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New histories of marronage in the Anglo-Atlantic world and early North America

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Abstract

This essay surveys the scholarship of *marronage*, the most pervasive form of fugitive slave community formation, resistance, negotiation, and enslaver accommodation in the history of the Atlantic world. It begins with a brief survey of the subject's historiographic roots, with particular emphasis on its foundational definition as slave resistance and rebellion; on scholarly debates of the *grand/petit* marronage binary; and on the validity and definitions of maroon identity, forged by processes of ethnogenesis and grounded in maroon communities, past and present. The essay then centers on recent histories of marronage in the Caribbean, the Global South, and in early North America. In doing so, it seeks to draw out explicit thematic connections otherwise implicit in new maroon studies. The essay closes with a brief mention of forthcoming works that, informed by extant maroon studies, examine the challenges contemporary maroon communities face and that signal present-day maroon descended communities' contributions to an increasingly globalizing world.

The subject of *marronage*—activities undertaken by enslaved "fugitive" Africans and their descendants to repudiate enslavement—has long fascinated scholars who have sought to narrate the history of slave fugitivity in the early modern Atlantic world. Most scholars have highlighted the tensions that flared between maroons and enslavers who sought to enforce the limits that colonial laws and customs placed upon enslaved people. Robert C. Dallas's (1803) history of the Jamaican maroons, for example, described the island's history of marronage as a state that seemed to produce "continual terror." Less than a decade before Dallas's history was printed, the island's militia and imperial troops had skirmished with maroons—west African Coromantee and Fante-descended people—for 8 months at Trelawney Town during a conflict known as the Second Maroon War (1795–1796).[1] The First Maroon War, a protracted, decade-long stalemate, had ended by two treaties dating to 1739 and 1740. (Sivapragasam, 2018; Gotlieb,

2000; Patterson, 1970; Wright, 1970; Hart, 1950) The former treaty, agreed by British officials and signed by Captain Cudjoe of the Leewards, and the latter, signed by Queen Nanny of the Windwards, acknowledged the Jamaican maroons' long-standing autonomous Windward (eastern) and Leeward (western) mountain communities. In December 1795, the Trelawny maroons, isolated from Accompong and the Leewards, capitulated to British troops on negotiated conditions that barred British officials from deporting them. The Trelawny Town maroons' freedom struggle continued. In March 1796, most were deported against their will to Nova Scotia in the Canadian maritimes. Four years later, a faction of the former Trelawny Town maroons successfully petitioned British officials to relocate from Nova Scotia to the British west African colony of Sierra Leone. There, a number of the Trelawney Town maroons subsequently aligned with imperial British officials to act as a quasi-police force against internal unrest in the colony.[2]

The Trelawney Town maroons' story of exile and factional shifting allegiances reflects the complex state of marronage by the mid-19th century. Dallas's perceived state of Jamaican colonial terror revealed the complexities of marronage, too, as British colonials and imperials considered the implications, for the island's changing slave society, of the tumult during the Haitian Revolution caused by the slave revolt in nearby French St. Domingue (Dubois, 2004a; Dubois, 2004b; Fick, 2000). One year after Dallas's observations, that conflict would produce Haiti, the first black republic in the Atlantic world.[3] Yet marronage in the Caribbean predated the Jamaican maroon wars by 200 years. As early as the mid-16th century, fugitive African slaves evaded colonial militia, imperial troops, and slave hunters into mountainous, forested, and swampy terrain in the southeast of the Spanish island colony of Santo Domingo. In the 17th century, maroons evaded Portuguese, Spanish, British, French, and Dutch enslavers on virtually every Caribbean island where slave societies formed.[4] By the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, fugitive slaves modified natural landscapes to guard against recapture in close proximity to the plantations, mines, farms, and village markets of Central America, northern and eastern South America, and the Atlantic and Gulf coastal zones of North America.

