mozambique	
4. Benguela	
5. Angola	
6. Congo	
7. Language comment	
8. Newness	
4. Personality/behavior	
1. Deception	
2. Clothing/Adornment	
3. Interpersonal violence	

Table 5-5. Continued

4. Beliefs
 5. Proud
 6. Indifference
 5. Reward/Value
 1. Skills
 2. "Easily disposed of"
 3. Transformation
 1. Imitation
 4. Positive
 5. Negative
 6. Lacking
 7. Similarity to
 8. Better than
 2. Loss/coping (shell)
 1. New bonds and tenets (shell)
 1. Protection
 2. Rebellion
 3. Camaraderie
 4. Relations/ties
 2. Precarity
 1. "Peculiar circumstances"
 2. Death
 3. Pain and isolation
 1. "Peculiarly sincere"
 4. Return home
 3. Defining Space (shell)
 1. Location (shell)
 1. Sierra Leone
 2. High Knoll
 3. Cape Colony
 4. Trinidad
 5. British Guiana
 6. Rupert's
 7. Lemon Valley
 8. Off Island
 9. Billingsgate
 10. Peak Hill
 11. Jamestown
 12. Prosperous Bay
 2. Ships, cargo
 1. British
 2. Portuguese
 4. Citizenry
 1. Admiration
 2. Indignation
 3. Seeking solace
-

Table 5-6. Codes present in >20% of Barbados sample.

Code	Frequency	Percentage	Percentage (valid)
Runaway	494	95.74	96.11
Reward	486	94.19	94.55
Present enslaver/Subscriber	467	90.50	90.86
Racial designator	391	75.78	76.07
Harboring	371	71.90	72.18
Features	336	65.12	65.37
Escaping from	308	59.69	59.92
Man	289	56.01	56.23
St. Michael	274	53.10	53.31
Negro	250	48.45	48.64
Woman	206	39.92	40.08
Build	204	39.53	39.69
Escaping to	198	38.37	38.52
Time away	196	37.98	38.13
The Gaol/Cage	178	34.50	34.63
Skin color	164	31.78	31.91
Assimilation	153	29.65	29.77
Former enslaver	145	28.10	28.21
Network Member	145	28.10	28.21
Skills	124	24.03	24.12
Illness/disability	119	23.06	23.15
Adjacent/same	118	22.87	22.96

Table 5-7. Excerpt of Keyword-in-Context (KWIC) analysis of the term 'person' in Barbados sample.

Document name	Context	Keyword	Context
1807-02-28-2	convicting any white or free	person	s of colour harbouring or concealing
1808-03-12	marks round his face. Any	person	s apprehending and bringing him to
1808-05-28	after this public notice, no	person	s will employ him, as the
1812-07-11	Capt. Thomas from Trinidad. All	person	s are hereby forbid harbouring or
1813-03-09	Bay, by name Sally. All	person	s are forbid harbouring or employing
1814-03-12	I do hereby caution all	person	s not to harbour or employ
1814-07-30-2	given to any person or	person	s for each of them, who
1815-09-12	to give notice to all	person	s not to harbour or employ
1816-02-06	All white and free coloured	person	s are forbid harbouring or concealing
1816-04-06	of Five Pounds; and all	person	s are hereby cautioned against harbouring

Table 5-8. Codes present in >20% of Cape Town sample.

	Frequency	Percentage	Percentage (valid)
Runaway	127	97.69	97.69
Enslaver/Subscriber	121	93.08	93.08
Slave	105	80.77	80.77
Reward/Value	104	80.00	80.00
Features	102	78.46	78.46
Escaping From	88	67.69	67.69
Western Cape Province	86	66.15	66.15
Man	68	52.31	52.31
Skin color	60	46.15	46.15
Birthplace	60	46.15	46.15
Harboring	59	45.38	45.38
Build	47	36.15	36.15

Table 5-8. Continued

	Frequency	Percentage	Percentage (valid)
Racial designator	46	35.38	35.38
"Bastard/Hottentot-Bastard"	43	33.08	33.08
Surveillance	41	31.54	31.54
Assimilation	39	30.00	30.00
Clothing	39	30.00	30.00
Former enslaver	38	29.23	29.23
"Of the Cape"	35	26.92	26.92
Escaping to	33	25.38	25.38
Similarity to	32	24.62	24.62
Deception	31	23.85	23.85
Runaway Companion	28	21.54	21.54
Self-representation	28	21.54	21.54
Illness/disability	27	20.77	20.77

Table 5-9. Code coverage across St. Helena documents (N=10).

Code	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	TOTAL
Benevolence				57%	39%			11%		8%	9%
Order					7%	64%			12%	7%	7%
Value					7%			31%		6%	6%
Skills	19%	29%								11%	10%
Transformation				57%	14%		41%			5%	6%
Negative									6%	5%	5%
Positive	14%			57%			14%			9%	9%
Lacking	9%				16%		52%	23%	35%	9%	9%
Similarity to			100%					20%	7%	7%	7%
Better than	18%	32%					31%	11%		8%	8%
"negroes..."	28%	39%	100%	43%	15%			31%	20%	6%	7%
Precarity			100%		27%			47%	29%	10%	11%
Pain/isolation					6%				43%	5%	5%
Slave					9%				4%	2%	2%
Spouse/Part.		32%								5%	4%
Ships, cargo	14%			33%	26%	100%		61%	20%	10%	12%
Portuguese									7%	7%	7%
Features	14%	29%		33%	10%	25%		11%	9%	10%	10%
Skin color	14%									2%	2%
Racial des.	32%	32%						23%	7%	19%	18%
"Negro"	5%									0%	0%
Build	14%							40%		4%	4%
Disease				33%	11%			40%	28%	23%	22%
Injury				33%	11%			40%	28%	23%	22%
young										5%	5%
Man									9%	7%	7%
Woman									9%	7%	7%
Birthplace	44%		100%				14%			14%	14%
"the African"	10%									4%	4%
"Mozambique"										1%	1%
"Benguela"										2%	1%
Behavior	28%	32%		57%	20%	64%	34%	23%	28%	36%	35%
Beliefs	19%				16%		21%			4%	5%
Proud										6%	6%
Deception										2%	2%
Skills	19%	29%								11%	10%

Table 5-9. Continued

Code	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	TOTAL
NOT CODED	404	1	0	1	9728 .00	4	204	8	4877 55.0 0	1126 06.0 0	122958. 00
CODED	100% (2,412)	100% (688)	100% (702)	100% (1,048)	100% (5,722)	100% (828)	100% (1,448)	100% (2,548)	100% (514,225)	100% (211,105)	100% (226,501)
WHOLE TEXT	2816	689	702	1049	1545 0	832	1652	2556	1001 980	3237 11	349459

Documents in St. Helena sample by number: 1) (Melliss, 1875, p. 80), 2) (Melliss, 1875, pp. 80–81), 3) (*Letter from the Governor to the Secretary of State*, n.d.), 4) (Anon, 1865, p. 72), 5) (Gray, 1849, pp. 103–113), 6) (E. L. Jackson, 1905, pp. 266–267), 7) (E. L. Jackson, 1905, pp. 263–264), 8) (Melliss, 1875, pp. 30–31), 9) (McHenry, 1863), 10) (McHenry, 1845).

CHAPTER 6 BIOSOCIAL INTEGRATIONS

Introduction

The previous chapters of this dissertation demonstrate that the collection and interpretation of biological and archival data differ substantially. Biological data relies more on quantitative data and inferential statistics while the latter uses qualitative analysis. This chapter does not attempt to compare such disparate datasets statistically. However, both of these datasets illuminate understandings of population structure and change across the same three regions (e.g., flows of people and genes, stability or stratification), which are processes that enable comparison. The physical displacement of Afro-descendants from their natal populations effectively created new populations in enslavement spaces, therein shaping who enslaved people could interact, marry or cohabit, or have children with. These social flows and restrictions had inevitable consequences on biological patterns, as the two interact with and shape one another. This notion of the biological characteristics of Afro-descendants being essentialized and continuously mediated by social constructions in diasporic spaces is rooted in the work of many diaspora scholars (Dwyer et al., 2023; Fanon, 2008; Firmin, 2002; McLean, 2019; Mills, 1997; Watkins, 2018; Wynter, 2001, 2003). As scholars such as Lewis Gordon and Paget Henry have posited, these formulations of Blackness have had profound consequences on the consciousness of diaspora groups, and to elucidate these processes it is necessary to use modes of inquiry that are culturally comparative and decenter the normativity of a European lens (Gordon, 2012; Henry, 2005).

Although the biological and archival datasets differ greatly in structure, they share some key characteristics that are emblematic of the challenges that arise when

studying slave trade migration history. Both forms of data are “patchy,” in that there are gaps or considerable limits in each dataset’s representativeness. The archival newspaper dataset is clearly biased, as the entries are penned from European perspectives, precluding access to the nuanced perspectives of the enslaved. Further, the people described in the dataset, particularly in the Barbados and South African contexts, were fugitives. Because of the specificity and stigma attached to this mode of resistance, the acts and characteristics in the sample documents cannot be assumed to apply to all enslaved persons in those spaces. In the biological data, there are similar issues with its representativeness. The stilted and fragmentary sampling of these groups is a consequence of the lack of care often afforded to enslaved people in death, particularly in the lack of investment or protection around burial spaces (Cunningham, 2023). These anonymous graves lack crucial details about decedents’ identities or family ties, limiting what can be discerned from these contexts. Despite these shortcomings, each of these datasets offer unique insight into pivotal parts of the slave trade and are strengthened by using visual and descriptive strategies to assess the ways they relate.

For clarity, in this chapter the biological groups refer to Cape locality (South Africa), Fort Knokke (South Africa), Barbados, and St. Helena; and the archival groups refer to Cape Town, St. Helena, and Barbados.

Macro-level Comparisons (Among-group Patterns)

The biological dataset showed patterns of genetic continuity among sites. None of the groups were entirely distinct or isolated, and there was considerable overlap among groups when using measures like the principal components analysis to observe among-group variation. However, the Procrustes ANOVA that tested the effect of group

category on shape variation was significant, suggesting that there were still salient differences among the sampled groups even with the observed overlap. This notion of continuity among sample groups was echoed in the archival data. The code matrix comparing the code distributions of all three sample groups (Barbados, Cape Town, St. Helena) showed clear differences in coding structure, especially between the St. Helena and Barbados groups ([Appendix D](#)). In a Document Map of the three groups, there is overlap among their data points, most prominently between St. Helena and Cape Town ([Fig 6-1](#)). Although the coding templates were different for each sample, to make them comparable for across-site analysis I used a subset of the codes that were mainly shared by all three samples, such as ones that related to appearance, behavior, value, or surveillance. I then created similarity matrices for each dataset, which the Document Map tool used to calculate their placement in the plot. Barbados had higher dispersion among its data points than Cape Town. The one isolated St. Helena point (located on the upper right section of the plot) is the McHenry (1845) document. The Cape Town sample documents that were nearest to the McHenry (1845) data point related to birthplace, illness, and race and skin color categories. This overlap relates to the emphasis in both samples on documenting ethnic/tribal origins to construct a racial taxonomy. The difference in the Cape Town context is that the association of physical traits with geographic region was not exclusive to African groups, but also included Asian and mixed-race groups that coexisted in Cape Town.

