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J. C. Harrington Medal in Historical Archaeology



Mary C. Beaudry

Mary Carolyn Beaudry is the recipient of the 2013 Society for Historical Archaeology (SHA) J. C. Harrington Medal in Historical Archaeology. The award was presented to Mary at the SHA's annual conference in Leicester, United Kingdom, in recognition of her dedication to scholarship, innovative and pioneering work, commitment to mentoring students, and lifetime contributions in the field of historical archaeology.

Menu

Mary's wide-ranging interests in so many different areas are remarkable and impressive. One look at her curriculum vitae provides salient affirmation on her selection as the 2013 J. C. Harrington medalist. Her diverse research interests are reflected in her numerous publications and papers, as well as through the myriad courses she has offered to students over the years. She has influenced almost every historical archaeologist in some way—in her classroom, alongside her in the field, coauthoring a paper, being on a committee, serving with her for the SHA, or perhaps just by reading one of her many books or articles. From the first moment people meet her, they are exposed to an incredible intellectual ride with one of the principal architects of the discipline who has an exemplary record of scholarship, mentoring, and service.

In recent years, Mary has been exploring and teaching the anthropology of food, an interest that she has shared with many of her colleagues and students. Mary herself is an extraordinary banquet that we all have the privilege to enjoy.

Setting the Table

Mary Carolyn Beaudry came into this world with boundless energy and curiosity, further stimulated by her life as a child of a military family, moving from place to place. Her family eventually settled in Virginia, where her father worked at Fort Eustis, and her mother regularly brought her and her sisters on visits to nearby historic plantations and Colonial Williamsburg, offering her a glimpse of life in pre-Revolutionary America.

Amuse-Bouche or Appetizer

Mary's education was a mixed recipe that involved many ingredients. When she began her undergraduate study at the College of William and Mary, she was enrolled as an English major and aspired to become a writer. This choice of a potential profession comes as no surprise to her numerous colleagues and students who have had the privilege of reading her work. A colleague once described her articles on archaeology as demonstrating "literary elegance" (Evans 2012). This is a testament to her continued interest in exploring the written word throughout her career.

In 1970, Mary enrolled in Dr. Norman Barka's Introduction to Anthropology class in order to fulfill a college requirement. When Dr. Barka mentioned in class that he was excavating a shell midden at Maycock's Plantation and that students who were interested in volunteering on the weekends should speak with him after class, Mary jumped at the chance (Beaudry 2009a). One weekend, her fate changed with the introduction of a sharpened popsicle stick. The "tool," handed to her by Lefty Gregory, was to be used for the excavation of a Native American burial. As it turned out, the grave contained the remains of a young boy who was wearing a necklace of copper wire and glass beads. When Lefty explained to her that the necklace was European and dated to the 17th century, she was stunned. After inquiring whether archaeologists could study the historical period and not just prehistory, Mary was told that there was indeed a professional field for the study of historical archaeology. This revelation transformed Mary, and she immediately knew that she wanted to change course and become an historical archaeologist.

Along her educational path, Mary's insatiable curiosity about objects and their function was cemented during the many hours she spent in Dr. Barka's laboratory processing artifacts from Flowerdew Hundred. During the summer before her senior year, she was proud to have been offered a paid position working as a member of the field crew for the excavation at the Poor Potter's site in Yorktown. As the only female crew member, Mary felt in the spotlight when Dr. Barka insisted that she maintain perfectly vertical sidewalls, often stopping to check, measure, and make sure her sidewalls stayed true. The archaeologists and students who have since worked with Mary in the field know that she has never, ever, forgotten this attention to detail.

In 1972, Mary ventured north across the Mason-Dixon Line to study with Jim Deetz at Brown University. She once said that she found Deetz's work much more interesting than that of other archaeologists, so she conducted some research, found out where he was teaching, and applied to Brown with little expectation of admission. Of course, she was accepted.

During the 1970s, women were working toward expanding their influence in many professions. However, there were still many obstacles to surmount, as she and fellow student Anne Yentsch quickly learned. Women enrolled in archaeology courses at Brown were often selected to work with documents, while the male students went off to dig with Dr. Deetz. After her first year at Brown, she returned to Virginia, where she continued to focus on documentary research for several domestic sites, spurring her interest in probate inventories.

In her 1980 doctoral dissertation, *"Or What Else You Please to Call It": Folk Semantic Domains in Early Virginia Probate Inventories*, Mary combined both her intimate knowledge of Chesapeake material culture with her expertise in interpreting documentary evidence (Beaudry 1980a). As Mary later explained, the language used in probate records represents a "folk nomenclature," which is significant for interpreting and analyzing how the people who were using the vessels conceptualized them (Beaudry 1988:45). Her work from this period remains one of the most outstanding integrations of linguistic anthropology and archaeology. This is just a taste of the innovative and varied topics that Mary would focus on during the next three decades.

Soup

Following her successful dissertation defense, Mary was offered a job as assistant professor of anthropology at Boston University (BU). Shortly after she arrived, she was one of a few scholars hired to help build a new program in archaeology. Almost immediately, Mary began to acquire a large number of students and played a critical role in building a highly respected archaeology program. Her classes were always extremely popular, and not just because they were on occasion held in the nearby pub.

Much like Norm Barka before her, Mary quickly instituted “weekend excavations,” where she invited her students to volunteer at archaeological sites in eastern Massachusetts. Many of these projects turned into papers, articles, theses, and dissertations for her students. In 1983, she requested that her students volunteer at the Paul Revere House. Upon arrival, each volunteer was presented with trowels and screens, and set to work. Over the next three decades, Mary provided her students with a variety of opportunities to learn and hone their field skills.

In 1985, Mary began to work with several colleagues at the Lowell Boott Mills in Massachusetts. This multiyear project reflected her wide-ranging interests in household makeup, material culture, corporate paternalism, oral histories, and historical documents. With her colleagues, the project produced in-depth information about the daily lives of individuals “living on the Boott” (Beaudry 1989). This landmark project also produced a detailed analysis of the landscape of the boardinghouse and the overseer’s house by employing a comprehensive approach to the archaeology, intertwining various sciences, documentary evidence, and oral history (Mrozowski and Beaudry 1990). Rather than analyzing artifacts in a void, she encouraged the team to speculate how the people they were studying actually saw themselves and their possessions, without simply fitting them into predetermined categories. During this process, Mary became a consummate storyteller, sharing the past and the lives of the individuals that she unearthed with the world. In the end, she and her colleagues generated important information for the National Park Service to use in its management and interpretation of Lowell National Historical Park.

In 1988, Mary published the edited volume *Documentary Archaeology in the New World*, introducing the reader to the wealth of documentary resources available, as well as providing a guide to the innovative interpretation of historical archaeological materials. The volume also contains one of her most cited articles, “A Vessel Typology for Early Chesapeake Ceramics: The Potomac Typological System,” which had originally appeared in *Historical Archaeology* in 1983 (Beaudry et al. 1983). POTS, as this work has been called, was a collaborative effort with several leading scholars working with material cultural in the Chesapeake. Concerned with the problem that varied names were used for the same vessel types in project reports throughout the region, Mary and her coauthors endeavored to categorize vessels in a manner that would “make the cultural dynamics behind them more accessible” (Beaudry et al. 2000:22–30). Mary’s inclusion of this article in *Documentary Archaeology in the New World* provided a venue for this important work to reach a broader audience. While most historical archaeologists used documents in their research, Mary was a pioneer who encouraged colleagues and students to find ways to move beyond a simple reiteration of the information in documents and instead interpret the data that can be found in these vital resources.

The archaeological investigation at the Spencer-Peirce-Little Farm was another multiyear, multidisciplinary project that Mary undertook. Her interest in the diverse families that occupied the site over three centuries and their intimate connection with the house, their associated material culture, and, more importantly, the land, introduced those involved in the project to a delightful bounty of data to share at any dinner table.

Mary’s love of language has always been evident when working with her students on a variety of projects. She often encouraged her students to coauthor papers with her for conferences. On one occasion she included the word “prosopographically” in a coauthored paper. This was a word that the student had never seen before. Mary then informed her that as the second author, the student would have to deliver the paper at the conference. Needless to say, the student practiced the word over and over, sure that she was going to mispronounce one of Mary’s gems. At the

conference, Mary was there, front and center, encouraging the student, and, even when the word was inevitably mispronounced, Mary complimented her on the presentation. That kind of mentoring is rare and much appreciated by all of her students.

During the 1980s, Mary began to take on leadership roles in several professional associations. Below are just a few examples of her dedication and leadership in this capacity. She became the editor of the journal *Northeast Historical Archaeology*, making it into a first-rate, peer-reviewed publication. For her nearly two decades of work, the Council for Northeast Historical Archaeology presented her with its Award of Service. Mary has also excelled in her volunteer efforts for the SHA. She has served on a multitude of committees, including being one of the founders of the Women's Caucus (now the Gender and Minority Affairs Committee). Mary has also served the SHA as conference chair (1985), director (1986–1988), and president (1989).

There are very few individuals in the field who have had such a profound influence over the development of so many young archaeologists. Each of her students was encouraged to volunteer, and many have followed up by serving on the committees and boards of numerous regional and national associations dedicated to the field of historical archaeology. By her example, Mary truly instilled in her students the notion of service to their chosen field.

Like a gourmet chef, Mary has experimented in her “kitchen” with many aspects of historical archaeology. Her keen interest and enthusiasm have instilled in all of her students a curiosity for all segments of the human experience. She has given a new meaning to the term mentor in her roles as a professor, graduate-student advisor, dissertation advisor, and now as the chair of the Department of Archaeology at BU.

Main Course

Mary's care and devotion to education in archaeology is visible in so many threads of her work. Her interest in all things historical archaeological, when blended with a continual influx of students eager to engage in fresh lines of research, has been a recipe for creativity and innovation. Teaching and advising and otherwise interacting with multiple generations of students has, in Mary's own words, affected her intellectual growth and career path in many ways. Her openness to new ideas, her willingness to collaborate with students, and the plasticity of her thinking and writing has permitted an engagement with a wide variety of sites across time and space.

Mary has graduated 21 Ph.D. students and has served on 27 additional Ph.D. committees at BU and at many other universities. Her Ph.D. students include Myriam S. L. Arcangeli, Christa M. Beranek, Stephen A. Brighton, Alexandra A. Chan, Christopher A. Dixon, Julie H. Ernstein, Brent R. Fortenberry, Conrad M. Goodwin, Christina J. Hodge, Karen Anne Hutchins, David B. Landon, Ann-Eliza H. Lewis, Sara F. Mascia, Karen B. Metheny, Ruth Ann Murray, Travis G. Parno, Elizabeth S. Peña, Todd M. Reck, Gayle E. Sawtelle, Michelle M. Terrell, and Carolyn L. White. She has graduated 20 M.A. students in archaeology as well as in BU's Gastronomy Program. She has shepherded many undergraduate students through thesis research, chairing 12 honors committees while serving on many others.

After Mary was firmly established at BU, she began to extend her expertise more broadly, and from the 1990s through the present day she has engaged in research that has often focused on the household, but in many different contexts. She participated in numerous New England projects, ranging from excavations on Boston's Beacon Hill to smaller-scale excavations on assorted historical period house sites, often with her students. Massachusetts examples include excavations on Nantucket at the African Meeting House, the investigation of the 71 Joy Street privy in Boston, a survey of the Fairbanks House property in Dedham, and survey and testing at the Wakefield Charitable Trust Property in Milton. Farther afield, Mary worked in Scotland on the Flora McDonald Project on the island of South Uist with Dr. James Symonds, and she recently has been working on the island of Montserrat with Lydia Pulsipher, Mac Goodwin, and Jessica Streibel MacLean.

Mary has published eight books, including *Findings: The Material Culture of Needlework and Sewing* (2006) and *Documentary Archaeology in the New World* (1988). She has collaborated with many colleagues on volumes addressing wide-ranging topics: *Archaeologies of Mobility and*

Movement (Beaudry and Parno 2013); material culture, *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies* (Hicks and Beaudry 2010); the transatlantic world *Interpreting the Early Modern World: Transatlantic Perspectives* (Beaudry and Symonds 2010); historical archaeology, *The Cambridge Companion to Historical Archaeology*, (Hicks and Beudry 2006); the Lowell excavations, *Living on the Boott: Historical Archaeology at the Boott Mills Boardinghouses in Lowell, Massachusetts* (Mrozowski et al. 1996); and a festschrift for James Deetz, *The Art and Mystery of Historical Archaeology: Essays in Honor of James Deetz* (Yentsch and Beaudry 1992).

She has published over 80 book chapters and articles in peer-reviewed journals along with 25 book reviews. She has presented over 115 papers at regional, national, and international conferences, and has given more than 80 public lectures to delighted audiences. Rather than offer a laundry list of Mary's contributions, we offer several perspectives on her work, through several examples, to demonstrate the breadth of her contributions as well as the depth of her influence in the field of historical archaeology.

Mary has an ability to tease out the interesting parts of a project and to take disparate pieces and place them at the center of broader questions within historical archaeology. For example, in 1996, a strange type of ceramic was recovered in several units along a fence line at the Spencer-Peirce-Little site. We (the field-school students, the teaching assistants, and Mary) called it "uglyware" or "wormy ware." Several years later, Mary published an article, entitled "A Pernicious Influence? Japanese Water Drop Ware" in *Ceramics in America* (Beaudry 2004b), about this funny type of ceramic—analyzed, explained, and contextualized. Her traplike mind has produced many moments like this, where a bit of what could be trivia is never quite released but, rather, marinates and becomes an element of something substantial.

Mary's career has never been one of excavate site, publish on said site, move to next site, and repeat. As a chef gathers influences from a lifetime of meals, each of Mary's projects has acted as an ingredient for present and future dishes. Like an excellent chef, Mary has been testing recipes along several themes throughout her career. Her work on households began in the 1970s, inspired by the work of the new social history, and she has returned to that topic throughout her career, publishing on her work at Lowell (Beaudry and Mrozowski 1988; Beaudry 1989, 1993) and Spencer-Peirce-Little (Beaudry 1998, 2001–2002), as well as reflecting her analysis on the household work of many others (Beaudry 1999, 2004a). Mary returns to these ideas and then places the theme on the proverbial back burner for a time in order to attend to other pots of projects and ideas. When the time is right, she returns to the stove to reinvent the recipe.

Her work on material culture began with her publication on spoons from the 17th-century Wampanoag burying ground at Burr's Hill in Warren, Rhode Island, reflecting Mary's interest in foodways as well as material culture (Beaudry 1980b). The focus on material culture and materiality is threaded through her publications, and Mary has catalyzed interest in materiality in the field, publishing on material culture (Cochran and Beaudry 2006), small finds (Loren and Beaudry 2006; White and Beaudry 2009), sewing and needlework (Beaudry 2009b, 2010b), as well as editing *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies* (Hicks and Beaudry 2010). She repeatedly pulls together the work of decades and reblends it to create an entirely new dish, as she has done with her work on the material culture of foodways, most recently with her article "Privy to the Feast: Eighty to Supper Tonight" (Beaudry 2010a).

Mary's work on telling the story of the past is yet another important category of research. In publications that use biography (Beaudry 2009b), narrative (Beaudry 1998), and microhistory (Beaudry 2008), she demonstrates through both theory and case studies that the order and sourcing of ingredients in the telling of the past make a difference. It is not just how we as archaeologists tell the story, but it is the angle and approach that matters and impacts what we can know about the past.

Historical archaeologists are indebted to Mary for the range of techniques she has brought to many themes in the field, sometimes cooking long, low, and slow, and other times using intense heat to make a particular point. Her repertoire includes themes of identity, documentary records, industrial archaeology, gender inequality, landscapes, urban archaeology, and method and theory. Her

work has not only established these topics and ideas as essential to the field, but she has revisited and reinterpreted these themes, giving them a “modern twist,” as they say on the cooking shows.

In what can seem effortless to those around her, Mary has produced important and influential scholarship across a number of themes. Many of her publications are synthetic, drawing together ideas from various disciplines while casting a critical eye on previous research and folding in her own work. She has always held fast to an image of historical archaeology as an anthropological endeavor that focuses on the *lives of people* in the past. One need only look over the range of publications in historical archaeology today to see her mark on the work of both established and emerging scholars, as well as on undergraduate and graduate students.

Mary was awarded the Harrington Medal at the SHA’s 46th Annual Conference on Historical and Underwater Archaeology in the United Kingdom, which was most appropriate given her influence and reputation on the east side of the Atlantic. She taught as a visiting professor at the University of Sheffield and at Bristol University, was elected to the North American Fellowship of the Society of Antiquaries of London, served on the editorial boards of *Post-Medieval Archaeology* and the *Antiquaries Journal*, collaborated with many overseas colleagues, participated in many British conferences, and published with several British presses.

Mary C. Beaudry represents the best of our discipline. The SHA honors her as the 2013 recipient of the J. C. Harrington Medal in Historical Archaeology for her devotion to education, students, field methods, cultural resource management projects, and the Boston Red Sox, together with her record of scholarship, leadership, and service to historical archaeology.

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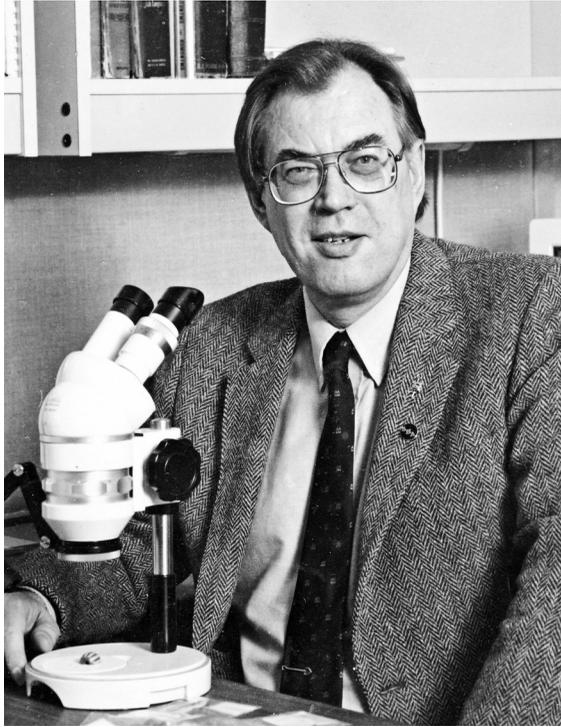
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 CAROLYN L. WHITE

Carol V. Ruppé Distinguished Service Award



Karlis Karklins

The Carol V. Ruppé Distinguished Service Award was established by the Society for Historical Archaeology (SHA) in 1988 to honor Carol Ruppé for her many years of service to the organization. Karlis Karklins received the 2013 Ruppé Award at the annual conference in Leicester, United Kingdom, in recognition of his tireless efforts for nearly 40 years to further and promote the field of historical archaeology and SHA around the world. It is only the sixth Ruppé Award to be presented.

Karlis Karklins was born in Riga, Latvia, in 1944, during German occupation of the country. As Soviet troops began to advance into Latvia in the fall of 1944, his parents, remembering the horrors of the initial Soviet occupation in 1940–1941, decided to abandon their homeland and head for Germany, the only place the German government would let them relocate. After the war, his parents emigrated to the United States, seeking to continue their careers as professors of German and Russian language and literature. Karlis learned English in New York City, and fortunately his mother soon found a job teaching at Syracuse University, where, in the upstate environment, Karlis was able to divest himself of his distinct Bronx accent.

Karlis became interested in archaeology while in junior high school. Living in White Plains, New York, at the time, he was fascinated by Indians and their diverse cultures. Upon hearing of his interest, a friend gave him a small box of arrowheads that purportedly had been found locally. This piqued his curiosity, and he began to assemble a library of books related to ancient humans and archaeology. Charles Darwin was his hero at the time (and continues to be). The pride of his collection was a worn copy of Henry C. Shetrone, *The Mound-Builders*, and he spent hours poring

over its pages, fascinated by the complexity of these ancient peoples' lifeways and their amazing material culture.

By the time he began college in 1962, his family had moved to Tampa, Florida. Although he was interested in the natural sciences at this point, especially mineralogy and paleontology, a friend urged him to attend several anthropology classes that were "cool." This led to a major in anthropology at the University of South Florida, with minors in biology and geology. His first paying job as an anthropologist was cleaning artifacts excavated by University of South Florida archaeologist Roger T. Grange at Castle Hill, Newfoundland, where Karlis too would eventually work. While working on a bachelor degree at the university, a minor event would have a life-long effect on Karlis. The director of the tiny Tampa Museum of Science and Natural History called him one day to inquire if he would be interested in visiting a burial mound in central Florida, where treasure hunters had found glass trade beads. They went to the site, found some beads, and Karlis has been fascinated by trade beads ever since. Today he is a leading expert on trade beads, has learned a lot about them over the last 50 years, but feels there is still a lot more to discover.

After graduation in 1966, Karlis selected the University of Kansas to begin his graduate training. During summer break from those studies in 1967, Karlis accepted a job as an archaeological crew member at Lower Fort Garry National Historic Park, Selkirk, Manitoba, for the National Historic Parks and Sites Service (NHPSS), Ottawa, Canada (later NHPSS would become Parks Canada). He returned in 1968 and was then invited to join the fledgling archaeology section created at the NHPSS by John H. Rick and Jervis D. Swannack, who would become early presidents of the SHA. Karlis began as an archaeologist and was involved in the survey and excavation of a number of sites across Canada. His interest in beads led him to become involved in the Western Canadian Fur Trade Project, the purpose of which was to identify and locate fur-trade sites that were worthy of being commemorated and excavated for interpretation to the public.

When Parks Canada regionalized in 1977, he chose to remain with the headquarters unit in Ottawa and became a material culture researcher. At this point in his career, Karlis decided it was time to complete the graduate studies he had begun at the University of Kansas and applied for educational leave. Instead of returning to Kansas, he chose the University of Idaho, as it was one of the few places at the time that offered courses in historical archaeology. He earned his master's degree in anthropology in 1979 under the tutelage of Roderick Sprague, another bead aficionado, who would become a dear friend. Until retiring as head of the Material Culture Research Section in 2002, Karlis conducted research on various artifact categories, most notably beads, and produced numerous reports on his findings. He also undertook several cultural assessment surveys in the Wager Bay region of Nunavut for Parks Canada in anticipation of this area being designated a national park.

It was during his early days at NHPSS that Karlis became involved with the SHA. His boss, Jervis Swannack, who was then editor of SHA's newsletter, suggested that taking over this job would be a wise career move. After some arm twisting, Karlis agreed and served as newsletter editor from 1971 to 1975. In 1975, he was elected to the SHA Board of Directors, serving until 1978. While on the board he was an active member of the planning committee for the 1977 society meeting, held in Ottawa. In 1980, he took on the role of the SHA Ontario Current Research Editor and also became the Canadian book review editor the following year. He gave up these positions when he was elected president of the society in 1986.

This was an exciting time, as the society was lobbying the U.S. Congress to pass the Abandoned Shipwreck Act. There were visits to Capitol Hill and meetings with several members of Congress. It was also the time that the society was being sued for purportedly libeling an individual who had illegally raised components of the Confederate blockade runner, *Rattlesnake*, situated off the South Carolina coast. Although the lawsuit was eventually dropped, it was a shaky time for the SHA and nerve-racking for its officers. During his presidency, Karlis was also responsible for designing and producing the society's first promotional brochure. Following his term as president, he chaired the Nominations and Elections Committee, and subsequently served on the Newsletter Editorial Advisory Committee during Norman Barka's lengthy term as newsletter editor.

In the years that followed, Karlis continued as unofficial liaison officer between the SHA and Parks Canada, an agency that played a pivotal role in North American historical archaeology and material culture research. Through Karlis's efforts, a number of important research articles prepared by members of the Parks Canada Material Culture Researcher Section (PC MCR) were made available for publication in *Historical Archaeology*. In the late 1990s, Karlis approached the SHA with a plan to compile a reader for publication with papers contributed by PC MCR staff if the society would provide a publication conduit. Unselfishly, Karlis worked the manuscripts into publishable form and had appropriate artwork prepared. He then worked with Parks legal staff to get the papers, considered "Crown" property, released to the SHA for publication. This resulted in the *Studies in Material Culture Research* volume, published in 2000. Karlis also conducted luncheon roundtable workshops, workshop sessions, and symposia on beads at several SHA meetings.

For years, Karlis was active in seeking Canadian nominees for the SHA Board of Directors and recommending them to the nominating committee. He felt strongly that Canadian representation should, if possible, always exist on the board, and he was the most active Canadian in the early development of the SHA. When it comes to the SHA in Canada, Karlis was and is Mr. Canadian SHA. To this day, Karlis is a storehouse of knowledge relative to the history of the SHA, not only in Canada but for the society at large. He seems to have made it an unconscious career goal to do everything in his power to promote the SHA and to see that it thrives. More than possibly any other SHA member Karlis has, for well over 30 years, traveled across Canada, to Western and Eastern Europe, and to Southeast Asia to attend bead conferences and promote historical archaeology and the SHA. Karlis has been a worldwide "SHA Ombudsman!"

Since the early 1980s, Karlis has actively sought to disseminate information relevant to historical archaeology and has been a near-permanent fixture in the SHA conference book room, offering Parks Canada and other publications of interest to the historical archaeological community. Karlis has had a long-standing interest in the SHA and has promoted it whenever and wherever possible. He has attended all but a handful of the SHA's annual meetings since his first one in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, in 1970. He maintains a serious interest in the society and always attends the business meetings, making comments and suggestions when he sees fit.

Through all the years that Karlis has worked to promote and serve the SHA, he has been a strong supporter of student participation. Recently he has become a financial supporter for student receptions, although he is reticent to acknowledge his contributions.

In addition to his work for SHA, Karlis has been very active in the Society of Bead Researchers. He became a member shortly after it was formed in 1981 and took over as editor in 1983, producing the *Bead Forum*, the society's newsletter. While interest in beads was increasing dramatically worldwide at the time, most archaeological journals were reluctant to devote their limited page space to reports that dealt solely with beads. Furthermore, those that were willing to publish such reports could not afford color illustrations, something bead researchers deemed essential. So it was that Karlis created a scholarly journal devoted solely to beads and beadwork. Its title was short and to the point: *Beads*. The first issue rolled off the presses in 1989 and is still in production, with Karlis as its able editor. Since retiring in 2002, Karlis has continued to research beads and beadwork, and has been invited to present papers at various conferences, some as far away as Istanbul and Borneo. He is always willing to give a helping hand to other researchers and promotes sound scholarship.

What does all of the above mean? Karlis Karklins is a person who, throughout his entire professional career, has been and continues to be selfless, to the extreme, in volunteering his time and talents to serve the society. Rick Sprague commented many times over the years, with great admiration, that Karlis really cared about the society, giving considerably of himself to ensure that the then-young SHA and the field of historical archaeology would survive, thrive, and mature as a discipline. That's what it means!

Daniel G. Roberts Award for Excellence in Public Historical Archaeology



The Hampshire and Wight Trust for Maritime Archaeology

The Hampshire and Wight Trust for Maritime Archaeology team in Southampton, United Kingdom. *Left to right:* standing are Lauren Tidbury, Julian Whitewright, Caroline Barrie-Smith, Christin Heamagi, Philippa Naylor, Brandon Mason, Jasmine Noble-Shelley, Sally Bennets, and Jan Gillespie; kneeling are Stephen Fisher, Garry Momber, and Amanda Bowens. Not pictured are team members Julie Satchell, Kathryn Dagless, and Virginia Dellino-Musgrave.

Established by the Society for Historical Archaeology (SHA) in 2011 and first presented in 2012, the Daniel G. Roberts Award for Excellence in Public Historical Archaeology for 2013 was presented to the Hampshire and Wight Trust for Maritime Archaeology at the society's annual conference in Leicester, United Kingdom. Trust director Garry Momber accepted the award on behalf of the trust. The mission of the Hampshire and Wight Trust is to "conduct pioneering" maritime archaeological research and fieldwork, with the results contributing to wide-ranging dissemination, outreach and education." The trust's work throughout the United Kingdom has allowed it to bring the excitement of maritime archaeology to the people of the United Kingdom and the world, with a special focus on school-age children and youth.

Cutting-edge research includes investigations at the sites of shipwrecks ranging from the second-rate warship *HMS Impregnable*, wrecked in 1700, to the merchant bark *Flower of Ugie*, sunk in 1852, to a World War II landing craft that foundered on the way to support the D-day landings. While much of the trust's work focuses on historical and postmedieval heritage, the team also works on submerged prehistoric sites, including a preserved prehistoric forest at Bouldnor Cliff

and the submerged landscape off Gibraltar. All these projects are presented to the public through exciting, entertaining, and educational products that reveal the thrill of maritime study and discovery while imparting the need for appreciation and preservation of these fragile sites.

The Hampshire and Wight Trust for Maritime Archaeology is perhaps best known for the innovative educational materials it produces. Programs targeted to school children include visits to schools for in-classroom workshops and after-school club activities, as well as the marvelous Maritime Bus, a mobile underwater-archaeology educational facility and laboratory. The trust also delivers training for teachers and educators, focusing on using the methods and techniques of underwater archaeology to enrich curricula and to provide extracurricular activities. The Young Archaeologists Dive In! Program allowed children ages 12 to 17 to dive and work with trust archaeologists, learning mapping and recording techniques and other skills. Developed through special funding from the United Kingdom's Heritage Lottery, this program is one of very few that has overcome liability limitations to enable young people to actually get their heads wet and hands dirty on an underwater archaeology project.

While the trust's work with youth is a primary target, adults are not left out. The trust has developed interpreted diving trails at a number of historical period shipwreck sites that enable and encourage access while promoting appreciation and preservation. Shipwrecks at Alum Bay are featured on a trail, while a similar trail at the wreck site of HMS *Hazardous* allows sport divers to explore a protected wreck that otherwise would be off limits for visitors. Web-based podcasts, audio guides, short videos, and interactive maps allow the public to access information about its maritime heritage at any time. Further, the trust's exhibits, displays, and publications provide a wealth of information in many formats.

One of the trust's most innovative and timely projects is Arch-Manche, an international partnership designed to measure and understand coastal dynamics. Using archaeology, art, and coastal-heritage features, Arch-Manche will demonstrate the rate and scale of coastal change over thousands of years in order to predict future changes. This information will be disseminated to a wide audience, including the public, to illustrate the nature and effects of coastal change.

For all these reasons, and for the trust's leadership in developing new strategies for reaching all segments of the public to instill appreciation for archaeology and maritime heritage, the Hampshire and Wight Trust for Maritime Archaeology is a most deserving recipient of the Daniel G. Roberts Award.

DELLA SCOTT-IRETON

John L. Cotter Award in Historical Archaeology



Sarah E. Cowie

Sarah E. Cowie is the recipient of the Society for Historical Archaeology's 2013 John L. Cotter Award for her research on power dynamics in a broad range of historical contexts that has expanded the interdisciplinary reach and influence of historical archaeology. The award was presented at the society's 2013 annual conference in Leicester, United Kingdom.

In her 2008 doctoral dissertation, *Industrial Capitalism and the Company Town: Structural Power, Bio-Power, and Identity in Nineteenth-Century Fayette, Michigan*, Dr. Cowie successfully examines power and control in an early American industrial landscape by combining archaeological field data, archival research, material culture analysis, and innovative GIS methods within a sophisticated theoretical framework. She subsequently revised her dissertation as a postdoctoral fellow supported by the Wenner-Gren Foundation, and in 2011 Cowie published *The Plurality of Power: An Archaeology of Industrial Capitalism* in the Springer "Contributions to Global Historical Archaeology" series. Both her dissertation and this volume are extremely well written and sophisticated. Most researchers have difficulty applying the abstract concepts of social power to real datasets, and very few succeed in writing about them in an understandable way. Her articulation of theory and data was right on the mark and illustrates her ability to conceive of a complex research design, implement it successfully, and convey the results lucidly and engagingly.

Dr. Cowie is an exceptionally well-trained historical archaeologist in all critical areas—fieldwork, archival research, and material culture studies. Her experience includes sites dating from all historical periods up through to the present day. She received her M.S. in industrial archaeology

from Michigan Technological University and completed her Ph.D. in anthropology at the University of Arizona. At the same time, few scholars at this stage in their careers have as much experience in the applied archaeological world. She has over a decade of experience in cultural resource management and has worked extensively on historical mining landscapes and communities in Utah, Idaho, Nevada, and Arizona. She has also done archaeological work in Alabama, Georgia, and Missouri. Dr. Cowie developed oft-cited guidelines for recording Western mining landscapes, which were published by the National Park Service in 2005. She has worked for several private cultural resource management firms and two government agencies. Her experience with historic preservation topics extends from all phases of archaeological fieldwork to analysis and report writing. She has worked on both the agency side and the consultant side of heritage management.

Dr. Cowie's work on power dynamics is grounded in her experiences in industrial archaeology, historic preservation, and the archaeology of working communities. One of her research foci is the historical archaeology of Native Americans, and she has considerable experience working with contemporary native peoples and is committed to incorporating their perspectives into her research. Her approach also applies critical perspectives to studying identity formation among disenfranchised peoples. The ideas she continues to develop are creative and significant, and have both historical and contemporary relevance.

Dr. Cowie is an accomplished and creative teacher. Her first teaching job after receiving her Ph.D. was at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio, and since 2011 she has been an assistant professor in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Nevada, Reno, filling a position there after the retirement of Donald L. Hardesty. Her extremely positive teaching evaluations document her teaching competence and abilities. She is an active member of a number of professional and academic organizations, has published peer-reviewed articles and book reviews in several journals, and presents regularly at scholarly meetings. Dr. Cowie's commitment to being an engaged member of her discipline is a model for students learning how to be professionals, and she is an excellent example of the perseverance and dedication needed to succeed as a young professional given the economic stresses and challenges to higher education and critical thinking prevalent not only in the United States but also worldwide.

Her academic qualifications and performance have garnered her numerous grants, scholarships, and fellowships. Dr. Cowie was recently invited by the U.S. Army Research Office to submit a proposal for consideration for a Presidential Early Career Award for Scientists and Engineers (PECASE). PECASE is the highest honor bestowed by the U.S. government on outstanding scientists and engineers in the early stages of their independent research careers, and only invited participants are considered. Cowie proposed to apply the principles and findings of her research on power relations in historical archaeology to a contemporary issue of great relevance—the apparent impasse in tribal/federal discourse regarding heritage consultation as currently practiced in the United States.

Her proposed research on conflicting discourses in heritage management, addressed through collaborative training in indigenous historical archaeology, draws together lessons learned from her previous work on power and social theory, on indigenous historical archaeology, and on federal/tribal relations. Her proposed use of postmodern theoretical concepts to develop a strategy for humanizing the process of respectful consultation between tribes and the federal government is highly innovative and has strong potential to revolutionize the way consultation is currently conducted, which should provide significant and lasting benefits for all concerned.