In the process of claiming refuge in proximate, difficult to access landscapes, of establishing in them communities of freedom grounded in diasporic and local identities, and in the process of negotiating tenuous relationships with colonial authorities, fugitive slaves became maroons. Across the Atlantic world, maroon communities shared key, prominent characteristics: geographic isolation relative to slave societies; political and economic autonomy from authorities in slave societies; diverse, African and African-descended original populations that, at times, welcomed outsiders and, at other times, repelled outsiders; and, in general, good relations with neighboring indigenous polities. Perhaps, the most famous maroon colonies were formed in colonial Brazil and Jamaica (Dunkley, 2013; Florentino & Amantino, 2011; Nelson, 2008; Tardieu, 2006; Mackie, 2005; Orser and Funari, 2001; Carey, 1997; Agorsah, 1994; da Costa, 1994; Campbell, 1988; Arrom & Arévalo, 1986; Heuman, 1986; Kopytoff, 1978; Carroll, 1977). From the 1605 to 1694, the maroons of the Quilombo dos Palmares, comprised of numerous maroon communities that cooperated under the reign of several monarchs, vigorously defended the maroon refuge in the interior mountain valleys of colonial Brazil's Pernambuco captaincy against numerous Portuguese and Dutch military campaigns (Cheney, 2014; Kent, 1965)[5]. By the 1750s, six main Jamaican maroon settlements included Accompong and Cudjoe's [Trelawney] Town in the island's west and Moore Town, Nanny Town, Scot's Hall, and Charles Town in the east. So ubiquitous were Atlantic world maroon colonies, historian Alvin O. Thompson has suggested that colonial enslavers and enslaved Africans knew them by a range of terms: *palenques*, *rancherias*, *ladeiras*, *mambises*, *quilombos*, *mocambos*, *magotes*, *cumbes*, or *manieles* (Thompson, 2006).[6]

Social scientist scholars—anthropologists, archeologists, and linguists—have established beyond dispute the importance of acknowledging and studying maroon community identities. Working in the 20th-century Samaraka maroon communities of Suriname, anthropologist Richard Price established the place of maroon studies at the center of "ethnographic history"—extensive anthropological fieldwork informed by historical research (Price, 1976; Price, 1996).[7] Building upon Price's methodology, anthropologist Kenneth Bilby worked to build an archive of "cultural memory" comprised of oral histories in four Jamaican maroon towns: Accompong, Charles Town, Moore Town, and Scot's Hall. Bilby's "ethnography of identity" revealed the methods by which Jamaican maroons produced,

transmitted, protected, and made use of past knowledge in recent contexts (Bilby, 2005).[8] Price's and Bilby's work built upon earlier scholarship that centered on archival research based in the standing conventions for reading slave flight in historical sources. With few exceptions, these conventions defined marronage not in the context of black resistance or fugitivity but in the language of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century contemporaries who generally referred to individual or small groups of fugitive slaves as banditti, outliers, or simply runaways (Aptheker, 1939; Aptheker, 1947; Aptheker, 1993; Berlin, 1998; Berlin, 2003; Berlin, 2010; Morgan, 1998; Leaming, 1993).[9] The language of early modern observers, particularly in North America, overemphasized the perceived threat posed by maroons, while implicitly belying the presence of maroon groups and communities in their midst. The largest maroon communities attracted the most attention and generated the most pervasive fears among colonials and the citizens of early nations. Accordingly, scholars, seeking to explain maroon community formation, regularly studied the largest, most enduring maroon communities and often framed them as evidence of *grand marronage*. By contrast, evidence of intermittent, short-term flight undertaken by individuals or slaves in small groups came to be known as *petit marronage*.