Regarding the sites with the highest levels of relatedness, the Cape locality and St. Helena biological groups had the lowest pairwise morphological distances based on the biological dataset, meaning that they were the most closely related compared to the

other groups. As described in Chapter Four, this relationship may be explained by migrations from St. Helena to the Cape Colony during the 19th century, through which they would have entered the colony as ‘Prize Negroes,’ or formerly enslaved Africans from seized slave ships who were placed in ‘apprenticeships’ with dubious consent (Saunders, 1984). In the broader context of apprenticeship labor at the Cape Colony, most ‘Prize Negroes’ originated from Mozambique and Madagascar. In that same vein, the survivors of the Fort Knokke shipwreck were documented as entering the Cape as ‘Prize Negro’ apprentices, and were of probable Mozambican origin (Cox, 1995; Saunders, 1985). However, Fort Knokke was more distant from the St. Helena group than expected. I described in Chapter Four that this result may be explained by the narrower representation African origins in Fort Knokke (however diverse) relative to St. Helena, where decedents likely originated from Southeastern as well as West and Central Africa. With these patterns of relatedness observed among the biological sites, I wanted to observe whether the archival data showed similar patterns.

To compare the pairwise relationships across the biological and archival data, I first observed the relatedness between the Cape Town and St. Helena archival samples in the Document Map, which overlapped substantially in their coding structures but still formed distinct groups. To dissect this further, I created a subset of the Cape Town archival sample that served as an analog to the Fort Knokke biological group, in order to assess whether it is comparably distant to the St. Helena group. To this end, I extracted a subset of the Cape Town documents that referenced ‘Prize Negroes’ (N=10). References to ‘Prize Negroes’ in the Cape Town archival dataset were used to convey that a runaway resembled one in physical appearance and was likely to seek alternate

employment on that basis. Similar to the other forms of racial categorization in the Cape, this use of the term is a shorthand for an imagined set of physical and/or behavioral characteristics.

The documents describing 'Prize Negroes' shared salient themes with the St. Helena dataset. Both groups described persons/groups who were racialized as 'Negroes,' and in both groups descriptors of injury, behavior, birthplace, appearance, and skills were all prominent (Fig. 6-2). As birthplace was among the highest frequency code for both groups, it is important to mention that the persons described in the 'Prize Negro' subset, even if we assume they resembled 'Prize Negroes' and presented themselves as such, were not necessarily acclimated to the Cape Colony themselves. Not long before the 'Prize Negro' class was formed, enslaved people from the same regions (e.g., Mozambique, Madagascar) were being imported to the Cape as slaves. Thus, the notion of "passing for a Prize Negro" in this instance is because they likely shared the same origins.

Some differences between the two groups was in the description of disease and ships present in the St. Helena sample but not the 'Prize Negro' subset. This difference likely relates to the amount of time these groups spent in their respective enslavement spaces. Revisiting the note that the 'Prize Negro' subset represents people who *resembled* 'Prize Negroes,' this means that their level of establishment on the island, even if not generational, may still have been longer than the experience of those in St. Helena. Another consideration is that the fugitive advertisement data ultimately includes information that would be useful for recapturing runaway slaves, so descriptions of the horrors of slavery are not germane to that goal. For the St. Helena group, the horrors of

the slave ship would have still been in recent memory for recaptives, and they would have had the visible indicators of it on their bodies, such as the tooth loss associated with contracting scurvy or the permanent scarring left behind by smallpox. While this does not mean none of the people in the 'Prize Negro' subset had these indicators, those features did not appear to be used as distinguishing features in this context.

Within-group Variation and Subgrouping

St. Helena

The St. Helena group had the second-lowest within-group variance score in the biological dataset. Although the effects of group category on variance were not significant, this score suggests that the St. Helena group's variance is slightly less than other groups. Based on visual and descriptive assessment, the documents in the St. Helena archival sample showed moderate dispersal in the Document Map (Fig. 6-3). In the Document Map, the document identified as the most distant (dark blue point) and the codes nearest to it had codes representing the perceived precarity and primitivity of recaptive Africans, while other documents about general reflections on the assimilation processes for recaptive Africans were clustered together on the left. The division of themes mirrors the 'Negro vs. African' section of Chapter Five, which associated 'Negro' descriptors with primitivity and suffering of the recaptive (and more broadly African) condition, and 'African' with transformation and incorporating Africans into the emerging labor system.

In comparing the racialized groups described in the St. Helena archival sample, the most prominent are 'Negro,' 'Mulatto,' 'Mozambique,' 'African,' 'Benguela,' 'Angola,' and 'Congo.' Some of these descriptors are locations or the names of tribes or nations that are not inherently racial terms. However, the use of these terms in the dataset was

racialized because they were used to construct bounded categories of appearance and behavior. In comparing the coding patterns for each of these racial categories, all but the 'Mulatto' category strongly associated with descriptions of personality and behavior. 'Mulatto' being the exception to this pattern seems to align with the degree of assimilation to the island they had relative to recaptive Africans. At the time these documents were written, the behaviors the authors were mystified by and attempting to impose order on were of recaptive Africans. In contrast, people of multiracial ancestry had already been embedded into the island's racial system over centuries, and European settlers observed their transition from enslavement to free status and thus classed them as an overall "docile" population.

Regarding the effect of racial designation on vectors of experience, as introduced in Chapter Five, the group referred to as 'Mozambiques' had lower associations with injury and disease and higher associations with descriptions of skills. 'Mozambiques' were also used as a metric of comparison, positioned as superior to some other African groups in terms of their degree of "civility." Notably, this evaluation of their superiority related heavily to the perception that they were "more attached to their masters, more industrious and diligent at their work, [and] quicker in learning and adopting European usages..." (McHenry, 1845, p. 5). The conflation of Mozambican ancestry with ascribed boundaries on the behaviors they could perform created a means by which their interests could be determined from without. In the manner of exteriorization that Fanon wryly describes as "speak[ing] of the inner tension of a stone" (Fanon, 1967, p. 12), colonial officials were able to assume that the captives lacked inner complexity, a

conception that was unaided by the considerable language and cultural barriers between recaptives and European settlers.

The archival data demonstrates a clear stratification in how British officials ranked “varieties” of Africans, and how they consequently conceived of and treated them. Few recaptives were afforded the choice to stay on the island if they desired to, but to be given that choice at all was the result of a conscious choice on the part of British officials. Officials oversaw which recaptives were “hired out” on the island, with this process lacking formal protections that ensured that recaptives received fair or compensated treatment. Some of these forms of coercive labor were quite strenuous (e.g., carrying heavy blocks of limestone with no meals until nightfall), and the system relied on the cooperation of depot physicians, who could advise on the level of health of recaptives and suggest candidates (McHenry, 1845). These decisions were likely informed by the abovementioned racial designators. For example, ‘Angolas’ were described as the the strongest and healthiest group at the Liberated African Establishment, “better adapted for laborious occupations, such as digging [and] rowing” (McHenry, 1845, p. 2-4). Similar considerations on this basis likely factored into selecting Africans for departure from the island to a site of permanent relocation.

St. Helena is an unconventional case of stratification. Due to the fleeting amount of time recaptives would have engaged with these new spaces (whether due to premature death or re-exportation), most of the recaptives in this space would not have undergone biosocial changes in a generational sense. However, both datasets are useful insights into the ways that factors of tumultuous change (where they originated from, perceptions by islanders, the hardships they faced) culminated in a system

whereby many recaptives died, most were transported to other lands with dubious or lacking consent, and few remained on the island and formed independent settlements. These decisions were all political, and they intersected with the biological in that biological characteristics (e.g., the diverse physical appearances of the recaptives at the depot) were essentialized as nonpermeable racial groups. This stratification is apparent in the biological data, which contained six subpopulations (clusters) of relatively even size. The judgments made by St. Helenian colonial officials used these essentialized hierarchies to justify sending one captive to perform hard labor, or to send another one on board on a ship to an apprenticeship site. These were all non-random judgments that likely contributed to the massive scale of death observed at the Rupert's Valley burial ground, and explains the patterns of stratified origins that appears to be present in the biological dataset. These findings suggest alignment between the biological and archival St. Helena datasets.

Barbados

Of the within-group variances present in the biological dataset, Fort Knokke had the highest score, with the Barbados score close behind it. Given that the Newton Plantation site was in use for nearly two centuries (~1660-1820), I initially expected its variances to be lower than the two short duration sites included in the study (St. Helena and Fort Knokke). However, its high variance warranted further investigation to assess alignment between the biological and archival datasets.

The biological and archival Barbados datasets were both situated in a time period where “new” (i.e., Africa-born) enslaved people were outnumbered by creole slaves but were still nonetheless present on the island. The creole slaves reached this

threshold during the 1810's, which overlapped with the estimated use of Newton Plantation, and the time period for the archival sample (1807-1816). This time period also saw shifts in slave trade recruitment strategies, which saw increased recruitment from Southeastern Africa, the Bight of Biafra, and the Bight of Benin, alongside the consistently high contributions of West Central Africa (*Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade - Database*, 2008). Thus, although formal slave trading would have ceased in Barbados after 1807, the enslaved people brought to the island shortly prior may have originated from any of the abovementioned regions. And as there is evidence of ships to Barbados in the 1800s embarking from a range of sites, this could have meant that diverse African groups were transported to the island, resulting in the biological variation remaining high. The hierarchical cluster analysis of the biological data showed the presence of five subgroups for Barbados, which further supports the notion that several distinct groups may have coexisted at the Newton Plantation site.

Unlike the Cape Town and St. Helena archival samples, the distinction among “types” of Africans was not present in the Barbados archival sample. The main racial descriptors used in the dataset were ‘Negro,’ ‘Black,’ ‘Mulatto,’ and ‘African.’ These racial designators were more salient in representing acclimation to the island, specifically in distinguishing between creole and African-born enslaved persons. Although tribe or nation affiliations were rarely included in descriptions of Africa-born runaways, the advertisements established that they appeared “foreign” relative to other runaways:

Absconded on Saturday the 9th instant from the service of the subscriber, an African Man named Dorset, about 5 feet 9 inches high, with his country scars over his eye-brows and cheeks, and his upper teeth filed...(Document 1813-01-02)

Runaway advertisements describing African origins emphasized language proficiency and indicators of foreignness, such as Dorset's filed teeth and country scars above. Descriptions of African-born runaways also less commonly referenced their skills or mentioned "the Cage" (the public holding cell located in the center of town to contain captured runaways until their enslavers arrived) (Fuentes, 2016, pp. 37–45). Africa-born enslaved people may have been perceived as more unpredictable and prone to violent protest (Beckles, 1998b, p. 111). For example, the St. Helena qualitative dataset described recaptive Africans-turned-soldiers who were easily provoked into using their firearms "on very trivial causes of provocation" (Schulenburg, 1999, p. 237). Although these contexts are not directly comparable, the St. Helena example highlights the anxiety that British/Bajan enslavers had toward Africans in the declining era of enslavement.

The anxiety felt by enslavers in Barbados due to the destabilization of enslavement likely added to the stress and violence enslaved people were subjected to. Mortality rates in the Caribbean were consistently high into the 19th century, and continued to be so until Bussa's Rebellion in 1816, after which it declined (Corruccini et al., 1989, p. 611). Such clear ties between the circumstances of enslavement and death is present at the Newton Plantation burial site (the Barbados biological sample group), characterized by low mean ages at death, male-skewed representation, and high malnourishment and skeletal indicators of stress (Shuler, 2005a). Valuable studies of lead exposure in the skeleton and dental enamel posited that the majority of the sampled decedents were born in Barbados (Corruccini et al., 1989; Schroeder et al., 2009, 2013). All but one of the Newton Plantation decedents included in the present

study received birthplace estimations in Schroeder's (2013) analysis, so I applied these classifications to the biological dataset's principal components analysis (Fig 6-4). Although the small sample size limits statistical inferences, the Africa-born decedents' data points have less dispersion than those of the Barbados-born decedents across several PC axes, such as PC1, 3, and 6 (11.87%, 9.52%, and 4.54% of the sample variance, respectively), suggesting that the Barbados-born subgroup has higher variance relative to the Africa-born subgroup. Further, the increased variance of the creole population may suggest some degree of genetic isolation. This finding contradicts traditional understandings of genetic isolation, in which within-group variance generally decreases due to a narrowed gene pool. It is possible that this is due to the Africa-born decedents originating from very similar spaces, so that the variation being introduced to the population was not highly diverse. Alternatively, it could be a result of the Barbados population itself still retaining high variance due to social stratification. There is extensive support for the latter explanation, as the presence of 'elite' slaves (who were often creole and commonly lighter-skinned) were conferred advantages for cooperating with plantation management, and this process reproduced itself generationally (Beckles, 1998b). Given this, the long-term separation of enslaved groups would have created stratification along family, color, and birthplace lines, and therefore greater within-group variance.