Dr. Cowie's work has brought historical archaeology to the attention of audiences that heretofore have seen little potential in its contributions. This has been recognized at the national level, as indicated by PECASE's invitation, but she continues to introduce historical archaeology to new audiences through university outreach and collaborative activities, and through service to professional societies and the public.

In summary, Dr. Sarah E. Cowie has made exceptional contributions to historical archaeology while a student and now as a young professional. She has embarked on a career of scholarly excellence, with the impact already being felt within historical archaeology and beyond.

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DONALD L. HARDESTY

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Excavating the Quiet History of a Providence Plantation

ABSTRACT

In November 2010, 78% of Rhode Islanders elected not to eliminate the second half of the state's official name, "Rhode Island and Providence Plantations." The debate over removing "Providence Plantations" suggests the selective historical memory of both civic leaders and citizens, who have forgotten the impacts and legacy of colonization in the 17th century. During the early settlement of Rhode Island, planting and plantations were explicit tools of European colonization involving many forms of oppression. Evidence from the 17th-century Old House site at Greene Farm, a former plantation in Warwick, Rhode Island, depicts a multicultural landscape and community increasingly dominated by the Greenes, an influential English family. An examination of changes in the documentary record, material culture, and lived environment related to Greene Farm between 1642 and 1711 maps the aggressive use of plantations by English settlers to permanently colonize a place and its original inhabitants, and considers how these acts of "planting" served to reinforce the development and maintenance of their New English identity.

Introduction

In 1663 Roger Williams returned to Massachusetts from England with a royal charter for the "Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations." By uniting Rhode Island's Narragansett Bay plantations within a single chartered colony recognized by the Crown, Williams was planting a barrier against the territorial expansion of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. The Rhode Island colony's new English name stuck, and today this smallest U.S. state has the longest state name. Three-and-a-half centuries later, in 2009, Rep. Joseph Almeida, the state's first African American lawmaker, argued that the "Ocean State" should no longer bear a moniker that for many Americans evokes a legacy of slavery. Almeida introduced a bill to change the state's name, and it was put forward for public vote in a 2010 referendum. Rhode Islanders overwhelmingly rejected Almeida's proposal and

elected to keep "Providence Plantations" in the state's name.

The semantics of the term "plantation"—what it meant in the past and what it means today—fostered a rare public debate in Rhode Island over the state's earliest history. Rep. Almeida argued that the term, "plantation," was most strongly associated with the violent exploitation of enslaved laborers in the past, and that its present connotation still had the power to perpetuate racial inequalities. By contrast, 78% of Rhode Island voters disagreed, not necessarily associating the term with negative implications in the present. Their reasoning varied, but, in public forums, many Rhode Islanders surmised that the term was used at the time of the colony's founding to describe a farming settlement, or that it predated the colony's notorious involvement with slavery. These observations are only partially accurate. In relation to its original 17th-century use, the term recalls Roger Williams's struggle to establish a safe haven for dissenters—in other words, an environment of tolerance that more closely reflects present-day values of multiculturalism and acceptance of diversity (Henry 2009).

In this discussion we suggest yet another meaning for the act of "planting" in New England, that is, how English settlers used plantations as an effective tool to claim territory and, with it, its original inhabitants. The real legacy of the term "plantation" in Rhode Island is bound up in the coercion and cruelty of the colonizing project, a process that has been entirely overlooked in the debate over the state's name. The "Providence Plantations" controversy exposed the selective historical memory of both civic leaders and citizens who have either forgotten or never understood the physical, social, and psychological impacts associated with the colonization of indigenous groups in 17th-century New England. Such forgetting places Rhode Islanders at risk of continuing what are colonizing mentalities in their ongoing legal disputes with tribal members, in their narratives of popular histories, and in the definition of their very civic identity.

To understand the intricacies and power of a Providence plantation requires engaging with the remains of the colonization project in early Rhode Island and with the conditions of colonialism more generally (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992:23; Handsman and Richmond 1995; Silliman 2005; Preucel and Cipolla 2008). The archaeological and documentary record of the Old House site at Greene Farm, a 17th-century plantation in Warwick, provides the basis for this discussion (Figure 1). We examine how the material and historical circumstances related to Greene Farm connect with the import of planting and the term “plantation” during the first three generations of English occupation on the property, a period between 1642 and 1711. The convergence of these sources details how the process of establishing a Providence plantation was accompanied by radical shifts in landscape management practices, conceptions of property, demography, and intercultural relationships.

Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in the 17th Century

Rhode Island’s social history in the early colonial period differs significantly from its neighboring colonies. Founded by Roger Williams as a refuge for religious freedom and liberties of conscience, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations was a haven for English and other European colonists who either wished to escape or were evicted from the stricter, more religiously conservative neighboring colonies. Williams’s “lively experiment” (as the colony was described in its 1663 royal charter) welcomed religious radicals, including Anne Hutchinson; outspoken anarchists, such as Warwick’s founder Samuel Gorton; entrepreneurs, who quickly established a major center of maritime commerce in Newport; and enterprising families, like the Greenes, who sought to establish a landholding base in New England that would sustain their offspring for generations to come (Clarke 1903:59). Roger Williams intended for his colony and its plantations to be places of loving toleration and the absence of slavery. His intent, however, did not translate cross-culturally into the formation of a peaceful community involving all of the colony’s inhabitants, especially its large Native American population, which in the first generation outnumbered English settlers by a

ratio of four to one (Vose 1892–1893; Salisbury 1982:183). As distilled from official and unofficial documents, intercultural relations in the 17th-century colony were rarely depicted as harmonious (Salisbury 1982; Marshall 1995:415–17; Rubertone 2001).

In comparison with the same period in the Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, and Connecticut colonies, 17th-century Rhode Island has received relatively little archaeological attention, but see Bowen (1975), Gibson (1980), Turnbaugh (1984), Rubertone and Fitts (1990), Rubertone and Taylor (1992), and Rubertone (2001). Archaeological evidence, however, when combined with court, land, and estate records, offers a more-detailed picture of the character of Rhode Island’s former plantations than any of Williams’s or his fellow planters’ pronouncements alone. Although anxious undercurrents pervaded most English/native interactions in early Rhode Island, documentary evidence suggests that, especially between the 1640s and early 1660s, interactions between these groups were not always openly hostile. Some documents and archaeological evidence recovered from the Greene Farm suggest that, while seeds of violent conflict were indeed present from the outset of colonization, they were enacted on a daily basis through less-overtly violent guises (acts of trespass, alliances, name-calling, petty theft). Other sources attest to the necessity, and perhaps desire, for certain interactions (shared cultivation spaces, open pastures, trade) to be conducted with mutual regard for all Warwick residents, whether they were English, non-English European, or Native American. These circumstances invite a nuanced view of 17th-century interpersonal relationships that considers how everyday interactions in the colony proceeded within a fluctuating environment of coexistence, cooperation, resistance, and conflict.

Despite short periods of relatively peaceable coexistence, any sense of community that may have existed during Warwick’s first generation was increasingly subsumed by new English structures of property rights and labor relationships during the decade preceding King Philip’s War, which began in 1675. A yearlong bloody conflict that pitted New England colonists against local tribal groups, King Philip’s War marks the failure of Roger Williams’s plans for the colony of Rhode Island. The colonists’



FIGURE 1. Map of Rhode Island and the location of Greene Farm. (Map by K. Ryzewski, 2013.)

defeat of Native American dissenters resulted in a complete and irreversible schism in English/native relationships after 1676. Archaeological remains and documentary sources depict how this violent struggle accelerated efforts to establish English plantations and associated ideals during the subsequent generations of English occupation at Greene Farm.

Creating the English Plantation: The First Generation of Greene Farm (1642–1661)

Greene Farm, like most mid-17th-century farms around Narragansett Bay, was identified as a plantation by Roger Williams. Originally over 700 ac., the property is now one-third smaller but still a substantial privately owned estate in an otherwise densely settled suburban area of Rhode Island that includes shopping centers, residential subdivisions, highways, and an international airport. The property is located in Warwick, 8 mi. south of Providence on the western shore of Narragansett Bay at the mouth of the Providence River (Figure 2).

Over the past 75 years, access to Greene Farm has been strictly limited to relatives of the current landowners and their guests. Such desires for privacy have hindered access for preservationists, historians, and archaeologists to the property's many well-preserved historical structures and archaeological features. This level of restricted access is not an unfamiliar challenge among cultural-heritage professionals who work in Rhode Island, a state where a mere 1.5% of land is publicly owned; the state has the highest proportion of privately held land in the country (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1991).

Additional obstacles to gathering information about Greene Farm's early history occur at the archival level, where local public repositories lack records that relate specifically to the plantation property, especially during the second half of the 17th century. At Greene Farm, and indeed at many other properties in the region, sparse written records and limited access to potential archaeological sites has allowed previous generations of historians to develop and perpetuate a comfortable, unquestioned rural history of southern New England. Prior to the beginning of the extensive excavations at the Old House site in 2007, Greene Farm's past was understood to be one of seemingly quiet and peaceful New England farm life: an imagined place where domestic animals were tended, land cultivated, crops harvested, homespun cloth produced, butter churned, and cheese aged, all peppered with visits from the local pastor and bad weather (Woodward 1971). Such an archetypal image of New England farm life reconstitutes Jeffersonian ideals of American independence and self-reliance. Jefferson believed "those who labour in the earth are the chosen people of God"; for Jefferson, farmers represented the noble part of a state's economy, while other professions tended toward corruption (Jefferson 1999:170). Long before Jefferson, however, a rural aesthetic was an important element of identity for the earliest English planters. The power of this cultural imperative reinforced the institutionalization of planter colonialism in early New England.

Whether or not they had been farmers in England, New England's earliest settlers defined their place in society according to the desires, expectations, and structures of an English agricultural tradition. Many colonists set aside remunerative urban professions in pursuit of an English



FIGURE 2. The Greene Farm landscape: the arrow in the center of the hayfield indicates the 17th-century Old House site location during excavations in 2008. The manor house, constructed ca. 1690, stands uphill to the west. (Photo by K. Ryzewski, 2008.)

agricultural—or landed—ideal in a new world. For example, William Bradford of Plymouth was born on a manor farm in Yorkshire, England, but worked as a weaver before coming to America. When he arrived in Plymouth Colony, Bradford quickly established his own plantation, soon describing himself to his fellow planters as “used to a plain country life and the innocent trade of husbandry” (Rutman 1967:4).

Similar motivations existed in Rhode Island colonists’ eagerness to plant an English ideal by establishing their own plantations. In 1635, John Greene, a surgeon from Salisbury, England, arrived in Massachusetts with his wife and children. The next year, after falling afoul of authorities in the Bay Colony, he followed Roger Williams to Rhode Island and became one of Providence’s 12 founding members. Greene, the fourth son of a landed gentleman, was born in Dorset in southwestern England at the family’s Bowridge Hill manor estate in the village of Gillingham (Clarke 1903). His older brothers and their sons inherited family properties, including

Greene’s childhood manor, where they lived as gentleman farmers. The only real estate Greene could claim was a part share in a town house in nearby Salisbury.

In the 1630s, Greene developed a thriving profession as a medical doctor, but urban Salisbury offered increasingly poor prospects for Greene’s six children. By the early 1600s, the city’s population swelled, and its overcrowded neighborhoods were falling into squalor as the plague repeatedly struck its citizens (Chandler 1983). Greene immigrated to New England almost certainly to escape these conditions and to seek property for his sons, probably envisioning manor estates akin to those his older brothers and nephews had inherited in England. Like William Bradford, Greene was an urban professional motivated by a landed, agricultural ideal that required turning New England land into private, family capital in the form of a plantation (Cronon 1983:169).

Within five years of his arrival to Rhode Island, Greene had successfully achieved the first

step toward planting his legacy. In 1642, Greene acquired a large tract of land in Shawomet (now Warwick) that included land just south of the Pawtuxet River, as well as an adjacent plantation that was previously settled by another English splinter group from Providence (Chapin 1926:250). The acquired land, called *Occupesatuxet* after the cove it enveloped, was “purchased”—from an English legal perspective—directly from the Narragansett sachem Miantonomi, who resided farther south but claimed tribute from the tribes who lived along the Pawtuxet River. The local Pawtuxet sachem, Socononoco, also witnessed and cosigned the agreement with Greene (Gookin 1792:70; Chapin 1926:250–251; Salisbury 1982:147; Robinson 1990).

The deed detailing Greene’s purchase of the *Occupesatuxet* land is significant for two reasons. First, it designates Miantonomi as the primary Native American authority figure in the transaction rather than the Pawtuxet sachem, who was leader of the land’s current occupants. This situation reflects how land transactions at the time were not simple bilateral agreements between two discrete Native American and English parties; they were instead born of a convergence of preexisting English and Native American sociopolitical structures.

Building from these circumstances, the exchange secondly conveys a broader sense of the complex political alliances, social organizations, and landscape management practices that existed among multiple local Native American groups before European arrival and during the first generation of English settlement in Rhode Island. Before 1642 the land along this western coast of Narragansett Bay was marked by small seasonal habitations where indigenous communities engaged in trapping, hunting, and agricultural activities. As was common along the southern New England coast of the Narragansett Bay and Long Island Sound, Native Americans used shellfish beds as both a food resource and, increasingly, as a source for shell beads, as wampum became the standard currency throughout the European American trade networks of the Northeast (Ceci 1990). All of these settlement-based activities yielded a surplus wealth in fur, corn, and *wampumpeage*, a sizeable portion of which was used by local tribal groups to pay tribute to more powerful sachems, such as Miantonomi of the Narragansett tribe (Salisbury 1982; Robinson 1990; Bernstein 1993; Bagdon 1996).

The exchange that transferred Pawtuxet-occupied land into Greene’s ownership is but one example of a more widespread practice in southern New England, where English immigrants purchased land from prominent Native American sachems, like Miantonomi, who did not themselves reside on or use the sold land. In 1647, for example, William Arnold of the Pawtuxet plantation (immediately north of Greene’s property) arranged a purchase of land along the Pawtuxet River from Ousamequin (Massasoit), sachem of the Pokanoket, a tribe that lived 7 mi. to the east across the Providence River in present-day Bristol and Warren. Even after the land was acquired by Arnold it continued to be inhabited and used almost exclusively by the Pawtuxet tribe, its longstanding occupants and cultivators (Providence Town Papers [PTP] 1899:74). Subsequent records refer to “Indian Corne fields” on or immediately adjacent to Arnold’s property, further illustrating that the Pawtuxet maintained an active presence and felt no urgency to relocate (PTP 1899:29). A similar situation occurred on Greene’s new plantation property. Although in use by the Pawtuxets, the land was transferred to Greene by Miantonomi in exchange for 30 fathom of wampum. Socononoco’s Pawtuxet tribe received nothing in the exchange.

The continued use of the *Occupesatuxet* property by the Pawtuxets succeeded, in part because the Greens did not live there following their 1642 acquisition. Instead, John Greene, Sr., his oldest son John, Jr., and his new wife, Alice Daniels, split their residency between Providence, where Greene practiced medicine, and Shawomet, a new English settlement founded in 1643 just 3 mi. south of the *Occupesatuxet* property. Greene’s written agreement with Miantonomi conveys ideas about his immediate intent for the *Occupesatuxet* land during this first generation of ownership. The contract states that “John Greene shall have free liberty for timber and comonidge to feede his Cattel at large from Patience to Occupessautuxet point westward, forever ... to have, hould, and enjoy in as ample manner as I Miantonomu did before the sale hereofe” (Chapin 1926:250–252).

In his initial efforts to establish his English plantation at Greene Farm, John Greene, Sr., prioritized logging and cattle as income-producing ventures rather than other profitable production alternatives involving corn, fur, or shell beads. Greene’s choices reflected a broader trend during the “Great Migration” period of the 1630s and

1640s in which English migrants increasingly established rural farms to remove the nuisance of large herds of grain-eating livestock from burgeoning town settlements (Rutman 1967:14; Cronon 1983; Anderson 1994). Following this trend, Greene organized activities on his Occupesatuxet land to tap directly into the growing southern markets for New England timber and meat, which were also expanding lucrative commercial opportunities for first-generation New English farmers (Rutman 1963; Bridenbaugh 1974; Bowen 1975). His quick success was due to his ability to build up a large herd from a relatively small amount of capital, a situation made possible by the significant drop in Massachusetts cattle prices between 1640 and 1641, from £20 to £30 a head to £4 to £5 (Rutman 1967:14–19).

That Greene Farm was a successful commercial enterprise and that “planting” had commenced is evident in John Greene, Sr.’s will, written shortly before his death in 1659. He left “that necke of land called Occuessuatuxet” to his oldest son John, indicating that, of all the house lots and other properties he owned by that time, this was his most prized. He added a standard memorandum allowing “my sayd wife is to make use of all the sayd meddowes of Occuessuatuxet during her life with the little Island adjoyng to the necke, all which upland and meddowe I bought of Miantonomu” (J. Greene, Sr. 1887). Greene was an absentee husbandman, and the “use” his wife would make of the meadows of Occupesatuxet after his death would be to maintain her income through the lucrative cattle trade. Moreover, he specifically granted his wife the large island just offshore; such islands were typically used for keeping sheep, hogs, and other small livestock. Greene’s will also left land to his other three sons, providing them with the resources to attain the agricultural ideal, the status of landed gentlemen farmers, that had eluded him in England. To his daughters and granddaughters he left the next best thing, cattle of various sorts—“kine,” “yearling heifers,” “calves,” and so on (J. Greene, Sr. 1887).

Planting New English Ideals: The Second Generation of Greene Farm (1661–1708)

Upon his father’s death in 1659, John Greene, Jr., surveyed the property and set about to live there fulltime with his family. His immediate tasks were to build a house and better contain

the cattle on the property. In the first recorded act of construction on the property, he hired a tenant in 1661 to build a dwelling. The lease Greene and his tenant, Francis Uselton, signed offers the only description of Greene Farm’s landscape following the 1642 purchase, as well as of the tasks related to dwelling with domestic animals:

I John Greene aforsayd do let and sett unto Francis Uselton aforsayd A Certaine parsell of upland layinge next the upper end of the Couve of Occupesuatuxet and ranginge from the fronte of the necke onn a straight line with the north west side of *my plowed land the fields that the Indians plant* heavinge breacke up being by the sea. ... Also I doe let unto him all the meddowe from *the Indian fenc* that now runs down to Occupesuatuxet Couve [emphasis added] (Chapin 1926:268).

The details in this description are unclear as to whether the Native Americans were planting on their own fields or on fields that the Greens owned, but they nonetheless show that in 1661 Native American groups were living/cultivating crops in close proximity. They were planting on land that ran down to the cove, and they had built an “Indian fenc[e],” most likely to keep Greene’s cattle out of their fields. In the contract, Greene instructs Uselton to construct more fences. These fences would have extended into the Native American planting area—a gradual encroachment foreshadowing conflicts over land to follow. These particular fences were intended to allow “free liberty” for Greene’s growing herd, “together with *their Increase* from the head of Occupesuatuxet Couve to the head of Patience Couve ... after Indian harviest upon any part of the necke that I shall not particularly Improprate [emphasis added]” (Chapin 1926:268). These instructions suggest that, after the harvest, Greene allowed his cattle to roam freely between the two coves, an area that encompassed the entire waterfront of the property.

Uselton’s management of the Greene property marks the transition into the second generation of Greene settlement, a period when the “planting” process accelerated and became more permanent, in both material and written forms. The first indicator of permanence appears in the 1661 lease agreement, in which Greene, Jr., enlists Uselton to build him “a house fitte to dwell in (mad with postes in the grounde) twenty foote long and fourteen foote wide.”

Greene, Jr., intended to relocate his family to the property permanently, and he took repeated measures to ensure that his exclusive right to hold the Occupesautuxet property was guaranteed according to the customary procedure of the English legal and governing system. The most striking instance of these consultations appears in 1662 when, shortly after his father's death, John Greene, Jr., returned to the Narragansett tribal leaders to reconfirm, in writing, his ownership of the property. The reason given for the renewed deed of sale is "least any English should fraudulently step in to purchase the sayd land" (Chapin 1926:282). Greene's concern reflects how, in the decade leading up to King Philip's War, competition for Indian lands along the western shores of Narragansett Bay was rife among the English. The sachem with whom Greene consulted to legitimize his ownership of the property was, once again, not a Pawtuxet but a Narragansett, the late Miantonomi's brother. His decision to consult with the Narragansetts rather than the Pawtuxet was a strategic move. In the 20 years since his father acquired the property, intertribal relations had become strained in the colony, and the Narragansett in particular had lost most of their influence among neighboring tribes by 1662, due in large part to issues involving the Massachusetts Bay government (Salisbury 1982; Robinson 1990).

Seeds of these intertribal and intercolony conflicts were planted as early as 1643 when, soon after Greene, Sr., purchased his property, the Pawtuxets and the Shawomet tribe to the south distanced themselves from the Narragansett by swearing loyalty to the English in Boston. Socononoco and Pumham, the sachems of these tribes, traveled to Boston to submit themselves to the Massachusetts Bay Colony, arguing that Miantonomi had forced them to sell their lands—including Greene's Occupesatuxet property (Winthrop 1908). The Massachusetts militia, opportunistically vying for Narragansett lands, complied with the sachems' pleadings to challenge the Rhode Island colonists, and they invaded the Warwick plantations, stealing cattle and locking up their leaders (Clarke 1903:55). During this dispute, language used by Rhode Island colonists to describe the dissenting tribes conveys some of the underlying attitudes that English settlers already had toward their predecessors (Holden 1825; Arnold 1865, 1947). These and other tribal and intercolony tensions are

well documented in Warwick court records, which enumerate the substantive complaints by the local Native American tribes of Warwick about the difficulties of living closely with English planters. The grievances of these tribes, occurring around and perhaps on Greene's property, are evidence that planting ambitions were taking root in Warwick and causing major consequences for other local residents in the process.

As recorded in Greene, Jr.'s 1661 contract with Uselton, some traces of coexistence and mutual regard existed in Warwick, but primarily at the beginning of the property's second generation of Greene ownership. Uselton was to wait until after the Indian harvest to let Greene's cattle roam free. From mention of fences and crops it appears that Native Americans resided in the vicinity, at least seasonally, to tend to the corn. This proximity may be a result of arrangements or even collaborations orchestrated during John Greene, Sr.'s management of the property in the 1640s and 1650s.

Situations involving neighborly relations between Native Americans and English settlers generally did not survive the generational change in Warwick. In the decade leading up to King Philip's War, the newly institutionalized English agricultural regime and system of private ownership proved incongruous with the Native American use of Warwick's land. Distance between English settlers and Native Americans was established by English ideals and further reinforced by language, both written and spoken. One important skill that distinguished Greene, Sr., (and other first-generation Warwick colonists) from his eldest son John was that he spoke the local Algonquian dialect (PTP 1899:23; Arnold 1947). In contrast, Greene, Jr.'s communications with local Native Americans were restricted to spoken English. Following his father's death, Greene, Jr., established new relations to assist him with activities on the Occupesatuxet property. Hiring Uselton, an English-speaking tenant, was his first order of business.

The Semantics of Colonization in the Plantation Process

In the decades before and after King Philip's War, John Greene, Jr., held important government titles that conferred on him the responsibility of interpreting events in writing, either as clerk to the Warwick town council or moderator for

the colonial assembly. He was one of only a few literate men in town, and he was rewarded for his literacy with the privilege of framing in writing political events and governing standards. He held a number of titled positions, including general recorder, general solicitor, attorney general, major for the main, and, toward the end of his life, deputy governor. Everyone in the Providence Plantations, including the resident Native Americans, was aware of Greene's standing, but not everyone shared an understanding of the system, constituted in written English and Latin, on which his stature was based. For Greene and other colonizers, land ownership became the primary basis for the dispensation of entitlements, and land ownership, like titles, was made real by an abstract and codified legal system. Through writing—deeds, contracts, purchase agreements and the like—Warwick colonists were able to separate tracts of land from their physical and social contexts, and from the very people who had long inhabited them. The language of these documents imaginatively reconnected the plantations to England and thereby reordered the landscape in a way that excluded Native Americans and Native American interests (Keary 1996).

Similarly, the words used to describe the Native Americans living in the Providence Plantations shaped a new and particular reality that came to be institutionalized in colonial records. Over the course of the three decades leading up to King Philip's War, Englishmen, even former adversaries, came to identify more with one another than with neighboring Native Americans within the same town or colony. For the English, the "heathen" Indians' "Otherness" was far more threatening than the often bitter intercolonial animosities among themselves (Holden 1825). Native Americans were regularly called "Moors" by the New England colonists, a term commonly applied to Africans that indiscriminately lumped together all non-Europeans from tribal social groups (*News from New England* 1676). Warwick leader Samuel Gorton waged an especially damaging assault by comparing Native Americans to the "treacherous Irish," who English colonizers also viewed as "savage," tribal people residing outside civilization. When Gorton wrote to his one-time enemy John Winthrop in 1675, he nonetheless aligned himself with Winthrop when he called the Narragansett and the Shawomet "[b]arbarians, people of the curse" (Gorton 1865; Takaki 1992). By

identifying with a prominent Englishman in these terms, Gorton elevated Englishness to a position of cultural sophistication and divine favor.

These labels were prejudices that the English carried with them across the Atlantic. In some cases, even harsher contrasts were drawn as a mechanism for colonists to distinguish and assert their believed superiority and legitimacy in colonizing the land. In another letter to John Winthrop, dated 1675, Mary Pray (1871) of Providence referred to the Narragansett several times as "[t]hese fals and trecherus imps." "Imps" were small demons, thought in the medieval period to be children of Satan and in later times to be witches' servants (*Oxford English Dictionary* 2010). Comparing the Native Americans to imps demonized and dehumanized them. Indeed, a common English argument raised in favor of establishing New England plantations was that the region's countryside was void of other human beings. The 1630 London publication, *Planter's Plea*, for example, described New England as "so naked of inhabitants" (White 1630:25). Blinded by their rural ideal of the densely farmed English countryside, English colonizers did not see the New England landscape as "cultivated," and so it followed in their reasoning that the Native American people were uncultivated and animal-like.

The words colonists applied to property, especially "real" property or land, also worked to shape a reality that promoted their foothold in New England, itself a geographic label often used today without reflection on its origins. Place names already existed throughout the region when the English arrived, as is evident in the number of Algonquian names that survive today. That these Algonquian names still survive is a remarkable testimony of persistence and continuity, given the concerted efforts by the English to reinforce ownership by, in many cases, renaming already-established places. For example, only four years after establishing a settlement at Shawomet in 1643, Samuel Gorton's group, fighting with Native Americans and the Massachusetts authorities to retain control of the property, enlisted help from English politicians and changed its name to Warwick (Bicknell 1920; James 1975:60). Countless other examples of this renaming practice appear in the earliest town records for Providence Plantations, where places are listed first by their new English name, reinforcing their priority across the land, and then occasionally paired to native

equivalents. Most often these translations appear as the English name followed by: “what the Indians call [Algonquian place name].”

That renaming affected all scales of placemaking in Rhode Island is illustrated in the changes to the Greene Farm property’s identity during its first two generations of Greene ownership (Bowser 2004; Rubertone 2008). When Greene, Jr., moved to the *Occupesautuxet* property with his family in the early 1660s, he changed its name to Greene’s Hold, rhetorically and legally shifting the Native American landscape to an English property. The Native American sachems confirming Greene’s land deed were most likely unaware of what the noun “hold” meant in relation to the language of 16th- and 17th-century English property rights. A hold in the English system designated privately held, inheritable land with no liens on it. Through the English language, Greene, Jr., gave himself exclusive rights to this land, and it would forever henceforth pass only to Greene sons, exactly as his father had intended on coming to New England.

As a consequence of planting conceptions of property ownership in Warwick, by the mid-1660s the Greene’s Hold landscape and inhabitants were radically different from what they had been a mere 20 years earlier. The English name turned an agricultural, propertied ideal into a New English reality. By 1659, at Greene, Sr.’s death, the land was a private, bounded, inheritable property held exclusively in the male hands of one English family. The stature of these men was enhanced by a string of titles and contained in a colonial discourse that conveyed power to English landholders, while rendering Indians as invisible and subhuman. Records suggest that, in 1661, as the second generation of Greene ownership began, there was a new post-in-ground domestic structure and intensification of livestock farming on the property. Mention of “Indian fences” and an “Indian harvest” hint that, initially, the Greenes were still residing in close proximity to nearby Native American habitations, fences, and fields.

After 1661, the documentary record is silent, until the deaths of Greene, Jr., in 1708 and his son Richard in 1711. Their estate inventories, however, depict an established and expanding plantation set within a social context radically different than it was in 1661. In 1708, John Greene, Jr.’s estate was valued at £167 (J. Greene, Jr. 1708). In 1711, his son Richard’s estate was

valued at £688, reflecting a rapid accumulation of wealth and property in a short three-year period (R. Greene 1711). The magnitude of the Greenes’ increasing status as planters is further demonstrated by the valuation of the fourth-generation John Greene’s estate inventory, which calculated the worth of the Greene’s household goods and servants alone at £28,372 (J. Greene 1762).

By 1708, Indian fences and any regard for the seasonal rhythms of indigenous lifeways were unmentioned and presumed gone, but a large herd of cattle remained, and a substantial new manor house stood uphill from the Old House constructed in 1661. Among other changes brought about in the aftermath of King Philip’s War, inventories mark the rise of yet another form of property: enslaved Native Americans. By the dawn of the 18th century, written titles and land deeds had surreptitiously enclosed the plantation property, and once-independent inhabitants were vilified and barred access to it except as enslaved workers.

The Old House Site: Archaeology and the Material Culture of Planting (1661–1711)

What happened between 1661, when Native American residents and English owners ceased to share a landscape on the Greene plantation, and 1711, when Native Americans became, in some cases, a part of the plantation’s property, is a story assembled primarily from the archaeological record (Ryzewski 2007, 2009; Deslatte 2008). The process and consequences of creating the Greene Farm plantation are reflected in the archaeological remains of the Old House site.

The Old House site was first located during a shovel-test survey of the Greene Farm property in 2004, with extensive excavations commencing in 2007. Three subsequent field seasons focused on identifying features associated with the Old House, the spatial extent of the site, and its history of occupation and use. The Old House site is at the southern edge of a hayfield, 80 m east of the extant ca. 1690 manor house (Figure 2). Although no visible remains of the Old House survive as standing ruins or surface scatter, the approximate location of the site was pinpointed by the present landowner in her account of how abandoned remains of an “Old House” were filled in during the 1870s to prevent her grandmother, a child at the time, from falling into the ruins while playing.

Excavations documented stratigraphy and recovered material culture that form a clear depositional sequence of the Old House site as both a place of 17th-century occupation and a late-19th-century landscape. Materials dating to the mid-to-late 18th century were only recovered from the uppermost strata, which were associated with the 1870s fill episode. Two distinct activity areas associated with the 17th-century Old House were identified: a dwelling area and a midden.

Architectural Remains

The dwelling area of the Old House site consists of two important structural features (Figure 3). The upper feature is a large domestic structure with a stone foundation and accompanying architectural elements, including brick, mortar, wall plaster, daub, iron nails, slate roof shingles, and window glass with lead comes. Based on excavation results to date, this dwelling spanned an area of approximately 10 × 12 m. It contained at least three rooms, one outbuilding, and one brick chimney. A stone-lined well is located 2 m beyond a passageway or lean-to separating a yard space from the structure's northern wall. A path or yard surface paved with oyster shells separates the front of the structure from the midden deposit immediately to its south. Artifacts dating to the late 17th century along with an abundance of architectural materials suggest that this was the dwelling occupied by John Greene, Jr., and his family in the decades leading up to the construction of and their relocation to the manor house after 1690.

A second major feature within the dwelling area is an earlier impermanent structure, located partially underneath and partially adjacent to the stone-founded dwelling that dates to the late 17th century (Figure 4). The architectural elements of this earlier structure include post-in-ground architecture and clay-lined builders' trenches that may have once supported impermanent earthfast or wooden walls (Carson et al. 1981; Markell 1994). This structural feature covers an area of at least 5 × 8 m (16 × 26 ft.) and contains two identifiable internal rooms and one possible addition or outbuilding to the north. Based on the few artifacts recovered from this earlier feature's sealed 17th-century deposits and considering Greene's instructions for his tenant to build a 14 × 20 ft. dwelling made with posts, it is probable that this is the structure that was the

first iteration of the Old House on the property, constructed by Greene's tenant Uselton in 1661.

The most striking evidence supporting this sequence of the Old House's construction and reconstruction is stratigraphic. In the northern extent of the site, a thin layer of black soil varying in thickness from 3 to 5 cm lies between the earlier structural features and the later stone foundations. This shallow deposit represents an intense burning episode that damaged one side of the structure. The effects of the burning episode and subsequent reconstruction are also evident in the superposition of two sets of posthole features. At the lowest level associated with the first iteration of the Old House archaeologists uncovered three square or rectangular, flat-bottomed postholes measuring 18 × 16 cm, 32 × 28 cm, and 20 × 18 cm aligned on an E–W axis and spaced evenly in 2 m (6.5 ft.) intervals. Each of these postholes was covered by the thin black burned deposit. In addition to these three features, two later square postholes cut through the burned layer and into portions of the earlier postholes (Figure 5). One of the later postholes, which measured 20 × 21 cm, was lined at its base with slate. This superposition is a convincing clue that the later structure was built, or at least reconstructed, in the wake of a partially destructive burning episode at the Old House in the mid-to-late 17th century.

At least 18 postholes of different dimensions have been identified at the Old House site (Lees 2010). The majority appears at the same elevation as the builders' trenches and other stratigraphic features associated with the first iteration of the Old House. Importantly, several early impermanent postholes associated with the first iteration are situated adjacent to or along the same lines as the mortared stone walls associated with the later Old House structure. This spatial relationship may indicate that, instead of completely demolishing the first Old House, the Greenes continued to use portions of the older structure as additions or outbuildings.