The scholarly distinctions between *grand* and *petit* marronage date to Gabriel Debien's (1966) article, "Le marronage aux Antilles françaises au XVIIIe siècle" [Marronage in the French Antilles in the Eighteenth Century].[10] In "Le marronage," Debien observed as *grand marronage* contexts in which large, long-term Caribbean maroon colonies regularly engaged in warfare with colonial militia or regular troops. The actions of enslaved people who fled plantations for short, indefinite periods of time but did not join large term colonies, defined petit marronage. The latest 15 years, however, have witnessed a robust expansion of Caribbean and Global South maroon studies scholarship beyond the *grand/petit* binary. New works have built upon foundational studies that established the complexity, validity, and importance of maroon communities and identities. Recent studies have pursued questions that investigate in Caribbean and Global South contexts the long-standing scholarship that identified the most prominent cases of marronage as concurrent to outright slave rebellion; the intersections of marronage and colonial authority; of marronage and internal economy; and of marronage and gender. As Thompson observed in his 2006 book *Flight to Freedom*, these studies have generally turned earlier readings of slave resistance on their head to reveal that by comparison to the outbreak of outright rebellion, arson, poisoning, and other forms of resistance, marronage was the most pervasive action that enslaved people undertook to be free.[11] Of twentieth-century Cuban historiography, for example, historian Manuel Barcia has observed a Cuban nation and scholars, long informed by politics which cast the island as the prime example of resistance in the Caribbean, distinctly focused on marronage and slave rebellion as the best example of an academic and social Cuban exceptionalism. Taking these observations as a core premise, Barcia has observed that marronage was not a particularly threatening problem in Cuba as revealed in the sources penned by colonial officials and enslavers. Many Cuban maroons found long-term refuge in *palenques* hidden in the mountains, swamps, or forests before emerging from their hideaways to surrender to the authorities or to enslavers. Thousands more did not escape the property on which they were held, ending their escapes after one or two nights (Barcia, 2008).[12] Similarly, historian Yuko Miki has noted that *quilombolas* (maroons) regularly created "insurgent geographies" of freedom in the São Mateus quilombos (maroon communities) of Brazil's northern Espírito Santo province in the early 1880s (Miki, 2012).[13]

Ultimately, maroon communities revealed the limits of slavery and of freedom. To be sure, new scholarship of Caribbean and Global South marronage, as scholar Crystal Nicole Eddins has observed of French colonial San Domingue, reveals that maroons' worlds were complex and varied widely over time and in adaptation to local and regional conditions, older scholarly debates notwithstanding (Eddins, 2019).[14] Historians Linda M. Rupert and Brett Rushforth have contributed new insights that have served to expand maroon studies in Caribbean and Global South contexts (Rushforth, 2019; Rupert, 2009). In the southern Caribbean, enslaved fugitives engaged complex networks of maritime passage to travel between Curaçao and Tierra Firme on the northern South American coast. Rupert has found that, from the late 17th century into the 1760s, enslaved fugitives engaged sympathetic ship captains and crew members in Willemstad who facilitated passage southward. Upon arrival in Tierra Firme, enslaved fugitives settled in mainland maroon communities, where they sometimes learned a new language and culture and negotiated an

unfamiliar legal system. Spanish imperial and colonial officials formally acknowledged this form of *maritime marronage*, the regular illicit movements of enslaved people across the southern Caribbean Sea between Curaçao and Tierra Firme. The Spanish Crown saw in maritime marronage an opportunity to bolster its geopolitical agenda, a strategy that rested upon coordinated efforts to lure enslaved people from its Protestant competitors in Curaçao to establish their allegiance to the Crown through conversion and baptism in the Catholic faith.[15]

If maritime marronage between Curaçao and Tierra Firme reflects, in the context of imperial claims, a sort of slave resistance through flight out of slavery and into a landscape of freedom, maroons also fled *into slavery*, engaged in fugitivity and resistance within the bounds of slave societies. To this end, Rushforth has pointed to the key role that maroon networks played limiting planter power while creating opportunities that led to the formation of closely knit communities of enslaved people and maroons in French Martinique's "alternative economy" of slavery. During the eighteenth-century expansion of the island's slave labor-based sugar economy, fugitive slaves and French colonials animated extralegal networks through which provisions filtered from plantations to maroon groups in less accessible zones of the island. These maroon communities, defined by west African rituals and infused with Catholic ceremonial practices, played a key role in the Gaoulet Rebellion of 1710, as revealed in the record of maroon interrogations penned in the wake the attempted burning of St. Pierre, the island's primary port. After the 1710 conspiracy, French officials in the metropole did not prioritize efforts to destroy the island's maroon communities. On the island, fears that maroons might organize a larger, successful rebellion led to a reluctant, mostly peaceful stalemate in which the island's maroon communities maintained autonomy.[16]