To tease apart this birthplace variation further, I reviewed the reduced hierarchical cluster analysis of three clusters (instead of the original seven) to observe classifications more likely to be shared among all groups in the study (Chapter Four, Fig. 4-8). Of the three clusters, the three Africa-born decedents were placed in Cluster 2

along with two Barbados-born decedents, with the remaining three Barbados-born decedents in Clusters 1 and 3. This appears to reflect the higher variance of the Barbados subsample, given its distribution across three clusters as well as its overlap with Africa-born decedents in Cluster 2. If considering Cluster 2 to be closer to approximations of African origin most closely associated with documented migrations to Barbados during the late slave trade, statistically the most likely origins would be West Central Africa and the Bight of Biafra or Benin. As it relates to the other biological groups, Cluster 2 makes up ~40% of the St. Helena group, suggesting that the origins connected to the Barbados slave trade may be present in the St. Helena context as well.

These patterns suggest that the relationship between the biological and archival datasets is strongly aligned. The salience of population structure on the island for both datasets relied on the binary of Africa-born versus Barbados-born people, which had direct implications for how a person would be treated, and who they would have access to interact or form relationships with. The archival data used language beyond this binary of Africa-born and Barbados-born, such as in the racial descriptors 'Negro,' 'Black,' and 'African.' There was considerable overlap in these categories, as the usage of the terms mainly denote Black as a referent for creole and Negro as a means of essentializing the condition of Blackness (e.g., identifying negro dances, homes, hairstyles). However, the use of the term 'African' creates a clear distinction between Barbadian identity and cultural formation and African-ness, which was shown in the archival dataset to be visible (e.g., dental modification, scarification, lack of English

proficiency) and thus precluded them from adopting certain strategies of blending into urban society in the ways that creoles were able to do.

South Africa

The South Africa biological dataset included two groups in the biological sample, the Cape Town locality and Fort Knokke shipwreck sites. The Cape Town subsample represents the variation of a subset of people in colonial Cape Town, some of whom may have had some degree of Asian or European ancestry based on the known high admixture rates at the Cape. The Fort Knokke subsample refers to a group of people estimated to originate from Mozambique, who died before they could enter Cape society, in which they would have been classed as “Prize Negroes.” The Fort Knokke group had the highest within-group variance in the biological dataset, although the effects of group on variances were not statistically significant. This suggests that the variance scores are similarly high across sites, which is further supported by the hierarchical cluster analyses of the data. The presence of six subgroups in three of the four biological groups suggests population stratification. Given the fleeting period of time the Fort Knokke decedents spent at the Cape prior to their deaths, the diversity of their (likely Southeastern African) origins were not subject to the same patterns of gene flow that would be expected in the Barbados or the Cape Town groups, which had growing creole populations. Instead, variance remained high because most of these decedents, aside from the few survivors who were incorporated into the colony as apprentices, died before they had the opportunity to establish home spaces and start families.

The pairwise tests of the biological groups showed that, despite the high variance observed at Fort Knokke relative to Cape Town (see [Table 4-3](#)), there was still evidence of genetic continuity between the two South Africa groups because the distributions of

shape variance overlapped substantially. To compare the groups, I used a Procrustes ANOVA and post-hoc pairwise test to test their effects, and used a PCA to visualize their overlap. The pairwise distance between them was the second lowest score of all pairs, suggesting their high similarity. In the PCA, the two groups showed clear overlap, particularly along PC2, 4, 5, and 6 (see Chapter Four, [Fig. 4-3](#)). The Fort Knokke decedents showed marked morphological changes (e.g., wider neurocranium, reduced nasal curvature, superoposterior placement of *bregma*) relative to the Cape Town group. In terms of population stratification, their estimates were similar for both the initial and reduced versions of the hierarchical cluster analysis. However, Fort Knokke had a unique cluster (Cluster 7) and more decedents in Cluster 1, compared to the Cape Town group's roughly even distribution of clusters. This pattern suggests that both groups have some degree of stratification, but based on different morphological trends, which seems to contrast the qualitative data.

For the archival data, the Cape Town sample overall shows more variation and encompasses the coding structure of the 'Prize Negro' subset, which is intended to serve as an archival analog to the biological Fort Knokke group ([Fig. 6-5](#)). The codes that were unique to the Prize Negro subset were 'Prize Negro' (coded for descriptions of this particular social class) and 'Negro' (coded for usage of the term 'Negro'), while it shared its other most salient codes with the full dataset ([Fig. 6-6](#)). The two groups shared codes about described physical appearance, racial and skin color categories, birthplace, and runaway men. For context, all of the runaways in the 'Prize Negro' subset were described as men, and half of the advertisements described a birthplace in Mozambique. Some of the high frequency codes unique to the South Africa sample

were references to being born in the Cape, subcategories of skin color and birthplace, illness, and benevolence on the part of enslavers.

The findings of the archival Cape Town sample show a difference in the way variation is structured in the biological and archival datasets. The two datasets position late stage slave trade victims, whether those who disembarked as slaves or as 'Prize Negroes,' with strong evidence of origins from Mozambique. Both datasets also contrast these 'Prize Negroes' against a sample of Cape Town regions, which is characterized by high admixture among Black, Southeast Asian, and European groups but also has some level of stratification that maintains group distinction. In the case of the biological dataset, Fort Knokke has higher variance than the Cape Town group, and the two groups are distinct (but intersecting). In comparison, the archival Cape Town group had higher variation than the 'Prize Negro' subset, and it effectively encompassed the latter's variation (Fig. 6-5). Although these findings must be qualified by the differences in structure between the biological and archival datasets, this shared pattern is relevant because they suggest that the main foci of the documents in the Cape Town group were relatively consistent, or it at least shared the same core structure.

To confirm that these observations were not attributable to a sampling issue, I teased apart the structure of the Fort Knokke biological group more fully. As suggested in Chapter Four, the Fort Knokke group includes decedents from a second excavation, who were likely of European origin. These decedents did cluster together in the PCA plots and for some PC axes had the extreme scores. However, re-running the PCA and Procrustes ANOVA without these decedents included had no substantial impact on the variation. Further, with the second excavation decedents removed, Fort Knokke still had

the highest variance. This suggests that whether or not the European decedents were included in the sample, the Fort Knokke group structure remained as described, which is distinct from but still overlapping with the Cape Town group.

These differences between the biological and archival datasets (e.g., the high within-group variation in the Fort Knokke group but not the 'Prize Negro' subset) show a lack of alignment between the biological and archival datasets. However, the uniting characteristic between the two of them is the positioning of 'Mozambiquers.' In the qualitative data, the connection between 'Prize Negro' status and Mozambican or Malagasy origin is demonstrated in over half of the advertisements in the 'Prize Negro' subset. Even in the higher mobility of enslaved people in the Cape relative to other enslavement spaces, those who had the ability to convincingly appear as a 'Prize Negro' based on physical appearance seem to have had unique opportunities at their disposal:

...a male slave named ELEAS, a Mosambique African, about 22 years old... has with him a skin cover, and mason's tools. Said slave passes as a prize negro, under the name of Martinus, and hires himself as a Mason; at the time he first absconded, on the 15th August 1830, he hired himself to Barend Bredenkamp, at the Place Berendal, to cut corn, afterwards to Isaac Metselaar, Paarl, Jan Simenie, Stein Malerme, Dr Addey, near the Pont, Daniel Russouw, Hout Bay, Jan Gous, and since a whole year at Koopman's River, in the field cornetcy of Samuel Walters... (Document 1832-06-15)

As with the other documents in the 'Prize Negro' subset, this describes a person who is an enslaved person passing as a 'Prize Negro,' in contrast to Fort Knokke decedents representing actual 'Prize Negroes.' This raises a key aspect of assimilation as it relates to whether having "true" heritable traits versus the illusion of those traits are consequential. For example, Eleas in the passage above could convince others to believe that he had a certain background (and by extension a certain level of

unfamiliarity with the colony), as well as the slightly higher agency that being a 'Prize Negro' earned him. Thus, despite his actual origins or skillset, Eleas could still potentially have access to spaces and people that he may not have had otherwise.

While this kind of mobility cannot speak to the experience of the Fort Knokke decedents who reached an untimely death at the Cape's shores, it does provide valuable insight into the variation observed in the Cape Town biological group. If 'Prize Negro' apprentices were potentially occupying different spaces and thus having increased agency in the Cape Colony landscape, this would have implications for their ensuing population history. For example, Harries (2014) traced the migrations of Mozambicans to the Cape during the 18th-19th centuries, who once comprised a distinct 'Mozambiquer' community in the Cape distinguishable by appearance and culture. However, over time the group assimilated into the mixed race "Coloured" population and became distanced from this identity in terms of both appearance, culture, and census classifications. Put differently, the 'Mozambiquer' community effectively dissolved once South Africa moved toward constructions of new racial taxonomies during the 20th century, under which 'Mozambiquers' were reclassified as part of the Bantu racial group and were subjected to anti-Black discriminatory policies. As a result, this incentivized many to shed the 'Mozambiquer' identity in favor of a 'coloured' one (Harries, 2014, p. 189). This observation of 'Prize Negroes' does not suggest that the role of apprenticeship during the 19th century was not an exploitative and violent practice that in many ways mirrored enslavement dynamics. Rather, it is possible that by the time advertisements such as the one above were circulated, when the Cape was on the cusp

of passing the Emancipation Act of 1833, the process of assimilation for ‘Mozambiquers’ may have already been underway (Saunders, 1984).

Discussion

The relationship between the biological and archival datasets suggests varying degrees of cohesion, as well as novel insights about the ways that biology and sociality co-constitute each other. The St. Helena datasets demonstrated that the stratification of racialized African “types” was present in both the biological subgroups and high variance, as well as the systematic modes of racial construction occurring in service of evaluating African groups’ value to the apprenticeship labor system. The St. Helena samples also provided instances of the ways that biology (e.g., being a member of a given group) could be rendered biologically deterministic, often influencing recaptives’ treatment and placement.

The Barbados context showed alignment between the biological and archival datasets, particularly in the dichotomy between Africa- and Barbados-born enslaved people. This dichotomy was emblematic of an anxiety around foreign enslaved people that were less acclimated to the atmosphere of violence and control that permeated the declining enslavement era. Lastly, the South African context showed the least amount of alignment between the biological and archival datasets. However, where the datasets relate is in their positioning of a “Mozambiquer” identity. In both the Fort Knokke and the Prize Negro contexts, references to Mozambique origin were central to descriptions of the construction of Prize Negro apprenticeship.