The two iterations of the Old House are not just evidence of a construction sequence, but of the experience and history of planting, particularly as they might relate to King Philip's War. Given the stratigraphic evidence and associated 17th-century artifacts, it is possible that the layer of burned soil separating the two versions of the Old House may have resulted from a

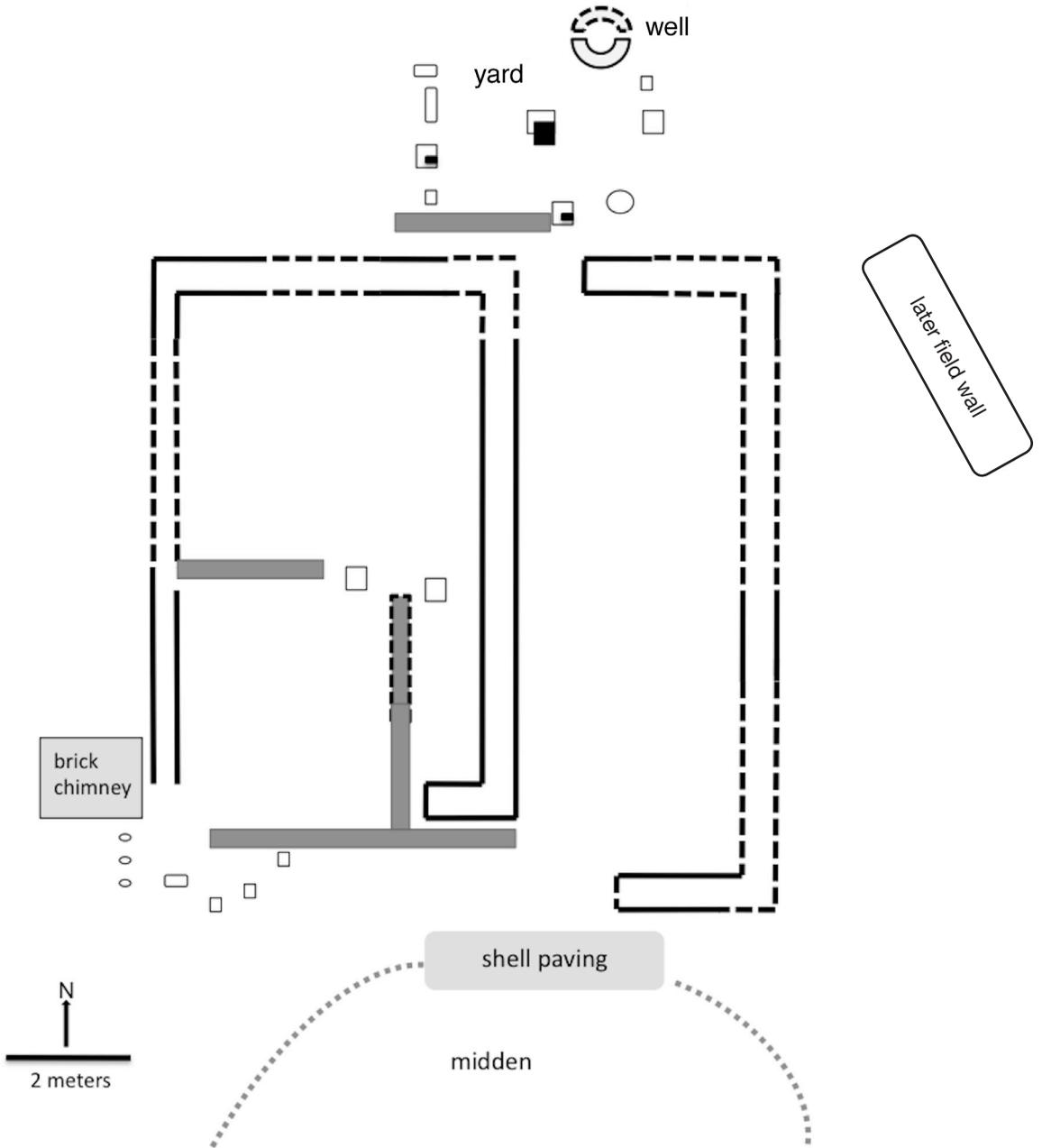


FIGURE 3. Plan of the Old House site based on excavation data collected between 2007 and 2011. The extent of the stone-and-brick foundation walls associated with the second iteration of the Old House are outlined in black. Earlier architectural trenches associated with impermanent architectural features appear as shaded gray lines. Later postholes are black. (Plan by K. Ryzewski, 2013.)

conflict during the 1660s or 1670s, perhaps even King Philip’s War. One factor complicating this interpretation, however, is that the minor extent of burning present in the Old House deposits does not correspond with the popular belief that

Native Americans burned all Warwick homes to the ground during King Philip’s War. This inconsistency is likely more a complication with the narrative history of King Philip’s War than with the archaeological remains.



FIGURE 4. Old House excavation area. An earlier foundation trench (*top center*) runs adjacent to and underneath a later stone wall. The earlier wall is also covered by a thick burn deposit (*top left*), atop which the stone wall sits. Two postholes associated with the earlier stratigraphic level are visible to the right of the stone wall. (Photo by K. Ryzewski, 2009.)

A closer examination of how King Philip's War affected colonists along the west coast of the Narragansett Bay reveals that during the winter and spring of 1676, when most of the fighting occurred in this area, Native American and colonial lives were more closely intertwined than in other regions affected by the fighting (Drake 2000). In Warwick, Native Americans lived in close proximity to colonial plantations, and they regularly exchanged resources with their European neighbors. Furthermore, Warwick colonists were not part of the United Colonies, and they lived outside Metacom's (King Philip's) territory. The wartime accounts from Warwick and Pawtuxet, directly to the north of Greene's Hold, reveal that many English settlers considered themselves to be safe from Native American attacks because of these political and proxemic circumstances, and thus steadfastly

remained on their plantations during the war, defending the roots they had planted in postholes, trade wealth, and livestock (Saltonstall 1676:14).

One account by Providence colonist William Harris might well illustrate the type of skirmish that could have caused the fire damage to the Old House. It describes one of the last violent episodes along Narragansett Bay in early April 1676. Following an attack in Rehoboth, the Native Americans

went to patuxet, where ther was left but one garrison, where they had thought to doe something, where they bid them come out quickly or they would eat them, & began to undermyne them; having ye advantage of a hill yt ye garrison could not hit them, allsoe they shot fire upon theyr arrows forty or fifty times upon ye house, which they did with binding flax & brimstone to theyr arrows & shott ye arrows which stuck fast in

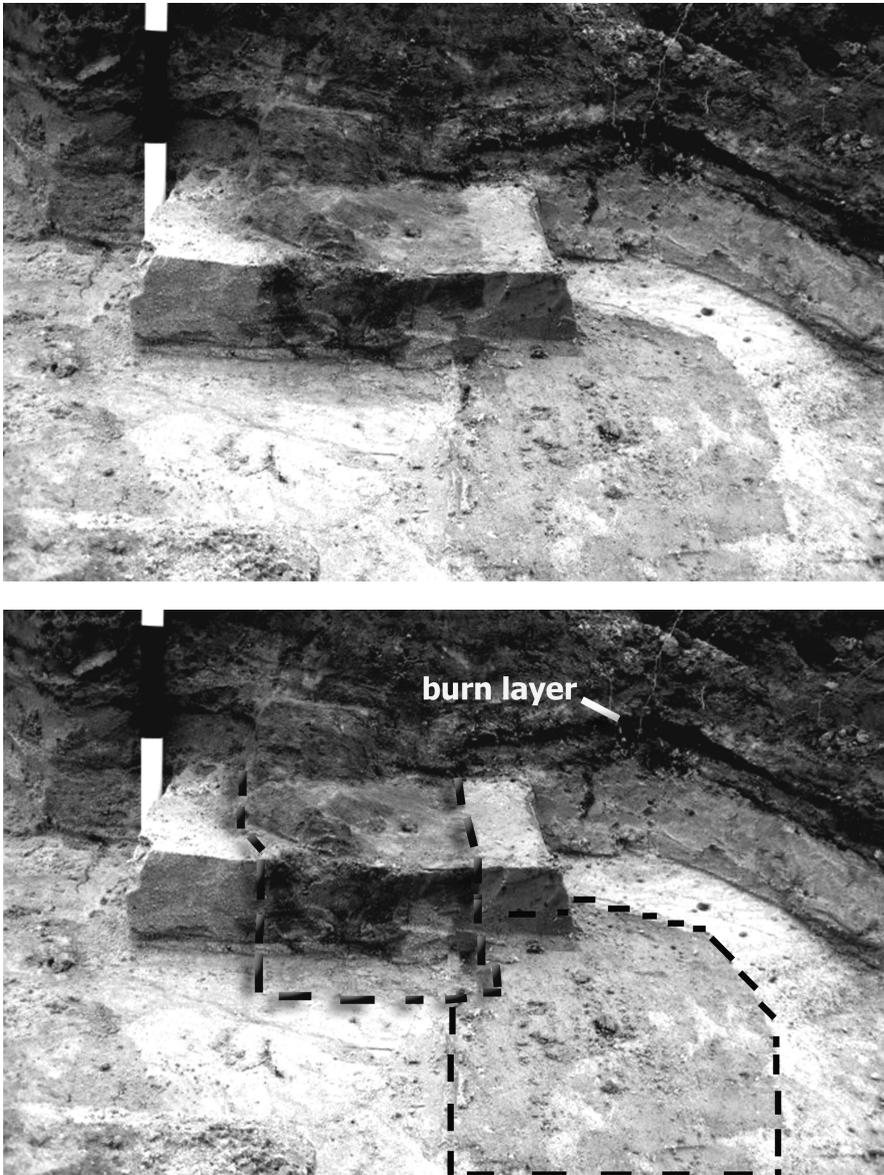


FIGURE 5. The corner of an earlier square posthole (*bottom right*) is partly intersected by a later posthole (*center, pedestal*). The earlier (lower) posthole is square and measures 20 × 18 cm, and later (upper) posthole is square and measures 20 × 21 cm. The later posthole cuts into a thin, black deposit, a burn layer (visible in the profile wall), suggesting that a portion of the Old House structure was rebuilt after a fire. (Photo by K. Ryzewski, 2008.)

ye roofe of ye house which was shingled with wooden shingles, but they in ye house put it still out. ... When they saw they could not safely enter, they went away in ye night (Leach 1963:46).

Such an attack, from a hilltop, cast down on a house with people inside ready to defend it, could explain the type of burning that affected the northern face of the Old House. The Old House is indeed down the slope of a hill to

its west, a hill on which Greene's son Richard subsequently and strategically sited a new and stronger manor house, the one built ca. 1690 and still standing today.

Whether or not a skirmish during King Philip's War was directly responsible for burning a portion of the Old House, it is certain that in the war's aftermath the Greenes set the second iteration of the Old House in stone. This was an act

of “planting” designed by Greene, Jr., to assert authority and to address the threat of substantial property loss in future conflicts. For discussions of comparable processes in the Chesapeake see Kelso (1984) and Carson et al. (1981). To build a structure on stone foundations at Greene Farm was a demanding task. Given the absence of foundation-quality stones occurring naturally on the property’s coastal landscape, coordinated labor and resources would have been required to collect and transport stone to the plantation. Regardless, Greene, Jr., invested considerable effort into constructing a more permanent and comfortable dwelling. By the late 17th-century, a durable structure stood along the coast of Occupessatuxet Cove. Its many features, including plastered walls, imported stone, and leaded-glass windows were consistent with a higher status and standard of

living among the Greens’ rural 17th-century peers in New England (Deetz and Deetz 2000). The Old House was probably a relatively comfortable dwelling for the Greene family, who were not, at least in their terms, living a marginal existence in the “wilderness” (Ingold 2000). As detailed in the following section, the material culture that they incorporated into their daily lives further supports this claim.

Based on artifactual and documentary information, it is likely that the second iteration of the Old House was vacated by the Greens shortly following the construction of the new manor house in ca. 1690. The manor-house foundation reflects the inflexible, intractable, and enduring hold that the Greens asserted over their plantation at the dawn of the 18th century (Hall 1992) (Figure 6). In even more dramatic fashion than

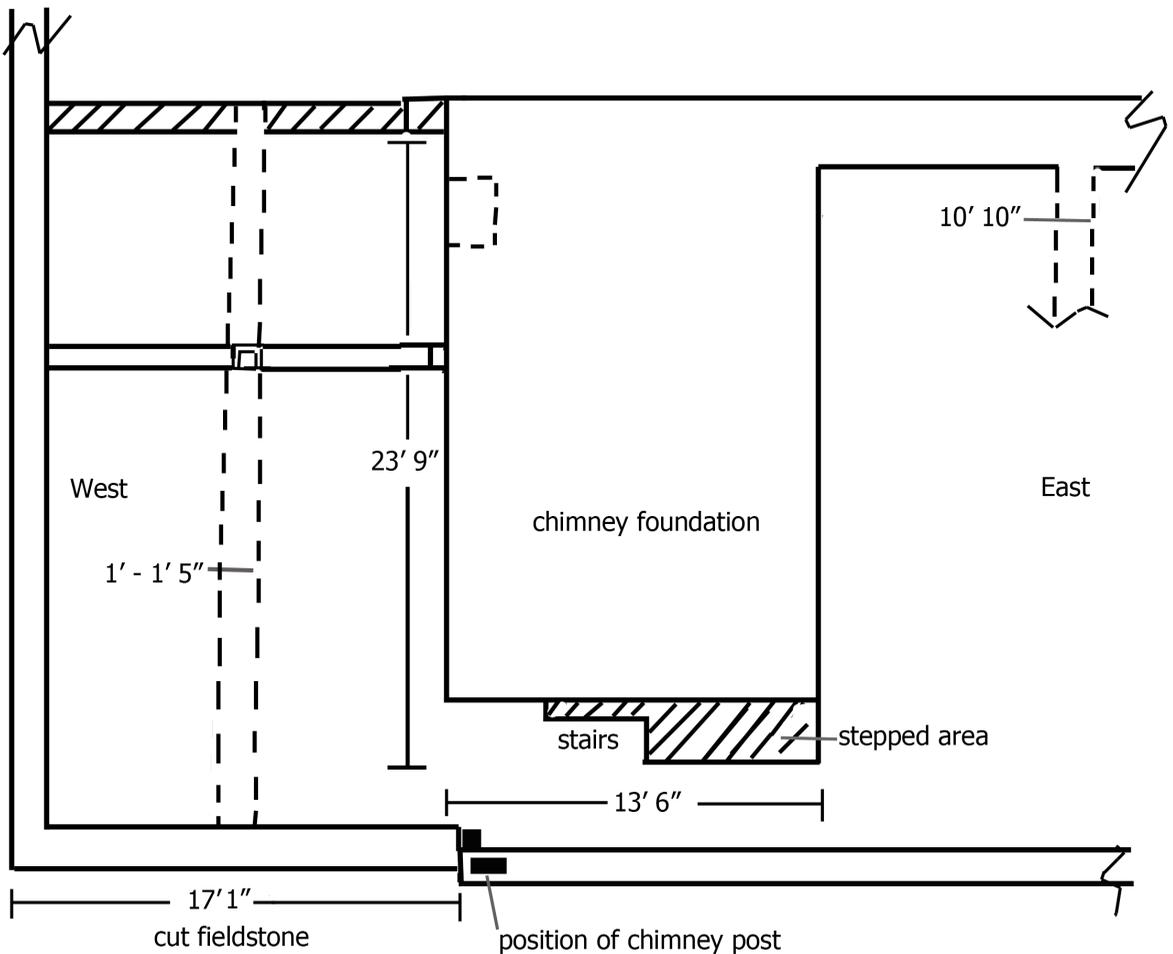


FIGURE 6. Sketch layout of the manor-house basement and its stone foundation walls and chimney, ca. 1690. (Figure by K. Ryzewski, 2011; adapted from an unpublished hand-drawn plan by John Carpenter, 2004.)

the reconstruction of the stone-founded Old House in the late 1670s, the construction of the manor house demonstrates how, in the decades following King Philip's War, Native American resistance gave the Greenes the impetus to plant themselves ever-more permanently and forcefully on this landscape.

Artifact Assemblage

Archaeologists recovered more than 62,000 artifacts from the Old House site. Approximately 30% of the artifacts are remnants of daily household activities and interactions. Domesticated-animal bones account for the largest category, followed by ceramics, tobacco pipes, bottle glass, personal effects, and currency (Figure 7). Artifacts related to the Old House architecture, including nails, shell, window glass, and brick comprise the remaining 70% of the assemblage. As indicated by stratigraphic associations and diagnostic artifacts, the assemblage dates predominately from the mid-1660s to the first decade of the 18th century.

The majority of household artifacts were recovered from the 17th-century midden deposit, the second activity area of the Old House site. The midden extends southward from the Old House dwelling and covers an area of approximately 240 m² (Deslatte 2008) (Figure 3). Archaeologists have excavated 25% of the midden feature and have determined, based on a thin lens of the soil that extends northward into the structural area, that some of the midden soil was likely spread

on top of the Old House ruins as its remains were covered in the 1870s. In addition to many diagnostic ceramic types and forms, other artifacts were recovered that supported the 17th-century occupational period associated with the Old House. These include one dozen clay tobacco pipes of both English and Dutch origin with identifiable mold motifs, roulette designs, and makers' marks. Examples include pipes with the initials EB (Edward Bird of Amsterdam, working 1630–1665), PE (attributed to Philip Edwards I, operating 1649–1669 in Bristol), and LE (Llewelyn Evans of Bristol, England, working 1661–1688/9) (Figure 8) (Oswald 1969; Duco 1981; Bradley 2007).

A modest but diverse ceramic assemblage was recovered from the Old House site. A minimum of 102 vessels were identified, 78 of which were either types manufactured in the 17th century or that were found in association with 17th-century deposits. The remaining 24 vessels were associated with the filling in of the Old House ruins in the 1870s (Table 1). The most common 17th-century ceramic type recovered from the Old House was glazed redware, probably of English origin. Glazed redware represents 38% of the identified-vessel assemblage, followed by tin-glazed earthenware, North Devon gravel-tempered ware, North Devon sgraffito, German and English stoneware, and Staffordshire slipware. The minimum vessel count is a conservative estimate; unglazed redware (or redware now missing glaze) was not incorporated into these initial calculations. Only two sherds of Native American ceramics were recovered.

At first glance, the categories of vessel function identified in our analyses suggest that the Old House ceramics were almost evenly balanced between storage or food-preparation vessels (38%) and table or serving vessels (33%) (Table 2). However, it is likely that the majority of the undetermined hollowware vessels (21%) also functioned as storage or food-preparation vessels. Associating this proportion with the identifiable vessels from the storage/preparation functional category would suggest that utilitarian vessels comprised over 50% of the Greene ceramic inventory. Such an inventory would have been necessary for storing surplus foodstuffs (some of which may have been traded) and for feeding the household of at least eight individuals on a daily basis. Several vessel forms were identified in the assemblage, including at least two Westerwald tankards, a tin-glazed egg cup and colander, three milk pans

TABLE 1
MINIMUM NUMBER OF VESSEL
TOTALS BY WARE TYPE
FOR CERAMICS RECOVERED
FROM THE OLD HOUSE SITE

Ware	Count	Percent of Total
Redware (glazed)	39	38
Tin glazed	17	17
North Devon (gravel tempered)	5	5
North Devon (sgraffito)	7	7
Stoneware	11	10
Slipware	2	2
Creamware	2	2
Pearlware	6	6
Whiteware	12	12
Yellowware	1	1
TOTAL	102	100

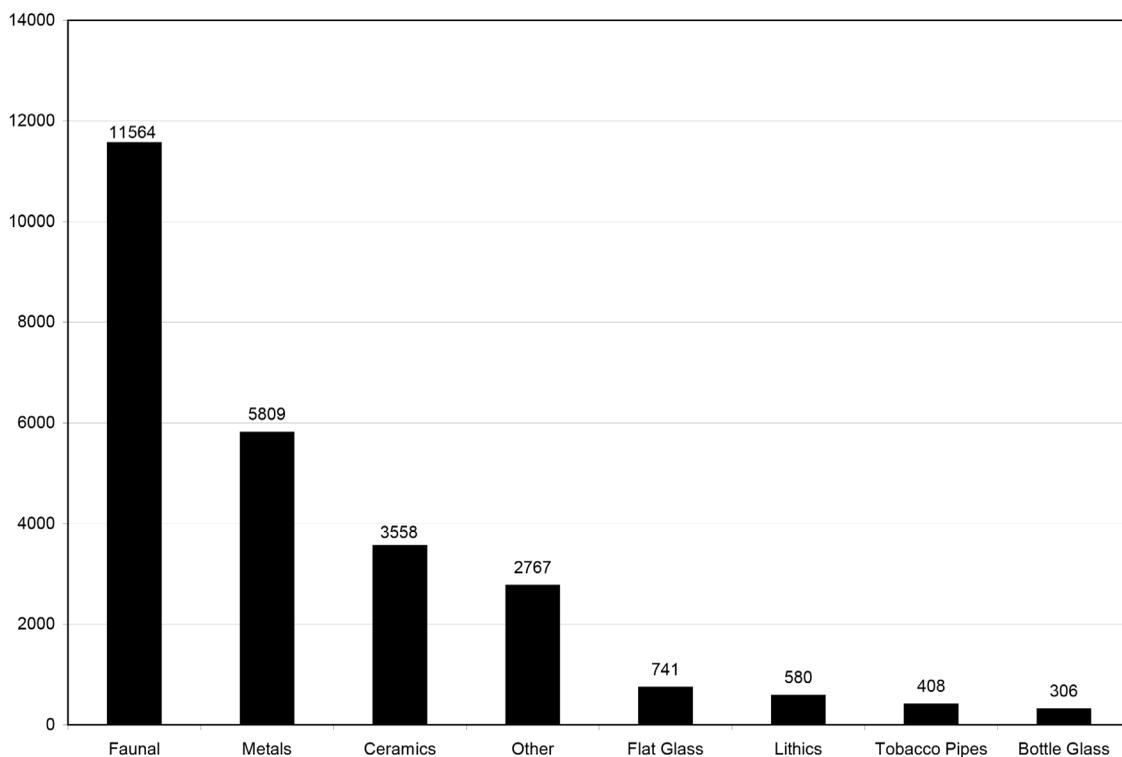


FIGURE 7. Artifacts and faunal remains recovered from excavations at the Old House site. (Graph by K. Ryzewski, 2012.)



FIGURE 8. Tobacco pipes excavated from the 17th-century contexts of the Old House include the following makers' marks and designs (clockwise from *top left*): RT (attributed to Robert Tippett, Bristol, 1678–1713); PE (Philip Edwards I, Bristol, 1649–1669); AI (attribution unknown); LE (Lewellyn Evans, Bristol, last quarter of the 17th century); typical 17th-century Dutch designs: heart-and-circle rouletting on pipe stem; and fruit-and-vine molded stem motif (Huey 1988; Bradley 2007). (Photo by K. Ryzewski, 2011.)

TABLE 2
 MINIMUM NUMBER OF VESSEL TOTALS BY WARE AND FUNCTION
 FOR CERAMICS RECOVERED FROM THE OLD HOUSE SITE

Ware	Hollowware Serving	Hollowware Kitchen/Storage	Flatware Serving	Flatware Kitchen/Storage	Tea/Beverage	Inkwell	Undetermined	TOTAL
Redware (glazed)	3	21	2	1	1	-	11	39
Tin glazed	6	2	7	-	-	-	2	17
N. Devon (gravel tempered)	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	5
N. Devon (sgraffito)	1	1	2	-	-	-	3	7
Stoneware	-	3	1	-	5	1	1	11
Slipware	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Creamware	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Pearlware	-	-	5	-	-	-	1	6
Whiteware	3	-	3	-	1	-	5	12
Yellowware	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
TOTAL	13	32	25	1	7	1	23	102

(one North Devon gravel tempered and two glazed redware), and a variety of cups, porringers, plates, and other typical 17th-century forms (Deslatte 2008) (Table 3). Many of these vessel forms are also mentioned in the estate inventories of John Greene, Jr., (J. Greene, Jr., 1708) and his son Richard (R. Greene 1711), both of whom lived in the Old House.

Perhaps equally interesting is what is absent from the Greene ceramic assemblage. The assemblages excavated from contemporaneous 17th-century plantation sites at Smith's Castle in North Kingstown and the Mott Farm in Portsmouth, Rhode Island, provide an indication of wares available to planters in the colony during the 17th-century (Brown 1987; Rubertone and Taylor 1992). These assemblages include a majority of English wares, as well as notable quantities of Dutch tin-glazed ceramics and Chinese porcelain (Frank 2006). Although the Greenes maintained close contacts with merchants in Newport and New Netherland, from whom delft and Chinese porcelain were readily available, porcelain is notably absent from the Old House assemblage (Frank 2011).

Plantation Ideals and Plantation Material Culture

The ceramics and other household objects found in association with the Old House articulate the Greene family's standing on the plantation and among other planters in the region. Most notable is the predominance of English-manufactured ceramics, including lead-glazed redware and North Devon gravel-tempered and sgraffito wares (Figure 9). For example, the five North Devon gravel-tempered vessels in the assemblage were manufactured

in the southwestern region of England from which the Greene family had immigrated. Whether this is a coincidence of market availability in the 17th century or evidence of a conscious effort by the Greenes to connect with their homeland remains an intriguing speculation, but difficult to verify from the archaeological record and surviving documents alone.

Exclusive focus on the predominance of English ceramics does not, however, adequately convey the actual complexity of interactions present in the archaeological assemblage or, by association, in the Greenes' everyday transactions on the plantation. Although present in lesser quantities than English-made goods, the availability of a broader range of non-English items at the Old House site hints at the diversity of experiences and interactions involved in the planting process. This range includes Dutch tobacco pipes, a bale seal of Dutch origin, German-manufactured Westerwald ceramics, and European glass beads identical to those found at Mohawk sites in present-day upstate New York (Kidd Types IIIa2, Ib7, and WIIa6) (Kidd and Kidd 1970; Edwards et al. 1989; McBride 1994; Bradley 2007:41).

Tin-glazed vessels of both English and Dutch origin suggest a more-variable degree of adherence to the English system that Greene authored and reinforced in writing. This was a period when importation of non-English goods was outlawed by English Navigation Acts, yet the archaeological remains confirm that they nevertheless circulated in Rhode Island, and that they were readily available to those in contact with Dutch and French merchants on the Continent or in the Caribbean (Mrozowski et al. 2007; Frank 2011; Cherry et al. 2012). Furthermore, metallurgical examinations indicate that the nails used in the Old House construction were made from low-grade bog ore, whose microstructure and composition are characteristic of the available ore sources and the bloomery-iron technology practiced in the Chesapeake and Massachusetts at the time (Ryzewski and Gordon 2008). This evidence suggests that the Greenes may have acquired goods manufactured in the American colonies as well.

While it is possible that English merchants, especially those traveling to Rhode Island from the Caribbean or southern American colonies, may have transported non-English goods to the colony, local records detail relationships between

TABLE 3
MINIMUM VESSELS TOTALS BY FUNCTION
FOR CERAMICS RECOVERED FROM THE OLD
HOUSE SITE

Function	Count	Percent
Storage/preparation	38	37
Table/serving	33	32
Beverage/drinking	7	7
Undetermined hollowware	21	21
Undetermined flatware	2	2
Other (inkwell)	1	1
TOTAL	102	100



FIGURE 9. North Devon ceramics excavated from the Old House site include a gravel-tempered milkpan (*left*) and sgraffito flatware (*right*). (Photo by K. Ryzewski, 2011.)

the English and Dutch in Warwick, strengthening the likelihood that a portion of these goods came directly from Dutch merchants. During the 1650s and 1660s Warwick town records document instances of intermarriage between English settlers and Dutch merchants; additional records indicate that John Greene, Jr., maintained a long-term working relationship with a locally based Dutch trader named John Gerrardy (Williams 1863; Chapin 1926:52).

Overall, the material culture of the Old House reflects how, in the first generations of Greene Farm's occupation, the Greenes' status, activities, and influence extended well beyond the plantation and beyond the concern of a strictly agriculturally minded planter. The diversity of material culture in the assemblage depicts multicultural engagements involving international trade goods,

luxury items, and customary practices within the Greene households. The circumstances involving the acquisition, transfer, and meaning of these goods were, at times, shaped by the new enterprising strategies of the Greene planters and at other times influenced by their steadfast adherence to certain English domestic customs (Horn 2008). In navigating these "hybridized realities" the Greenes established and increased their New English planter status while distancing Native American influence at home (Mrozowski 2010).

Enterprising Planters

John Greene, Jr., was an enterprising planter with worldly ambitions that were nevertheless rooted in English landed ideals. Although involved in agricultural activities, he was also

active in a variety of mercantile and political positions. His international connections and broader commercial interests are reflected in the assortment of trade-related goods recovered from the Old House site. These included a variety of local currency and other means of barter, such as seven purple-and-white wampum beads, a copper kettle handle, four brass kettle strips, brass riveting and patches, and four glass beads. The Greenes were clearly trading with local Native American groups and participating in the local system of wampum-based exchange (Ceci 1990; Peña 2001). It is possible that wampum was manufactured at or near the Old House site. Although more evidence is necessary to confirm wampum production activities at Greene Farm, at least 10 incomplete shell beads were recovered from the Old House deposits; these could have been broken and discarded during manufacture (Figure 10).

Other forms of transatlantic currency and trade markers were also recovered from the Old House assemblage. These included two Dutch and English lead bale seals (for fastening bales of textiles), a cylindrical lead scale weight marked: 7, and a Charles I Richmond-type farthing (1625–1649) (Edwards et al. 1989; Rubertone 2001) (Figure 11). Such a range of trade materials and currency suggests that

regular exchanges with local and transatlantic individuals were based out of the Old House.

The extent of Greene, Jr.'s maritime connections are strengthened by the fact that when acting as deputy governor during the 1690s he underwrote commissions for a number of privateers who sailed to the Indian Ocean to participate in Asian trade networks (and also to rob Mogul ships). One particularly exotic artifact recovered from the Old House site was a polished ivory tooth (10 × 2.5 cm). Although further analysis is necessary to confirm the species of the animal from which the ivory came, it has been preliminarily identified as the cone-shaped tooth of a sperm whale (Ryzewski 2007). It was a common practice in the 17th century for commissioned privateers to return to the American colonies with exotic offerings for their patrons, such as whale oil, elephant tusks, Arabian coins, lacquer boxes, and porcelain (Jameson 1923; Ritchie 1989; Frank 2011).

Evidence that the Greenes' benefited from these enterprising activities and developed particular tastes for more luxurious objects is further supported by the recovery of high-status and customized household goods in the Old House site assemblage. Interestingly, most of these artifacts relate to dining activities and personal adornment. They include three pewter

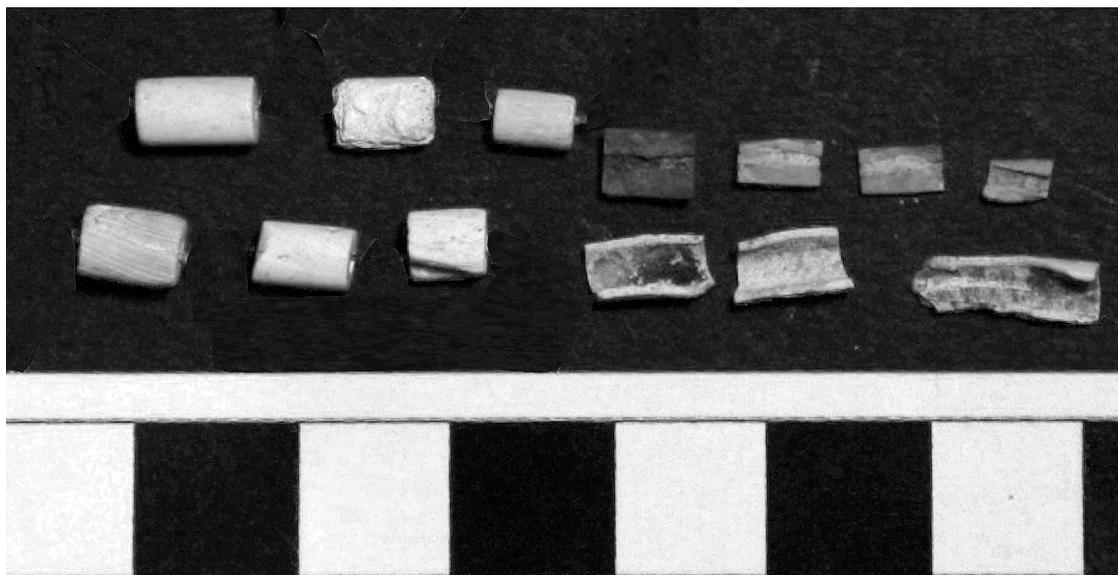


FIGURE 10. Six wampum beads and seven unfinished or broken wampum and/or shell beads (*right half of photo*). Two finished wampum beads are purple and four are white. (Photo by K. Ryzewski, 2011.)



FIGURE 11. Trade goods attest to the commercial activities that took place at Greene's Hold (*left to right*): a cylindrical lead weight with a "7" inscribed in one end (date/origin unknown); a lead bale seal, visible side includes a "4," a fleur-de-lis, and crown; reverse side includes a portrait (probably of the king) encircled by: OF ENGLAND (date unknown); and a Charles I Richmond Type copper farthing, text on visible side: FRA ET HIB REX encircling a crowned harp, and reverse: CARO D G MAG BRIT encircling a crown with two scepters (England, 1625–1649) (Edwards et al. 1989). (Photo by K. Ryzewski, 2011.)

trifid spoons (1680–1690), two latten strawberry-knop spoon handles, and one knife with an elaborately carved bone handle (Price 2007). One of the pewter trifid spoons is impressed with a large capital *G*, a custom-made mark probably linked to the Greene family name. Additionally, three brass shoe buckles, four brass clothing buckles, six brass straight pins, four brass buttons, and one multicolored, blue-green-and-white glass button convey the presence and importance of well-dressed individuals in the household.

Customary Tastes and Practices

Despite the world of goods and interactions surrounding many of the activities on the plantation, the Greenes adhered to some of the customary tastes and household activities associated with their English heritage. These English connections existed at the core of the Greenes' most private, routine activities involving eating and household-based production.

Household-based production activities are illustrated by the recovery of a variety of sewing utensils, including three copper thimbles,

nine straight pins of different lengths, and a small iron scissors. Sewing is often immediately interpreted as a gendered activity, traditionally undertaken by women in English households (Beaudry 2006). Although the presence of these artifacts hints at the likelihood that the Greenes maintained English gendered roles in the functioning of their household, they also offer the opportunity to explore how all members of the Greene household worked to maintain traditional English household activities in what Loren and Beaudry (2006:261) described as a "colonial setting filled with inconsistencies [and] unexpected interactions." It is certain that women actively contributed to the maintenance and well being of the Greene household in this period, but closer readings of these small finds do not yet readily reveal the social distinctions and negotiations of identities that occurred within these internal spaces of the Old House.