Of Jamaica, historian Shauna Sweeney has asked a particularly salient question that brings attention to the important, yet understudied, place of Jamaican maroon women in the extant scholarship: *What did it mean for some women to run away to the market*? Citing the 1990s debates that shaped historians' and anthropologists' studies of enslaved peoples' an "internal marketing system" or a "slave's economy," Sweeney has observed a marked increase in enslaved women's decisions to flee slavery by engaging in the island's regular marketplaces. By hawking their wares, enslaved women fulfilled desires for greater physical mobility, aimed to create and to preserve economic autonomy, and, ultimately, sought to reconstitute families. This form of resistance might be known as *market marronage*, through which fugitive women sought refuge and sustenance, not in remote or inaccessible landscapes but in highly visible public market places where they found greater physical mobility and economic autonomy (Sweeney, 2019).[17]

On the whole, enslavers expressed pervasive fears of maroon communities that, for maroons, held great symbolic power. In recent studies, historians Kathleen Wilson and Tyson Reeder have offered new interpretations of the symbolic power of Jamaican maroon identity, locally and imperially (Reeder, 2017; Wilson, 2009). To remind imperial observers of the accommodations they had wrested from colonial governments after the first maroon war, as Wilson has explained, maroons in Jamaica regularly organized prominent ceremonial parades and performances of colonial warfare. Throughout the 18th century, maroons' performances of identity reminded enslavers of the maroons' hard fought, rightfully gained, mutually agreed, freedom.[18] In light of the Jamaican maroons' powerful claims to identities of freedom early republican Americans, Reeder has found, turned late eighteenth-century narratives of the maroons' valid contests against British oppression on their head to produce, by the mid-19th century, new narratives of maroon savagery and uncivility. Late eighteenth narratives had once cast the maroons' victories in the 1730s in a context of British liberalism, an idea that held as a central tenet a person's defensible right to liberty qualified by the resolve with which that person fought against oppression. In this view, maroon cooperation with British colonial officials legitimized the freedoms enjoyed by Jamaican maroons before the 1790s. With the onset of the Haitian Revolution, imperial public sentiments shifted. After Haitian independence in 1804, early American observers fused fears of broad reaching black liberty to reports of the Second Maroon War, turning the earlier British narrative of legitimate maroon liberty on its head. Later still, antebellum Americans linked together aged reports of Jamaican maroon vigor in defending liberty to reports of Seminole tenacity in Florida during the Second Seminole War (1835–1842).[19]

Not all Jamaican maroons, notwithstanding strength in the performance of maroon identity or British liberalism, retained the protection of the island's inaccessible mountain valleys and meadows. Historians Jeffrey Fortin and Ruma Chopra have recently examined the Trelawney Town maroons' exile to yield new perspectives. Fortin has observed in the transformation of British observers' perceptions of the Trelawney Town maroons a shift in perception from the "most feared" belligerents in the empire to a group that generated significant sympathy upon reports of their awful experiences in the Canadian maritimes (Fortin, 2006).[20] Building, in large part, upon Fortin's work, Chopra has explained that in the Canadian maritimes and in Sierra Leone, the Trelawney maroons often leveraged their particular skills and reputations not to maintain resistance against colonial powers but to acclimate to colonial customs, as they attempted in Nova Scotia, or stamp it out, as evidenced the alliance they entered with the British monarch to act as a peace keeping force in Sierra Leone (Chopra, 2017; Chopra, 2018).[21]