Beyond these patterns of within-group structure, there are broader patterns of among-group relatedness observed between the biological and archival datasets. The examination of Africa-born structure in Barbados yields interpretations for some of the

other groups. For example, in Fig. 6-4 the variation of Africa-born decedents at Newton Plantation is effectively captured by the variation of the creole decedents. This may suggest that the combination of existing group stratification with stable flows of migration produced a pattern where the incoming populations were not “new,” and thus not considered an introduction of high diversity to the population. Put differently, the migration flows in Barbados were likely stable, meaning that the gene flow was also stable, resulting in an overall lack of dramatic changes to allele frequencies and overall biological variation. This appears to be similar for the archival data, shown in the way that the variation of the ‘Prize Negro’ subset is encompassed by the broader Cape Town sample (Fig. 6-5). This implies that the perceptions of the enslaved were not necessarily changing dramatically based on the arrival of “new” groups to the colony.

Other patterns among sites are in references to Mozambique origin, which were not restricted to the Cape contexts; it also appeared in the St. Helena documents. In McHenry’s (1845) racial taxonomy, Mozambique origin entailed higher levels of innovation (particularly in agriculture) and servility. Other similar archival documents further demonstrate how Mozambicans may have stood apart from other groups in both St. Helena and South Africa:

His black complexion, his curly hair, his thick lips, and his tattooed forehead, announce him from the coast of Mozambique, his strong make shows him capable of fatigue, and in his inoffensive and humbled countenance, you may read that he often submitted to blows...without for a moment thinking of revenge...(Semple, 1805, p. 46)

When placed in the context of ‘Prize Negroes’ (whether being one or “passing” as one), these characterizations of perceived servility and a lack of resistance would have made Mozambicans and related groups especially appealing to European settlers who were eager to build the apprenticeship class. This perception may also have contributed to

the reasons why Mozambican runaways such as the abovementioned Eleas had the ability to traverse the colonial Cape landscape. Such subversions of the system that continued to be shaped by biological significance was apparent in the biological dataset PCA, where some St. Helena decedents showed close overlap with Fort Knokke decedents. Further, in the HCA reduced model, St. Helena and Fort Knokke shared Cluster 3 as their largest cluster. Given the Fort Knokke group's strong suggestion of Southeastern African origins, this cluster may be representative of that region of origin in the St. Helena group (see [Fig. 4-8](#), above). These patterns may reflect the broader shift toward recruiting labor from Southeastern African regions during the 19th century, wherein the (social) recruitment of groups on a perceived biological basis had clear consequences for where enslaved or recaptive peoples were transported, and subsequently how they assimilated into, shed, or subverted racialized boundaries.

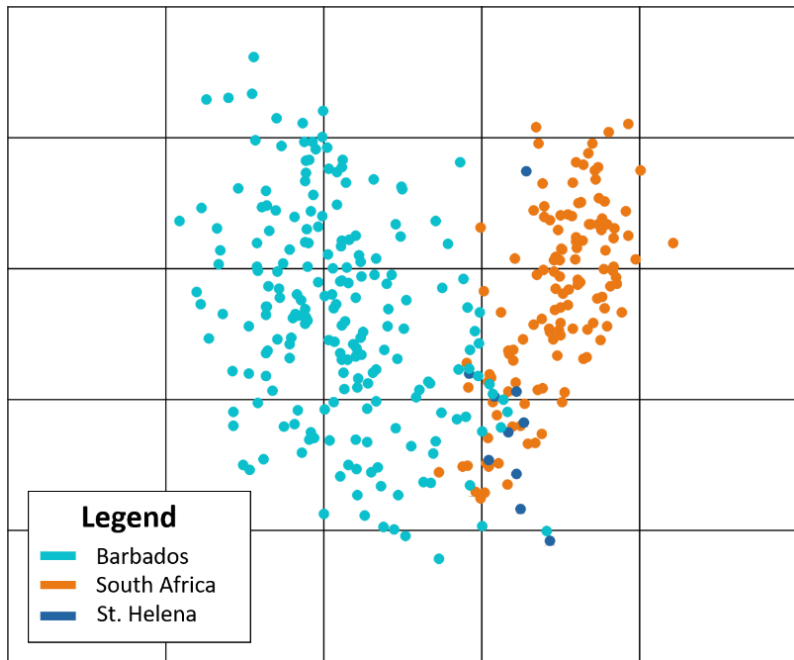


Figure 6-1. MAXQDA plot of similarity of documents in full archival dataset. Output from Document Map function, which calculates a distance matrix of the documents and plots each document as a data point.

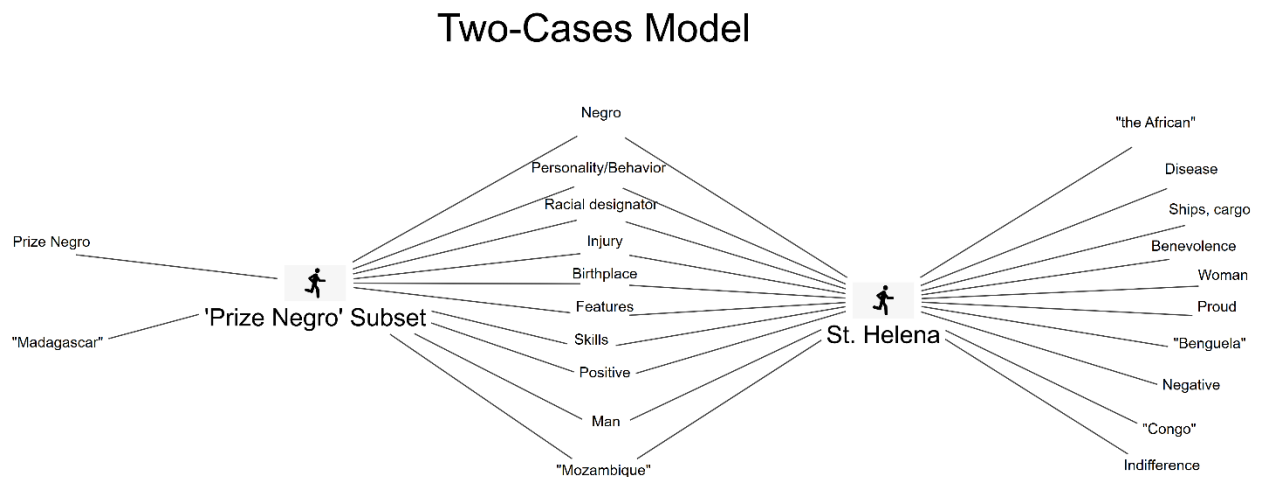


Figure 6-2. MAXMaps model showing the code intersections between the 'Prize Negro' subset and St. Helena archival groups. The shown codes represent the top 10 highest frequency codes for each column, with the codes in the center column referring to shared codes.

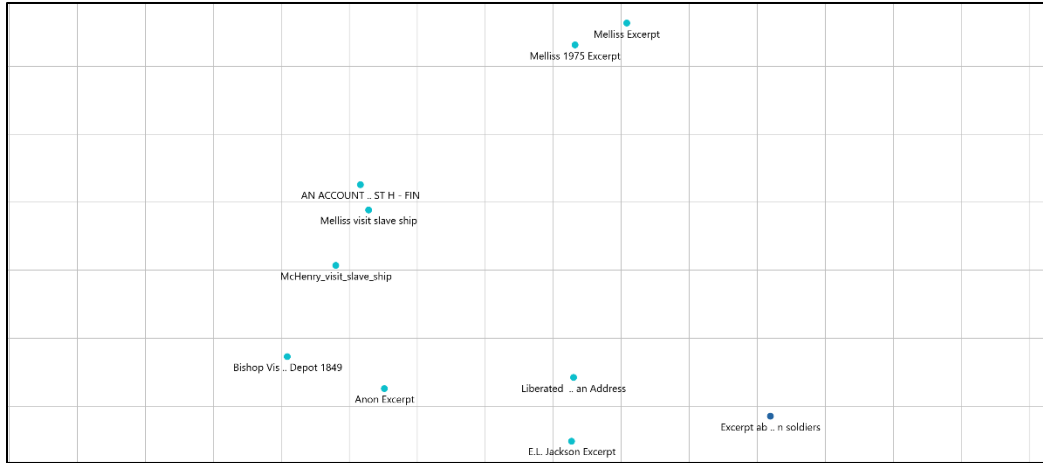


Figure 6-3. MAXQDA Document Map of St. Helena archival sample. The plot calculates a distance matrix of the documents and plots each document as a data point.

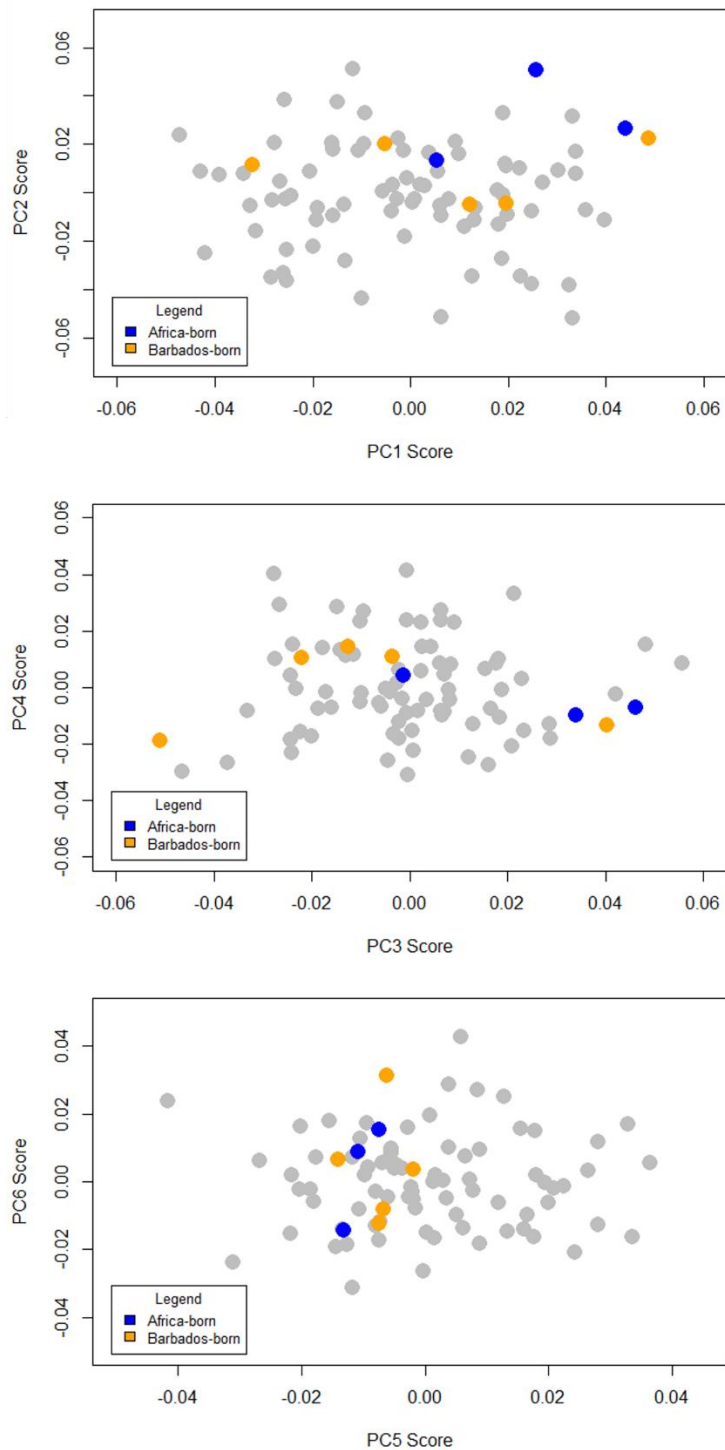


Figure 6-4. Principal components analysis plot of full biological group, with all groups except Barbados in gray. Africa-born decedents are in blue, while Barbados-born decedents are orange.