A definite connection to the perpetuation of English tastes in the Greene household arises from the results of faunal analysis. Examination of mammalian faunal remains from the sealed 17th-century deposits of the Old House provides a picture of the household's dietary practices

during the first generations of occupation. A total of 10,229 identifiable faunal remains were recovered from site. The majority of these were excavated from strata containing a mixture of 17th- and 19th-century materials; 1,816 bones were recovered from the sealed 17th-century contexts, representing 18% of the overall faunal assemblage. Pig was the most common animal in the assemblage, followed by cattle, sheep, and wild taxa (Kyweluk 2010) (Table 4). A significant portion of the assemblage (58%) could not be identified as to species, however, the majority of these fragments were readily identifiable as medium and large mammals. When combined with the results from quantification of identifiable species, cattle appear to be the most frequently occurring mammals in the 17th-century assemblage. Furthermore, wild animals (including deer) represent less than 1% of the assemblage, an absence that suggests the Greenes did not incorporate Native American meat-related foodways into their diet, and that they were not actively processing wild-animal furs for trade by the late 17th century.

The prevalence of cattle remains is consistent with 17th-century documentary records and the certain forms of ceramic vessels recovered from the Old House site, including vessels for dairying and preparing stew-based meals. One pattern emerging from the faunal analysis may be indicative of the type of meals regularly prepared within the Greene household; bones from the animals' mid-section (e.g., ribs, vertebrae, etc.) were largely absent. Instead, the assemblage was largely comprised of cranial and distal

limb bones, many of which showed evidence of butchering. It is possible that the Greenes traded away the mid-cuts of meat but retained hind-quarters, especially of beef and lamb, for their own consumption. These cuts of meat were most appropriately prepared in English-style stews. The Greenes' regular preparation and consumption of stews is further supported by the preponderance of utilitarian hollowware vessels in the ceramic assemblage (Yentsch 1990). In gaining wealth and an enhanced claim to their land through cattle, it appears that the Greenes were able to sustain a regular English diet of beef and lamb at a time when most English in the American colonies were forced to subsist on pork (Bowen 1975; Marshall 1995; Landon 1996:124).

Asserting Exclusivity

Despite references to Native Americans living on or adjacent to Greene Farm from the 1640s through the 1660s, it is telling that there are so few artifacts of Native American manufacture in the Old House assemblage. This absence underscores how planting happened at great expense to the continuity of local Native American lifeways in Warwick. Aside from wampum and a small number of projectile points, only a handful of other artifacts traditionally associated with Native American production and use are present at the Old House site. Only two Native American vessel types are present in the assemblage, one is a Late Woodland shell-tempered ceramic sherd, and the other is a fragment of an Archaic period steatite bowl (Turnbaugh et al. 1984). The older bowl's association with the sealed 17th-century stratum suggests that it was already an antique object when it entered the archaeological record during the 17th century. Of the more than 400 European tobacco-pipe fragments, only one spotted elbow pipe is a distinctly Native American style (Figure 12).

We might speculate that these goods were more than just items to be exchanged in the trading that operated from Greene Farm. Given the circumstances facing the local Native American population in the aftermath of King Philip's War, perhaps we must consider if the few Native American artifacts found in the house represent one very small space claimed by a Native American resident in this household. Such living arrangements were commonplace in the late

TABLE 4
MAMMAL ASSEMBLAGE FROM SEALED
17TH-CENTURY DEPOSITS
AT THE OLD HOUSE SITE

Type	Count	Percentage
Wild taxa	19	1.0
Sheep	38	2.1
Cattle	68	3.7
Pig	72	3.9
Medium-large mammal	565	31.3
Unidentifiable mammal	1,054	58.0
TOTAL	1,816	100

Note: Unidentified (n=762) not included.

17th century, when Native Americans increasingly served as indentured or enslaved laborers. Binding labor relations became an increasing necessity after local Native Americans fell victim to the English system, lost land rights, and acquired debt (Sainsbury 1975; Malone 1991:68; Marshall 1995:411–413; Silverman 2001).

From the analysis of the plantation's material culture we arrive at a picture of the Greene household as increasingly excluding its non-English neighbors. Achieving this exclusivity through the acts of planting involved negotiating a multicultural landscape and striking a balance

between pursuing the New English plantation ideal through enterprising economic and political activities and in maintaining certain customary English practices that established distance and authority. The Greenes did this by adhering to and invoking an English system, in name and purpose, insofar as it related to their ideals of securing private property, ownership, and raising crops or livestock. But archaeological remains from the Old House illustrate that they also regularly participated in commercial activities outside the strict English establishment, demonstrating their commitment to pursuing whatever means were



FIGURE 12. Artifacts from the Old House associated with Native American production techniques and materials include (*far left*) two Levanna points, Middle Woodland to Contact period; (*top center*) quartz Madison point, Late Woodland/Contact period); (*far right*) a stemmed point, possibly Early to Middle Woodland period; and a decorated elbow-shaped clay tobacco pipe. (Photo by K. Ryzewski, 2011.)

necessary to establish their plantation and New English status. Navigating movement through this hybrid reality in various arenas was essential for establishing their plantation, forming their New English identity, and asserting the structures of English authority over indigenous residents.

Conclusion

Taken together, the documentary records of early Warwick, the architectural remains from the Old House site, and the 17th-century material culture recovered from the Greene household deposits confirm that plantations in Rhode Island were not merely household farms, but sites of enterprise and commerce in which English settlers ultimately set the terms and prices at the expense of Native Americans who were excluded from the English system. The historical archaeology of this period is demonstrating that English “planting” and “plantations” were explicit tools of colonization and empire involving many forms of oppression, including bodily oppression. In the early 18th century, Dean Berkeley of Newport stated that, in Rhode Island, Native Americans were “nearly all servants or labourers for the English” (Sainsbury 1975:378). By the end of the colonial period, more than a third of all Native Americans in Rhode Island were living in English homes as slaves or indentured servants, and if one excludes the small community living on the Narragansett reservation in Charlestown, the figure for Native Americans with English masters rises to 54% (Sainsbury 1975:379). This is a demographic shift that accelerated during the period between 1661 and 1711 when the Old House site was occupied. At the dawn of the 18th century, one, if not two, large stone-founded manor houses existed on the Greene property, and there were no more references to Indian fences, only to enslaved Indians. This is the history that must be reckoned with when addressing the significance of the term “plantation” in Rhode Island.

Roger Williams’s position as a preacher lent distinct meaning to the term plantation as he intended it to be understood in 17th-century Rhode Island. His definition of the term “planting” refers back to the Bible, and specifically to the work of the Apostles in planting Christianity. Converted communities under the leadership of Jesus’ disciples were called

“plantations.” Williams viewed himself in just such a role among New England’s persecuted Protestants and the “pagan” tribes of America’s native peoples. For Williams, planting was a divinely sanctioned endeavor. The term “plantation” contained another prominent reference in the 17th century, however, the second meaning given in the *Oxford English Dictionary* for the period, that of England’s colonization of Ireland. Many historians and archaeologists believe that these less holy, more violent plantations were in fact the prototype for English colonies in the New World (Canny 2001; Horning 2010). This definition reads: “The settling of people, usually in a conquered or dominated country; esp. the planting or establishing of a colony; colonization” (*Oxford English Dictionary* 2010). A history of exclusion, vilification, and colonization more consistent with the Irish colonial origins of the term “plantation” than Williams’s biblical association demands further attention in New England.

Archaeologists working along the coasts of the Narragansett Bay have an important contribution to make to this debate over historical memory, and this discussion is but an initial step into 17th-century plantation studies in southern New England. On the Greene plantation, historical and archaeological evidence read together reveals a multicultural landscape, increasingly dominated by a New English family who gradually pushed Native American occupants off the property, to the point of violent resistance—a resistance that in turn prompted the Greens, like so many New England planters, to dig in their foundations ever more firmly.

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A Hybrid Identity in a Pluralistic Nineteenth-Century Colonial Context

ABSTRACT

The colonial process often occurs within a pluralistic context in which all the actors continuously renegotiate their identities. Traditionally, this context has been framed within a colonizer/colonized dichotomy, but recent scholarship has embraced a more-complex interpretation, such that colonizers and colonized are not homogenizing categories, and variations in experience are accepted. The deconstruction of colonial categories further complicates pluralistic contexts and allows for a more nuanced reading of the past; however, the colonial discourse continues to have difficulty exploring and discussing identities that do not fit neatly into either a colonizer or colonized identity. This paper explores how the Labrador Métis, a self-defined hybrid identity, do not cleanly fit within the current discourse and highlights the need to begin reconceptualizing the actors within the colonial process.

Introduction

Within the current literature on colonialism, it is understood that colonizers did not simply impose the colonial center onto the colonial context without renegotiating what it means to be a colonizer. The understanding of this process of adaptation has encouraged a more nuanced understanding of the colonial past; however, one method of renegotiating the colonial context is underrepresented in the literature: the intermarriage between newcomers (colonizers) and local inhabitants (colonized). These relationships are often treated as unique occurrences, or framed as the “going-native” of the colonizer, or the acculturation of the colonized. These treatments of mixed families embed them within the currently accepted discourse of colonial archaeology and simultaneously make them invisible as a distinct group, a process that is dangerous when examining groups that currently self-identify as hybridized.

In this paper I argue that a consideration of hybridized colonial identities should be normalized within the archaeological discourse.

Despite recent conceptual critiques of hybridity and creolization, these concepts still have value with groups who self-identify as multiethnic. This paper explores the processes that allowed for the ethnogenesis of the Labrador Métis as a group that can be observed archaeologically. For this exploration, this paper discusses the current conceptualizations of the colonial process, how the colonial process changes, and how it relates to a 19th-century Labrador Métis household (the Williams House). This discussion demonstrates that the colonial process is more than “colonizers and/vs. colonized,” and that a consideration of hybrid groups is necessary.

Conceptualizing Colonial Actors

The colonial context can be conceptualized as a tension between three major actors: the colonial center, the colonizer, and the colonized. The colonial center refers to a political or geographic group that is exerting a measure of control over another geographic region for its own intentions. This control can be imposed though nondirect social and economic controls (Knappett and Nikolakopoulou 2008), but it usually involves the immigration of a colonial population (the colonizer) to exercise its influence directly over the colonial periphery and its populations (the colonized). The colonial center attempts to impose itself onto the colonial periphery through a variety of means and reasons; however, the colonial center is forced to enact these impositions through the colonizer, often represented by local settlers (Stoler 1995; Murray 2004), and this necessarily affects how the center is replicated. The colonizers are embedded within a context involving the colonized groups, the colonial center, and themselves, and this tension creates a colony that is contextually unique (Alcock 2005:324). Each colonizer also negotiates this tension within the colonizer’s own understanding of the colonial context, creating a varied experience that undermines a simple colonizer/colonized binary (Alcock 2005:326). Understanding how the colonial center is renegotiated by such tensions

is important because archaeology has repeatedly demonstrated variations between contemporaneous colonies of the same center (Van Dommelen 2005). The inclusion of these varied contexts under the broader label of “Colony of ...” glosses over the variations of colonial experiences, which Matthew Johnson (2003) refers to as “muffling inclusiveness”: the assumption by researchers that the colonial identity and experience is paramount, which in turn is used as a shortcut to avoid engaging with varied contexts and results in detrimentally affecting colonial research.

Engaging with the Colonial Context

To understand the tension in the colonial process, it is important to understand how the colonizer and colonized choose to engage with the colonial center and each other. Depending on the nature of the relationship, this engagement can be both conscious and unconscious. Practices are imported from the colonial center, interpreted by the colonizer within the colonial context, and then negotiated by the colonized. The specifics are contingent on how similar or different the colonial contexts and the center are within this process. Aspects that are similar will often be perceived by both the colonizer and colonized as their own and enacted with little negotiation. Aspects that are different will become more contested, as they will have to be renegotiated and then often serve as a means to differentiate “colonizer” from “colonized” (Beaudoin [2013]).

The ability of the colonizer to engage with the intentions of the center has often been tied into economic status. Higher-status individuals have the economic ability and connections to reproduce the center more readily and use this reproduction as a means to maintain and strengthen the connections with the center and legitimize their higher status (Smith 2007). Many of the actions of higher-status individuals are already embedded within a specific interpretation of the center that often parallels the intentions of the center; thus, for high-status individuals, the colonial process often operates on a subconscious level (Seretis 2003:232). Aspects will be consciously renegotiated when specific elements are not able to be reproduced. Individuals who are aspiring to engage with or become higher status are often more aware and conscious of what it means to be a high status, as they must learn what social cues, values, and meanings are

associated with this status (Seretis 2003:232). Individuals who are not able to reproduce the center easily for a variety of reasons, such as lacking the means or access, are more likely to adapt themselves to the local context. These individuals are forced to engage directly with various contexts and negotiate what it means to be from the colonial center. They often change their materials or objects but retain elements of the conceptualization of what it means to be from the colonial center (Symonds 2003).

The colonized also have a varied experience engaging with the colonial center. Similar to the colonizer, their similarities to and differences from the center will influence how they view and how they are viewed within the colonial contexts. As stated above, aspects that are similar will not be contested, while variations will be negotiated. Some aspects will become unconsciously enveloped as precolonial traditions, some will be consciously changed, and some will be consciously resisted, all depending on the similarities and differences in each situation. It is important to remember that the colonized engaged with the colonizer and the colonial center on their own terms, for their own intentions, with their own interpretations of the center’s intentions (Silliman 2005:66). The ability of the colonized to engage with and become accepted by the colonial center is directly related to their ability to function and appear “appropriate” by the center. The greater the perceived deviation from what is considered appropriate by the center results in a greater likelihood of being considered the “colonized.” A similar process also applies to the colonizers. Colonizers are also more readily able to engage with the colonial center if their interpretations of colonizers are parallel to that of the center (Mann 2008:320). For example, in 19th-century Ontario, the Scots were generally better accepted than the Irish because the Scots’ dispositions were perceived as being more “British” than those of the Irish (Smith 2004). The specific attributes used to differentiate “colonizer” from “colonized” are contextually specific and change over time.

What is Missing from the Story?

The recent acceptance that both the colonizer and the colonized are active participants in the colonial process (Lawrence 2003; Silliman 2004, 2009; Jordan 2008; Ferris 2009; Silliman and Witt 2010), rather than being passive pawns of the

colonial center, has allowed for new exploration into colonialism; however, it remains framed as a dichotomized colonizer/colonized binary. Recent research has emphasized the variation within the homogenous colonizer/colonized categories (Lawrence 2003; Scheiber and Mitchell 2010), but the dialogue remains embedded with these umbrella-like categories. Colonial and postcolonial research has conceptualized these categories as essential and essentialized tropes that structure the current narrative so that all research must be able to fit within this structure (i.e., everyone is colonized or a colonizer). This dichotomy does not allow for individuals or groups who either tack between categories, like the Irish in North America (Brighton 2011), or do not fit *by definition*, like the Métis. For example, Lawrence and Shepherd (2006:73) contrasted Deagan's (1983) research on the creole communities of colonial Spanish America with Burley's (1989) research on the Métis of Canada as being colonizer and colonized, respectively. Both these examples explore ethnically mixed peoples, but the creoles are framed as a new identity emergent from the colonizer, whereas the Métis are framed as emergent from the colonized. There is no real reason for separating the two as it is done there, but it demonstrates the difficulty in engaging with peoples who define as both/neither categories within the current framework (Russell 2004).

This is not to say that previous research has not been conducted on middle-ground or hybridized groups. There have been numerous research projects and published sources (Deagan 1983; Burley et al. 1992; Lightfoot et al. 1998; Burley 2000b; Cusick 2000; Dawdy 2000; Loren 2001; Matthews 2002; Mann 2003; Voss 2008; Worth 2012) that have targeted these groups and demonstrated that they are of interest to archaeological research; however, hybridized groups are often framed as the result of a distinctive process in the borderland regions or as unique occurrences in and of themselves. To frame hybridized groups as being enclaved in colonial peripheries or contingently specific contexts conceptually removes them from the general archaeological discourse: if hybridized groups are understood to occur only in the specific aforementioned contexts, then the possibility of their presence in other scenarios cannot be considered. Such discourse eliminates the possibility of hybridized identities a priori, allowing for an essentialized focus on

colonial tropes that are assumed to be different. If colonized or colonizer groups change, it is conceptualized as a shift away from or towards an essentialized and quantifiably "pure" identity. People in the past became more/less aboriginal/Irish/English, but they were not allowed to become something other than their associated ethnic markers. For example, Matthews (2010) discusses the Brants, an 18th-century elite Mohawk family (Guldenzopf 1986; Ferris 2009), and their engagement with the colonial capitalist process in New York State and posits: "In what way was Brant an Indian?" (Matthews 2010:54), insinuating that to become capitalist is a loss of Mohawk (i.e., aboriginal) identity. Matthews has argued elsewhere (2002, 2007) about the role archaeology plays in isolating the Other, and I do not believe that this statement necessarily reflects a lack of consideration of the subject but instead demonstrates the insidious nature of our colonial assumptions and how easy they are to replicate unconsciously. A consideration of hybridized groups within the archaeological dialogue has the potential to elevate the discourse beyond "who is colonizer/colonized" and engage more directly with how people negotiated their lived reality of colonialism while being labeled, in the past and present, as colonizer/colonized. If explanations that "someone is colonizer/colonized" is no longer acceptable because essentialized colonial tropes no longer account for the complexity of hybridity, then other questions must be asked.

Hybridity and creolization are not panaceas that allow the archaeological dialogue to transcend the colonial category conventions. They are concepts that archaeology has poached from other disciplines that have their own necessary critiques and baggage. Palmié's (2006) detailed and scathing critique of hybridity and creolization is based on the general under-theorization of the concepts in anthropology. The existence of a hybrid identity is premised with the existence of "pure" donor identities (Liebmann 2008:86; Stockhammer 2012b:2). The colonized are reduced to aspects of aboriginality that persist despite colonial impingements, and the colonizer is normalized in a manner that ignores the existence of the colonial "Other." There is no space for rapprochement or tacking between the categories except for the specifics of the hybridized identity. This is a problematic political positioning for the colonized because they cannot change, adopt, or adapt aspects of their indigenous identity without risk

to their political identity (Palmié 2006; Liebmann 2008; Stockhammer 2012a).

To combat this critique, it has been argued that all identities, be they etic or emic to cultural categories, should be conceptualized as the result of a process of hybridization. All identities are formed in the present through the agents' lens of their perceived past and oriented toward a future. This does not mean that identities are produced by omniscient actors who foresee the future and negotiate their identities to legitimize their contemporary reality. Instead, identities are negotiated by actors who are intimately engaged with their understood pasts, lived presents, and visions of the future, and who negotiated their lived identities within this complex process to their best foreseeable ends. Actors do not go through their daily lives to eventually disappear, but none of them can foresee the consequences of their actions. In this sense, all identities, be they colonial or otherwise, are being negotiated in a present with contemporaneous contexts and can be understood as hybrid. There is great value in this understanding because it allows for fluidity in identities so that they may tack through time to negotiate the actor's lived reality, and it removes the biological nature of hybridity from the discussion. Too often researchers relegate hybridity and creolization to contexts where actual biological mixing between individuals is occurring, and this becomes the hinge at which mixing occurs (Deagan 1983; Lightfoot et al. 1998; Burley 2000a; Cusick 2000; Delle 2000; Worth 2012). Biological mixing is one context in which hybridization occurs, but there is a possibility for the ethnogenesis of hybrid identities without actual physical reproduction. Arguably, the ethnogenesis of the hybridized Californian identity described by Voss (2008) is premised upon the interaction of peoples, rather than reproduction or intermarriage. This is not to say that intermarriage did not occur, but, rather, it was not the sole impetus for the hybridization. If physical reproduction and intermarriage are recognized as potential facets of and not requirements of hybrid identities, it raises the potential for hybrid identities to exist in almost any context and become a normalized, expected part of human interaction (Palmié 2006:448). Therefore, to normalize hybrid identities in conceptualizations of human interaction, they must also be normalized in discussions.

Despite its critiques and conceptualizations, hybridization has the potential to help the production of archaeological narratives. As mentioned, it can help engage with the fluidity and negotiation of identities through time. Also, it remains ideally positioned to engage with groups who are defined by their hybrid history—like the Labrador Métis. By focusing on groups who self-identify, historically and in the present, as having emerged directly from the process of hybridization, archaeologists are able to avoid one of Palmié's (2006) major critiques: the retroactive creation of hybridized identities in contexts where there is no evidence that one existed. Palmié's critique stems from the creation and recreation of identities in the past to fit within postmodern and postcolonial conceptualizations. This in itself is not an inherently negative practice, as a reflexive evaluation of identity categories is often needed; however, the risk of creating identities in the present that never existed in the past is ever present. Undoubtedly, intermarriage and the hybridization process have occurred between all sorts of possible combinations of people at some time or another, but that does not mean that these people necessarily embodied hybrid identities. Would it be appropriate to conceptualize an Irish-English family as hybridized? They likely exhibited a hybrid set of practices, but it cannot be assumed that they perceived themselves, or were treated by others, differently because of this mixing.

As such, researchers should reflexively evaluate the archaeological data, which currently reinforces the unique nature of hybridized identities, and conceptualize hybridization and creolization as a normal process of the colonial narrative. The unique situation of hybridized peoples in historical colonial settings is best explained by a case study—the archaeology of the Labrador Métis.

The Labrador Métis

The Labrador Métis self-identify as the descendants of ethnically mixed Inuit-European families. They primarily inhabit, and have inhabited, the southern Labrador coast and emerged as an identifiable group during the late 18th/early 19th century. Individuals of mixed backgrounds undoubtedly existed in Labrador prior to that time, but at this time they are difficult to identify in the historical and archaeological

records (Ben-Dor 1966). During the late 18th/early 19th century, British men began permanently inhabiting the Labrador coast and marrying local Inuit because there were few British women in Labrador (Zimmerly 1975:103; Thornton 1977; Kennedy 1995:246). These marriages economically benefited both the British men and Inuit women. These mixed families produced children who were often referred to by the Inuit word for half white (*Kablunangajuit*) and were considered to have the more-desirable attributes of both groups (Anderson 1984; Kennedy 1995:8–9; Stopp 2008:22). Ethnically mixed adults often intermarried with others like themselves, beginning the process of ethnogenesis that reinforced their distinctiveness and eventually resulted in the current Labrador Métis identity (Kennedy 1997).

Within the Canadian research context, Métis have long been a focus of historical and genealogical research that has resulted in numerous edited volumes and publications (Boisvert and Turnbull 1985; Peterson and Brown 1985; Ens 1996; Barkwell et al. 2001; St-Onge 2004; Foster 2006; Lischke and McNab 2007; Hele 2008; Knight and Chute 2008). These publications are diverse in nature but are unified by the repeated emphasis on the exclusion of Métis groups from mainstream discourses and their nature distinct from First Nations and European Canadian groups. Despite being specifically identified within Section 35 of the 1982 Canadian Constitution Act (Boisvert and Turnbull 1985:107), which provides constitutional protection for aboriginal and treaty rights within Canada, Métis groups often remain on the peripheries of much of the dominant discourse. Archaeology's ability to give voice to silenced (Beaudry et al. 1991) or subaltern (Hall 1999) perspectives in the past can help recenter a Métis discourse and broaden narratives about the people and relationships of the colonial past. There has been previous Métis archaeological research that demonstrated the archaeological visibility of Métis groups (Burley 1989, 2000a, 2000b; Hanks and Pokotylo 1989; Burley et al. 1992; Mann 2008; Beaudoin et al. 2010), but overall research has remained limited in nature.

Based on their self-identification in the present and the past, I choose to conceptualize the Labrador Métis as a hybridized identity. Historically and politically, the Labrador Métis

do not fit cleanly into either the colonizer or colonized category, which emphasizes the weakness of the colonial dichotomy to engage with hybridized identities. I have encountered resistance to my hybridized conceptualization of the Labrador Métis. The normative argument can and has been made, mirroring the one previously noted by Lawrence and Shepherd (2006), that the patterns observed on this site are just European (colonizer) or Inuit (colonized), depending on what is deemed important by the arguer. By their nature, the terms colonizer and colonized encompass a variety of different populations, opinions, and intentions in two polarized and exclusionary categories, and do not allow for the complexities involved in the process (Silliman 2005; Voss 2008). Any framework that therefore lumps the Labrador Métis or the Williams House (and any others that could possibly tack *between* the dichotomous categories) into one category only serves to muffle further the uniqueness of the site's history and erases the nuances of its past inhabitants. In this framework, individuals are rarely able to traverse from one category to the other, and hybridized groups who arguably occupy a "middle group," such as Métis or creole populations, are ignored. This creates a situation where "a colonizer is a colonizer is a colonizer," and "a colonized is a colonized is a colonized," without allowing for variations from this norm. The Labrador Métis are not just a conceptual "middle ground" between the colonizer and colonized that effectively creates a third essentialized colonial category; instead they are an example of the complex negotiation of individual identities that fluidly exists along a continuum of perceptions, both of self and others.

A Labrador Métis Sod House (The Williams House—FkBg-24)

During the summer of 2001, Dr. Lisa Rankin identified the remains of a sod structure (FkBg-24) on the north shore of the North River in Sandwich Bay, Labrador (Rankin 2002) (Figure 1). At that time no ethnic affiliation could be attributed to the structure. Subsequent historical and genealogical research identified the structure as a mid-19th-century sod house inhabited by the family of Charles Williams, a man from Plymouth, England, and Mary, a Métis woman, making the

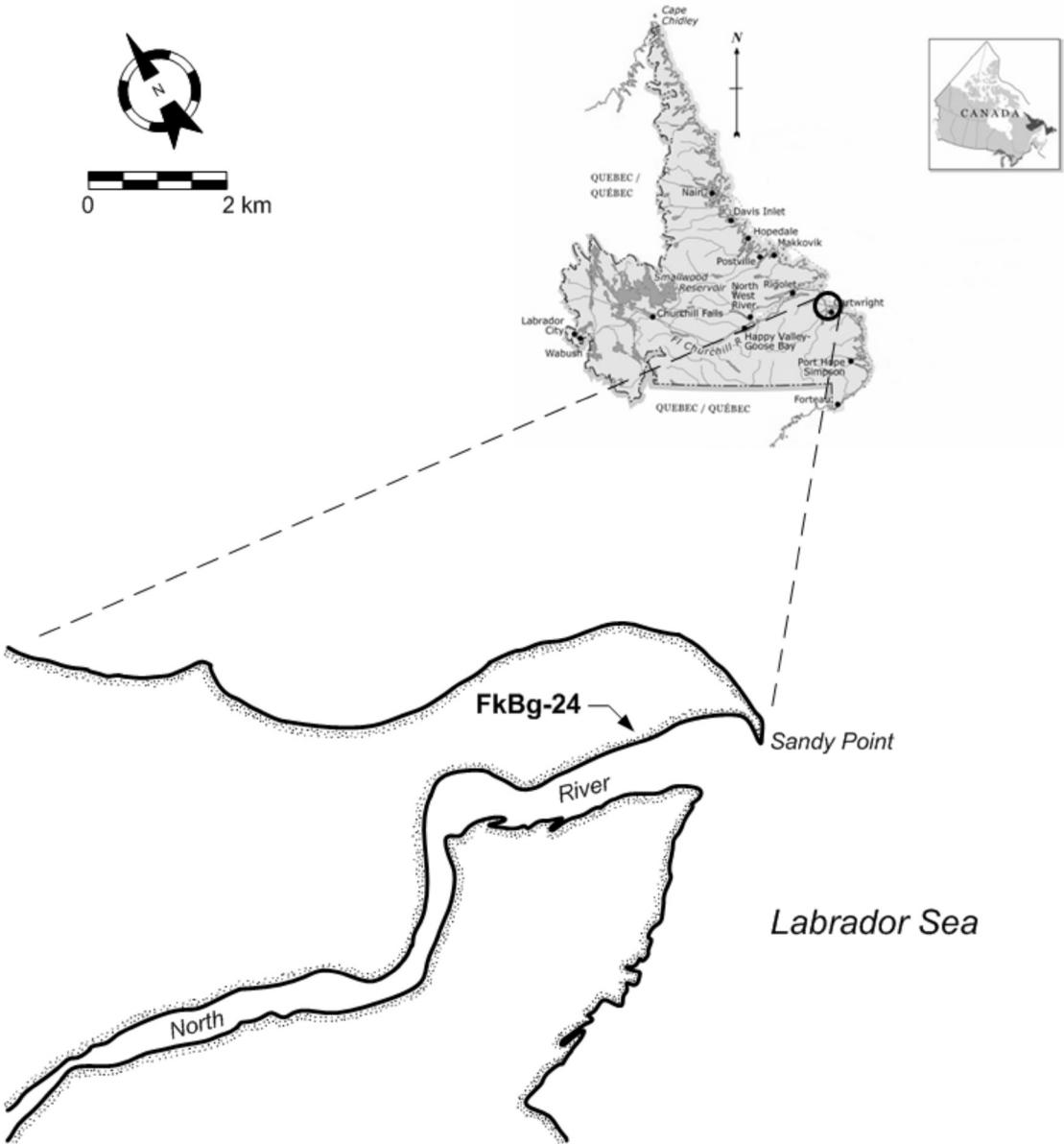


FIGURE 1. Location of FkBg-24 (the Williams House). (Drawing by author, 2008.)

Williams House a site of an emergent Labrador Métis identity. Charles and Mary had several children who likely inhabited the house after Charles's death in 1879 and continued to live in the area into the early 20th century (Beaudoin 2008:30–31). During the summer of 2007, the Williams House was excavated to explore the lifeways of the former inhabitants and to see how a Labrador Métis household compared to those of contemporaneous European and Inuit households in Labrador.

Based on historical and ethnographic data, the former inhabitants harvested local resources (e.g., fish, seals, fur-bearing animals) for personal consumption and trade with local merchants. These resource procurement strategies were combined with a seasonal transhumance that allowed them to focus their harvest on local resources that were in seasonal abundance. The Williams House was in a location that permitted the harvest of salmon from the North River during the early summer, cod from outer islands

in midsummer, seals from the coast in the spring and fall, and fur-bearing animals from the interior in the winter (Anderson 1984:106–109,141–144; Kennedy 1995).

The former inhabitants ate primarily local meat (e.g., seal, caribou) and fish (e.g., cod) prepared in liquid-based meals. The lack of evidence for domesticates suggests that they relied mostly on wild game. Meals were generally consumed from hand-painted hollowware dishes, but transfer-printed flatware and tea ware were also recovered. The numbers and forms of transfer-printed designs indicate that the inhabitants may not have regularly used them or perhaps used them for display purposes. Hourglass-shaped mending holes, a common feature on 19th-century Inuit sites, were identified on seven hollowware vessels (Jurakic 2007; Beaudoin et al. 2010:159–160).

Archaeological data (Beaudoin 2008; Beaudoin et al. 2010; Josephs and Beaudoin 2010), supplemented by contemporaneous descriptions (Townsend 1911; Cabak 1991; Kennedy 1995; Stopp 2008) and photographs (Rompkey 1996), contribute toward an overall picture of the structure. The house was a rectangular, single-room structure, measuring 10 m (east–west) by 4 m (north–south) (Figure 2). The entrance was in the south wall and faced the mouth of the North River. The walls were wooden with sod piled on the exterior for insulation and support. Glass shards suggest that the structure had pane-glass windows. The floor was made of split logs and had a roughly 1 m deep storage pit in the northwest corner. A stone platform for an iron stove was across from the entrance and was the structure’s primary source of heat and for cooking. A small sheet midden, around the exterior of the entrance, and a saw pit used for splitting logs, to the northwest, were identified.

The artifact collection from the Williams House relates primarily to foodways and suggests that the inhabitants were consuming Inuit-style liquid-based meals out of hollowware vessels; however, flatware vessels were also present in limited numbers (Beaudoin et al. 2010) (Table 1). This suggests that the inhabitants may have also been consuming more European-style solid meals (Otto 1977; Ferris and Kenyon 1983; MacDonald 2004). It is also possible that the flatware vessels served some other purpose within the structure. For example, considering the almost exclusive appearance of transfer-printed designs on flatware

TABLE 1
CERAMIC VESSELS AT THE WILLIAMS HOUSE

Decoration	Number	Vessel Form	Number
Hand painted	20	Hollowware	18
		Flatware	2
Transfer print	20	Hollowware	13
		Flatware	7
Undecorated	14	Hollowware	12
		Flatware	2

vessel forms, it is possible that flatware vessels were selected strictly for their designs and were displayed as such. Burley (2000b) has argued that the use and display of ceramics among *hivernant* Métis in western Canada represent efforts by Métis women to solidify their social position within their increasingly stratified society. By exhibiting symbolic “civilized” practices of tea consumption, Métis women were signalling to the colonizers in power that they could demonstrate “appropriate” colonial dispositions. This example is from a different Métis group in a different part of the country, but it demonstrates that the performative nature of food consumption cannot be ignored. Hourglass-shaped, drilled mending holes in ceramics (Figure 3) were present within the artifact collection, suggesting that there was limited access to certain ceramic vessels, and thus when a vessel broke it was repaired following the Inuit practice used to mend soapstone vessels (Beaudoin et al. 2010:159).

The faunal assemblage confirms that mammals, birds, fish, and bivalves were all important food sources, with seals being the most commonly consumed animal (Table 2). While all of the animals identified in the faunal assemblage were present year-round, many of the animals would have been harvested in specific seasons; the only season that is not adequately represented is summer. This may indicate that the structure was abandoned during the summer to relocate to an area better suited for harvesting summer resources; however, it is also possible that summer resources, such as salmon, may be absent from the assemblage as a result of taphonomic processes, or that these resources had greater economic value as a trade item and thus may not necessarily have been consumed by local inhabitants.