Previous thematic studies of marronage primarily as black resistance generally privileged the projects of establishing cogent definitions for marronage and of contextualizing black rebellion as a diasporic freedom struggle. These important twofold endeavors countered earlier scholars' efforts—grounded in the language of archival sources—to highlight the fears of black rebel violence given voice by colonial officials and observers in the early modern Atlantic world (Franklin and Schweninger, 1999; Genovese, 1981). These efforts were not limited to studies of Caribbean marronage. To this end, recent scholarship of marronage in early North America has also yielded fascinating new insights. Historian Timothy James Lockley's (2009) edited volume, *Maroon Communities in South Carolina*, has encouraged readers to view South Carolina's history in both Atlantic and distinctive contexts. Dating marronage in the region to 1750, the volume presented in key temporal contexts the history of marronage in the Carolina Lowcountry and the Savannah River region. By Lockley's framing, marronage in these regions trended upward between 1760 and 1774. During the American Revolution (1775–1783), maroon communities generated powerful fears for enslavers who viewed them as extralegal centers of slave resistance. Beginning in the 1780s, marronage waned, before a brief resurgence from 1813 to 1829, and subsequently, maroon activity gradually faded.[22]

Lockley's edited collection of primary sources has suggested new ways that scholars might frame new research of marronage to better understand the subject in key historical contexts. In this vein, historians Larry Eugene Rivers, Nathaniel Millett, and Matthew J. Clavin have deepened the study of marronage in Florida and the Gulf coast (Clavin, 2019; Millett, 2013; Rivers, 2012). Rivers has observed in Florida's geographic proximity to the Bahamas, to Cuba, and to Hispaniola marronage patterns that bore striking similarities to maroon activities in Caribbean zones.[23] Long before the 1830s, however, the North American Gulf coast featured prominently in the broader geopolitical claims of aging early modern European empires—Spain, Britain, and France—and the early republican United States. To fortify the Gulf coast of west Florida against U.S. slaveholder and military incursions during the War of 1812, Millett has explained, the British established the so-called "Negro Fort" at Prospect Bluff along the Apalachicola River. During its operation, the installation attracted nearly 1,000 enslaved men, women, and children who fled plantations in the Gulf Coast region until the fort's destruction by American and Creek soldiers in July 1816. Notwithstanding the importance of a strategic bastion of fugitive slaves in British West Florida, however, in May 1815, the British army withdrew from Prospect Bluff, leaving its formerly enslaved inhabitants behind. Framed as perhaps the best example of "grand" marronage in North America, Millett's case study of the fort at Prospect Bluff reveals with great clarity the mutual benefits that sometimes brought fugitive slaves turned maroons into strategic alliance with colonial officials. The fort's maroon community was distinctive in how its relationship with the British military positioned it with key resources that facilitated community and in how the fort's period of active military duty was followed with 15 months of independent operation as a maroon community.[24]

Other historians have cast the formation of the distinct maroon community at the postwar fort as a moment of ethnogenesis during which fugitive slaves and Native American groups including some Creeks, Choctaws, and Seminoles cooperated to maintain the fort after the British evacuation (Porter, 2013; Landers, 1999; Landers, 2007; Mulroy, 1993).[25] Clavin's new book, *The Battle of Negro Fort*, contextualizes the maroon community's destruction—by way of an alliance of Creek warriors and U.S. military forces—as a watershed moment that reveals for scholars historian Sylviane A. Diouf's keen argument about maroons in North America: Maroons' actions

demonstrated for contemporaries that "self-determination, self-reliance, and self-rule" were key maroon objectives.[26] Each time a maroon community claimed space in a landscape under the nominal control of an early modern state, Diouf has suggested, it established a geographical "maroon landscape." The maroon landscape was comprised of borderlands, or zones of maroon activity most proximate to plantation societies, and hinterlands, the most remote areas of maroon refuge to which slave rebels escaped to fully repudiate enslavement. If the British installation-turned-maroon community at Prospect Bluff was a prominent example of this, there were others, such as the Bas du Fleuve of Louisiana in the 1780s (Din, 1980; Din, 1999; Midlo Hall, 1992). Occupying a borderland maroon landscape in swamps near New Orleans, the maroons of St. Malo's village, as they became commonly known, reflect a story of separation, migration, loss, reconstitution, and disruption. Drawn together by Diouf in a rich archive of maroons' first-hand accounts, collected during interrogations performed by colonial officials in the effort to dislodge maroons from the region's cypress swamps, Diouf has explained that the St. Malo maroons' testimonies reveal "an intimate portrait of a fluid group of men, women, Creoles, Africans, and at least one free woman" (Diouf, 2014).[27]