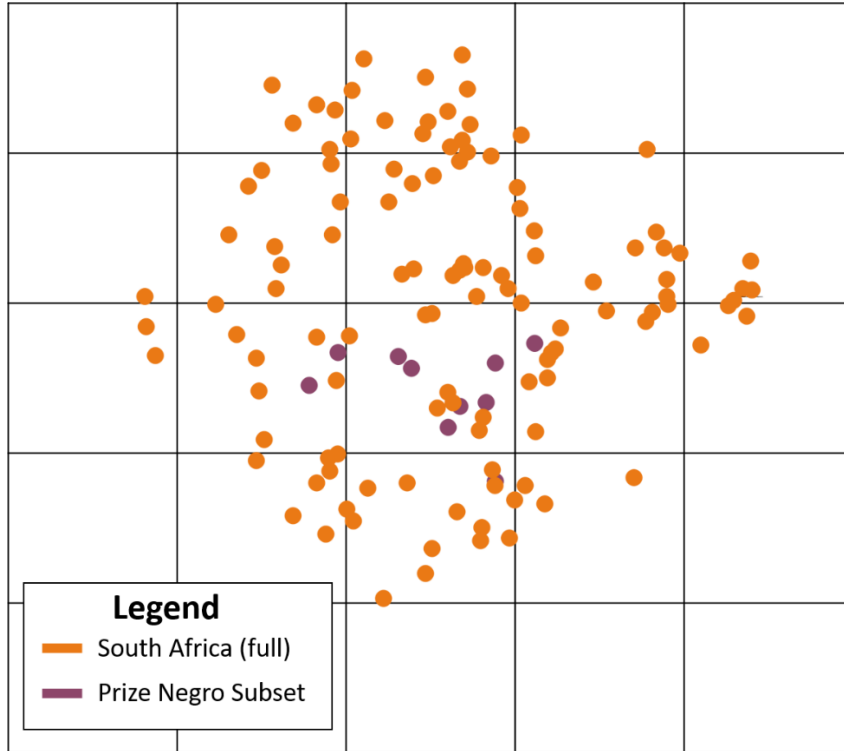


Figure 6-5. MAXQDA plot comparing the similarity of the Cape Town and 'Prize Negro' archival subsamples. Output from Document Map function, which calculates a distance matrix of the documents and plots each document as a data point.

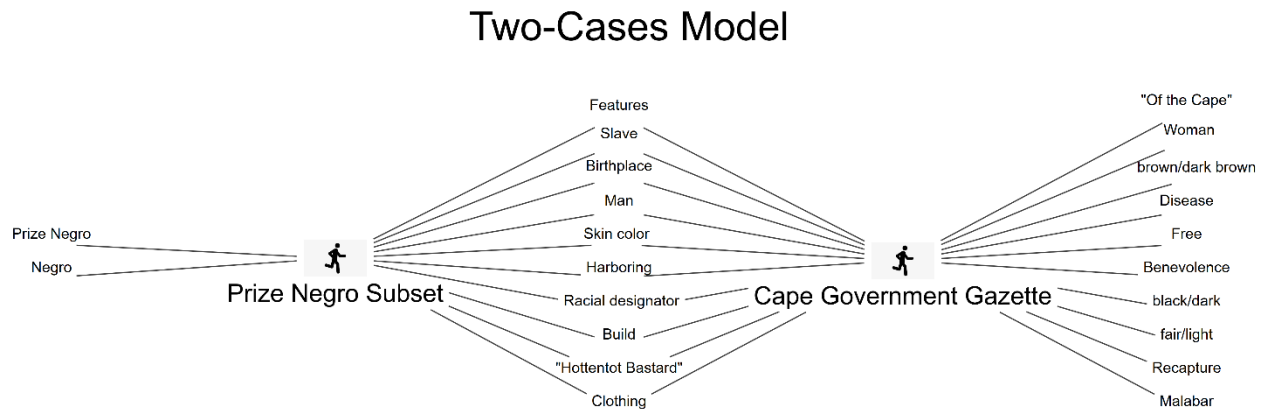


Figure 6-6. MAXMaps model showing the code intersections between the Prize Negro subset and South Africa archival groups. The shown codes represent the top 10 highest frequency codes for each column, with the codes in the center column referring to shared codes.

CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSION

The aim of this project was to apply an integrative approach to analyze the biosocial variation of several enslavement era sites. These sites represented regions that are typically not discussed alongside one another, not because they do not share migration histories or systems of racialization, but because they traditionally exist within paradigms of trans-Atlantic and Indian Ocean enslavement. While this distinction between trades is valuable for identifying differences in routes, demographics, time period, and scale, operating only within those binaries can obscure understanding of the full range of diversity and connection that exists among enslaved groups. Thus, in considering the ways that the trans-Atlantic and Indian Ocean slave trades intersect, this study aimed to identify novel information about migration history.

My area of intervention for this study focused on three regions of the British Empire: St. Helena, Cape Town, and Barbados. I chose these sites for three reasons:

1. To infer novel connections or areas of overlap among enslavement sites that were united by the same colonization forces
2. To dissect the era of “decline” for the slave trade, which saw upheavals in trade legality, enslaved origins, and labor systems
3. To position the Cape Colony as an Indian Ocean slave trade site that shares some migration flows with Atlantic diasporic sites, particularly from Southeast Africa

To investigate the biosocial variation of these sites, I used geometric morphometrics, thematic analysis, and other multidisciplinary techniques to estimate among- and within-site patterns of biosocial variation.

Biological Continuity and Stratification

The tests of the four biological sample groups (Barbados, St. Helena, Fort Knokke, Cape Town) suggest that they are morphologically distinct. The Procrustes ANOVA performed on the full biological dataset was statistically significant, and the

post-hoc tests of pairwise distances of group means were all significant as well. However, these results are qualified by the weak R-squared valued in the ANOVA, suggesting that these differences may be subtle. Further, the PCA demonstrated that, even with some evidence of morphological distinctiveness, the groups showed considerable overlap across the PCA plots. These overlaps revealed some unexpected connections among the decedents. Notably, although the Fort Knokke and Barbados groups had the highest pairwise score (meaning they were the most distantly related relative to the other pairs), they had considerable overlap in the PC plots. This suggests that, based on morphological similarities and some documented evidence of this route, this overlap could potentially reflect slave trade journeys that were transporting enslaved people from Southeastern Africa to Barbados. Of the pairwise distances, the groups with the lowest pairwise distances (and thus the highest morphological affinity) were St. Helena and Cape Town. This close relationship is consistent with 19th century migrations of 'Liberated Africans' to the Cape Colony as formal enslavement ended. The recaptive Africans transported from St. Helena to the Cape would have been dubbed 'Prize Negroes' and placed under coercive apprenticeship labor. The similarity between the groups likely also relates to similarities in origins. Compared to the Fort Knokke biological group, which is likely of predominantly Mozambican origins, St. Helena was known to comprise a broader range of African nations (e.g., Angola, Gabon, Mozambique), origins which were present at the Cape as well. The patterns of genetic continuity across these groups appear to reflect the shifting demographics of slave trading during the 19th century, in which transport from Southeastern African

countries and shifts to apprenticeship and other 'in-between' labor systems created new migration pathways.

Fort Knokke and Barbados had the highest levels of within-group variance of the four biological groups. However, the effects of group category on variance were nonsignificant, suggesting that the variances of the groups are relatively similar. In the HCA, all four groups showed some evidence of subgrouping, and Cape Town and St. Helena were the most similar in structure. In addition to their high morphological affinity, the two groups also shared similar levels of stratification. These patterns of stratification suggest that some form of socially-enforced barriers restricted the mobility and agency of these enslaved/recaptive persons. In the case of St. Helena and Fort Knokke, these barriers were the untimely deaths they met that precluded their ability to form families or establish roots in the enslavement space, while in the Barbados and Cape Town groups stratification would have related to social barriers to the spaces enslaved people could occupy and who they could interact with.

Modes of Essentialization in the Archive

The template analyses of archival data for Barbados, St. Helena, and Cape Town revealed themes of subversion in the dataset, with runaway enslaved persons in Barbados and the Cape demonstrating different ways of performing roles to stay hidden (e.g., changing facial hair, dressing in a certain uniform). And although subversion was not a key theme in the St. Helena documents, recaptive Africans in St. Helena exercised their agency by refusing labor, escaping to other parts of the island, or even protesting boarding ships intended for permanent relocation. In the Cape context, navigating enslavement through subversion relied less on elaborate disguises, and more so related to resembling ethnic groups who had relatively more agency than the

enslaved population. This made it so that features that would normally be indicators of a lack of assimilation to the colony (e.g., filed teeth, tattoos) could sometimes be used to runaways' advantage. For example, runaways of Mozambique origin could often convincingly pass as 'Prize Negroes,' which likely would have conferred them more benefit.

In the St. Helena sample, the themes in the documents cast doubt on what the notion of liberation was intended to guarantee to the enslaved. In the recaptive African depots in St. Helena the turn to 'liberation' was still fraught with dubious consent, coercive labor, and reified racial categories. The emphasis of Africans' status made their foreign-ness and perceived inferiority clear, as the decisions of their destinations, the labor they performed, or even where on the island to go were rarely theirs to make.

All three sites emphasized description of physical appearance and behavior, but references to behavior were most prominent in the St. Helena documents. This was related to the efforts of Europeans in service at the depot attempting to construct racial taxonomies of the "types" of Africans that inhabited the depot. This was most likely motivated by the broader aims of slave ship seizure, which was to transport formerly enslaved Africans to British colonies as apprentices. Another aspect that all three sites shared was in the documents' continued reliance on colonial language. This means that, despite the St. Helena documents representing a post-enslavement era site that espoused themes of charity and abolition, the language used to describe recaptive Africans was remarkably similar to descriptions of the enslaved, particularly as it related to their perceived inferiority and ascribed roles as possessions of a colonial empire.

In the midst of this complex relationship between charity and coercion, the themes in the St. Helena documents also evoked the notion of precarity. The liminality of recaptive experience was a unique form of trauma where, even following the most devastating period of their lives, captives could still face or witness death at any moment due to the high disease and injury rates starting from their time of capture into enslavement. However, despite this liminal status and period of recurring loss and tragedy, some captives still subverted their circumstances by forging new paths, whether through finding remote caves to retreat to when they refused coercive labor, foraging or hunting in groups, and even marriage and childbirth.

Toward a Biosocial Synthesis

This study positions interdisciplinary approaches as fundamental to yielding new insights about slave trade migration history. I knew at the study's outset that the biological and archival datasets each had their own shortcomings. For example, using historic skeletal remains to approximate biological patterns came with an understanding of the forms of racialization that enslaved persons were subjected to in life that effectively produced their burial circumstances, which prompted me to consider whether disrupting decedents further for research is justifiable (a concern discussed in detail in Chapter Two). However, such datasets also have unique advantages, in that burials represent slices of time tied to loosely shared lived experiences, allowing consideration of the broader social and biological forces around the burial site. A similar strength is found in the archival data, which focused on the social circumstances of particular locations and time periods; in the Barbados and Cape Town contexts, these locations were urban locales in which enslaved or captive persons navigated (St. Michael and Cape Town, respectively).

One salient finding from this study was the role that ‘Mozambiquer’ identity played in the construction of Barbados, Cape Town, and St. Helena racial taxonomies, as well as the ways these racialized systems aligned with the biological dataset. This framing was expected in the biological Fort Knokke dataset, given that the group represented ‘Prize Negroes’ from a shipwreck who likely originated from Mozambique (and perhaps neighboring regions). Thus, references in the archival sample to Mozambican or Malagasy runaways at the Cape representing themselves as ‘Prize Negroes’ showed a clear link to the biological group. In the St. Helena archival documents, ‘Mozambiques’ were positioned as more servile and closer to “civility” than their counterparts. These perceptions of biology (in this case based on appearance) were used to inform and shape the social, in that assigning a certain level of value to these groups of people had implications for what spaces they were able to access, what jobs they were trusted to perform, and in the St. Helena case where they were transported to once they departed from the island. As this related to impacts on biological variation, in the PCA some St. Helena decedents showed close overlap with Fort Knokke decedents. Further, in the reduced version of the HCA the St. Helena and Fort Knokke groups both had Cluster 3 as their largest cluster. This similarity in stratification, as well as Fort Knokke’s strong association with Mozambican origins, suggests that Southeastern African origins were part of the St. Helena group.