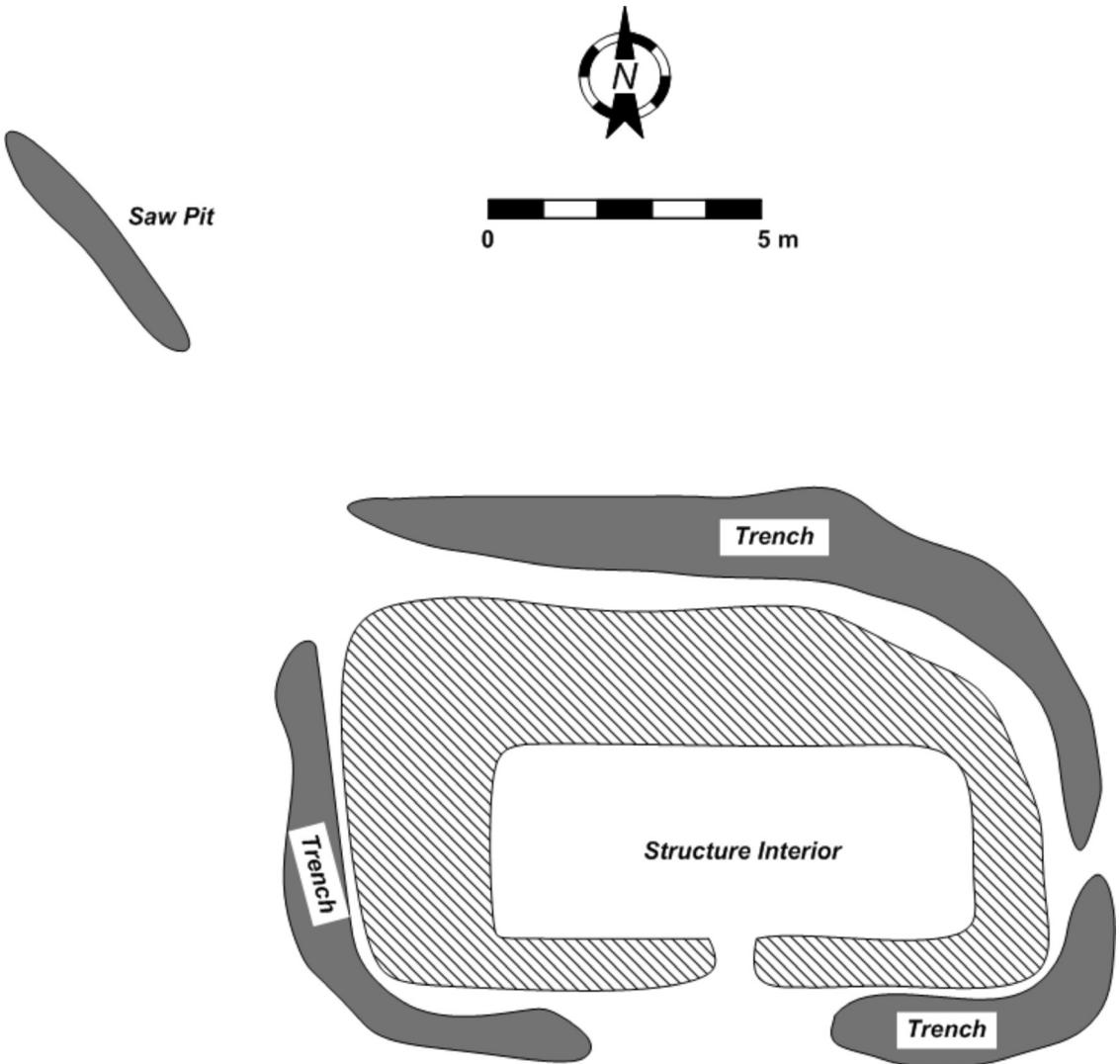


FIGURE 2. Layout of the Williams House. (Drawing by author, 2008.)

To optimize the harvest of seasonally abundant resources, for both personal use and trade with local merchants, the Labrador Métis practiced patterned seasonal movements to harvest specific resources at preferred locations. This transhumance often involved two, or sometimes three, resource procurement sites throughout the year (Brice-Bennett 1977), but year-round occupation was possible in ideal locations (Anderson 1984). The general pattern of resource procurement was to harvest salmon from rivers during the early summer, cod from outer islands in midsummer, seals from the coast in the spring and fall, and fur-bearing animals from the interior in the winter (Anderson 1984; Kennedy 1995:106–109,141–144).

The above interpretations developed about Labrador Métis from the available data must now be contextualized within the broader Labrador context. It is important to understand that while 19th-century Labrador can be considered the colonial periphery, all of the actors, be they Labrador Métis, Inuit, or European, were all differentially participating in the local market economy. They harvested local resources to exchange for goods from local merchants and thus had similar access to goods. This reinforces the fact that the presence/absence of a specific type of artifact or activity is not enough to assign an ethnic affiliation (i.e., European goods do not indicate European people) (Cusick 1998:131;



FIGURE 3. Example of hourglass-shaped mending holes. (Photo by author, 2008.)

Rubertone 2000; Ferris 2009:11); however, it does allow for the exploration of the variability in peoples' choices among similarly available goods (Deetz 1996; MacDonald 2004). The choices being made in the past reflect both conscious and unconscious understandings of peoples' engagements with their material worlds and how practices functioned within these dispositions.

When the Labrador Métis data are compared to a cursory sample of existent, contemporaneous Labrador Inuit and seasonal and permanent European sites from a variety of contexts, a pattern emerges that I have interpreted as the practices observed at the Williams House bifurcated along gendered lines (Beaudoin 2008; Beaudoin et al. 2010). It must be noted that 19th-century sites from Labrador are currently underrepresented in the archaeological record, and most occur as isolated examples. In addition, the few sites available for comparison were excavated and studied at different times for

different purposes, making it difficult to compare their respective features and assemblages. Despite these caveats, the following discussion contextualizes the findings at the Williams House by comparison with materials recovered from 11 roughly contemporaneous sites (Figure 4).

The six 19th-century domestic Inuit sites are Kongu (IgCv-7) (Jurakic 2007); Tuglavina (IdCr-1) (Schleidermann 1971); Uivak Point (HjC1-9) (Woollett 2003); HdCk-21 (Cabak 1991); Eskimo Island 2 (GaBp-2) (Woollett 2003); and Seal Island (FaAw-5) (Auger 1989). The limited excavation of 19th-century European sites in Labrador means that the European sites examined are more varied than the Inuit examples. The European sites cover many of the European groups engaged in the Labrador region in the late 18th and 19th centuries. The five European sites are Hoffnungsthal (GgBs-1), a permanent mid-18th-century Moravian mission station (Cary 2004); Stage Cove (FbAw-1), a permanent late-18th-century sealing and fishing

TABLE 2
FAUNAL ASSEMBLAGE FROM THE WILLIAMS HOUSE

Species	Number	%	MNI	%
Mammals				
Arctic hare (<i>Lepus arcticus</i>)	3	2	1	4
Bear (<i>Ursid</i> sp.)	1	1	1	4
Beaver (<i>Castor canadensis</i>)	1	1	1	4
Caribou (<i>Rangifer tarandus</i>)	46	37	2	9
Fox (<i>Vulpes</i> sp.)	8	6	4	17
Mink (<i>Mustela vison</i>)	1	1	1	4
Moose (<i>Alces alces</i>)	6	5	2	9
Wolverine (<i>Gulo gulo</i>)	1	1	1	4
Seal (<i>Pinniped</i> sp.)	38	31	9	39
Porpoise/dolphin	17	14	1	4
Whale sp.	2	2	1	4
Total	124	101	23	102
Birds				
Duck sp.	3	10	1	17
Owl sp.	19	63	3	50
Ptarmigan	7	23	1	17
Gull sp.	1	3	1	17
Total	30	99	6	101
Fish				
Cod (<i>Gadidae</i>)	165	100	2	100

post (McAleese 1991); Degrat Island (EjAv-5), a late-18th-century seasonal fishing site (Auger 1989); Saddle Island (EkCb-1), a seasonal 19th-century fishing station (Burke 1991); and Pointe St. Charles (EiBg-138), a permanent 19th-century Jersey settler site (Temple 2006).

When compared, several attributes of the architectural features, such as the presence of entrance passages, sleeping platforms, and interior cellars, as well as the location of the midden, appear to reflect the ethnic identity of the former occupants. For example, the presence of entrance passages appears to be a design component in Inuit construction. Entrance passages are recorded at three of the four Inuit sites with identified architecture, but none of the European structures have such features. Only Seal Island (FaAw-5) lacked any identifiable entrance passage. Additionally, the presence of sleeping platforms along the walls can also be attributed to Inuit construction. Like entrance passages, the presence of sleeping platforms is recorded at three of the four Inuit sites, with Tuglavina

(IdCr-1) being the exception, and at none of the European sites. Interior cellars are recorded at two of the permanent European structures, Stage Cove (FbAw-1) and Pointe St. Charles (EiBg-138), but at none of the Inuit sites. The other European sites may lack interior cellars because of their seasonal nature. Inuit sites do not have interior cellars, possibly because the Inuit used exterior stone caches for storage. Therefore, the presence of interior cellars may be a good indicator of European construction (Auger 1989:100). Finally, the middens at Inuit sites were located near the entrances of all the sites where a midden was recorded; namely, Kongu (IgCv-7), Uivak Point (HjCl-1), HdCk-21, and Seal Island (FaAw-5). Among the European sites, only Stage Cove (FbAw-1) has a midden, and it is located away from the structure. Following these patterns the attributes of the architectural features exposed at the Williams House are obviously more consistent with the patterns observed at European sites. The Williams House lacks an entrance passage and sleeping platform but possesses an interior cellar;

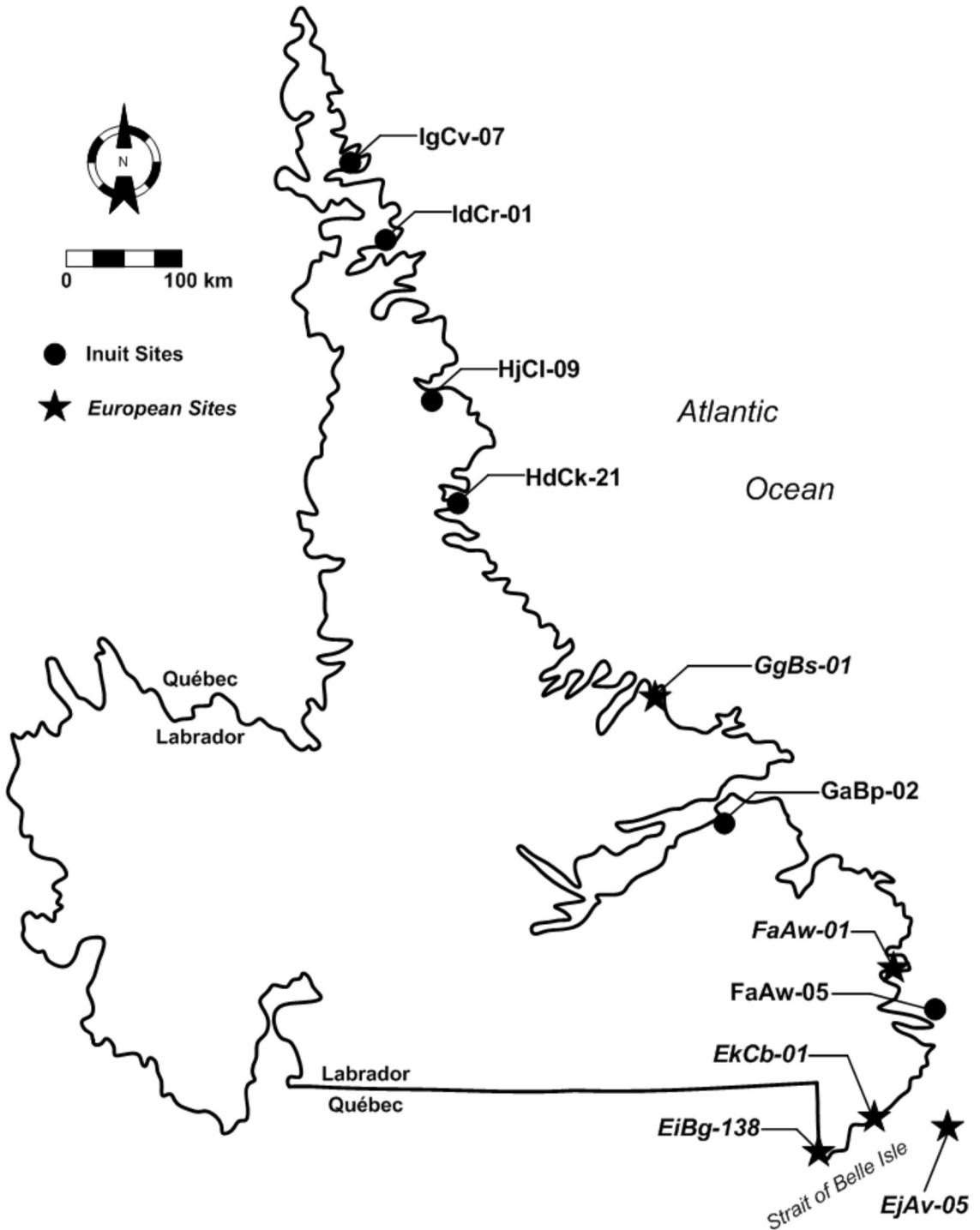


FIGURE 4. Location of other sites in Labrador. (Drawing by author, 2008.)

however, the midden occurs near the entrance, a pattern more typical of Inuit sites. Ben-Dor (1966:27) reported that, until 1963, traditional Inuit house layouts and features were maintained in the Labrador community of Makkovik despite the availability of new building materials. Considering the continuity of Inuit architectural traditions despite European impositions (Whitridge 2008), the absence of these Inuit traits suggests that the architecture at the Williams House is more consistent with the European design.

Several aspects of the archaeological assemblage, especially vessel form and the number of glass beads, appear to reflect the hybridized identity of the former occupants. Among Inuit sites, hollowware vessels dominate the ceramic assemblage. For example, Kongu (IgCv-7) had 85% hollowware and 7% flatware, whereas Tuglavina (IdCr-1) had 83% hollowware and 17% flatware. At HdCk-21, 65% of the ceramic assemblage consisted of hollowware and 35% was flatware. These percentages are consistent with traditional Inuit foodways, which involve the consumption of liquid-based meals, such as stews, from bowls, cups/mugs, or pots. These meals were cooked in a pot suspended above a heat source (Cabak 1991; Cabak and Loring 2000). In this context, the function of flatware vessels would have been limited and would have had no analog in traditional Labrador Inuit traditions. By contrast, hollowware (51%) and flatware (49%) vessels are equally represented at the European site Saddle Island (EkCb-1), and the majority of the hollowware vessels are classified as tea ware and drinking vessels (Burke 1991:77). Excavations at Degrat Island (EjAv-5) and Stage Cove (FbAw-1) recovered few ceramic artifacts—only four vessels at each site. Glass beads were recovered at four of the Inuit sites, Uivak Point (HjCl-1), HdCk-21, Eskimo Island 2 (GaBp-2), and Seal Island (FbAw-5), and one European site, Stage Cove (FbAw-1). The number of glass beads at the Inuit sites ranged from a low of 5 to a high of over 1,500, and the majority were seed beads used for embroidery. Embroidery beads were adopted by post-contact period Inuit women as a status symbol, and the desire for beads continued into the 19th century (Kaplan 1985; Cabak 1991). The only European site to yield glass beads was Stage Cove (FbAw-1), but these items were likely used to entice Inuit and Innu into trading relationships with the Europeans (McAleese 1991:60).

The artifact assemblage from the Williams House more closely resembles an Inuit assemblage. Hollowware vessels are the most common vessel form, and the percentages of hollowware and flatware vessels are similar to those at Inuit sites. The large number of glass beads recovered resembles the Inuit assemblages, and the presence of hourglass-shaped mending holes in some ceramic sherds and the color ratios of the seed beads are also consistent with Inuit drilling styles and color preferences.

The faunal collection from the Williams House more closely resembles an Inuit collection. Among the faunal collections at Inuit sites, one primary trend is recognized. The more-northern sites in Labrador retain a focus on seal harvesting (Woollett 2003), whereas the remains of domesticates, such as cattle and pig, appear to increase at the expense of seal at more-southern locations (Auger 1989). The faunal analysis from Stage Cove (FbAw-1)—the only examined European site from which zooarchaeological information is available—indicates that wild duck and domestic pig and cattle comprise the majority of identifiable species. At the same time, there is little evidence of fur-bearing animals, large terrestrial mammals, or fish at this site (McAleese 1991). Although the sample of sites is small and the assemblages are limited, reliance on seal appears to be a distinguishing feature of the Inuit subsistence economy. The wide variety of species, lack of domesticates, and the predominance of seal in the faunal assemblage from the Williams House is more consistent with the Inuit pattern than that of European sites.

Overall, the activities at the Williams House associated with Inuit women's roles were more similar to those at Labrador Inuit sites, while the activities associated with European men's roles were more similar to those at European sites, which is a pattern observed of ethnically mixed families in other contexts by Lightfoot et al. (1998) and Deagan (1983). The consumption of primarily wild game, with an emphasis on seal, in mostly liquid-based meals is similar to the patterns observed at contemporaneous Inuit sites. Along with a large number of glass beads and ceramic vessels repaired with hourglass-shaped mending holes, this supports the proposition that women's activities were more similar to those of Inuit sites (Giffen 1930; Guemple 1986). The presence of architectural features absent at Inuit sites, like saw pits and interior subsurface cellars, and the

absence of ubiquitous architectural features from Inuit sites, like sleeping platforms and entrance tunnels, supports the proposition that the Williams household's construction and maintenance follow European conventions and were likely enacted by the man. Neither set of gendered patterns at the Labrador Métis sites is exactly identical to those at Labrador Inuit or European sites, and other aspects, like the rhythm and focus of resource procurement, appear to be distinct. This pattern supports an interpretation, similar to the arguments made by Deagan (1983) and Lightfoot et al. (1998), in which the individuals within the household are enacting their understood gender roles that are negotiated to the specifics of their context, as well as fulfilling a niche in their local economy in a manner that is different from Inuit and European families: creating a hybridized family that eventually results in the ethnogenesis of the Labrador Métis.

Discussion

Based on this analysis of the Williams House, the male roles are more similar to those on European sites, and the female roles are more similar to those on Inuit sites. The patterns observed at the Williams Labrador Métis household do not suggest that European men (colonizers) are coming into Labrador and indiscriminately importing the colonial center's conceptualization of the world. European men are taking their own understandings of what it means to be "of the colonial center" and renegotiating it within the local context. In this example, the renegotiations are occurring directly with Labrador Inuit/Métis women (colonized) inside the household. In situations where different expectations exist, such as a Labrador Métis household, negotiations of daily practices will be necessary, but not every aspect of daily life will be negotiated. This is a complex set of varied negotiations, including indifference, accommodations, and resistance that are summarized here, but that I have detailed elsewhere (Beaudoin [2013]). Practices that are deemed appropriate within the dispositions of the individuals within the negotiation, such as *that* the woman prepares the food and *that* the man builds and maintains the house, remain less questioned/challenged/negotiated. For the individuals enacting these practices, this allows more freedom to practice

their dispositions to their liking. For example, within the Labrador Métis household, the European man was willing to accept Inuit-style foods because he accepted the woman's role of food preparation with limited negotiation. This does not mean that the practiced dispositions always occur without some form of negotiation or instances of negotiation, like the occasional consumption of solid-based meals, but that in an everyday context the residents learn to accommodate each other. Similarly, the Inuit woman was willing to accept European house style because it was more important that the man build the house than the specifics of the house that he built. These practices were the result of limited negotiation between individuals, but other aspects required more negotiation. The pattern of seasonal transhumance is a good example of accommodation. The inhabitants of the Williams House practiced seasonal transhumance similar to that of the Labrador Inuit, allowing them the flexibility to access seasonally variable resources, even though they participated primarily in the barter economy of the Europeans. Labrador Métis families focused on the trapping of furs in the winter, salmon fishing in the summer, and sealing when seals were available. While all of these activities were practiced by Labrador Inuit and Europeans, the intensification of the trapping and salmon fishing was unique for mixed families. These ethnically mixed families adopted the seasonal transhumance and focus on local resources of the Inuit but adapted these traits to function within the local European economy, effectively creating hybrid lifeways that were distinct from both Labrador Inuit and Europeans. This hybrid lifeway is more difficult to attribute to either gender and likely resulted from a negotiation between the two and the necessities of living within their local geographic and economic contexts. If it is assumed the man was primarily responsible for resource procurement, and the woman aided in the processing and preparing of hunted food for consumption, this implies that this dominant part of daily lived life necessarily required input from both individuals and some form of accommodated consensus.

The ability of colonizers to reproduce the colonial center in a colonial periphery is contextually dependent. There are many ways

in which the colonial process is enacted; the above example of a Labrador Métis household demonstrates that intermarriage of colonizer and colonized does occur and can produce patterns that are different from homogeneous marriages of only colonizers or colonized. My Labrador Métis example, as well as others (Deagan 1983; Lightfoot et al. 1998), suggests that many aspects do follow gendered activity roles, yet there are still variations from both the European and Inuit sites. The repetition of this patterning in various contexts reiterates that these negotiations are occurring between individual actors who are enacting and negotiating their lives as they see fit; sometimes along gender roles and sometimes along other lines. This same process of negotiation occurs in any relationship where individuals live together and negotiate their daily dispositions; however, it becomes more pronounced when the actors' expectations vary.

The ethnogenesis of the Labrador Métis can be conceptualized as a hybridization process that results from the repeated negotiation of practices and the normalization of these practices between individuals. Their negotiations, and the enculturation of subsequent generations, occurred directly within the household in a daily lived reality and resulted in a set of practices and dispositions that were reminiscent of both contemporaneous Inuit and Europeans. This is not to say that the Inuit and Europeans in Labrador were "pure" and not subject to similar pressures to negotiate their practices, but rather that the Labrador Métis' negotiation was a series of direct negotiations between individuals. To relegate the Labrador Métis to being "of the colonizer" or "of the colonized" simplifies and homogenizes their past in a manner that emphasizes or deemphasizes European and Inuit aspects of their identity as seen fit. Instead, I suggest they are simultaneously of/apart from the colonizer/colonized, which situates them in a middle-ground identity that cannot be comfortably situated within the traditional dichotomy of colonization.

Here I must emphasize that the Labrador Métis, and other hybridized identities, are not a third pillar situated between the colonizer/colonized binary. It is not Group A + Group B = Group C. Instead, hybridized identities should be situated within the amorphous gray area between the essentialized tropes. The hybridization of the

Labrador Métis is not directly or solely related to the intermarriage of the identities, but rather it is through the negotiation of dispositions by the people within the household who happened to be married and physically reproducing. As such, Inuit or European individuals have the potential to practice similar negotiations and populate the gray middle ground alongside the Labrador Métis. Situating hybridized groups within the gray, without relegating them to their own pillar, allows for discussions of how they simultaneously negotiate being Inuit, European, and Labrador Métis, as well as how they are excluded from these categories. The Labrador Métis are more than "Inuit woman/European man," and this ambiguity makes archaeologists uncomfortable within a framework that favors clear-cut definitions. The continued efforts to relegate hybridized groups into one category or the other, as I have encountered in conversations and seen in print (Lawrence and Shepherd 2006), emphasize efforts to maintain the clear separation between these conceptual categories; however, if historical archaeology has truly matured as a discipline, we as archaeologists must engage with what makes us uncomfortable and begin asking: "Why does this make us uncomfortable?" Many researchers argue that embracing the messiness and complexity of the colonial past means that the essentialized colonizer/colonized dichotomy must fall (Stoler 1989; Russell 2004; Haber 2007, 2012; Wilcox 2009; Horning 2011), and I believe that a greater consideration of hybridity can contribute to this goal. Kent Lightfoot (2006) encourages the study of hybrid groups, as such study can add to more nuanced understandings of the past, but I believe that the creation of hybrid groups must also be accepted as a normal and expected aspect of the colonial process. To do so would force us to reconceptualize how we archaeologists insert hybridized groups into current archaeological frameworks and can have far-ranging implications.

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Digging through Twentieth-Century Rubbish at Hani, Ghana

ABSTRACT

Two 20th-century rubbish dumps were sampled at the modern village of Hani, in Ghana, located where the former city-state of Begho existed from the 14th until the 19th century. The dumps lay within a gallery forest surrounding the settlement, in a zone where village latrines are also found. The rubbish dumps contained material that provided connections between the archaeological data from Begho and the modern material culture revealed by a longitudinal ethnoarchaeological study of Hani. The exercise demonstrated the significance of rubbish-dump archaeology for understanding continuities from past to present. In scale, and from the organic nature of the refuse, differences are indicated with the well-defined “garbology” (Rathje and Murphy 1992) characteristic of developed industrial societies. The research also has the potential for throwing light on the impacts of colonialism on material culture in the first half of the 20th century.

Introduction

Archaeology is concerned with changes in material culture over time. What happens in the distant past often appears to have a greater relevance just because it is distant from the present. In recent years in African rural contexts, the near past, for which there are written sources, has become important even though written sources often do not reveal as much as we archaeologists would like to know about everyday existence. Ethnoarchaeology has become more pervasive. The field allows the archaeologist to seek clues about past societies by looking at the behavior and the spatial relationships of their descendants. Such studies of present-day societies provide essential insights into the lives of their predecessors who lived in the same location at a similar economic, social, and technological level. The behavior that is illuminated may also provide information on general human behavior.

Ethnoarchaeology has been a staple of African archaeology from the early 1970s. It became a core pursuit of my own research at Begho in the 1970s and was an integral component of West African teaching curricula thereafter.

It was defined in papers by Atherton (1983) and Agorsah (1990) from their work in areas such as Sierra Leone and Ghana. Agorsah has provided a stimulating monograph on the Volta basin that provides both the theoretical potential and possibilities for ethnoarchaeological research (Agorsah 2003). His work is the culmination of his training at the University of Ghana Training Center at Hani in the 1970s. The comprehensive research of Ann Stahl over a 20-year period, in the Banda area of Ghana to the north of Begho and to the west of Agorsah’s work in the Volta basin, demonstrated the different sources of oral history and the practical and theoretical approaches possible with ethnoarchaeology (Stahl 2001). James Anquandah expanded the ethnoarchaeological approach with suggestions for the development of expanded linguistic work on ethnobotany and ethnomedicine (Anquandah 1981, 1985). The most significant research has recently been undertaken in Cameroon, where Nicholas David and, latterly, Judith Sterner have been engaged in field research for over 20 years (David and Kramer 2001). Nicholas David had previously contributed significantly with his work on the Fulani in Nigeria (David 1971), particularly with his paper on Fulani pottery with Hennig (David and Hennig 1972).

Though ethnoarchaeological research has been undertaken in other geographical areas, particularly from the early 1970s in the Americas (Adams 1973), and theoretical possibilities were summarized in Gould’s edited volume, *Explorations in Ethnoarchaeology*, in 1978, much of the work stemmed from cultural- and social-anthropological interest, or in looking for ethnological practices to interpret technologies described by archaeologists, rather than as a corollary of ongoing field archaeology. The significance of work in Africa is reinforced by the fact that sizeable preindustrial societies have persisted into the present era, and unlike in the Americas and Australia such societies form the larger and still-dynamic part of the population. Though political and economic factors have affected rural economies, basic social structure and the tempo of the village life and technology were less affected.

Periodically from 1970 to 1979 I excavated sites at the medieval and early modern town of Begho in Brong Ahafo, Ghana (Posnansky 2010). Begho was the largest town known in the Ghana area of West Africa in the pre-Portuguese contact era

(Figure 1). It was situated in a critical ecozone between the forest to the south, from which resources such as gold, cola nuts, and skins were obtained, and the savannah to the north, across which came traders from the towns in the middle

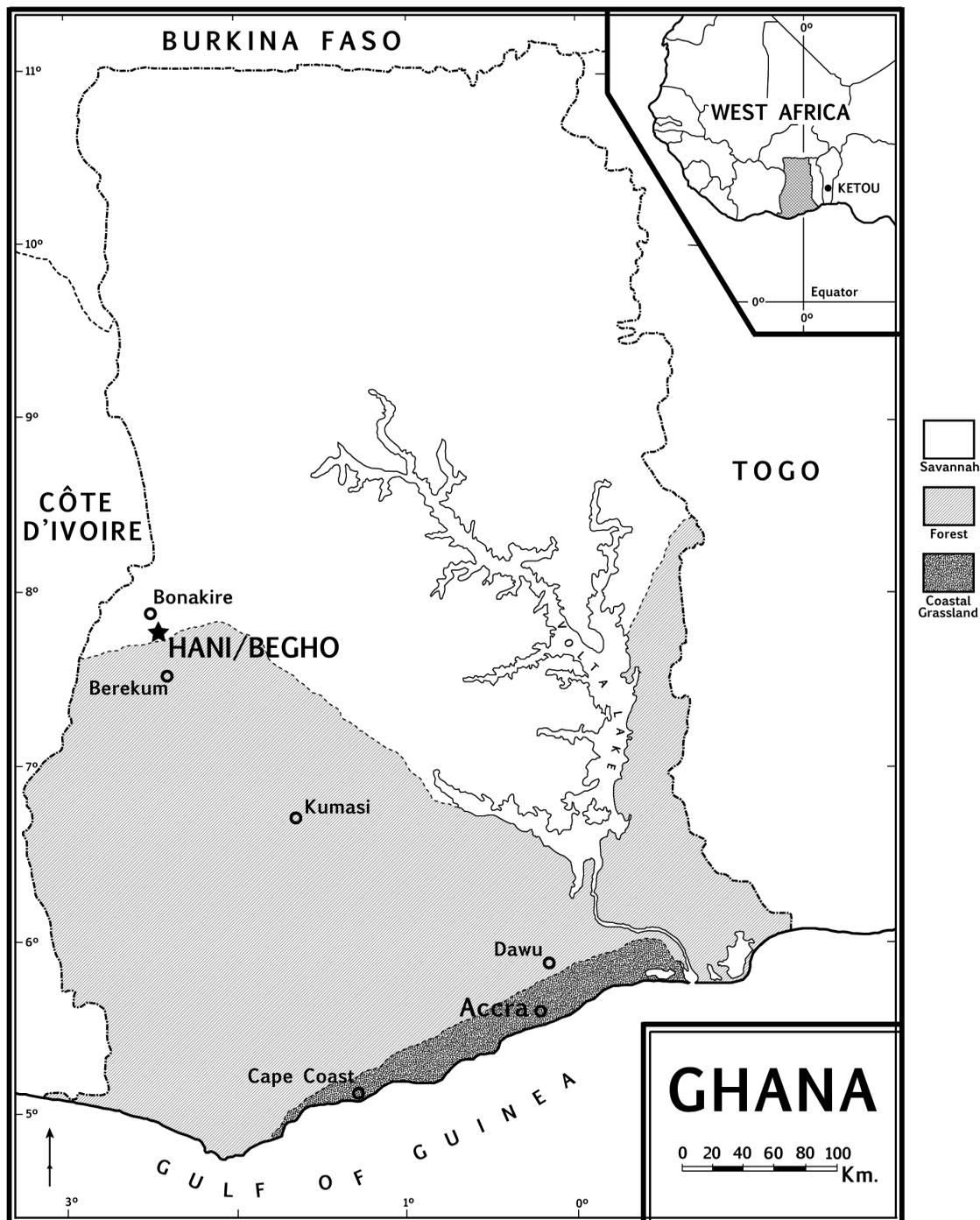


FIGURE 1. Map of Ghana, showing locations of sites mentioned in the text. (Map based on "Ghana Lands and Surveys" map, 1975; amended by K. Chew, 2011.)

Niger. It grew to prosperity both as a market town and a center for the manufacture of cotton cloth, ivory carving, and brass metalwork. From 1970 to 1998 research was also conducted on the ethnoarchaeology of Hani, the successor community to Begho, in whose farming area the Begho town-quarter sites are located (Posnansky 2004). The Hani people are the custodians of the most detailed information about the archaeological sites of Begho. Though a substantial amount of data about both the archaeology and ethnoarchaeology of Begho/Hani was collected, little was known about the daily lives of Hani villagers in the early first half of the 20th century. In order to rectify that situation it was decided to excavate several rubbish dumps (refuse middens) on the western side of the village in 1975 (Posnansky 1976:27).

Rubbish Disposal in Hani

Young girls, using whisks made from local grasses, daily sweep the interior compounds

and around the houses in Hani. Much of the sweepings, including the ashes from old cooking hearths, are placed in old borrow pits (Figure 2) between the houses. These are pits from which earth had originally been obtained, which with the addition of water is turned into *swish* (a form of mud) for building new walls, layer upon layer. The borrow pits can only contain a finite amount of the rubbish that accumulates quickly both from the daily sweeping and from peeling yams, sweet potatoes, and other tubers; from plantain skins, corn husks, groundnut shells, and everyday household rubbish, including animal bones from stews.

Periodically rubbish carried out on banana leaves, flattened sheets of cardboard, old metal kerosene tins, or discarded pieces of galvanized and aluminum roofing, and in cocoa pans is thrown onto heaps located at least 50 m away from the nearest houses. This is the same area, surrounding the village, where toilets are dug. A transitional or gallery scrub forest (Figure 3)

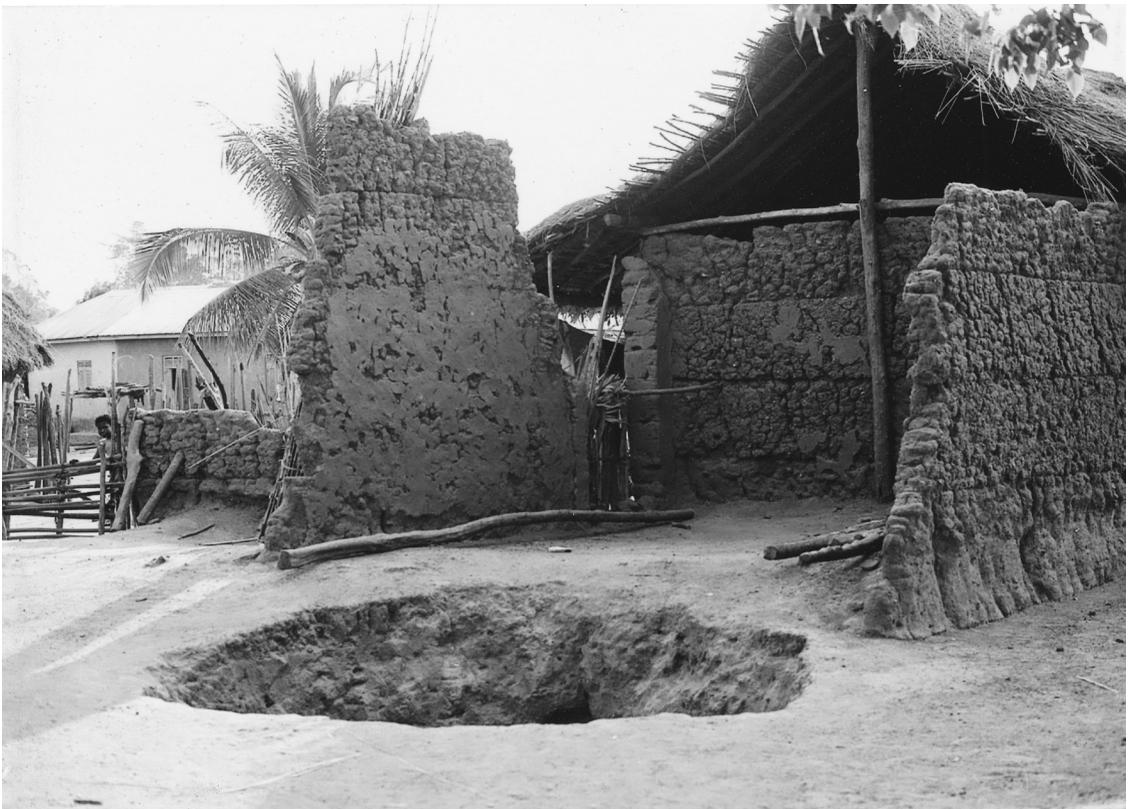


FIGURE 2. Hani, borrow pit beside the *swish* walls of an abandoned room. (Photo by author, 1975.)