Another complex maroon landscape stood along the eastern section of the border between Virginia and North Carolina. The Great Dismal Swamp, Diouf has observed, was comprised of both hinterland (remote interior) and borderland (proximate outskirt) zones.[28] Covering as many as 2,000 square miles prior to extensive logging and draining after the U.S. Civil War, the Dismal has long generated vigorous discussion that has questioned its existence as a maroon landscape. While the Dismal attracted fugitive slaves into its most remote sectors as early as the mid-17th century, to be sure, no group of fugitive slaves in the Dismal waged protracted warfare against British or, later, American forces, as had maroons in Jamaica. Nor did any group of the Dismal's maroons feature so prominently in early U.S. or state military strategy to justify provisioning its maroon communities as a garrison against foreign powers, as had been the case with the maroons at Prospect Bluff. No group of the Dismal's fugitive slaves secured in negotiations with state officials a treaty or formal charter sanctioning the swamp as a maroon polity.

Historical archeologists Daniel O. Sayers and Ted Maris-Wolf, and historian Marcus P. Nevius, have found the lack of a large population of maroons, or the lack of maroon communities more generally, to be insufficient conditions for fully evaluating the Dismal's context for marronage (Nevius, 2020; Sayers, 2012; Sayers, 2014; Maris-Wolf, 2012). During in the antebellum era, Maris-Wolf has explained, the Dismal's land and canal companies mobilized enslaved laborers who they "hired" annually from local enslavers under terms stipulated by contracts. Land and canal companies dispatched hundreds of slaves to construct canals or to extract the swamp's natural resources in timber shingles, staves, planks, and naval stores. Often, company slaves slipped away from company slave labor camps into deeper, more remote swamp sectors. Essentially, this form of flight equaled marronage. To pad their shingle accounts, the Dismal's land and canal companies tacitly permitted forest products cut by undocumented maroon laborers, hiding out in camps proximate to land and canal company slave labor camps, to pass through company camps to local and to Atlantic world markets. In turn, company slaves provisioned maroons encamped in remote swamp sectors.[29]

Slavery's most fierce opponents, including Frederick Douglass, were keenly aware of the Dismal's "slaves in the swamp."[30] In an 1852 essay titled "The Virginia Maroons," the Boston abolitionist Edmund Jackson metaphorically described the slave labor camps of the Great Dismal as "a city of refuge in the midst of slavery."[31] Yet despite the best efforts of slave rebels or abolitionists, this system of slavery extended the institution's viability in the early United States' Upper South region. As Nevius has recently explained, the practice of slave hire and the daily operations of land and canal companies generated robust records including regular correspondence between slaveholding company agents and company officials that expose the negotiations between agents and enslaved people at swamp slave labor camps.[32] And this archival record is bolstered by the Dismal's material record. Led by Sayers, archeological field teams have uncovered thousands of artifacts including lithic sherds and fragments of stone tools and low-fired ceramics, reworked by generations subsequent to earlier Native American cultures (Goode, 2018; Peixotto, 2017).[33]

Scholars have recently drawn inspiration from maroon studies to highlight new methods for framing political histories and theories. In the book *The Political Worlds of Slavery and Freedom*, historian Steven Hahn cast postbellum U.S. northern free black communities in a marronage metaphor that framed black resistance as a phenomenon distinctively African in character. In the wake of the Civil War, several million African Americans fled the brutal repression imposed by ex-Confederates but found themselves marooned in northern communities rife with long-standing customs of discrimination. This view served as a counterpoint to "scholarly perspectives on slave cultures and forms of slave resistance" that otherwise ignore the autonomous geographic mobility of African Americans who in search of freedom moved to northern states (Hahn, 2009).[34]