Other syntheses of the data demonstrated the strong alignment between biological and social patterns in Barbados. The binary between Africa-born and Barbados-born groups showed clear distinction in the biological data, as the Africa-born decedents clustered more closely in PCA plots, and the variance of the Africa-born

decedents was captured by the variance of Barbados-born decedents. In the archival data, common racialized designators mainly included 'Negro,' 'Black,' 'African,' and 'Mulatto,' with 'Black' being more associated with a creole identity. More broadly, the types of descriptors used for runaways was to distinguish between levels of assimilation to the island. For example, physical features such as dental modifications or tattoos suggested African birth. The term 'Negro' referred to both creole and Africa-born runaways, capturing the variance of those referred to as 'African' (similar to the Barbados-born decedents capturing the variance of Africa-born decedents in the biological dataset).

Future Directions

While this study provided novel understandings of the connections among enslavement sites, as well as evidence of the contributions of Southeastern African regions to the formation of diasporic groups in the late stages of enslavement, it was limited by the selected scope and methodology of this project. Notably, the study sites were all Anglophone British Empire sites dating to primarily the 19th century, and as such left out large swathes of detail on the Portuguese and Brazilian trading networks that persisted during this period. Further, the practice of studying cranial morphology, although accessible and non-destructive, is limited in its specificity. Thus, there are still some groups' relationships that require further investigation. For example, the close relationship between St. Helena and Cape Town aligns with broader migration histories related to the apprenticeship system, but the limited provenience available for the Cape Town group (which likely includes some non-Black decedents) precludes detailed inference of origin based on cranial morphology data alone.

Another potential limitation of this study is the extent that these results can be extrapolated to other enslavement contexts. These results in many ways reflect the slave trade's decline, which saw increased recruitment of Southeastern Africans into enslavement and the emergence of transitional labor systems (i.e., recaptivity, apprenticeship). During this period, the construction of 'Mozambiquers' as a distinct biosocial group had implications for their social positioning and migration outcomes. However, given the narrow slices of time represented by the study sites and the overall "patchiness" of the data, the extent to which these results apply to global slave trade patterns is limited. For example, the St. Helena biological group is not representative of St. Helena's existing slave trade flow that contributed directly to the island's population structure, as they died prior to integrating into the island or elsewhere. Even with Southeastern African contribution increasing in the late stages of the slave trade, enslaved people still overwhelmingly originated from West and West Central African regions, and the study results do not contradict this. These results instead argue that Southeastern Africa may have had more of a role in these migrations than traditionally thought, suggesting that studies of Atlantic sites may be strengthened by embracing this possibility.

For future projects, I plan to incorporate non-Anglophone sites of the slave trade and time periods to interpret biosocial patterns in different colonization systems. I plan to integrate other forms of biological data (e.g., genetic, isotopic, osteobiographical) data to more holistically document group formation and change in these spaces. I also plan to expand the scope of analysis, as this work represents a particular slice of slave trade history but could benefit from expanded analysis. For example, data from

enslavement sites such as the New York African Burial Ground have revealed much about the patterns of health and demography at the site. Further, there is evidence that some of the decedents at the site are of Caribbean origin, so placing this site in comparison with the Newton Plantation, Barbados, site may enable further insight into intra-American enslavement networks.

Lastly, my future work will center community collaboration to develop and pursue research questions and design. I have learned over the past few years that listening to the wants of community advocates can transform research direction in unexpected but beneficial ways, and I find it crucial to continue to examine new ways to effectively gain input and make decisions collaboratively. This will include collaborating with St. Helenian organizations to aid in developing an interpretation center associated with Rupert's Valley burial ground, and continuing ongoing community engagement efforts.

APPENDIX A 3D LANDMARK PLACEMENT GUIDE

Table A-1. Guidelines for collecting 3D cranial landmark data from 3D surface scans.

Bregma	Place landmark at the intersection of the coronal and sagittal sutures, being careful to avoid letting the point “sink” into either suture. Instead the stylus will be placed on the most posterior section of the frontal bone, just before the sutural intersection. If the sutures present excess digitation, project an imaginary sagittal midline and find intersection with coronal suture. Bregma should fall approximately through the midline, however, if the sagittal suture is slightly off to one side then shift your landmark to match the intersection. Ignore any persistent metopic sutures. If one or both pertinent sutures have become faded or completely obliterated, estimate the approximate intersection as best as you can. Crosscheck placement in sagittal view.
Nasion	Place the landmark at the intersection of the frontal bone and internasal suture, being careful to avoid letting the point sink into the suture. Ignore any superior extension of the nasal bones lateral to the internasal suture. Landmark should fall approximately midline but follow the internasal suture even if it curves slightly.
Rhinion	Place the landmark on the most inferior point of the internasal suture, being careful to avoid letting the point sink into the suture. If the inferior end of the internasal suture is damaged, but a more lateral inferior portion of the nasal bones remains, follow the curve of the inferior portion of the nasal bones to estimate approximately where the landmark should be.
Nasospinale	Place the landmark at the intersection of the midline and the most inferior portion of the nasal aperture. (Approximate the midline as coming down from sagittal suture, through the internasal suture, and into the intermaxillary suture. Then imagine a perpendicular line that hits the two lowest dips in the inferior portion of the nasal aperture). If the nasal aperture is asymmetric, approximate the midline based off the intermaxillary suture, and the horizontal line through the higher of the two dips in the nasal aperture. Do not expect this point to always correspond with the tip of the nasal spine. Make sure not to let the point sink into the intermaxillary suture.
Prosthion	Place the landmark on the most anterior point in the midline on the maxillary alveolar processes, being careful to avoid letting the stylus fall into the suture or below the alveolar ridges. Determine the midline by the intermaxillary suture. If there is minor alveolar resorption (less than 2 mm perceived), take the landmark wherever the alveolar ridges currently end. If the alveolar resorption appears to be greater than 2 mm, estimate the approximate location it would have been before resorption occurred. Utilize other teeth, if present, to trace how far the alveolar ridges would have extended.
Dacryon	Position cranium anteriorly and find intersection between frontal, maxilla, and lacrimal. Shift cranium slightly to adjust point at intersection of those bones, and place point slightly on frontal surface (but still along sutures). Place the landmark at the intersection of the lacrimomaxillary suture and the frontal bone. If there is damage to the lacrimals, estimate the intersection by projecting a point that is collinear with the orbital curve.

Table A-1. Continued

Zygomaxillare anterior	Place the landmark at the most antero-superior point of the zygomaxillary suture, at the orbit margin (not inside the rim), being careful to avoid letting the 3D point “sink” below the ectocranial surface. Do not confuse this point with the inferior orbital suture. If this suture is starting to fade, look at both sides of the skull to determine where the point will hit approximately (it will be about the same on both sides usually).
Superior infraorbital	Place the landmark at the most superior point of the largest (if there are multiple) infraorbital foramen. The point should be at the most anterior portion of the rim of the foramen, and not inside it. If the foramen is roughly circular, then just place your landmark superior to its centroid. If the foramen is oblong or otherwise irregular, place your landmark at the most supero-medially orientated edge.
Frontozygomatic orbitale	Identify the frontozygomatic suture, and follow the upper orbital curve and place point collinear to it. Avoid letting the point “sink” into the suture, as it usually has a bigger gap than most sutures. If frontal is present but not the zygomatics, it can still be estimated if the start of the suture (e.g., where edge of frontal flares and slopes underneath).
Frontomalare temporale	Identify the frontozygomatic suture, and re-position cranium so pterion and sphenozygomatic suture are visible. Find posteriormost point of the frontozygomatic suture that is coplanar with the ectocranial surface. (Do not let point “sink” in the suture opening.)
Frontoparietal temporale	Identify the more prominent of the temporal lines; it is usually the superiorly placed one, but not always. Then identify the coronal suture. If the coronal suture is ablated or difficult to identify on the scan, use the pterion points to estimate suture line.
Superior zygotemporale	Identify whether the zygomatic arch is complete, partially present, or missing. If partially present such that the zygomatic or temporal process are still present, can use that to estimate the position of the point. If only one of those structures is present, find the superiormost point of the zygomaticotemporal suture
Incisive canal	Locate the midline posterior border of the incisive canal while the cranium is in inferior view. The point should fall along the rim of the border, and it should not enter the incisive canal itself. If the central point of the posterior border is not midline, project the point to the midline.
Maxillo-palatine suture	This point occurs at the intersection of the intermaxillary and palatine sutures. Since sutural patterns can be variable, project midline placement of this point. If the left and right maxilla-palatine sutures diverge at different midline anteroposterior points, find the midpoint between the distance of those two points.
Posterior nasal spine	Place landmark at the most posteroinferior point of the intermaxillary suture. If the visibility of the intermaxillary suture is obscured, estimate the location of the posteriormost projection. The vomer can be used as a reference to the midsagittal plane in order to orient the midline point.
Vomer-sphenoid junction	Locate the “V” shape of the vomer alae. The point is the posteriormost midline vertex of where the “V” begins to diverge. This point should be taken on the vomer, not the sphenoid. Of the “V” region of the vomer alae, there is a superficial and deeper vertex; defer to the superficial vertex point.

Table 1-1. Continued

Basion	Place landmark on most posteroinferior point of basioccipital. The point should be midline with reference to basioccipital and long axis of foramen magnum. Note that this landmark represents true basion rather than ectobasion (which is located more anteriorly).
Asterion	Identify lambdoid and squamous sutures, and place point at the intersection. The landmark should be coplanar with the ectocranial surface. If temporal is missing, still use point at intersection of the lambdoid and squamous suture, but go to edge of intersection without allowing the point to “sink” below the level of the ectocranial surface.
Parietal boss	Place landmark at the approximated apex point of the parietal boss, which should be posterolaterally placed on the parietal. This fuzzy landmark point is collected 3 times (not consecutively) for each side, and the average of the three coordinate sets is taken as the landmark point.
Opisthocranion	This point should be the most posteriorly projecting midline point on the occipital. It should be located superiorly to the nuchal lines. This fuzzy landmark point is collected 3 times (not consecutively) for each side, and the average of the three coordinate sets is taken as the landmark point.

	AX	AY	AZ	BA	BB	BC	BD	BE	BF	BG	BH	BI	BJ	BK	BL	BM	BN	BO	BP	BQ	BR	BS
1	Rmxt	Lmxt	Rlph	Ltph	Rzmi	Lzmi	Rtzip	Ltzip	Rtsip	Ltsip	Rfov	Lfov	Rroc	Lroc	Rcar	Lcar	Rst	Lst	Rst	Lst	Rst	Lst
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Figure B-1. Continued.

APPENDIX C
TEXT ANALYSIS CODEBOOK (TEMPLATE)

Table C-1. Sample codebook for template analysis. Initial template for Barbados sample.