FIGURE 3. Hani village, 1975, showing the low-gallery forest surrounding the settlement, separating it from the secondary forest. (Photo by author, 1975.)

grows around the settlement amongst which the rubbish dumps and toilets are located (Hall and Lock 1974; Swaine et al. 1976). The gallery forest is a product of the waste activities of the villagers. It is one way that old settlements can be identified: by finding the old gallery forests that show up on aerial photographs. Seeds from fruit passed through feces take root in the soft forest soil. Among the trees that readily grow in this zone as a result are lemons and limes, used in ablutions that cleanse and give the body a good smell. Medicinal plants are grown there intentionally. The people of Hani have many remedies for stomach upsets, abdominal pains, diarrhea, and vaginal bleeding. These afflictions are more on their minds when they visit their pit toilets, and the “herbs” are both used on the spot or taken back to their homes. The process of waste disposal is thus a domestic activity and involves no specialist activity, though elders will normally indicate where new dumps and toilets should be located.

Excavations

Excavations (Figure 4) were carried out in December 1975 by the University of Ghana Department of Archaeology with the cooperation of members of the Brathay Exploration Group from Great Britain, which consisted of a group of young British volunteers who were joined by an equal number of Ghanaians drawn from major senior schools. The two dumps, named Rubbish Dump 1 (RD1) and Rubbish Dump 2 (RD2), consisting of mounds less than a meter high, were chosen because they were relatively free of vegetation and thus accessible. Scattered within the gallery fringe forest were at least a dozen more mounds. There was some local controversy about the date of the mounds. The late Peter Tekyi, a Methodist elder and a key informant for the Begho work, claimed that all the rubbish mounds in the fringe forest are relatively recent, postdating a 1930s injunction from the colonial district commissioner in Wenchi ordering villagers

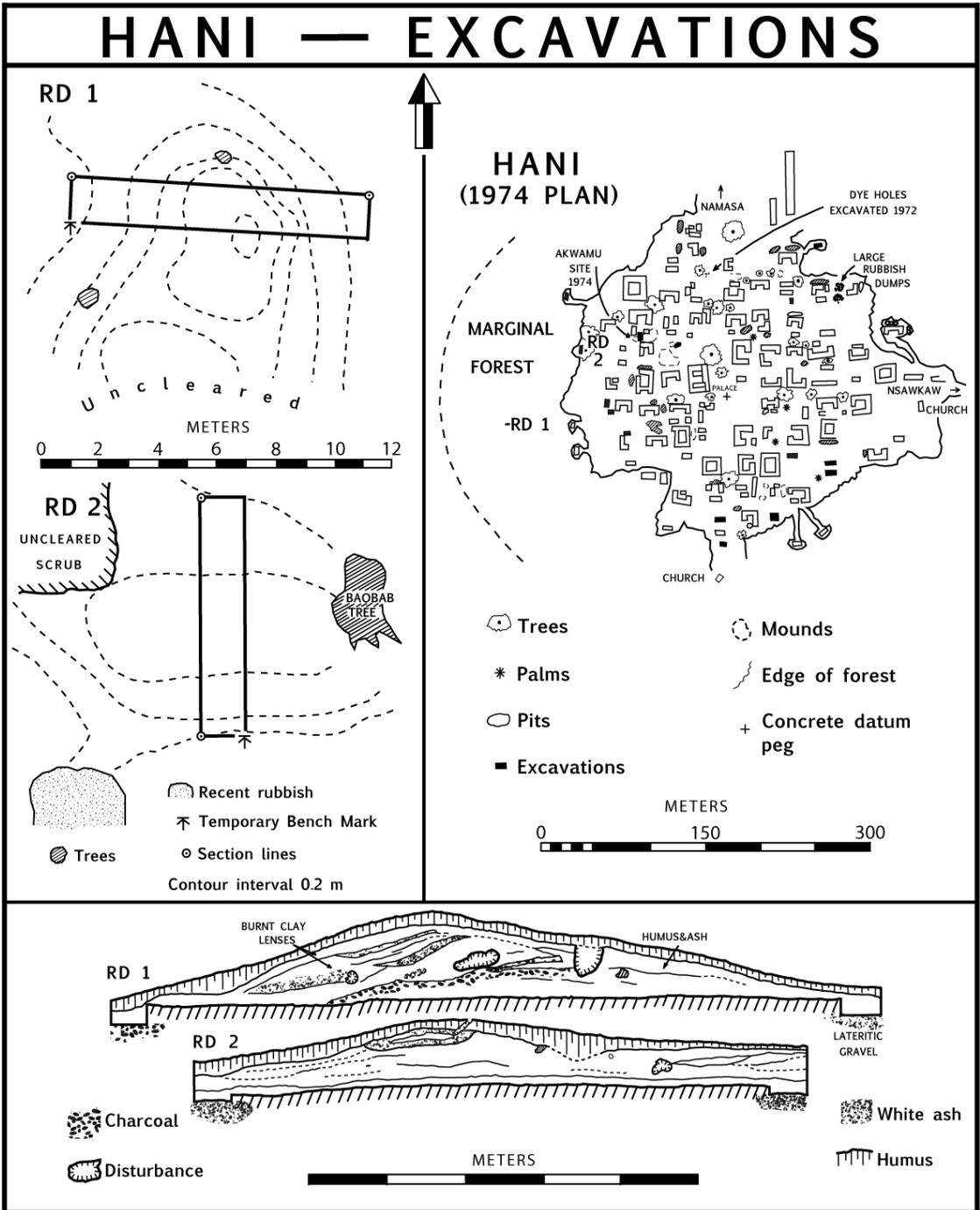


FIGURE 4. Hani, plan of excavations. (Plan by author, 1975; amended by K. Chew, 2011.)

to clear rubbish from around the houses. Then Akwamuhene, one of the two principal wing chiefs, of equal age to Peter Tekyi, whose house was relatively near to RD2, believed that RD2 predated his own birth in around 1915. Both may

be correct, as it appears that the process of throwing rubbish onto mounds surrounding the village is an ongoing process. As the village was relatively small before the 1940s it is apparent that many of the mounds are indeed recent. Several mounds,

up to a meter in height, in the northwest quarter of the village, now smooth with no vegetation, are known to have accumulated since the 1950s. The older mounds appear to be those that are lower in height, due to the earth settling over the years and are rarely above 30–40 cm high. The village has grown remarkably on the east, and it is believed that many houses were built over the heaps. Unlike the remains of collapsed houses, the old trash mounds contain large quantities of charcoal. It is possible that there were fewer trash heaps in the ancestral settlements of Begho as there were several other locations suitable for trash disposal, such as abandoned cisterns and dye pits. It is also probable that much of the “cleaning” of crops took place at field shelters (Posnansky 1984, 2012), and other rubbish may have been casually scattered on the land around the houses. Ashes would also have been used as a soil supplement in the gardens near the settlements where women grew crops like sesame, beans, okra, and more recently tomatoes and small red chili peppers.

Rubbish Dump 1

The mound was approximately 10×12 m, aligned on a north-northeast–south-southwest axis. At its highest it was no more than 45–60 cm above the surrounding land, with two higher areas (Figure 5). The surface was covered with leaves and small plants whose roots penetrated throughout. There were many rodent holes that resulted in a great amount of disturbance of any natural layering. The composition was very different from mounds formed by collapsed houses in which the earth was very compact and in which excavation, often using picks, was a tiring and slow process. Objects of contemporary date covered the surface, indicating that it was still used for trash. Below the top humus it was difficult to detect actual lenses of earth, and most of the soil was loose with large amounts of ash and charcoal fragments.

The mound was sectioned in a 10×1.5 m trench with four artificial spits of 12–15 cm in thickness. Below the mound the natural old land



FIGURE 5. Rubbish Dump 1, before excavation and after initial clearance. (Photo by author, 1975.)

surface was clearly evident as a hard “clay” layer. There were finds throughout the four levels, with humus predominating in the top layer, white ash in the middle levels, and with the bottom layer being more clayey. A series of test pits were dug around the site that established that the normal stratigraphy was a humus layer of up to 15 cm thick, above a gravelly clay layer, above a red lateritic stratum 30–40 cm below the surface. The rubbish dumps were clearly thrown up above the original humus or slightly clayey layer.

Rubbish Dump 2

RD2 was adjacent to a very large baobab tree (Figure 6). The mound was approximately 10 × 8 m on a roughly east–west alignment. Its surface and that of the surrounding area were covered with modern rubbish, feces, and a tangle of vegetation. An 8 × 1.5 m north–south trench was cut across the mound. As with RD1 there was a great amount of disturbance by roots and rodent

burrows. The soil was more compact than RD1, and in the level (1) immediately below the topsoil there was an absence of tin cans and plastic, and very little glass, indicative of a period predating the 1940s for the main accumulation. The two levels above the original ground level (OGL) were more clayey with little ash, mainly in thin lenses suggestive of single tippings of kitchen hearths. The level immediately above the laterite OGL had few finds and consisted of sandy, gravelly clay.

As with RD1 no layer below the present surface had a developed humus horizon, indicating that the dumping of rubbish was fairly continuous and probably occurred during a relative short period.

Finds

The main finds (Table 1) consist of pottery, animal bones, glass, and metal. A size analysis indicated that 93% of the 1,093 sherds from RD1 were smaller than 10 cm along their longest axis, and 90% of the sherds from RD2



FIGURE 6. Rubbish Dump 2 during excavation, with trunk of a baobab tree in the background. (Photo by Simon Grimes, 1975.)

TABLE 1
DISTRIBUTION OF FINDS AND ANALYSIS OF CERAMICS BY SIZE
(EXCLUDING ITEMS ON THE SURFACE)

RUBBISH DUMP 1								
	Size 0–5 cm	Size 6–10 cm	Size 10–15 cm	Size >15 cm	Total Ceramics	Bone	Glass	Metal
Level 1	236	97	10	1	344	20	2	17
Level 2	233	214	25	10	482	164	35	4
Level 3	94	142	21	9	267	164	6	12
Total	563	454	56	20	1,093	348	43	33
Percentage of total sherds	51.51%	41.54%	5.12%	1.8%	100%	–	–	–
RUBBISH DUMP 2								
	Size 0–5 cm	Size 6–10 cm	Size 10–15 cm	Size >15 cm	Total Ceramics	Bone	Glass	Metal
Level 1	122	78	5	1	206	20	19	28
Level 2	266	202	58	9	535	–	41	–
Level 3	221	243	41	15	520	–	26	13
Level 4	10	54	5	–	69	–	4	–
Total	619	577	109	25	1,330	20	90	41
Percentage of total sherds	46.54%	43.38%	8.20%	1.8%	100%	–	–	–

were similarly small. This indicates ratios from trash disposal different from those found on occupation levels in which there are higher proportions of sherds for which the long axis is over 10 cm. Larger pieces of broken pots would have been retained at the living site as convenient feeding “bowls” for chickens and small stock and domestic animals, whilst bigger parts are used as temporary containers. In the course of time these larger pieces would disintegrate and be brushed aside as refuse. The absence of parts of iron cooking pots is a good indication that pottery bowls were largely used, though it is also likely that broken iron cooking pots could have been recycled rather than dumped as rubbish. Aluminum cooking pots only came into use after the period that the dumps were utilized. Only one piece of imported ceramic was found, a fragment of Japanese porcelain.

There were 368 pieces of bone found, mostly small comminuted fragments suggestive of use in stews. Of those, less than 10% were in any way identifiable. Five were parts of sheep jaws, nine were from the grass cutters (*Thryonomys swinderianus*), three were bird bones, and five

were sections of unidentifiable ungulate long bones. Grass cutters, also known as great cane rats, are prized edible rodents, and the pieces of traps recovered were probably used for catching such creatures. There were parts of the shells of several giant forest snails, also edible, and 12 cowrie shells. Though cowries were used in the late 19th century as currency, these were probably used as decoration or beads, as several were pierced as if they had been attached to other objects. There were 132 pieces of glass, including 37 beads, and 74 metal objects. Three clay or stone beads were also found. Seven biconical baked-clay spindle whorls were of the type used in Debibi, where indigo-dyed striped blue cloth was still woven in the 1980s.

Of the beads, 22 were cast beads, common in the 20th century but not in use in Begho times. The beads made from powder glass are rough and were used largely for inexpensive bracelets and necklaces. There were also four cane-glass beads, two blue and two yellow, and a single pale-green squared-section bead. There were also 10 small seed beads of the type often worn around the waist by girls and very easily lost.

There were 95 other glass items, of which 35 were from schnapps or gin bottles. Schnapps, sometimes referred to as Dutch gin, was used for libations to the ancestors, and it is still normal for a visitor to bring such a bottle as a gift to chiefs or ritual leaders. Other glass finds included 9 fragments of beer or wine bottles; 20 items of medicinal glass, largely for ointments, liniment such as Vaseline, and other patent medicines; a piece of an inkpot; a bottle stopper with a tapered ground-glass end; several pieces of picture or mirror glass; and only 2 pieces of food containers: a meat- or fish-paste jar and probably the top of a sauce bottle. It is interesting that the piece of a Vaseline jar indicated it came from South Africa, whose imports were barred since the 1960s. Metal objects included parts of at least three knives, a bucket and kerosene-tin handles, and two parts of iron traps, as well as a worn-out hoe blade. Square kerosene tins are used for storage all over Africa, and when useless for storage they are flattened out for roofing. There were only two pieces of cuprous metal, a broken earring and the fragment of a belt buckle. An iron finger ring, with a twist of round wire as decoration, was also found. Similar rings were still being made into the early 1970s by the last remaining blacksmith. It is not particularly surprising that there were not more pieces of iron, as the village blacksmith would have recycled large scraps. Two lumps of iron slag were recovered, which could have come from the blacksmith's house that was on the western side of the village. Several parts of cartridge cases were found, two of which had been fitted together to make a whistle. One other cartridge case bore the inscription: kynoch 12 ICI. Presumably the "12" indicated it was for a 12-bore shot gun. Sixteen parts of clay smoking pipes were unearthed, all but one from RD2. All but one were of white clay and thus imported; one piece of stem was marked: *Fabrique en Belgique*. There was still a lively import trade of white clay pipes into West Africa up to the 1940s. Curiously, only one button was found, made from bone.

Surface debris indicates that the mounds are still used for rubbish disposal. Surface material included battery rods, palm-nut kernels, a piece of a plastic comb, fragments of hurricane-lamp shades, the base of a beer bottle with a club

insignia, the cap of a penicillin vial, pieces of a mackerel tin, and the rubber sole of a child's sandal, as well as sundry strips of cloth used as sanitary towels. Pieces of plastic and aluminum scraps, including foil, were found throughout RD1. Aluminum foil is a good time marker since it was not manufactured commercially before 1911 in the United States and was not introduced to the African market until after 1920. Rodent activity, the lack of compaction of the deposits, and the absence of distinct earthen lenses indicated that RD1 was used for a short duration and abandoned as a regular rubbish dump probably in the 1960s. RD2 was definitely older, and the Akwamuhene's suggestion of age may be correct. Though some bottle glass and corroded pieces of tin cans were found in the upper part of the first layer, below that there were no finds that could be clearly ascribed to the post-1950 era. The disturbed nature of the deposits meant that a true stratigraphy of finds was impossible, as there was probably a great deal of vertical movement through animal burrows and root holes.

Discussion

It is impossible to date accurately the mounds in use for many years as trash heaps. The ceramics were small, and there was a continuity in the forms and motifs for many years (Crossland and Posnansky 1978). It is possible, however, to gain limited insights into the material culture of the 1930s and 1940s. This was the era when the colonial system was at its height, a period before the growth of the settlement in the 1950s under the leadership of Haninihene Kofi Ampofo II. The material culture was still similar to what it had been in the precolonial era of the late 19th century, with ceramics, tobacco pipes, and parts of gin and schnapps bottles used in libations, etc. The clay spindle whorls indicate that spinning was still an everyday household occupation, probably among the older women. The absence of window glass suggests that houses had few windows, even ones with wooden shutters, whose use, according to the oral record, increased in the years after 1960. In contrast with coastal historical sites, which included more European imports and technologies influenced by contact with Europeans, was the absence of nails, though there

was one fragment of an iron screw. Wooden pegs and fiber bindings obviated the need for many nails in either house or furniture building. The actual existence of the trash heaps and the group toilets, together with broader streets and greater distance between houses, indicates that government public-health directives, followed intensively by such chiefs as Kofi Ampofo II from the 1930s following a disastrous fire, were being observed. Though there is no supporting evidence, it can be assumed that these changes brought a greater orderliness and better health to the village and enhanced the authority of the chief and the village elders. The changes certainly led to a growth in population. Eighty years ago the village had a population of around 300, and it is now nearing 3,000.

Pipes were still smoked, but not locally made ones that were prevalent in Begho times, rather, the white-clay variety from European sources. Cartridge cases indicate that some villagers had more-sophisticated guns than the largely “Dane” guns in use in the 1970s and 1980s in which the unrifled barrels were often fabricated from bicycle-frame iron by local blacksmiths, and in the case of 1970s Hani, mainly coming from Berekum, 32 km to the south. Though some of the original Dane guns may have come from Denmark, which controlled part of the Gold Coast into the 19th century, the term is often still used for locally fabricated shotguns ignited by flints, or more often by caps. Though parts of two aluminum spoons were found, no larger pieces of aluminum were found that could imply the absence both of aluminum cooking pans and basins, presently used for carrying water from the bore-hole pumps and largely abandoned waterholes along the nearby river that provided most water before the late 1980s. It is apparent from their absence that neither plastic nor enamel was used in the period when the mounds were in use, though cleaned kerosene tins would have been employed because of their lighter weight.

Significance

The excavations indicate the feasibility of studying relatively recent trash heaps that provide a link between the material culture of the archaeological sites and the richer insights obtained from ethnoarchaeology. Analysis of

the ceramics, unfortunately all small fragments without a single reconstructable vessel, indicated the basic forms illustrated by Crossland (1989) as coming from the Begho area and their continuation into the 20th century. The ceramic material also clearly indicates that the same forms illustrated by Berns (2007) were being traded from Bonakire as they were in 1979. The presence of broken clay spindle whorls indicates the importance of spinning and complements the discovery of three dye pits near the chief’s house in the 1970s. The fact that the holes had been almost forgotten reinforces the importance of the archaeological approach even in an area where oral tradition is still strong. Villagers remember what is important to them, and their memory is thus more subjective than proponents of the value of oral traditions in nonliterate societies are willing to acknowledge. The practices of spinning and weaving were a generation behind them and thus largely forgotten, though fortunately not entirely.

Though low rubbish-dump mounds are found around many settlements, there are others where a whole community may have used a single or multiple group of dumps near to a settlement. Such mounds are those at Dawu, 8 m high, dating to the 16th and 17th centuries, excavated by Shaw in 1942 (Shaw 1961). Other mounds on the Akwapim Ridge were surveyed by Osei-Tutu Brempong (Brempong 1992), and a further mound excavated by Sutton in 1980 (Sutton 1982). There are also spectacularly large rubbish dumps like one at the walled Yoruba town of Ketou in eastern Benin, where a single dump rises more than a dozen meters and is still in use. Its excavation could provide a slice of history going back possibly as far as the 13th or 14th century A.D.

In order to obtain a true appreciation of village life and to savor everyday activities that predate the mid-20th century, it is imperative that excavators tackle not only the obvious sites of past settlement but also the less-obvious and the often far less-attractive sites like recent trash heaps. Such humble everyday features provide keys for understanding links between the past of historical archaeology and the present of ethnoarchaeology. In this respect they are as important as medieval and historical privies. In many African situations expanded attention to historical archaeology has focused on colonial

sites, particularly looking at brick and stone structures in urban situations. In rural areas where houses are largely built of layered mud (*swish*) or wattle and daub (also described in southern Africa as pole and *daga*), there is a need to pay attention to less-obvious forms of housing. Archaeology has concentrated on the palaces of traditional rulers, burial practices, household spatial relationships, and preindustrial technology. This study of the rather more-humble trash heaps of peasant farmers, as well as of farm shelters described elsewhere (Posnansky 1984, 2012), provides greater insights into the lives of farming households, which are seldom discussed elsewhere and not often in an archaeological context. This is not an exercise in garbology, which is largely concerned with monitoring current practices, but is concerned with trying to discover insights into a recent past history that has been largely neglected by archaeology.

Acknowledgments

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Women and Class in Landlord Villages of the Tehran Plain, Iran

ABSTRACT

This paper explores the presence of women in the landlord villages of the Tehran Plain, Iran, drawing on recent fieldwork in the form of spatial analysis of the built environment, ethnographic interviews, excavation, and analysis of material culture assemblages. The visibility of women in the buildings and material culture of the villages is assessed and compared to the evidence gained through interview. Given the acknowledged importance of class as a social structure, analysis and discussion is extended to consider whether it is possible to distinguish women of different classes in the villages. Although largely ignored in many previous historical and ethnographic accounts, it is clear that women have played a key role in these villages, and that they can be detected in the material culture. While the ethnographic evidence and spatial analysis indicate the presence of different classes of women, determining this from the artifactual assemblages alone is very difficult.

My story is about ordinary women like myself, whose lives were transformed by events in the late twentieth century. My story is about Iran, or Persia, and the women of Iran whose popular history barely exists. We have had thousands of poets, writers and historians who across the centuries have left a rich cultural heritage. None the less, women are rarely mentioned as creators and mentors of the society. They are hidden behind curtains and high walls (Shafii 1997:xii–xiii).

Introduction

Landlord villages were one of the key social and economic systems of rural Iran until the “White Revolution” of the 1960s. These mud-brick villages and surrounding land were owned by powerful, usually absentee landlords, and the houses of both farmer and landlord were enclosed within the high village walls. The tensions between landlord and farmer have been recorded in histories dealing with land tenure and its numerous inequities (Lambton 1953), ethnographies dealing with farmer subsistence and power relations (Hooglund 1982), and travelers’ accounts describing these “feudal” curiosities (Curzon 1892). These same sources

tell about the male occupants of the villages, the male hierarchies, and the ways in which different agricultural tasks were carried out by men. When reading such historical and anthropological studies of landlord villages, it would be only too easy to think that they were occupied by an amorphous mass of (male) peasants living in extreme poverty, subject entirely to the will of the (male) landlord. Women within the village fall into two groups: those in farming families who are briefly mentioned in terms of their economic functions and family roles in connection with the male farmers; and the wives and daughters of landlords, who are scarcely mentioned at all.

It is the aim of this paper to do two things: firstly, to restore the women to these villages through analysis of village material culture informed by our own ethnographic work; and, secondly, to explore relations among different classes of women and how these class identities were articulated through material culture. The first aim, while not new in gender archaeology or historical archaeology, is very new in Iranian archaeology (particularly Iranian historical archaeology) and is an important starting point from which to challenge the ostensible “genderless norm” that is in fact the male norm (Spencer-Wood 2006:62). The second aim is one that owes much to the “third wave” of gender studies (Gilchrist 2004:145), which challenged the essentializing approaches of many earlier archaeological analyses and case studies that simply aimed to “find” women (or put women back) in the archaeological record (Gilchrist 1994:6). Class and gender are arguably two of the main social structures within social systems (Voss 2006; Wurst 2006), and exploring them together offers an important and interesting way of learning more about the dynamics of individuals and groups within a particular society. In a bounded and controlled society such as this, where hierarchy and class relations are key social structures, unraveling some of the experiences involved in being female and part of a certain class offers a significant analytical approach (Wylie 2010:229). Using oral testimony and material culture together (again, not

a new approach in historical archaeology, *per se*, but very new in Iranian archaeology) has allowed us to offer interpretations of artifacts that bring us closer to understanding class relations in these villages. However, without the data from interviews with former inhabitants of the villages and others to inform the analysis of the artifact assemblage, exploring class differences within these villages would have been far more challenging.

This new work in the landlord villages of the Tehran Plain (Figure 1) took place over three field seasons (2007, 2008, and 2009), during which three villages were mapped and recorded: Kazemabad, Hosseinabad Sanghar, and Gach Agach. All three of these villages are now abandoned. Fieldwork also included a series of discussions and site visits with 14 people who had lived in these villages before the White Revolution or been closely linked to them; and, finally, excavation of a series of trenches at Kazemabad (Fazeli and Young 2008; Fazeli et al. 2009). The period covered in this paper is the earlier 20th century up to the 1960s and

1970s when the villages were abandoned, and it draws primarily on work from Kazemabad (Figure 2), with supporting data from the other two villages where appropriate. We do not know when these three villages were first established, beyond the period covered by ethnographic memory, which tells us that they were occupied at least by the late 19th century A.D. This late-19th-century occupation is confirmed by the only ceramic sherd recovered that can be confidently dated (see below).

Landlord Villages and Class

Numerous European travelers to rural Iran noted the mud-brick walled, self-enclosed landlord villages in the landscape, and these structures have also been the focus of more systematic historical and ethnographic observation and study, e.g., Brown (1893), Ferrier (1856), Keddie (1968), Lambton (1953), and Sykes (1922). While landowning statistics are often absent or unreliable (Lambton 1953:266), Keddie (1980:169) draws on an agricultural study of 1934 that estimated that large landlords,



FIGURE 1. Location map of the landlord villages. (Map by P. Newson, 2007.)

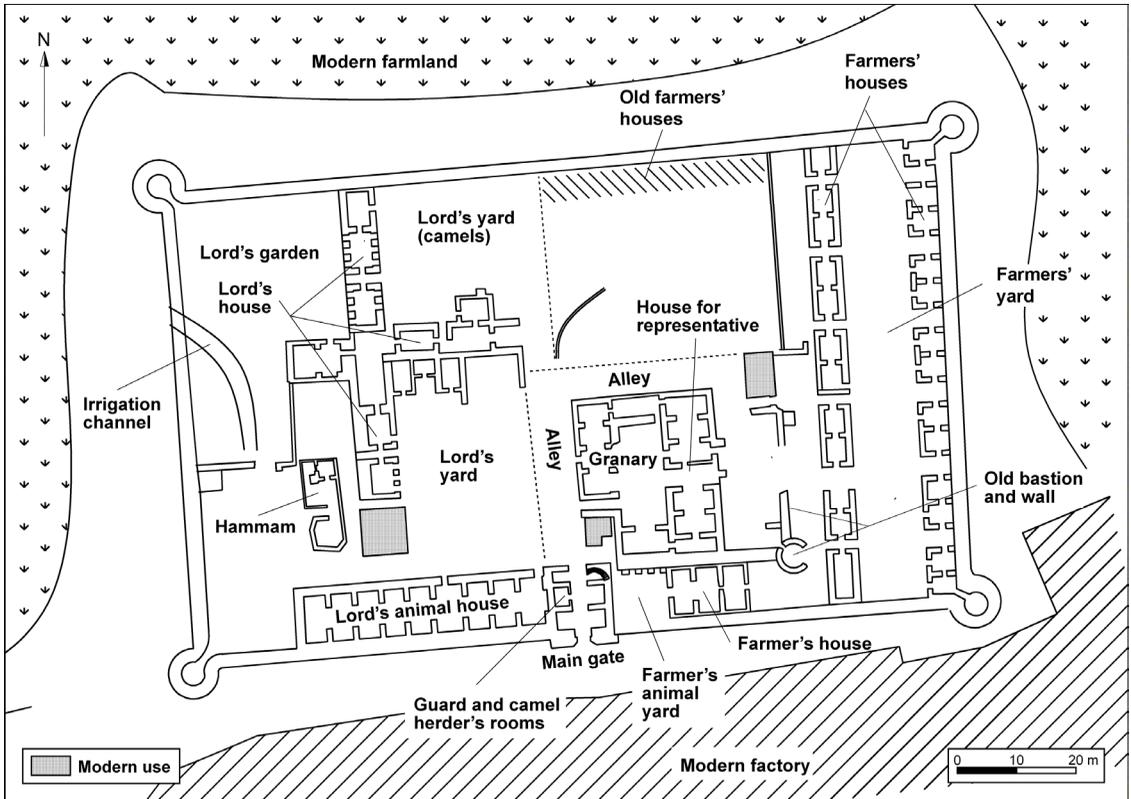


FIGURE 2. Kazemabad village plan. (Plan by P. Saeedi 2007.)

possessing more than one village each, owned about half the land in Iran, and it goes on to say that estimates for the 1950s are even higher. Many of these villages were abandoned in the 20-year period following the White Revolution of the 1960s and 1970s, but their occupation remains within living memory, meaning that they offer an opportunity to explore the use of space and the analysis of material remains in relation to various social structures.

The name “landlord villages” is one that has developed in common use, though it is perhaps in some ways a little misleading. High mud-brick walls (ca. 10 m) enclose mud-brick farmers’ houses, yards, and alleyways alongside a much more elaborate mud-brick house for the landlord and family, stabling for the landlord’s animals, and gardens for the landlord. Within the three villages explored in this study, there were no mosques or other religious buildings, no schools, shops, or village squares, or common area within the walls prior to the White Revolution. Landlord villages were essentially enclosed housing for agricultural workers

and their families, and for other direct servants of the landlord. Iran’s White Revolution of the 1960s and 1970s had a huge impact on social and political organization and relations throughout the whole country (Ansari 2003), and one area where this impact is manifest in terms of material remains is landlord villages. The antiquity of these villages is thought to be rooted in the early Islamic period, although their origins and their foundation dates remain largely conjecture (Lambton 1953:4; Bausani 1962). Landlord villages existed alongside non-landlord villages built on *khalisah*, or state-owned land, and observations of villages on *khalisah* suggest that they were generally in a very poor condition, with occupants living in poverty as severe, if not worse, than in many landlord villages (Lambton 1953:152; Nezam-Mafi 1993:5).

Understanding of hierarchy in landlord villages is almost entirely based on male roles that are closely linked to agricultural production; thus, when women are explicitly mentioned either in historical or ethnographic works, they are generally considered in terms of their relationships to

men. These villages were owned by landlords (usually absentee) who had virtually total control over all those who lived within them. This control stretched from who would be allowed to live within a village to decisions about which plots of land could be farmed by any individual or work team at any time; how many rooms a family could occupy (and the storage areas connecting farmers' houses in each row could be blocked up to make them smaller, or unblocked to make them larger); and who people could marry; and all of this could change abruptly at the whim or will of the landlord. In his absence, the landlord hired an agent to ensure that his interests were protected, and this agent had similar powers of control, particularly over agricultural production, storage, and redistribution. Although agricultural production might provide a valuable source of wealth (landlords regularly claimed at least three-fifths of all production), possession of land and villages was primarily a source of prestige and social standing for landlords (Lambton 1953; Bausani 1962). Absentee landlords also used their houses in these villages as weekend retreats or holiday homes, although their families often remained in the cities.

Below the agent, most village hierarchies included a headman selected by the landlord, whose role was ostensibly to lead and represent all the farmers. Of course, being singled out by the landlord in this way often meant that the headman was able to take advantage of enhanced standing and material gains in return for carrying out the will of the landlord, rather than addressing issues and concerns of the farmers. Within the "amorphous mass" of villagers themselves, a number of different strata or classes differentiated primarily by occupation, wealth, and social position were recorded by historians and ethnographers, although not all of these groups would be present in all villages, and indeed the hierarchical makeup of a village would change over time. Further groups noted include farmers who owned oxen and farmers who headed up the agricultural work teams, and these two advantages in terms of agricultural production conferred both extra wealth and extra status. The largest group within most villages appears to have been farmers working the land, perhaps with a small number of sheep, goats, and chickens, and those without any

animals. There were also villagers who did not work the land—either specialists (such as the village gatekeeper, the keeper of the landlord's camels), or very impoverished laborers (Keddie 1980:177–178; Hooglund 1982). Keddie (1980) summarized the results of a survey (carried out on behalf of the government in 1954 but never published) that reported on "class stratification" and income in villages, and listed a possible 14 strata in villages (among men, based on occupation and social position). In many villages, especially smaller ones, there were far fewer than this in practice, although usually a minimum of seven strata (landlord, agent, headman, farmers with production advantage, farmers, landless laborers, and specialists). In her analysis of this report, Keddie (1980:177–178) refers to "class division or stratification" and discusses strata in terms of economic and prestige order, as these two are inextricably linked in rural Iran in the 1950s.

A key aim was to find out if and the extent to which this hierarchy was replicated among the women of the village. As women in the past have been described and understood in terms of village men, i.e., as wives and daughters for all classes, we wanted to use this known male hierarchy as a starting point for exploring the role material culture played in reflecting and shaping the nexus of class and gender, and for testing how much of the hierarchy known through previous historical and ethnographic study is evident in this material culture. Of course it would be ideal to look at women on their own terms, but as they are closely linked to male social structures, as demonstrated in the anthropological and historical sources, this is one way of beginning to explore female social structures and can be expanded if work is able to resume in this area in future.

Women in 20th-Century Iran

Muhammad Reza Pahlavi (reigned 1941–1979) instituted sweeping reforms in his "White Revolution" of the 1960s, including fundamental changes to the centuries-old land tenure system and giving women the right to vote in 1963 (Savory 1978; Paidar 1995:145). His father Reza Shah (reigned 1925–1941) was an ardent modernist, who tried to force women to abandon veils and men to adopt Western dress. While he was able to enforce this in urban areas during his rule, upon his abdication many men and

women reverted to traditional dress (Vatandoust 1985:109; Shafii 1997:23), and in many isolated rural areas these laws had been largely ignored anyway (Stark 1934). Prior to the 1930s middle- and upper-class women in Iran led a life that required seclusion from unrelated males, which greatly limited their direct social, economic, and political interaction. This seclusion (which still operates in other areas of the world today, e.g., Saudi Arabia and parts of Pakistan) is based partly on ideological dictates (such as interpretations of Islam) and partly on a class-and-honor system (e.g., seclusion was also important for women of the Brahmin caste in Hindu India up to the early 20th century [Thomas 1956:70]). The main occupations for middle-class women at this time were visiting family, visiting shrines, attending religious ceremonies, and going to the public *hamam* (baths) (Shafii 1997:32). In the 1940s and 1950s middle-class women generally had limited education and married young (Shafii 1997:82–83). From the 1940s onward, urban middle-class women had increasing choices, money, and supposedly more freedom than they had had in the past. Certainly urban middle-class women had more apparent and real opportunities than rural women during the early and middle 20th century (Vatandoust 1985:109; Keddie 2007:111).