Historians vigorously argue the limits of Hahn's marronage metaphor that essentially recasts free black communities in the northern United States as evidence of a comparable level of fugitivity and active resistance that lay at the core of historical marronage.[35] To be sure, the geographic mobility that undergirded the postbellum mass migrations of American blacks from southern plantation zones to racially embattled northern communal enclaves has, since 2009, invited deeper study. Perhaps, taking the marronage metaphor a step further, historian Johnhenry Gonzalez has framed the former French colony's several postwar polities as a metaphorical 19th-century "maroon nation." Skillfully avoiding the pitfall of heroism that Barcia has observed in 20th-century Cuban historiography, Gonzalez has noted that former St. Dominguan slaves' postwar actions provide a salient counternarrative to prevailing notions that postwar Haitians were incapable of creating and maintaining orderly societies. In an observation all too important for scholars to acknowledge, Gonzalez admits the apparent paradox of the maroon nation metaphor—the use of a maroon history of slave flight to frame the history of a slave revolt that produced general emancipation and a black republic that might suggest that freedom from oppression was a necessary precondition for marronage. Yet such a metaphor highlights how postwar Haiti's contingent "maroon economy" of exchange in cash and subsistence crops, and evasion of new taxes levied by new black governing officials, had its roots in prewar and wartime generations' efforts control the new nation's maroon landscapes (Gonzalez, 2019).[36]

Scholars might apply to inform new studies of other historical and temporal contexts Gonzalez's lesson about the utility of a marronage metaphor for contemporary nation states. If maroon studies have influenced scholars who study the postbellum history of the U.S. postbellum Great Migrations or nineteenth-century Haiti, and, as such, the "maroon" geopolitics of free African Americans or newly constituted Haitians might invite deeper study, so too have maroon studies informed even more abstract political theories in ways that tempt more research. Maroon studies, the political scientist Neil Roberts has recently argued, disrupt an "inflexible historicist logic" long imposed upon political histories of black resistance and nationhood. Roberts suggests that two terms—*sovereign marronage* and *sociogenic marronage*—push the classic *petit/grand marronage* binary to new realms: *sovereign marronage*, conceived as mass flight from slavery achieved through the agency of sovereign political leaders and agents of mass revolution, and *sociogenic marronage* or the process of attaining agency and cultivating community that aligns civil and political societies. These forms of theoretical marronage provide frameworks that facilitate the understanding that flight aimed at achieving freedom, argues Roberts, as freedom, a state of being, is and was both real and imagined (Roberts, 2015).[37]

Still, forthcoming work promises to shape the future of maroon studies, as well as the discipline's utility in informing new and creative research directions in history, archeology, Africana studies, anthropology, sociology, political science, and literary studies. Historian J. Brent Morris stands to publish the most authoritative history to date on marronage in the Great Dismal, *Dismal Freedom*: *A History of the Maroons of the Great Dismal Swamp*, a book that builds upon his own earlier essay on the subject (Morris, 2008).[38] Forthcoming work on maroon resistance in the history of the Great Dismal Swamp by Kathryn Benjamin Golden, on maroons in literature by Sarah Jessica Johnson, on maroon ecology and politics in Suriname and Jamaica by Robert Connell, and on Jamaican maroon geographies by Alex Moulton all stand to generate new scholarly discourse (Golden, 2018; Garreau and Johnson, 2015).[39] The recent programs for the *Caribbean Studies Association* in Havana, Cuba (2018), and *Association for the Study of the Worldwide African Diaspora* in Williamsburg, Virginia (2019), have featured scholars' works in progress, signaling the future vitality of maroon studies in the academy.[40]