Code	Runaway
Description	Any reference in document to an enslaved African/African descendant who has escaped from their present owner (also known as subscriber). For advertisements describing one person, the whole document is coded. For advertisements describing plural runaways, the description for each runaway is coded.
Inclusion Criteria	If enslaved person runaways/fugitives are the topic of the description, mention of free Black persons does not change the coding.
Exclusion Criteria	Do not apply this code to free African descendants if they are the subject of the advertisement.
Typical Exemplars	This code will be applied to the majority of documents in the dataset, as most are directly referring to a runaway.
Atypical Exemplar	This code will be applied to certain cases where a subscriber contests the free status of an African descendant. For example, an advertisement submitted by John and Harriott LaGorce refute that Dolly Bridges, a Black Woman who claims 'free' status, is free. In this instance, the LaGorce advertisement would be coded as 'Runaway,' and Bridges' response would be linked in the text, but not coded as 'Runaway.'
Code	Racial designator
Description	Word or phrase that describes the racial group the subscriber places the runaway into. Here, racial group refers to the discrete groups that were employed in 19 th century Anglophone Caribbean societies to explain human variation/ancestry, which in this case includes groups such as Negro, Mulatto, and White. These terms, though not biologically meaningful, emphasize the racial hierarchies in place at the time.
Inclusion Criteria	Code for descriptions of racial group (e.g. Negro)
Exclusion Criteria	Do not apply code to descriptions of birthplace or gender, which belongs to 'Birthplace' and 'Gender' codes, respectively.
Code	Skin color
Description	Description of the skin tone of the runaway person, including adjectives that explain the extent of darkness or lightness of their skin color, such as "very" or "quite."
Inclusion Criteria	Code for descriptions of skin tone, including words that indicate, in the subscriber's view, how dark or light their skin tone is.
Exclusion Criteria	Do not code for other physical features or words that indicate positive/negative perceptions of the skin tone (e.g., "ugly").
Typical Exemplar	From 1807-09-05-3, "...very black skin"
Atypical Exemplar	From 1808-07-30, "...of a tawney colour"

Table C-1. Continued

Close but no	In some cases, the word “black” is used as a racial designator instead of a skin tone descriptor. For example, in 1807-01-06-3, “...A young black boy named Richard...” suggests that ‘black’ refers to his ascribed racial group rather than just skin tone.
Code	Described Gender
Description	The assumed gender of the runaway person as assessed by the advertisement subscriber. This does not refer to any biological reality or self-perception of the runaway person. These categories typically include terms such as “man/fellow/boy” for men, and “woman/wench/girl” for women. The ‘Described Gender’ code serves as a parent code to house Man/Woman subcodes but should not house codes directly.
Inclusion Criteria	Code in the appropriate Man/Woman subcode if the gender of the runaway person is described, including children.
Exclusion Criteria	Do not code for the gender of members of their network, including but not limited to relatives and acquaintances. Do not code the same person more than once.
Typical Exemplar	From 1807-08-01-2, “Absented herself from the service of the Subscriber on Monday evening last, a young Negro Woman slave called Jenny.”
Atypical Exemplar	From 1807-08-08-2, “...Sammy, a black skin fellow...”
Subcode	Man
Subcode	Woman
Code	Physical features
Description	Mention of aspects of the runaway person’s physical features, including but not limited to facial form, hair texture, height, injuries/illness, and clothing.
Inclusion Criteria	Code for neutral and non-neutral descriptions of physical features of the runaway person.
Exclusion Criteria	Do not code for behaviors and habits of the runaway person.
Typical Exemplar	From 1807-01-17, “...he is tall and large limbed, with very large feet; one tooth out before...”
Atypical Exemplar	From 1807-06-30-2, “...has his country marks on his belly, had on a check shirt without sleeves, blue kerseymere coat, and a pair of Orleans trowsers, with one of the legs torn off...”
Subcode	Build
Description	Descriptions of the physical build of the runaway person, typically in reference to their suitability for physical labor.
Inclusion Criteria	Code for descriptions of limb proportions or body type (relative to fitness for labor) as assessed by the subscriber.
Exclusion Criteria	Do not code facial features or other physical characteristics unrelated to body type.

Table C-1. Continued

Typical Exemplar	From 1807-03-28-2, "...a stout, well-made Negro Woman Slave"
Atypical Exemplar	From 1807-07-21, "badly made about the feet, which are remarkably large, and somewhat inverted."
Close but no	Neutral numerical descriptions of height
Subcode	From 1807-03-28-2, "...about 5 feet 6 or 7 inches stature" Illness/disability
Description	Physical features that indicate an injury or former or active illness.
Inclusion Criteria	Code for descriptions of illness or injury, or for visible remnants of former illness/injury.
Exclusion Criteria	Do not code descriptions of descriptions related to body type/build (e.g., "badly made")
Typical Exemplar	From 1807-07-21, "...partially pitted with the small-pox"
Atypical Exemplar	From 1811-08-20, "...with the mark of an imposthume on one of his cheeks"
Code	Personality/Behavior
Description	Described habits, personality, demeanor of the runaway, including but not limited to hobbies, how they act/speak/look in conversation, their perceived intelligence etc.
Inclusion Criteria	Code for neutral and non-neutral descriptions of personality traits or behaviors of the runaway person.
Exclusion Criteria	Do not code for physical characteristics of the runaway person.
Typical Exemplar	From 1811-08-20, "...has a very grum, serious countenance..."
Atypical Exemplar	Descriptions of 'visage,' which, similar to 'countenance,' appears to imply how the runaway person carries/presents themselves in the perspective of the subscriber.
Subcode	Skills
Description	Description of the runaway person's competence or knowledge about a certain form of labor or trained skill.
Inclusion Criteria	Code for descriptions of the runaway person's skillset/vocation, which they may or may not do in exchange for payment.
Exclusion Criteria	Do not code language skills.
Typical Exemplar	From 1807-09-05-2, "He is a very good field Negro and Cotton Ginner, and has been known to gin in one day, 90 lb. neat cotton."

Table C-1. Continued

Atypical Exemplar	From 1808-05-31, "...being a noted Banjoe-man..." From 1808-05-21, "...a noted Huckster..."
Code	Positive
Description	Descriptions of the runaway person's/network member's physical features or personality/behavior that connote a positive assessment. This may include descriptions that suggest the runaway person has appealing or attractive physical characteristics in the subscriber's perspective, or complimentary descriptions of the runaway person's hobbies, personality, or demeanor.
Inclusion Criteria	Code for descriptions that suggest that the runaway person's appearance or behavior in some aspect conforms to mainstream standards of beauty/respectability.
Exclusion Criteria	Do not code assessments of fitness for labor, such as comments on physical build.
Typical Exemplar	From 1807-08-25-2, "Jenny, native of Dominica, speaks French and English; has good teeth, and rather a pretty face for a woman of her description."
Atypical Exemplar	From 1811-09-07, "...has a round full face and pleasing visage..." (Note: Here it is unclear whether visage refers to facial features or expression, because the term "pleasing countenance" is also used in certain advertisements.)
Close but no	Positive descriptions of a skill/vocation that the runaway person has experience with. From 1807-01-17, "He is a very good butler and house servant, and it is probable may offer himself for hire in that capacity to strangers..."
Code	Negative
Description	Descriptions of the runaway person's/network member's physical features or personality/behavior that connote a negative assessment. This may include descriptions that suggest that the runaway's physical features or behaviors/demeanor are unappealing or shocking in the view of the subscriber.
Inclusion Criteria	Code for descriptions that suggest that the runaway person's appearance or behaviors does not fit mainstream standards of beauty/respectability.
Exclusion Criteria	Do not code behaviors/personality traits that are ambiguous in tone.
Typical Exemplar	From 1811-09-17, "The object being to arrest the progress of a serious evil now too prevalent, of encouraging the profligate and licentious to abscond from even the most moderate employment, rather than to regain a worthless person..."
Atypical Exemplar	From 1810-07-07-2, "...and as she is very artful and plausible, may pretend to be free."
Close but no	From 1811-08-20, "...has a very grum, serious countenance..." From 1810-11-13, "her fore teeth very rotten..."
Code	Assimilation
Description	Description of runaway person's ability to blend well into society during escape. This may include mention of a runaway's likely attempt to "pass" as a free person, or how easily recognized the runaway person will be.
Inclusion Criteria	Code for references to possible intentions of the runaway to pass as free and/or forge documentation. Code for descriptions of their recognition on the island.
Exclusion Criteria	Do not code value judgments of their behavior/personality, such as them being "artful," unless in a sentence directly related to the technique they may use.

Table C-1. Continued

Typical Exemplar	From 1807-01-06-3, "...no doubt passes for a white man..."
Atypical Exemplar	Explicit references to the runaway person's "country marks" or other visible signs of likely non-Barbadian birth.
Subcode	Newness
Description	How long the runaway person has been on the island (numerically or relatively), commonly (but not necessarily) stated to imply the runaway's lack of experience with the area.
Inclusion Criteria	Code for descriptions of the amount of time the runaway person has been present on the island.
Exclusion Criteria	Do not code for birthplace.
Typical Exemplar	From 1810-08-18, "Sampson and York, two African men, who have been some years in the Island..."
Atypical Exemplar	From 1808-07-19, "she arrived lately from Surinam with the Subscriber..."
Close but no	From 1809-07-29, "That she was born in this Island..."
Subcode	Birthplace
Description	Description of where the runaway person was born, or a broad estimation of their birthplace (e.g., Africa).
Inclusion Criteria	Code for the birthplace of the runaway person
Exclusion Criteria	Do not code for the amount of time spent on the island.
Typical Exemplar	From 1811-11-30, "born in Martinique..."
Atypical Exemplar	From 1808-07-30, "...an African Man and Woman..."
Subcode	Language comment
Description	Description of the runaway's knowledge of one or more languages, to either express their high or low proficiency with it.
Inclusion Criteria	Code language abilities of the runaway person.
Exclusion Criteria	Do not code any assessment of the runaway person's ability to pass as a free person.
Typical Exemplar	From 1807-01-24-3, "...he speaks very little English..."

Table C-1. Continued

Atypical Exemplar	From 1811-04-27, "...speaks indifferent English"
Close but no	The runaway's ability to speak in a commendable manner in the subscriber's view, but not in a way that conveys that they are foreign to the island. Further, any manners of speaking that do not relate to language proficiency.
	From 1809-10-07, "he speaks well..."
	From 1811-06-18-2, "speaks in a low tone of voice"
Code	Reward
Description	The reward offered by the subscriber for apprehending the runaway person, typically stated at opening or closing of the advertisement.
Inclusion Criteria	Code the reward money offered to those who apprehend the runaway person.
Exclusion Criteria	Do not code offers made to the runaway person in order to convince them to return to the subscriber.
Typical Exemplar	From 1807-01-06, "A reward of five pounds is offered to any person that will apprehend and deliver to the subscriber"
Atypical Exemplar	From 1807-01-10-3, "and a further sum of Five Pounds for information of his being harboured by any white or free coloured person..."
Code	Crime
Description	Description of a violent or non-violent crime apparently committed by the runaway person. The act may not inherently be a crime by modern standards; the relevant aspect is whether the subscriber frames the runaway's action as a crime.
Inclusion Criteria	Code for articulations of a crime committed by the runaway person in the subscriber's view.
Exclusion Criteria	Do not code for the act of running away, unless the subscriber describes running away as a crime.
Typical Exemplar	From 1811-10-12 "...who has stolen cash and valuables to a large amount"
Atypical Exemplar	From 1811-06-29-2, "...she may be assured of severe punishment under a criminal prosecution, as well for the theft of the linen as for the crime of unlawfully absenting herself."
Code	Blame
Description	Assigning responsibility for the prolonged absence of the runaway person, described as malicious, scheming or criminal. This accused party may have "carried them off" or are concealing them.
Inclusion Criteria	Code for descriptions of assigning blame for the runaway person's absence.
Exclusion Criteria	Do not code for estimations of where the runaway person escaped to. Do not code for who is possibly harbouring the runaway person unless described in a negative tone.
Typical Exemplar	From 1810-11-13, "She is supposed to be concealed either by her mother... or by some evil-disposed white person or other in behalf of her mother."