During the first four-and-a-half decades of Pahlavi rule the land tenure system continued to keep farmers poor, indebted, and living in the same squalid conditions they had for centuries (Keddie 1980; Hooglund 1982). Although the sources talk explicitly about men, their families would have suffered the same social pressures and environment, and it is unlikely that rural women would have benefited greatly (if at all) from the freedoms of dress and association increasingly permitted to women in the cities of Iran. Working-class women within the landlord-village system are mentioned in several accounts, but in relation to the abusive behavior of men rather than in their own right. Shafii (1997:73) talks about maids in rural Kerman, saying: “Often landlords and male family members abused these young maids, beat them up or even raped them. We heard stories of girls who had become pregnant and as a result were thrown out of the house in contempt.” Keddie (1980:183) draws on work by Alberts, for his 1963 Ph.D. dissertation, in the Tehran

Plain, where he is “recounting instances of mistreatment of the poor by the rich, including the unprosecuted rape of a tenant’s wife by a *kadkhoda’s* [village headman’s] son which was treated as a joke by high-status persons.”

Planning and Excavations in Landlord Villages

In total, three seasons of fieldwork have been carried out, exploring different aspects of three landlord villages in the Tehran Plain. All three villages are abandoned, although the date of abandonment varies in each case, as does the speed at which villagers moved away. Kazemabad, for example, was occupied by an ever-decreasing population of farmers into the 1970s, and since then has provided shelter to shepherds and flocks. Hosseinabad Sanghar was abandoned abruptly in the early 1960s following a flood, while Gach Agach was occupied by a small number of farming families until the village was absorbed into the security zone of the Imam Khomeini International Airport. In 2007 the field team created detailed plans of Kazemabad (Figure 2) and Hosseinabad Sanghar villages, and interviewed a number of former occupants. In 2008 four small trenches were opened at Kazemabad, and detailed plans of the third village, Gach Agach, were made, and former occupants interviewed. The trenches at Kazemabad were located in a farmer’s house in the inner row, in a room inside the landlord’s house, across the base of an earlier village wall within the farmers’ area of the village, in a room in the women’s wing of the landlord’s house, and in the yard area of the farmers’ houses (Figure 3). These trenches were small because this type of excavation in sites of a recent date was very new to Iran, and this was very much a trial excavation in order to determine if any information at all could be retrieved. Details of the excavations are given in Table 1. In 2009 a further five trenches were excavated at Kazemabad: in the garden of the landlord’s house, in a room within the agent’s house, in the village *hamam*, and in a farmer’s house in the row against the village wall—see Figure 3 and Table 1 for details. Table 2 summarizes the artifacts recovered from all trenches.

There is a very clear distinction between landlord, agent, and farmers in terms of their living space in these villages, with great contrasts in the relative area occupied by individual families

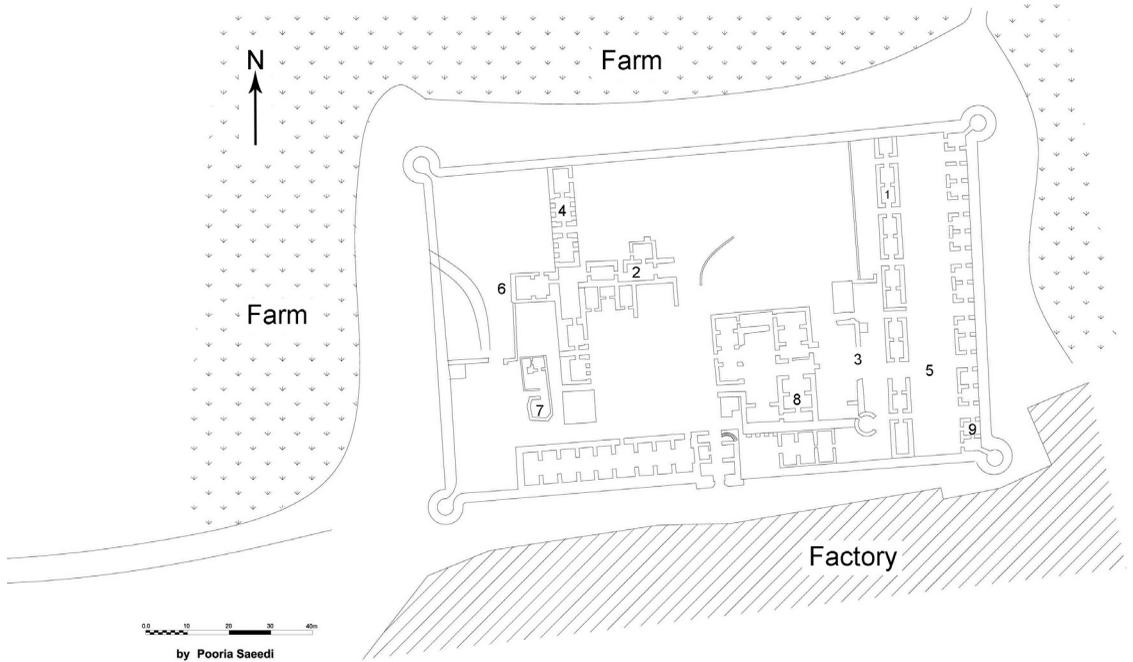


FIGURE 3. Location of the excavation trenches (1–9) at Kazemabad village. (Plan by P. Saeedi, 2009.)

TABLE 1
 DETAILS OF TRENCHES EXCAVATED AT KAZEMABAD AND ARTIFACT DENSITY

Trench Number	Location	Size (m)	Depth (m) ^a	Number of Contexts	Number of Artifacts (Excluding Sherds per Trench)	Number of Sherds per Trench	Density of Artifacts per Trench per m ²	Density of Sherds per Trench per m ²	Total of Artifacts & Sherds per Trench
1	Farmer's house (inner row)	1×1	1.03	10	6	5	5.83	4.85	10.68
2	Landlord's house	1×1	0.99	15	2	11	2.02	11.11	13.13
3	Base old village wall	3×2	1.20	5	28	22	3.89	3.06	6.94
4	Landlord's house (women's room)	1×1	1.38	8	5	28	3.62	20.29	23.91
5	Farmers' area yard	1×1	1.04	5	6	26	5.77	25.00	30.77
6	Landlord's garden	2×3	0.58	10	11	77	3.16	22.13	25.29
7	Hamam	2×3.5	0.90	11	35	20	5.56	3.17	8.73
8	Agent's house	2×2	1.10						
			(pit=2.12)	19	36	22	8.18	5	13.18
9	Farmer's house (outer row)	1×1	0.78	6	6	23	7.70	29.49	37.18

^a All trenches were excavated to natural soil

TABLE 2
SUMMARY OF ALL ARTIFACTS (EXCLUDING POTTERY)
FROM ALL TRENCHES AT KAZEMABAD (N=135)

Trench	Context	Material	Number of Fragments	Description
1	1004	stone	2	White, smooth stones (natural?)
1	1002	rubber	4	Part of rubber strip?
Total 1			6	
2	2004	glass	1	Yellow-brown bottle, screw neck
2	2007	glass	1	Orange-brown fragment
Total 2			2	
3	3002	metal	1	Fragments
3	3002	glass	2	Fragments with luster
3	3003	glass	5	Blue and clear fragments
3	3003	metal	1	Corroded fragment
3	3004	metal	9	Corroded fragments
3	3004	glass	10	Clear fragments
Total 3			28	
4	4003	glass	1	White, opaque fragment
4	4004	metal	1	Copper? Ring with attachment from bell
4	4007	metal	1	Lock
4	4007	plastic	1	Turquoise hexagonal bead
4	4008	leather	1	Shoe, small
Total 4			5	
5	5002	plastic	1	End of spoon handle
5	5005	metal	4	Corroded nails
5	5005	bone	1	Decorated bone comb fragment
Total 5			6	
6	6002	metal	3	Fragments
6	6002	glass	2	Blue fragment; clear fragment w luster
6	6003	metal	3	3 chain links and fastening
6	6003	glass	1	Clear fragment with luster paint
6	6003	plastic	1	Fragment
6	6004	plastic	1	White plastic bead
Total 6			11	
7	7002	plastic	1	Plastic sack
7	7002	cloth	1	Jacket with socks in pockets
7	7003	plastic	4	1 mirror frame; 2 knobs; 1 bottle lid
7	7003	cloth	2	Fragments
7	7003	metallic	1	Cigarette packet, decayed
7	7004	plastic	3	Bottle pieces, bottle lid
7	7004	glass	4	2 rim fragments; 2 fragments with luster
7	7004	metal	1	Bottle top
7	7005	metal	1	Fragment
7	7005	plastic	2	Plastic sacks
7	7007	metal	2	Fragments with wire handle?
7	7007	plastic	4	Pull handle; sheet; sewing reel; bottle lid
7	7007	metallic	3	1 cigarette pack; 2 animal medicine packs
7	7007	leather	1	Adult male left shoe
7	7011	metal	1	Fragment
7	7011	glass	4	Fragments
Total 7			35	

TABLE 2 (CONTINUED)
 SUMMARY OF ALL ARTIFACTS (EXCLUDING POTTERY)
 FROM ALL TRENCHES AT KAZEMABAD (N=135)

Trench	Context	Material	Number of Fragments	Description
8	8002	metal	19	12 fragments wire; spoon bowl; manicure item; wire bucket handle; 4 batteries
8	8002	plastic	3	Bottle top; container; button
8	8002	paper	1	Fragment
8	8002	wood	1	Fragment of hardboard
8	8002	metallic	1	Pack for pills
8	8002	glass	5	Blue fragment; 4 clear fragments
8	8002	cloth	1	Fragment
8	8003	cloth	1	Fragment of donkey pannier?
8	8003	metallic	1	Pack for pills
8	8003	metal + plastic	1	Knob and attachment
8	8004	plastic	1	String fragment
8	8005	metal	1	Corroded fragment
Total 8			36	
9	9002	glass	1	Dark-green fragment
9	9002	plastic	2	Dark-green fragments
9	9003	metal	1	Fragment
9	9003	glass	1	Clear fragment
9	9004	glass	1	Dark-green, twisted fragment, bracelet?
Total 9			6	

Material	Trench 1	Trench 2	Trench 3	Trench 4	Trench 5	Trench 6	Trench 7	Trench 8	Trench 9	Total
Stone	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Rubber	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
Glass	—	2	17	1	—	3	8	5	3	39
Metal	—	—	11	2	4	6	5	20	1	49
Plastic	—	—	—	1	1	2	14	4	2	24
Leather	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	2
Bone	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
Cloth	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	2	—	5
Metallic packing	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	2	—	6
Paper	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
Wood	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
Metal & plastic	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
Total	6	2	28	5	6	11	35	36	6	135

in each of these three classes. The landlord clearly occupied a disproportionately large area of the village—at Kazemabad the landlord’s house, gardens, and animal stabling comprised at least half of the village area, and at the other two villages the landlord occupied around a

third to half of the village area. The landlord’s house was far larger than any other house in the village (including that of the agent), with multiple rooms for different functions, and far greater elaboration of internal decoration, access to light and air, and of course with gardens

surrounding the house. The house for the agent was larger than the farmers' houses but is similar in layout. Its location next to the village granary is interesting, as this indicates direct control over what is arguably the economic core of the whole village, and is also close to the gateway, meaning that the agent (or his wife) would be in a position to observe comings and goings in daily life. The plans of the farmers' houses show that, while they were very uniform in shape and layout, there is a difference in size of room and overall house between those in the row against the outer wall of the village and those in the inner row. There is one anomalous farmer's house at Kazemabad—the house built between the southern external wall of the village and what is both the old village wall and the southern wall of the granary/agent's house. This house may have been occupied by the village headman, or perhaps by two families—the interviewees were unclear about this structure.

Thus, in terms of the detailed plans, it is possible to see evidence for four classes in the size and position of the houses: the landlord's house; the agent's house; the larger houses of wealthier farmers in the inner row; and the smaller houses of poorer farmers in the row along the wall. From this initial analysis it was asked if such a distinction can be seen in the artifactual evidence, or even if it were possible to recognize more "social" or status-driven strata in the assemblages? Also of interest is exploring the ways in which the information from the oral interviews engages with the material culture analyses in order to further understand class distinctions and relations. Most importantly for this paper is the consideration of the possibility to do more than simply reinstate women into these villages through careful analysis of material culture and other sources. This requires thinking about the ways in which women of different classes had different lived experiences, and how they might have used material culture to build identity and negotiate their lives within what were clearly very constrained conditions.

In terms of the total artifact assemblage, very few items were recovered during excavation; just 234 pottery sherds and 135 other artifacts were recorded from all the trenches at Kazemabad. This sparseness of artifacts reflects the reported poverty of these villages and, in particular, the deficiency of the farmers' families in terms of

material wealth. A count of 18 artifacts (excluding pottery) were recovered from trenches in the farmers' part of the village, 35 artifacts were recovered from the *hamam*, and 36 artifacts were recovered from the trench in the agent's house; while 18 artifacts (excluding pottery) were recovered from the landlord's area, and these artifacts were also often arguably different in nature and quality (Table 2). One category showing remarkably little difference between farmer and landlord areas is in the types and quantity of pottery; the examples of the four preliminary classifications of pottery (locally made plain and decorated wares, locally made glazed wares, manufactured china with transfer or stamped decorations) have been recovered from trenches in all areas of the village, though not all types were recovered from all trenches (Figure 4). This article argues that this overarching similarity in pottery between the landlord's area and the farmers' area of the village is due to a distinctively female agency that shaped the pottery assemblage and is known about only as a result of the oral interviews.

Interviews

The project was able to locate and interview people who had either lived in or been connected through trade to one of the three villages, and in total 14 people were interviewed by the female author in conjunction with a female translator. At Kazemabad six men were interviewed, of whom three were farmers who had lived in the village, two were traders who had traded directly with the village, and one was the son of the former landlord. One woman who had lived in the village was also interviewed. At Hosseinabad Sanghar two men were interviewed, both of whom were farmers who had lived in the village. At Gach Agach four men who had lived in the village and farmed, and one woman who had lived in the village were interviewed. Interviews were conducted through an interpreter, and Table 3 summarizes the themes the questions covered. The interviews were primarily aimed at finding out about everyday life in these villages, and how relations between the different groups or classes were shaped by and expressed through the village itself and its material culture. In addition to interviews, each interviewee was taken to the village in which he/she had lived or interacted, and walked around while being asked questions

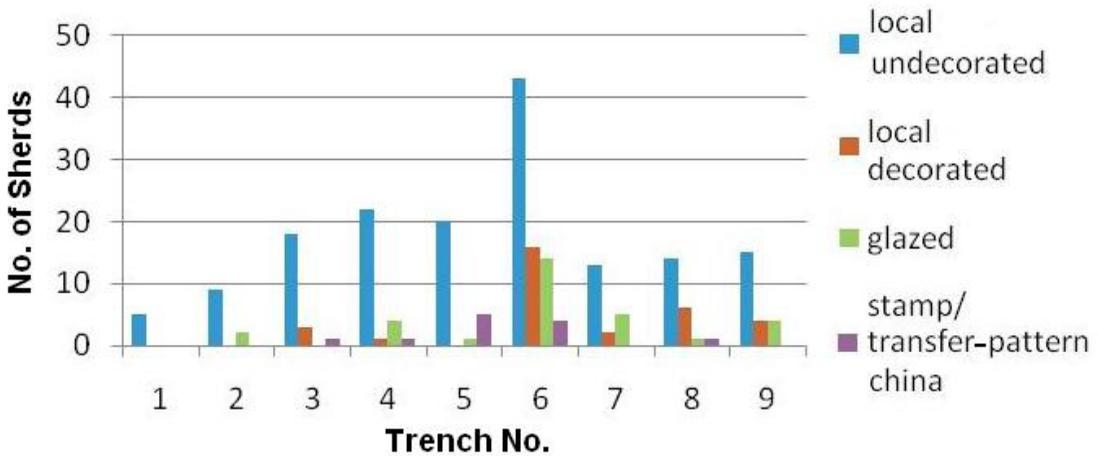


FIGURE 4. Kazemabad pottery (number) from all trenches and contexts (excluding surface finds) by type (n=234). (Chart by R. Young, 2011.)

TABLE 3
AREAS OF QUESTIONING IN ETHNOGRAPHIC INTERVIEWS

General Information

- Age, gender, relationship to village, length of association with village
- Family connections
- Role in village

Social Relations

- Relations between farmers
- Relations between farmers and agent
- Relations between farmers and landlord
- How landlord maintained control
- Importance of village walls and gate

Economic Issues

- Role of agriculture: crops, land area, irrigation, access to produce
- Role of domestic animals: who owned them, who cared for them, who controlled milk and wool
- Role of hunting and who could hunt
- Specialists (including craft production) within village and specialized buildings
- Processes of obtaining different goods

Architecture and Spatial Arrangements

- Who lived where
- Function of individual buildings, rooms
- Who had access to different areas of village
- How space was controlled

about different buildings, rooms, and spaces, and having the memories and observations recorded. The gender of the interviewer and translator (female) may of course have had an impact on the answers and information given during the course of the interviews and visits to the villages, but it is likely that the female respondents were more at ease than they would have been with a male interviewer or translator.

Information from Interviews about Women and Class

Women in farming families primarily prepared and cooked food, and looked after children and the house. They also took part in certain agricultural tasks, particularly at harvest time, and were generally responsible for making yogurt, sometimes being able to sell small surpluses of yogurt and other dairy produce. Surplus eggs could sometimes be sold too, and keeping hens was women’s work; one farmer told us that as he no longer had a wife, he no longer had any hens. The only job some women regularly undertook for cash payment was that of weaving carpets for sale. Upright, wall-mounted looms—for examples see Bourdieu (1979:134–135) and Kramer (1982:45–46)—were rented from local traders, from whom the women would also buy any dyes they could not make themselves. The finished carpets would be sold to these middlemen, who would then sell them in the local urban centers of Pishva or Varamin. Indeed, carpet weaving was the only form of craft production carried out

in any of the villages investigated by the project, and the only marketing activity other than the sale of any surplus agricultural produce. A few Kazemabad families were very poor, and they had to send their daughters to another house in order to participate in carpet making for a very small wage. Carpet making would therefore have played a critical role in obtaining money beyond what could be made from agriculture in these villages, providing women with the means to contribute to the household economy and possibly even permitting some economic independence. No artifactual evidence for weaving was recovered from the villages, which may be due to the upright, wall-mounted style of the looms used and the use of wooden spindles and whorls rather than ones made from clay or stone (Kramer 1982:44). Evidence of the use of these looms, in the form of shallow post holes near the wall, might be expected, but no features such as this were uncovered in the two trenches in different farmers' houses in Kazemabad, perhaps because the trenches were located in the center of each room rather than abutting walls. See Kramer (1982:45–46,100) for a discussion of similar looms and weaving practice.

Although the interviewees explained that the agents in the villages all had families, the women of these families were rarely differentiated by them from other village women: they too had to cook, clean, and raise children. Landlords would hire (or command) village woman to take care of their houses during their absences, and often to act as servants for them while they visited the villages on weekends or other times. Agents' wives were known to be important in looking after the landlords' house in his absence, taking charge of the other village women who worked in his house.

Interviews with women and men who had lived in the villages and traders who had close links to them unanimously agreed that pottery, metal vessels for cooking, shoes, cloth, and personal items such as combs were usually purchased from regular peddlers or itinerant travelers who would bring goods directly to the villages by donkey. These peddlers would deal with the women of the household in these transactions because women were in the villages during the day, while men would be out in the fields or with animals. Meat and other food not produced by the village would be bought from the shops in the nearby (non-landlord) villages, and pottery might also be

bought directly from a specialist (non-landlord) potting village, and occasionally villagers would go to nearby towns or cities to shop. In this way, village women would have had power over what items would be bought and used in the household, and they would have been able to use particular material goods in the construction and reflection of both group and individual gender identities. This type of power is very important in terms of understanding women and agency within these villages and is also critical in analysis and interpretation of the material culture. Therefore, it would be reasonable to also expect these goods being brought to the villages and bought by women to be important as indicators of social difference or class (Gilchrist 1994:17). For example, village women continued wearing their traditional garb of skirts and trousers with a headscarf and would always wear a chador outside the village walls, despite Reza Shah's strenuous efforts to force all women to wear modern, Western dress. From the interviews it is clear that the landlord hired village women as his servants during his visits, and that these women were also expected to keep his house clean and maintained during his absences.

The new ethnographic information indicates that the women in the landlord's family played only a minor physical role in village life, and the different levels of separation within the village and within the landlord's area of the village would have further enabled and reinforced the divisions between women of different classes—see also Fazeli and Young (2013). The wives and young children of absentee lords visited the villages only on rare occasions, but when they did they would take along their own servants, as well as calling on the agent's wife and other village women who would look after the children in addition to other personal and household duties. One interviewee told a story that sheds interesting light on the perceived relations between the women of the different classes in the villages. As many Islamic women were expected (by society and their husbands, if no longer the state) to cover up with a veil during the 1960s, this would have been an important element of their identity and social interactions and, apparently, according to one of the interviewees:

[A]t that time one farmer's wife bought a veil the same as the lord's wife's veil, it was the same color, same pattern of flowers, and when the lord's wife found this

out, she became angry and she called the lord, and said you have to punish the farmer's wife, and the lord found a person and told them to pour hot oil on the farmer's wife's body.

To suggest that such a violent physical punishment is appropriate in this instance tells about the power of the landlord and about the disdain felt by both landlord and his wife toward the lower-class women of the village. Another interviewee said that if a lord loved a farmer's daughter or wife he could take the person and "marry" her, and the farmer could not say anything. This also needs to be viewed within the Islamic practice of contracting temporary alliances or *mut'ah* unions, in reality, temporary marriages ('Abd al 'Afi 1977:103), and the right of Muslim men to take up to four wives (Nasir 1994:26). Interviewees shared a number of highly colorful stories of the women in the families of landlords, and these upper-class women were described as mentally unbalanced, deeply unhappy, and often impoverished late in life, which may perhaps indicate a degree of *schadenfreude* in those telling the stories.

During the interviews it also became clear that there were perceived differences in status, not only between women of the landlord's family and the village women, but also between village women and the women of the agent's family, and between women who worked in the landlord's house and those who did not. In addition to the physical domestic space occupied by each stratum, variation in spatial access would have underpinned such perceptions. Women who had regular access to an area of the village denied to the vast majority of the other villagers (i.e., the landlord's house, garden, and also the intimacy of the women's wing in the landlord's house) would have had unique knowledge and understanding that would have conferred status. Although, as discussed below, these status differences are not evident in the artifact assemblage, analysis of the villages in terms of spatial arrangements and information from the interviews has indicated the existence of many strata of women in the villages, although the distinction between some strata may be very subtle.

Village Buildings, Women, and Class

The houses occupied by farming families were small (although there is a difference between those

in the inner and outer rows) and relatively uniform in size and layout, as can be seen in the plans of Kazemabad (Figure 2), Hosseinabad Sanghar, and Gach Agach (Fazeli et al. 2009). They generally comprised two adjoining rooms plus a storeroom and external yard space where animals were kept at night. Landlords were intimately involved in issues of marriage and reproduction among the farmers of their villages, with power to approve or veto a marriage, and to enlarge or contract farmers' houses. The houses were plain, with a few niches for storing the few utensils each household would have possessed, and the general insecurity of life in the village would have provided little inducement to invest money or time in improving or personalizing a house. Public areas in the villages were the alleys and the main gateway, and in Kazemabad the landlord had a *hamam* built in his part of the village, which was available to farmers on particular days, with women and men having access at set times on these days. Kazemabad was the only one of the three villages in the study to have this facility. The agent's house at Kazemabad was located in the eastern part of the granary building where all the grain produced by the village was stored. This house was notably larger than farmers' houses, with a distinctive layout, and the greater number of rooms alone would have offered the women in these families a little more privacy and space than those of the farmers' families.

Women in the landlord's family would have had quite a different village experience from the women of farming families in terms of physical space. As well as being separated by a high wall from the farmers' area of the village, the landlord's house was spacious, with special rooms and areas for different functions, including a separate kitchen, a small private lavatory, and a whole wing set aside for women. The rooms in this wing had high arched doors and windows opening out onto gardens to let in light and air, and were decorated with fine white ornate plaster and numerous alcoves and niches for storage and display. During interviews, a (male) member of a landlord family said that "all" traditional Iranian houses had different parts, including one very special and private area where women lived, and other areas that were public where family and guests could mix. This description clearly refers to traditional houses of the wealthy only and not the traditional houses of working-class farmers,

and is linked to an argument that greater wealth and higher status encourage and enable symbolic distinctions to be enacted in different strata.

The use of space within these walled villages would of course have been very different according to the wealth and social status of each stratum. Women in farming or laboring families would have had little in the way of personal space, as the average family of two adults and six children lived in two-room houses. Rather than privacy directly achieved through physical space (as the landlord women had with private wings), farming women attained privacy through the timing of activities. During the day men left the village to work the land, thus giving women a measure of privacy. By working on women-only tasks, such as weaving, women would also have been able to achieve both an element of control over their own labor and privacy. At Kazemabad, visits to the village *hamam* were scheduled according to gender, with men and women permitted to visit at different times of day and on different days of the week.

While women of the landlord's family had greater material wealth and higher social status, within the village they were spatially more confined than village women. Within the landlord's house was a wing or suite of rooms specifically for women, in order to keep the women of the family secluded. This of course introduces something of a paradox in terms of women and class in landlord villages, whereby the women of the landlord stratum may have been able to adopt Western dress and other freedoms in Tehran, but in the village would have been more confined and restricted in terms of where they could go than women of lower strata. Women from farming families could move much more freely around the farmers' area of the village and even outside the village in the wider landscape, yet would have been much more likely to adhere to traditional dress and keep covered. This adherence to traditional dress by women from lower strata would also have been a means of achieving physical privacy and maintaining modesty.

Women, Artifacts, and Class in Kazemabad Village

In terms of material culture there are several trends that are evident, and they are here

discussed briefly, and some of their implications considered. Trench 1 was located in the inner row of farmers' houses, which ethnographic work suggested should have been occupied by wealthier farmers and families, and therefore the expectation would be to recover a quantity and quality of artifacts different from those in other parts of the village. However, when the artifacts recovered from Trench 1 are compared with those from other trenches in the farmers' area of the village (Trench 3 across the base of the old wall, Trench 5 in the yard between the rows of farmers' houses, Trench 9 in the outer row of houses), this expectation is not met. Table 2 shows the quantity and description of the artifacts recovered from each trench, and it is clear that there is neither a significant quantity difference, nor any high-quality items from Trench 1. This is in contrast with Trench 5, where the piece of a decorated bone comb was recovered, along with metal objects in the form of nails; and Trench 9, where a number of pieces of glass (one of which was decorative) and a metal object were recovered. The finds from Trench 3 were all glass fragments or pieces of metal. Five pieces of pottery were recovered from Trench 1, and all of these were locally made undecorated ware. From the other trenches in the farmers' area, not only was there a greater quantity of pottery recovered in total, but pieces of china with a stamp or transfer pattern were recovered from Trenches 3 and 5, pieces of glazed pottery from Trenches 5 and 9, and locally made decorated pottery from Trenches 3 and 9.

Trench 1 has the lowest quantity of both pottery and other finds and, arguably, the least "wealthy" assemblage of material culture. This comparison of the material culture from the trenches in the farmers' area suggests that there were differences in access to manufactured goods, such as china and glass, and even differences in access to locally made pottery and metal objects, all of which would have been purchased either outside the village or from traveling salespeople. Clearly there is an imbalance in material wealth between families within the farmers' area of the village, which supports the existence of multiple strata among the farmers and the significance of wealth as a means of distinguishing among them. However, the size and position of the house in which Trench

1 was located would suggest that the occupants were of a higher stratum than the people dwelling within the smaller houses against the village wall, and this was supported by earlier ethnographic testimony. That this is then contradicted by the evidence obtained through excavation does add difficulties to the analysis and interpretation of the pottery and other finds, but it does also show that there are more complex things happening in terms of class and strata in these villages beyond the simple landlord/farmer relationship. Artifacts interpreted as linked to women have been recovered from Trenches 5 and 9, so it is argued that women are recognizable in this part of the village, although on the presence of two items (a decorated glass fragment, possibly from a bracelet in Trench 9; and part of a decorated bone comb from Trench 5) it is difficult to differentiate class and strata further among this group of women.

Trench 8 was located in the house occupied by the landlord's agent and his family, thus offering the chance to consider differences between the pottery and other artifacts from this stratum between landlord and farmer. The size and location of the house sets it apart from that of the landlord and those of the farmers, but its position adjacent to the village granary, however, might have led to difficulties in interpretation if the ethnographic information had not been available. Of the 36 finds (excluding pottery) that were recovered from this trench, 12 were pieces of metal wire thought likely to have originally been part of the same object. Five fragments of glass were also recovered, along with a metal spoon bowl, some batteries, and items such as a plastic wrapper for pills that would have been bought either outside the village or from traders. In terms of pottery, Figure 4 shows that the sherds recovered from the agent's house include fragments from all of the four types, i.e., locally made undecorated wares, locally made decorated wares, glazed wares, and stamped- and/or transfer-pattern china. While there are more artifacts from Trench 8 than from many other parts of the village (though this needs to be understood also in terms of trench size and the multiple finds of metal wire), and the purchased nature of many of these finds does suggest that the occupants of this house had access to wealth on a larger scale than the occupants of the farmers' houses, the pottery assemblage does

not echo this distinction. There are fewer pieces of stamped- and/or transfer-pattern china than were recovered from Trench 5, and very similar numbers of sherds from Trenches 3, 5, and 9. There is one item from Trench 8 that could be specifically linked to women, and that is a part of a manicuring artifact. This means that while it is possible to again distinguish women in this house on the basis of a single artifact, distinguishing between the different strata (and more importantly between women of different strata) on the basis of the artifact and pottery assemblages alone is very difficult. Issues of status in relation to ceramic assemblages are further complicated by issues of discard bias and remembering that the excavated artifacts are those discarded by the families, not those that were curated or kept. Spencer-Wood (1987:4) found that ceramic profiles for wealthy families often appeared middle class due to careful curation of more-expensive ceramics and discard of less-expensive pottery. However, in larger assemblages, such as those analyzed by Spencer-Wood and Heberling (1987:79), certain types of ceramics such as cups and saucers were understood to be better indicators of socioeconomic status than other types such as plates and bowls.

The artifacts recovered from the trenches in the landlord's area of the village provide some areas of contrast with the assemblages from the trenches in the farmers' area and the agent's house. Trench 2 was located in a room in the landlord's house, Trench 4 in a room in the women's wing of the landlord's house, and Trench 6 was located in the landlord's garden area, outside the room identified as the landlord's kitchen (Figure 3). Trench 7 is located in the *hamam*, which is itself within the landlord's area of the village. However, the ethnographic information agreed that this *hamam* was used primarily by the villagers, with men and women making use of it on different days and at different times; as this also included the agent and family, and at times the landlord and family, artifacts from this building are likely to represent a mixed source in terms of village social/status strata. Excluding pottery, only 2 artifacts were recovered from Trench 2 (both pieces of glass) and 11 from Trench 6 (mainly fragments of glass and metal). From Trench 4 only five items in total were recovered, including one fragment of glass; the other four items

from this trench, however, were of a discernibly higher quality than those from any other area of the village. There was a hexagonal plastic turquoise bead, a copper loop with attachment that was identified as the top of a handheld bell, part of a small metal lock, and a small well-made leather shoe. Of these four items, three could be interpreted as female: the bead, the fragment of a small bell, and the girl's shoe, and these would have been brought to the village by women in the landlord's family on their infrequent visits as part of their personal possessions. When compared with artifacts from the farmers' and agent's area, it is clear that there is a division in terms of quality and even the type of artifact linked to women that indicates a class separation in the village, between those to the west of the interior wall and those to the east. The pottery recovered from each of these three trenches is also interesting.

From Trench 2 only local undecorated and glazed sherds were recovered, while from Trench 6 all four types of pottery were recovered, and the assemblage from this trench was the largest in terms of the number of sherds from the whole village. In terms of density of sherds from each trench, the highest density of recovered sherds was from Trench 9 (the farmer's house in the outer row), with Trench 6 and Trench 2 having the third- and fifth-highest density of sherds per square meter, respectively. Density calculations for sherds (and other artifacts) for each trench are shown in Table 1, and Figure 5 compares the density of sherds from each trench. While the numbers of locally made undecorated, locally made decorated, and glazed wares from Trench 6 are greater than from any of the other trenches, the number of stamped-and/or transfer-patterned china fragments is actually one less than the number recovered from Trench 5 (which has a slightly higher density of sherds than Trench 6). All four types of pottery were also recovered from Trench 4, and while there is a relatively high count of undecorated locally made sherds, the numbers of the other three types are very low. There is, however, one special piece of china from this trench, shown in Figure 6. Searches suggest that it was produced by the M. Kuznetsov factory some 50 mi. directly north of Moscow, Russia, between 1892 and 1917 (Zavalinka 2006), and it is suggested that, in terms of the pottery

assemblage, this single imported item can be understood as an elite marker, and given its location within a room in the women's wing of the landlord's house represents an item used by these upper-class women and brought by them to the village. Indeed, this sherd from the Kuznetsov factory is the only piece in the ceramic assemblage for which a manufacturer has been identified and a date range given; the other sherds of china with stamped/transfer patterns do not have visible manufacturers' marks. The artifacts from Trench 4, plus this part of a Russian-manufactured plate from a pottery of some note, clearly indicates the presence of women of a high(er) class in this village. These items have also been recovered from within what is clearly an elaborate and wealthy house, denoted by the multiple rooms, the elaborate architecture and decoration, and by its clear separation from the rest of the village. However, while the pottery and artifacts from Trench 4 support this interpretation, the artifacts and pottery from Trenches 2 and 6 are far more ambiguous in terms of distinguishing class and hierarchy in line with wealth, and only from Trench 6 is there an object, in the form of a white plastic bead, that can be linked to women.