Two generations of scholarship between the late 1960s and the turn of the century produced a robust secondary archive of research foundational to the latest 15 years of maroon studies scholarship. Maroon studies rooted in colonial Caribbean contexts have long outpaced those of marronage in North America, long the beneficiaries of archival records produced by colonial officials and enslavers who wrote about fugitive slaves in their midst. Histories of maroon activities in North America, by contrast, have long faced "archival silences" that threadbare primary source bases present to the history profession's consensus rules of primary evidence (Fuentes, 2016; Stoler, 2009; Hartman, 1997; Trouillot, 1995; Scott, 1990).[41] Compounding these methodological challenges, maroons in early America fled enslavement and hid out in proximate refuges with the primary aim of repudiating slave societies. Thus, North American maroons did not wage protracted warfare with U.S. military forces, as was the case for maroons in Caribbean, Central, and South American contexts. It logically follows, then, that North American maroons did not pen voluminous accounts to leave evidence of hideaways' exact locations.

Recent Caribbean and Global South maroon studies trends have benefited greatly from local efforts to preserve maroon culture, identity, and landscapes in present-day maroon descended communities in Jamaica, Suriname, and other regions. Regularly acknowledging the early modern roots of marronage, acting colonel Marcia "Kim" Douglas presently leads the Charles Town maroon community descendants' efforts to maintain the community's centerpiece maroon landscape, Asafu Yard. A tangible marker of maroon resistance and history, Asafu Yard is today a UNESCO World Heritage Site, and Asafu Yard and Charles Town are prime examples of the preservation of Jamaica Blue Mountain maroon geography that has long provided for maroons a defensible refuge from slavery's oppression. The Charles Town maroons have facilitated, most recently in concert with the Jamaica Board of Tourism, the Charles Town International Maroon Conference, an annual conference that welcomes visitors and scholars to Asafu Yard.[42] This partnership marks a significant change to be acknowledged at the intersection of maroon studies scholarship (a salient record of black resistance) and the present (a world in which maroon descendants actively engage in exchanges of culture and knowledge the state and the world).

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ENDNOTES

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[16] Brett Rushforth, "The *Gauolet* Uprising of 1710: Maroons, Rebels, and the Informal Exchange Economy of a Caribbean Sugar Island." *William and Mary Quarterly*. 3d ser., 76, no. 1 (January 2019): 75–110.

Rushforth observes as an "excellent overview" of the literature of slave resistance in the French colonies Jean-Pierre's Le Glaunec recent essay. See Le Glaunec, "Résister à l'esclavage dans l'Atlantique français: Aperçu historiographique, hypothèses et pistes de recherche." *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*. 77, nos. 1–2 (Summer-Autumn 2017): 13–33. For the model of "alternate economy" upon which Rushforth builds, see Daniel H. Usner, *Indians, Settlers & Slaves In a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley before 1783* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992).

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[20] Jeffrey A. Fortin, "Blackened Beyond Our Native Hue": Removal, Identity and the Trelawney Maroons on the Margins of the Atlantic World, 1796–1800. *Citizenship Studies*. 10, no. 1 (August 2006): 5–34.

[21] Ruma Chopra, *Almost Home: Maroons between Slavery and Freedom in Jamaica, Nova Scotia, and Sierra Leone*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018); Chopra, "Maroons and Mi'kmaq in Nova Scotia, 1796–1800." *Acadienesis: Journal of the History of the Atlantic Region*. 46, no. 1 (Winter/Spring 2017): 5–23.

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For Sylviane A. Diouf's quote, see *Slavery's Exiles: The Story of the American Maroons*. (New York: New York University Press. 2014): 310.

[27] Sylviane A. Diouf, *Slavery's Exiles: The Story of the American Maroons*. (New York: New York University Press. 2014): 157–186.

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[31] Edmund Jackson, "The Virginia Maroons," *The Liberty Bell: By Friends of Freedom*, (January 1852): 143–51.

[32] Marcus P. Nevius, *City of Refuge: Slavery and Petit Marronage in the Great Dismal Swamp, 1763–1856*. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2020).

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