Table C-1. Continued

Atypical Exemplar	From 1807-09-08, "Enticed from on board the African ship Columbus..."
Code	Companion
Description	Description of either two or more runaway persons in the same advertisement who escaped together, or the description of one runaway person with indirect reference to an escape ally (e.g., a mother escaping with her non-described child)
Inclusion Criteria	Code for coordinated escapes that involve more than one runaway person.
Exclusion Criteria	Do not code when several runaway persons are described but did not escape together.
Typical Exemplar	From 1807-01-10, "Run away from Windsor Plantation, the property of Thomas H. Griffith, Esq. two Negroes, Joe and Richmond..."
Atypical Exemplar	From 1811-02-26, "...a Negro Woman, well known by the name of Cubbah M'Grath, lately keeping Shop in Speight's-Town; also her Daughter Polly, with an infant child at the breast."
Close but no	From 1808-04-05, "Stolen from the Store of Messrs. Richard Hooton & Co. on Sunday evening last, by a Portuguese Sailor, four new Negroes" From 1807-01-06-3, "A young mulatto woman named Suckey* Ann...absented on Tuesday evening last...A young mulatto man named Jack...absented in August last..."
Code	Benevolence
Description	Ad subscriber uses language that indicates that the enslaved person was satisfied with their situation, or that they were treated well. This is typically stated to imply that the runaway person's escape was unprovoked.
Inclusion Criteria	Code descriptions of the subscriber's self-assessment of their fair treatment of the runaway person.
Exclusion Criteria	Do not code descriptions of their view of the value or assessed behaviors of the runaway person.
Typical Exemplar	From 1807-05-30, "He has left the service of his master without the least provocation"
Atypical Exemplar	From 1811-09-17, "...to abscond from even the most moderate employment..."
Code	Bargaining
Description	Subscriber describes incentive for runaway person to return. This may include peaceful measures such as a pardon if they return quickly, or it may describe a threat of punishment.
Inclusion Criteria	Code description where the subscriber is directly addressing the runaway person to inform them of incentives to return.
Exclusion Criteria	Do not code reward amounts or assessments of the runaway person's value.
Typical Exemplar	From 1807-03-28-2, "Notwithstanding she has absconded without any cause, if she will return of her own accord she shall be pardoned."




Table C-1. Continued

Atypical Exemplar	From 1811-06-29-2, "But if the said Sukey Frances do not return with her child, within three weeks from the present notice, and shall be thereafter taken, she may be assured of severe punishment under a criminal prosecution."
Code	Answers to
Description	Language that implies the runaway person has a preferred or alternate name that they acknowledge.
Inclusion Criteria	Code names that are presented as an alternative name for the runaway person. Alternatively, code names that the runaway person has apparently grown accustomed to but are not necessarily their true name(s); this dynamic is usually referred to by the phrase "answers to."
Exclusion Criteria	Do not code the primary name the runaway person is known by, unless the phrase "answers to" is included.
Typical Exemplar	From 1807-06-16-3, "... a negro woman named Charlotte, who sometimes answers to the name of Sally."
Atypical Exemplar	From 1807_06-06-2, "...an African Boy who answers to the name of Frank"
Code	Present enslaver
Description	Information included in the advertisement about the enslaver of the described runaway person. (Note: When not directly referencing the text, the term 'enslaver' is used when possible instead of 'slave owner/master'. This shift follows the tradition of more recent scholarship on slavery (e.g., Berry 2017; Hanna 2016; Montalvo 2018), intended to subtly position enslavement as an enforced system rather than a naturalized status.) The enslaver is often, but not always, the subscriber of the advertisement. Most commonly, this name is found in all capital letters at the end of the advertisement.
Inclusion Criteria	Code for information about the person who, at the date of the advertisement, has legal ownership of the described runaway person. This is typically the name of the enslaver, but other details of titles may also be mentioned, such as Esquire or Captain.
Exclusion Criteria	Do not code for the word 'Subscriber,' or for information about former enslavers. Do not code the location of the present enslaver.
Typical Exemplar	The advertisement is written by the enslaver, and they refer to themselves by name in the advertisement.
Atypical Exemplar	A person wrote the advertisement on the enslaver's behalf, and they include themselves as a point of contact. If the enslaver's name is not included, the subscriber's name can be coded.
Code	Former enslaver
Description	Information included in the advertisement about a former enslaver of the described runaway person. This is most commonly the name of the former enslaver, but the former enslaver's location is may also be mentioned.
Inclusion Criteria	Code for the name/location of a former enslaver. If more than one former enslaver is mentioned, code separately for each person mentioned.
Exclusion Criteria	Do not code for information about the present enslaver.
Code	Escaping from

Table C-1. Continued

Description	The site (e.g., plantation, store, location), and parish (if mentioned) that the runaway person escaped from. If the parish is known or easily ascertained, place in the subcode for the relevant parish instead of the 'Escaping from' parent code. If the parish is not easily discernable, place in parent code.
Inclusion Criteria	Code the description of the site of escape.
Exclusion Criteria	Do not code for potential locations the runaway person may have escaped to.
Typical Exemplar	1/24/1807: "...from the estate called Pickering's, in the parish of St. Lucy"
Atypical Exemplar	5/23/1809: "...from the Estate of the late John Prettejohn, Esq. deceased"
Code	Escaping to
Description	The site (e.g., plantation, store, location), and parish (if mentioned) that the runaway person is suggested to have escaped to. These sites are <i>not</i> connected to where the runaway's family/acquaintances are located. Instead, these sites are typically where the runaway person tends to seek out work or spend their free time. If the parish is known or easily ascertained, place in the subcode for the relevant parish instead of the 'Escaping to' parent code. If the parish is not easily discernable, place in parent code.
Inclusion Criteria	Code each site description separately (i.e., two sites= two codes).
Exclusion Criteria	Do not apply this code if the site describes the location of a member of the runaway's network (e.g., friend, family).
Code	Network Member
Description	Description of a member of the runaway person's social network, or a person who has a non-commercial relationship with the runaway person. The member may be described as a possible person harboring the runaway, or as a person they ran away with. This member may be a parent, spouse, child, sibling, etc. to the runaway person. If the relationship to the runaway person is explicitly described, codes should be placed in the appropriate subcode. If not, the relationship type should be placed in the 'Network Member' code.
Subcode	Parent
Subcode	Sibling
Subcode	Child
Subcode	Spouse/Partner
Subcode	Friend/Acquaintance
Code	Location

Table C-1. Continued

	The location of a member of the runaway person's social network. Similar to the 'Escaping from' code, this describes a site (e.g., plantation, store, location), and parish (if mentioned) that the runaway person escaped from. If the parish is known or easily ascertained, code in the subcode for the relevant parish instead of the 'Location' code. If the parish is not easily discernable, place in 'Location' code.
Code	Escape Proximity
Description	The distance traveled by the runaway person from the site of escape to their possible destination. As some advertisements include several possible destinations, each site's proximity from the escape site is coded separately. The parent code 'Escape Proximity' houses three subcodes, but it should not house any codes directly.
Subcode	Adjacent/same
Description	The runaway person may have escaped from a site to another site within the same parish, or to a directly bordering parish.
Example	
Subcode	Middle
Description	The runaway person may have traveled to a parish that is not directly adjacent to the parish they escaped from. The location is 'midway' distance, relative to adjacent and across-island distances.
Example	
Subcode	Far
Description	The possible destination of the runaway person comprises an across-island distance, meaning that the runaway person travels from one end of the island to another.
Example	

APPENDIX D TEXT ANALYSIS CODE MATRIX

Figure D-1. Code matrix of three sites from template analysis.

Code System	Liberated African Depots	Barbados Transcripts	Lape Government Gazette
Terms of charity			
Benevolence	31		7
Order	26		
Reward/Value (+)	18	539	134
Skills (1)	34		21
easily disposed of	14		
Negative	22		1
Violence	7		
Positive	15		4
Transformation	22		
Similarity to	27		32
Lacking	45		
Better than	38		
"negroes would not envy the go"	40		
Autocode - ANY: negro negroes SH	139		
Loss/teping			
New bonds and tenets			
Protection	5		
Harboring in Network	2		13
Rebellion	3		
Comraderte	16		
peculiarly sincere	7		
Procrant (+) (+)	39		
Pain and isolation	27		
Return home	4		
Slave	13	100	106
Former enslaver (+)		149	41
Enslaver/Subscriber (+)	1	477	134
Escaping to	4	301	36
Liberated Africans	27		
Escaping From (+)	1	318	90
Location	44	678	127
Network Shell			
Parent	3		5
Child	6		8
Sibling	1		
Spouse/Partner	15		8
Friend/Acquaintance	7		2
Adversary	8		
An act			
Uncontrolled			
Appearance			
'marks'	12		25
Features	44	398	132
Autocode - ANY: teeth	3		11
Skin color (+)	8	183	66
yellow		77	
black		54	
leavy		19	
dark		16	
fair		6	
black/dark			6
fair/light			6
yellow			40
brown/dark brown			9
'worn out'	5		
Racial designator (+)	78	407	55
Negro (+)	139	255	2
Black		63	
Mulatto (+)	5	87	
Prize Negro			10
'Illegitimate Bastard'			51
Build	23	231	55
pregnancy/childbearing	7	9	
Illness/disability	63	126	28
Disease (+)	65	53	9
Injury (+)	65	78	19
Body Part			
Teeth		13	
Chest/lorso		17	
Lower limb		29	
Upper limb		29	
Head/face		46	
young	16	85	28
Described gender			
Man	25	305	72
Woman	28	210	25
Assimilation (+)		164	44
Time away		208	
Passing		30	
Well known		104	
Birthplace (+)	60	82	74
'Mozambique'	20		3
'the African'	66		
'Of the Cape'			35
'Madagascar'			8
'Benguela'	25		
Maleibar			3
'Angola'	13		
'Maley'			3
'Congo'	17		
Language comment (+)	8	55	7
Newness (+)	13	29	2

Controlled			
Clothing	17		43
Personality/Behavior	137	96	14
Beliefs	15		2
Interpersonal violence	11		
Proud	27		
Indifference	14		
Deception	7	64	38
Skills	34	138	21
Employment		65	
Citizensry		22	
Negative (1) (+)	22	34	1
Positive (1) (+)	35	77	4
Surveillance (+)	10	90	43
Unrecovered	1		14
Recapture	4		4
Harboring	2	392	65
Free	2	27	7
Misc legal action		8	
Admiration	23		
Seeking solace (+) (-)	29		
Indignation (-)	63		
Deterrence	3		
Benevolence (+)	31	80	7
Ships, cargo (+) (+)	47	14	
British	12		
Portuguese	23		
Runaway	7	558	167
Runaway Companion (+)	1	69	28
Crime	8	27	5
Doubling as sale ad		24	
Family separation		3	
Sell upon arrival		18	
The Gaol/Cage		180	
Blame		17	
Conclusion		21	
Answers to		37	
Network shell		456	
Escape Proximity			
Adjacent/home		191	
Middle		105	
Far		35	

Figure D-1. Continued

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Andreana Cunningham received her Bachelor of Arts from the University of Miami with majors in Anthropology and Criminology in 2016. She entered the anthropology graduate program at the University of Florida in fall 2016, working with Dr. Valerie Burke DeLeon as her advisor. She received her Master of Arts in Anthropology in 2018 and was accepted to the doctoral program in anthropology at the University of Florida. During this time, from 2017 to 2022, she was a National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellow. Andreana received her Ph.D from the University of Florida in 2023.