Discussion

As women were the key decision makers in purchasing pottery, it is reasonable to be confident that the pottery assemblage recovered during excavation at Kazemabad village is the result of women's choices. Metal vessels were used for cooking (Kramer 1982:43), meaning that the pottery assemblage represents items used for serving, eating, storage, and for tasks such as collecting drinking water from irrigation channels and possibly even display or other aesthetic purposes. As shown in Figure 4 the pottery assemblage ($n=234$) has been broken down into four types: the two most numerous types were local, wheel-made vessels, either plain or with an incised or stamped decoration; the third most numerous type was local glazed ware; and finally there were small quantities of factory-made china with stamped or transfer patterns. While availability and cost would have been important constraints on choices relating to pottery purchase, the presence of these small quantities of distinctive "modern" pieces

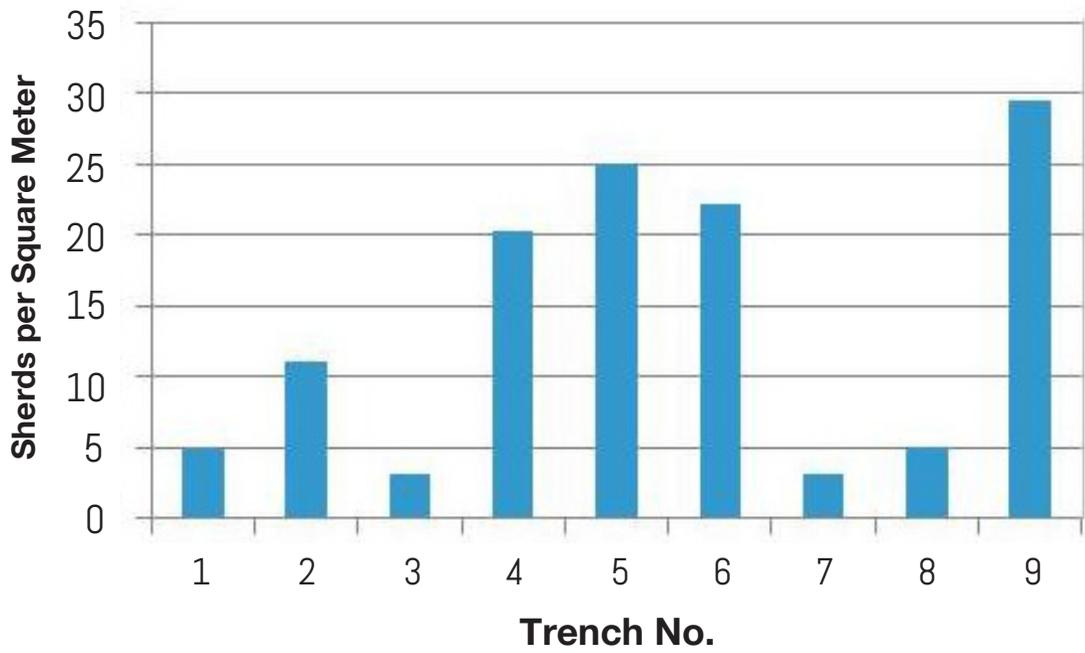


FIGURE 5. Kazemabad sherd density for each trench per square meter. (Chart by R. Young, 2012.)



FIGURE 6. Sherd with Russian manufacturer's stamp on reverse, recovered from Trench 4 in the women's wing of the landlord's house in Kazemabad village. (Photo by R. Young, 2008.)

suggests that those who were procuring the pottery wanted to have things that were not just the ordinary everyday pottery; that they wanted to be able to possess items that were decorative and not simply practical and easily available.

Figure 4 shows the distribution of the different types of pottery across the village, including trenches in farmers' houses and yards, the agent's house, and the landlord's house—see also Figure 3, the location of the trenches in Kazemabad. Overall, it appears that all the types of pottery are being recovered from all areas of the village, if not from all the individual trenches. The important trend here is that each of the four types was recovered from each area of the village, which shows that the whole village had similar access to the same types of pottery and was using the same types of pottery. This relative consistency of pottery types across the whole village can be explained by both the role of women as purchasers of pottery and the employment of village women by the landlord to work in his house. Given the role of women in purchasing pottery for their own houses, it is reasonable that they extended this to purchasing the same types of goods for the landlord's house in their roles as housekeepers charged with maintaining the domestic routine of his house. There may well have been peer pressure for all women to buy similar types of pottery, which would help explain this apparent uniformity of pottery types, and there may well have been some emulation of pottery types found in the landlord's house, hence the presence of stamped- and/or transfer-pattern china in other parts of the village. This frequent presence of village women within the landlord's house makes it harder to distinguish artifacts belonging to the different classes of women who were known to have been present in the landlord's house. The imported, exclusive nature of one sherd shows that the plate would have been brought to the village by the landlord's family, thus making the presence or absence of imported, exclusive goods a signifier of class.

It also needs to be remembered that the archaeological record is subject to discard bias, whereby inexpensive items (including ceramics) are far more likely to be broken and then discarded than more expensive items. Work by Spencer-Wood and Heberling (1987:4) analyzed ceramic assemblages from a range of sites in

the U.S., and the findings indicated wealthier households and middle-class households produced similar discard profiles where expensive ceramics were rarely discarded. This pattern was corroborated by Spencer-Wood and Heberling (1987:75–79), where comparing probate inventories with archaeological assemblages showed that inexpensive ceramics tended to be over-represented in the archaeological record, while expensive ceramics were drastically under-represented. Discerning status distinctions from the archaeological record alone is thus likely to be difficult, since expensive items are likely to be carefully curated by agents and farmers, perhaps even more than by wealthier landlords and their families. However, Spencer-Wood and Heberling (1987:81) found that there was a correspondence between status (based on occupation) and the ceramic indices used, and that socioeconomic status is more significant than market access in terms of the value of specific ceramic types. Within the landlord villages this makes the single Russian-manufactured sherd even more important as a marker of status, as the women of the village would all have had access to all the other recorded types of ceramics through either itinerant traders or local markets.

This study of the spatial distribution of material culture in the form of pottery and other artifacts shows that without the ethnographic commentary these items could be misleading in terms of class and gender. Instead, buildings and architecture and spatial arrangements (Fazeli and Young (2013) indicate more clearly that in villages there were complex class relations at work that affected gender. Modesty and physical seclusion appear to have been very much an upper-middle- and upper-class prerogative; village women had no choice but to be seen by unrelated males within the village and to participate in the economy and social life of the village. However, it could be argued that these women retained some degree of agency through their choice of traditional dress in the face of the edicts from Reza Pahlavi. Such Islamic values as modesty and seclusion would have been exhibited in the person of village women, rather than in the physical space they inhabited; in contrast to women of the landlord's family, who may have been able to wear Western dress but were constrained by physical barriers such as the women's wing in their house. These

villages as stages for social interaction were both the means of creating class divisions and continually reproducing them (Young and Fazeli [2013]), and this held true for women just as for men.

Materially, landlord villages were very poor places, and this poverty is reflected in the sparse artifact assemblage of 135 items (excluding pottery) recovered from nine trenches at Kazemabad. In the future these finds will be analyzed in terms of their uses (Yentsch 1991), but here the focus is on the nine artifacts that have been interpreted as personal items used by or associated with women. These interpretations are based on suggestions both by members of the excavation team and former inhabitants of the villages, and also take into account the ways in which these items might be presented according to gender in a shop, in line with the approach of Buchli and Lucas (2001) that avoided engendering objects simply on a “common sense” basis.

Table 4 lists the nine items and indicates from which part of the village they were recovered, i.e., farmers’ or landlord’s area. Although the *hamam* is located in the landlord’s area of the village, given its regular use by farmers and families it is difficult to assign the items from the *hamam* according to class or stratum. The nine items interpreted as personal items belonging to women were roughly equally spread among the trenches, however, as the women of the landlord’s family spent very little time in the village, this would signal an overall imbalance in the proportion of personal artifacts recovered according to the estimated number of individuals involved.

This could be the result of a greater concentration of material culture in the landlord’s house (i.e., greater wealth expressed through material culture), indicating that although largely absent, the landlord’s wife and daughters would have had more personal artifacts in their house and gardens than the village women had. Women owned and used decorative personal items such as the carved bone comb (Figure 7) recovered from the farmer’s yard, and the glass bracelet (Figure 8) recovered from the farmer’s house, indicating that these types of possessions were not restricted to wealthy women only.

The different roles and experiences of women from the main classes in landlord villages confirm the danger of presenting “women” as a single group. The extreme poverty of the farmers and their families described in historical and ethnographic accounts has been confirmed by the new interviews and analyses of different forms of material culture. However, within the very limited artifact assemblage it has been possible to identify objects that can be interpreted as having been selected and used by women. Interviewees were clear that women from the lower strata were in control of making decisions about what to purchase for their households and their personal items, meaning that much of the pottery and what has been interpreted as female personal items would have been the result of choices by women. In this way, they were able to obtain some decorative pieces of china and other pottery, and also attractive objects such as glass bracelets, mirrors, and bone combs. In the face of the extremely grim and squalid picture

TABLE 4
LIST OF ARTIFACTS ATTRIBUTED TO WOMEN
AND THEIR LOCATION WITHIN THE VILLAGE

Item Description	Trench No.	Trench Location	Context No.
White plastic bead	6	Outside kitchen in landlord’s house	6004
Plastic square-mirror frame	7	Village <i>hamam</i>	7003
Plastic reel for sewing thread	7	Village <i>hamam</i>	7007
Part of manicure item	8	Agent’s house	8002
Fragment of dark-green glass bracelet(?)	9	Farmer’s house	9004
Turquoise plastic bead	4	Women’s wing in landlord’s house	4007
Top of small, copper ornamental bell	4	Women’s wing in landlord’s house	4004
Leather shoe, small, well made	4	Women’s wing in landlord’s house	4008
Fragment of carved bone comb	5	Yard between farmers’ houses	5005

of living conditions as presented by Lambton (1953:263), Keddie (1980:75), and others, these women had some small measure of control over certain aspects of their material world. Such choices and personal expression would have been all the more important when one takes into account the landlord's total control over the right to live within his village, where each family

lived, and how many rooms a family could occupy. The absolute dependence on the goodwill of the landlord would have created a situation of extreme insecurity for the farmers and their families, thus rendering even small examples of agency even more important.

One example of the difficulty of exclusively "gendering" artifacts is an item used for taking



FIGURE 7. Bone comb fragment with carving, recovered from Trench 5 in the farmers' yard area in Kazemabad village. (Photo by R. Young, 2008.)



FIGURE 8. Glass bracelet fragment, recovered from Trench 9 in the farmer's house in Kazemabad village. (Photo by R. Young, 2009.)

drugs, recovered from Trench 1 in a farmer's house (Figure 9). This item, a clay pipe or funnel, was identified as drug-taking equipment by a former village occupant, who also related stories about the social role of drugs for men within the village. In her memoir of Iranian life in the 20th century, Rohi Shafii talks about the problems of opium addiction, saying that it was very much a male problem. However, another former village occupant told of his marital history: when his first wife died, he married again, but this second wife was addicted to drugs, so he divorced her. It is also known that women of all classes smoked tobacco, both in pipes and in cigarettes, and women were involved in the Iranian tobacco protests of the late 19th century (Keddie 1966:96; Moghissi 1994:31; Shaffii 1997:92).

Village women carried out work that had an economic reward, primarily through carpet weaving and selling surplus yogurt and eggs, though how much control they had over this income

is not known. This is a critical issue. The role of middlemen in carpet production through the control of dyeing yarn and then marketing the finished goods suggests that the bulk of the profit was not reaching the women. Just as the landlords ensured that they obtained the vast majority of all agricultural production, a situation where women were working for a small, but greatly needed, economic return on their skill and labor can be envisioned. However, carpet production did offer a means of obtaining additional income and a way for girls from very poor families to contribute to the financial relief of the household. The invisibility of carpet weaving in the archaeological record—thus far—and the absence of artifacts such as loom weights and needles that are often the traditional marker of women's craft working indicates the ease with which women's economic activities can be overlooked.

The landlord of course had the power to both improve the lives of individual women and impoverish them. Those who were chosen to



FIGURE 9. Drug-taking item, recovered from Trench 1 in the farmer's house in Kazemabad village. (Photo by R. Young, 2008.)

clean and serve in the landlord's house would have had an economic and social edge over those who were not. Although one interviewee described a formal marriage between a landlord and village woman, this might well be an unusual instance; though no doubt some women could use marriage as a way of raising their social and economic standing. The landlord clearly had a lot of control over the lives of both the men and women within his villages, but for women there would have always been the added threat of sexual control or abuse. Village women were potentially at the command of the landlord and his agent within the village, and also potentially at the command of the women of the landlord's household. These middle- and upper-class women could also make decisions about the lives of village women and men, and had power over those of a lower class. The story about the same veil being worn by a village woman and landlord's wife suggests that, in general terms, there was little sympathy or harmony between the women of the two different classes, and women of the landlord's family were not supportive of village women; the class divide took precedence over gender solidarity.

Conclusion

The landlord villages offer very different experiences of being a woman, depending on social class and wealth. It is known that there were more than two classes of men on the basis of economic grouping, but defining and distinguishing women from other than the landlord or farming classes on the basis of the material assemblages, and even the new ethnographic information, is extremely difficult. It has been possible to differentiate between the landlord's family and those of the lower-class farmers, but drawing on information from the interviews (and possibly also the building analysis), it can be argued that there were also differences in the perceived status of the women of the agent's family, and even of those women who cleaned the landlord's house and those who were excluded from it. These subtle status differences may not be visible in the material culture, but they can be assumed by the difference in physical space each stratum occupied and the different levels of spatial access each stratum had. What is clear is that women were present in these villages, and they played a vital role in village economy and social life.

Women of the landlord's family, those of the middle and upper classes, had power over both men and women of the lower classes, but were also reliant on men—whether landlord or agent—for their material security and comfort. This article has explored some categories of material culture and some of the main trends within this material in relation to gender and class. There is a considerable scope of future work in this and related areas, such as a consideration of exceptional cases, the elderly, children, and, of course, understanding more about male gender roles and relationships expressed within material culture.

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Locating the Pre-Clearance Forest Border at Fort Necessity, Great Meadows, Pennsylvania, Using Pollen Analysis

ABSTRACT

The forest border position was critical in the brief 1754 siege of George Washington's Fort Necessity at Great Meadows, Pennsylvania. Pollen analysis of core transects across the meadow and up the adjacent hillsides provided evidence of the location of the pre-clearance forest border to within a 20 ft. interval on seven of eight core transects and within 40 ft. on the eighth. This could not have been accomplished with the lake and bog palynology characteristic of palaeoecological palynology. Reconstruction of the historical period vegetation of specific plots requires investigation of the soil-pollen spectra of the target location itself. Pollen percolates downward in soil profiles, allowing the analyst to recognize the pollen spectra of the target time period, and published empirical studies of horizontal predeposition pollen transport assist the investigator in defining vegetation changes across space.

Introduction

Lieutenant Colonel George Washington surrendered Fort Necessity at Great Meadows in southwestern Pennsylvania to a French-led Native American force in July 1754. This brief siege is considered to be the opening engagement of the French and Indian War. The forest surrounding Great Meadows was a critical element in the battle because the first effective French and Native American fire came from a point of woods about 60 yd. from the fort, and Washington was forced to capitulate because of fire from the woods on all sides (Washington and Maccay 1754:3). In 1759 Colonel James Byrd reported, without providing distances or directions, that three points of wood commanded the fort (Day 1843:336).

The current reconstruction of Fort Necessity (Figure 1) consists of a log storehouse inside a palisade with low earthworks that intersect the palisade along Great Meadows Run (a local term for creek) to the northeast and surround the palisade to the southeast (Figure 2). It is the

result of careful excavations by J. C. Harrington (1957). The forest sheltering the attacking force, however, has been modified, culminating with clearance to the hillcrests between 1856 and 1880 (Harrington 1957:19). The National Park Service (NPS) plans to improve interpretation of the siege by restoring the pre-clearance edge of the forest with the greatest possible accuracy. The NPS approached this objective using pollen analysis in two stages: a feasibility study (Kelso 1994b) and the full-analysis phase reported here.

Methods

The Feasibility Study

The feasibility study consisted of six cores taken from the meadow adjacent to the fort and up the hillside west of the meadow (Kelso 1994b). The pollen-record formation data reflected a normal pollen-percolation process (Kelso 1993:figure 1), with high pollen concentrations at the top of the profiles and more degraded pollen at the bottom, while the indicator pollen-type spectra from the hillside recorded the grass (Poaceae) of the current park period at the top of the sequence, a ragweed type (*Ambrosia* type) dominated the agricultural period (Bazzaz 1974; Davis 1983) pollen spectrum in the middle of the profile, and the oak (*Quercus* spp.) of the pre-clearance forest at the bottom (Figure 3).

The pollen of the pre-clearance spectra indicated a topographic sequence of grass and sedge (Cyperaceae) on the wet meadow adjacent to the fort; grass, goldenrod (*Solidago* type), and ironweed (*Vernonia* type) on the higher, dryer portion of the meadow; a fringe of alder (*Alnus* spp.) at the forest/meadow interface; and an oak/hickory (*Carya* spp.) forest up the hillside (Figure 4). Pine (*Pinus* spp.) pollen is equipped with air-filled bladders. It is easily transported by water (Traverse and Ginsburg 1966), and high pine percentages in the two cores closest to the fort were attributed to flood deposits. The Great Meadow feasibility-study data were sufficiently clear to warrant a larger study of the pre-clearance vegetation record on and around



FIGURE 1. Photograph of the reconstructed fort on Great Meadows prior to forest replanting. (Courtesy, Fort Necessity National Battlefield, 2011.)

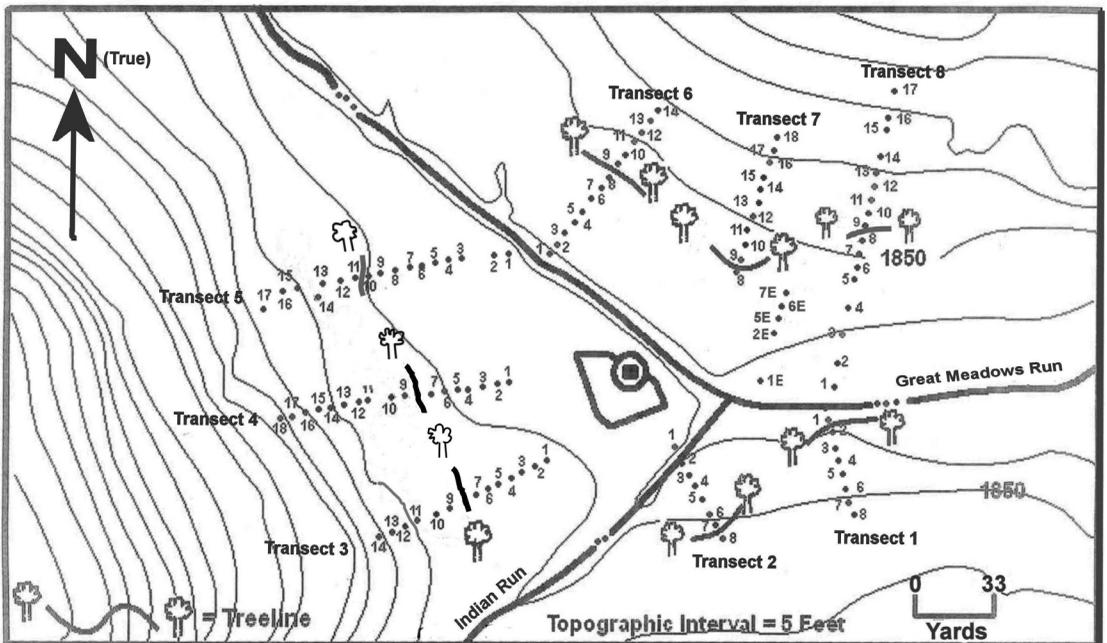


FIGURE 2. Map of the Great Meadows core- and pollen-indicated forest edge. (Drawing by author, 2012.)

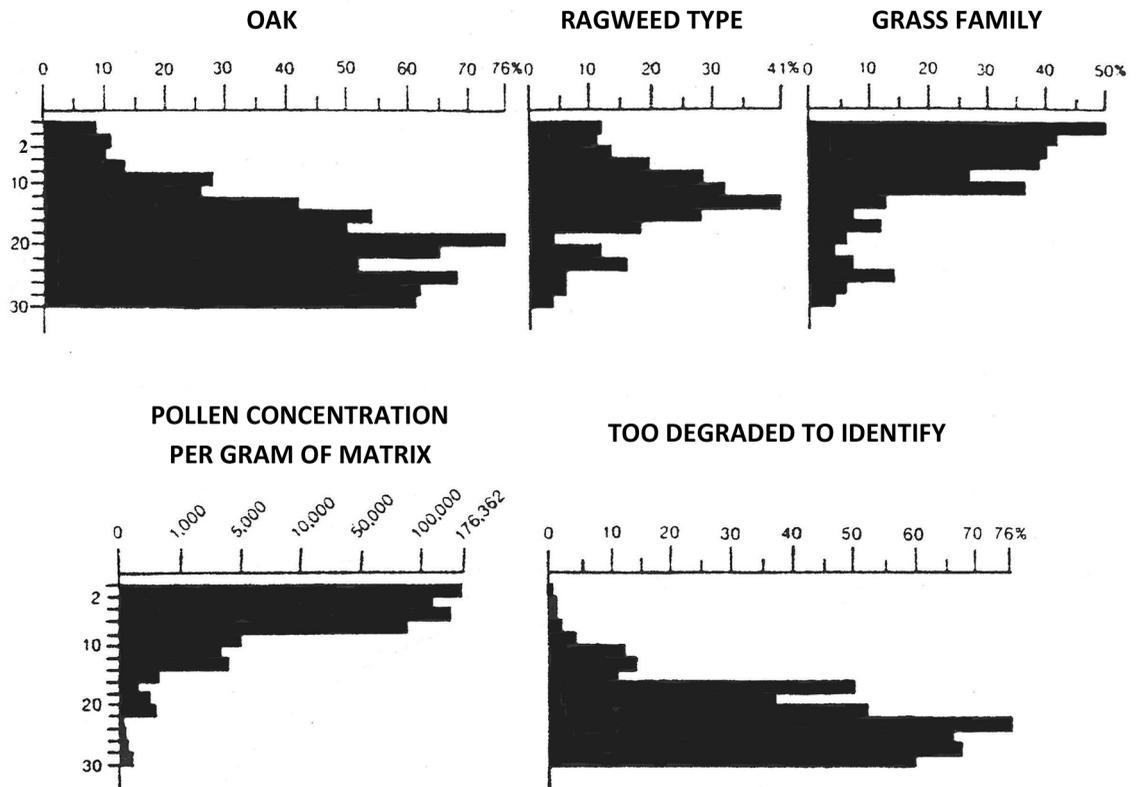


FIGURE 3. Pollen-record formation data from the Fort Necessity feasibility study. (Drawing by author, 2012.)

the meadow. It was also evident that oak, grass, and alder were the salient pollen types for palynologically defining the pre-clearance forest border at Great Meadows.

The Expanded Pollen Study

The cores for the expanded pollen study (Kelso 1994a) were collected by driving sharpened sections of 2 in. interior-diameter PVC pipe into the ground with a 20 lb. sledgehammer and withdrawing them with an industrial jack. This coring method compressed the matrix about 20%. The cores were cut into 2 cm contiguous samples, and pollen extraction generally followed Mehringer’s (1967) mechanical and chemical procedure. Mehringer’s first two hydrochloric acid (HCL) washes and his nitric acid (HNO₃) step were eliminated, and his final sodium hydroxide (NaOH) wash was reduced to 0.05% to decrease chemical damage to the already-weakened pollen exines in terrestrial deposits.

The team collected 168 cores in 10 transects, and 118 cores in 8 transects of 7 to 18 cores each were selected for analysis, starting in the meadow near the watercourses and proceeding up the hillside (Figure 2). Most cores were spaced at 6 m intervals. Some cores were offset to avoid park utilities, and the interval of those on the broad, flat portion of the meadow north of Indian Run was expanded to 12 m in order to sample this portion of the meadow economically. Where initial analysis indicated that cores did not reach unequivocally pre-agricultural spectra, they were extended in the same hole with a split-spoon corer. The cores in two transects up the steep ridge side above Indian Run were choked with agricultural period slopewash and were abandoned.

Each core was analyzed from the bottom upward, tabulating 100 to 400 pollen grains per sample, depending upon pollen density, until pollen spectra indicating forest clearance or meadow drainage were encountered. The

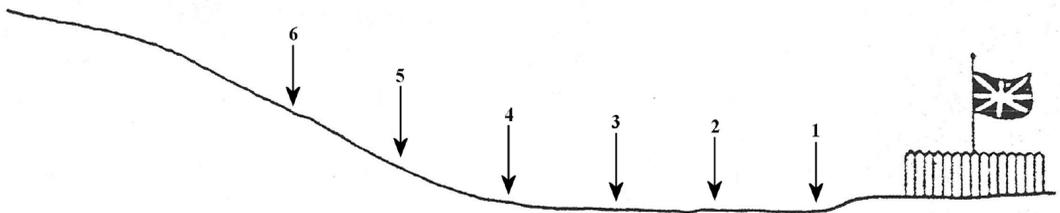
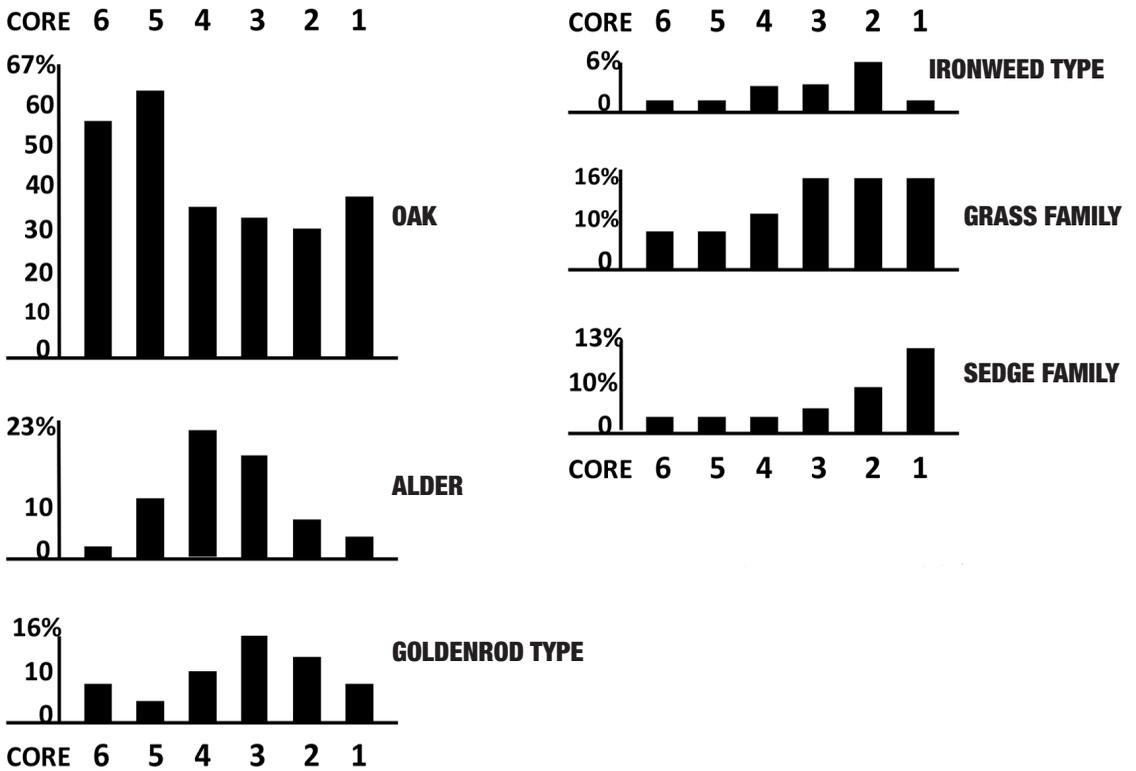


FIGURE 4. Pre-clearance pollen taxa distribution in the Fort Necessity feasibility study. (Drawing by author, 2012.)

pre-clearance/drainage counts of each core were graphed as a single sample. Only the primary-forest edge-indicator pollen types—grass family, alder, and oak—are diagrammed here in Figures 5–12. Complete diagrams of all types tabulated during the study are available in the NPS technical report (Kelso1994a).

Critical Pollen-Record Formation Processes at Great Meadows

Palynological methods developed for the sediments of lakes and bogs should not be applied to

reconstructing the vegetation of specific plots of dry ground for a number of reasons: (1) the pollen extraction methods that are routinely used to clean up the residues containing the well-preserved pollen recovered from lakes and bogs, especially acetolysis, are harsh and destroy the normally degraded pollen recovered from temperate-zone terrestrial deposits, and (2) the pollen found in a small (100 to 200 m diameter) bog or lake in a closed basin comes from an area extending 100 to 300 m upwind from the coring site, while the source area for a large lake in a closed basin will extend from 30 to 100 km from the basin

(Tauber 1965:32). The pollen spectrum of lakes or bogs with an inlet, moreover, reflects the pollen rain of the entire watershed (Crowder and Cuddy 1972). Bog and lake palynology provides an average view of the vegetation in an ecosystem that cannot be applied to the reconstruction of the historical vegetation at a particular spot with sufficient accuracy. The requisite vegetation history must come from the soil at the particular locality to be restored, especially if the restoration of variations in the vegetation on different portions of the subject plot is the objective of the undertaking.

Pollen movement inside a forest is largely horizontal, and only a small proportion of tree pollen is actually lifted above the canopy. In lakes or bogs comparable in size to Great Meadows 80% of the pollen originates in the trunk space of the adjacent forest (Tauber 1967). Oak (*Quercus* spp.) is the most prominent arboreal pollen type among the Great Meadows spectra. A European study of oak-pollen transport from open woodland out onto heath (Tinsley and Smith 1974; Edwards 1982:7, figure 2) clearly indicates an abrupt drop in the oak-pollen contribution from 44% to about 18% of total pollen between the edge of the woodlands and the first sampling station at 10 m (33 ft.) and leveling off at 15% of the total counts within 100 m. These results support the inference implicit in Anderson's (1967) findings and Janssen's (1973:36,40, figures 4,6) conclusion, from his study of surface transects at Myrtle Lake Peatland in Minnesota, that the maximum values of local pollen types in a surface transect are found at the pollen sources themselves.

Janssen's (1973:36, figures 3,6) data also indicate that herb- and shrub-pollen percentages decline abruptly into dense forest comparable to that recorded around the colonial era Great Meadow. Other information on herb-pollen transport is available from allergen and agronomy-related pollen-transport experiments. The amount of grass pollen still in the air over bare ground at 10 m (33 ft.) from the edge of a discrete timothy (*Phleum pratense*) population declined to about 20% of that detected at 3.3 ft. (1 m) from the edge of the grass plot and further declined to 6% at 198 ft. from the sources (Raynor et al. 1973:figure 9).

The declines in the percentages of out-going tree pollen and in-coming herb pollen at the forest edge in surface transects are not solely matters of gravity and wind speed. Filtration of pollen from the wind stream by vegetation is

also a factor. Shrubs at the edge of a forest are apparently quite effective in this respect (Tauber 1965:37–40), and filtration should have been very efficient on a meadow, where near-surface wind velocities and turbulence are lower (Anderson 1970:99), and where the chance of impact with the more-dense vegetation should have been higher (Janssen 1973:40). Statistical constraint also plays a part in percentage-pollen diagrams. When the actual contribution (influx) of one pollen type goes up or down, the percentages of the other pollen types present must contract or expand to fill out the total percentage to 100%.

The pollen spectra of temperate-zone soil profiles are modified after deposition by pollen movement and pollen destruction. Pollen is carried downward by percolating groundwater in normal terrestrial deposits that are exposed at the surface to the natural environment (Dimbleby 1985:5, figure 3). The product of this process is a stratigraphic pollen distribution in which most of the oldest pollen lies at the bottom of the profile, the majority of the youngest pollen grains are found near the surface, and pollen of intermediate age is concentrated in the middle of the sequence. While pollen is moving downward in the profile, it is also progressively destroyed by oxygen in percolating rainwater (Tschudy 1969:95), by aerobic fungi (Goldstein 1960:544), and by mechanical degradation resulting from repeated wetting and drying (Holloway 1981). These processes produce pollen-concentration and -preservation patterns in which there are more pollen grains per unit of matrix and fewer pollen grains displaying evidence of corrosion at the top of the profile than at the bottom (Kelso 1993:figure 1). Eventually a depth is reached at which no identifiable pollen remains.

Results

Core Transect 1

The oak-pollen percentages are lowest in Core 2 (Figure 2) of Transect 1, where those of alder peak (Figure 5). There appears to have been a narrow band of alder just above the run, and the periphery of the pre-clearance forest edge appears to have been located between Cores 3 and 2, 9–15 m from the 1987 channel of Great Meadows Run and 62 yd. from the closest point on the reconstructed earthworks. This is less than the 80 to

100 yd. effective range of an 18th-century musket described by a veteran British officer (Peterson 1956:163) who had served in North America.

Core Transect 2

The high percentage of alder pollen in Cores 2 to 6 of Transect 2 (Figures 2 and 6) suggests an open thicket at the forest edge, and the oak percentages below Core 7 indicate that the closed-forest edge was located between Cores 7 and 6, about 90 yd. from the closest point on the reconstructed earthwork and well within effective musket range. An alder catkin produces 3.6 times as much pollen as one of oak, and over a 50-year period an alder will shed 11 times as much pollen as an oak (Erdtman 1969:117,118). The alder stand may have been thin, compared to that of the oaks, and alders may have been among the brush that Washington ordered to be cleared for a field of fire before the battle (Fitzpatrick 1931–1944[1]:54).

Core Transect 3

The low alder contribution to Transect 3 appears to reflect the background pollen rain, and there appear to have been few, if any, alders in this area (Figure 7). The shift in dominance between oak and grass from Core 7 to Core 9 suggests that the forest border was located between these two cores, at about 90 yd. from the fort. Core 8 did not appear to reach pre-clearance pollen spectra.

Core Transect 4

Cores 11 and 12 of Transect 4 did not reach unequivocal pre-agricultural pollen spectra. The alder counts are a little higher than for Transect 3 (Figures 2 and 8), and there may have been scattered alders on the meadow. The most prominent percentage of grass pollen was recovered from Core 6, and the oak-pollen contribution does not drop off as much in Core 8 as might be predicted by the Tinsley and Smith (1974) model. The dense portion, at least, of the canopy on this transect appears to have begun between Cores 8 and 9, approximately 88 yd. from the present earthworks, but some oak may have been present downslope from the Core 8 location, 81 yd. from the earthwork.

Core Transect 5

The 72% alder pollen in Core 1 of Transect 5, possibly from a single catkin, indicates the presence of the parent trees near the edge of Great Meadow Run (Figure 9). The shifts between alder and grass frequencies suggest that there may have been alders, whose pollen contribution was statistically masked by that of grass, scattered across the meadow. The oak contribution increases markedly in Core 10 where grass percentages drop off, indicating the edge of the pre-clearance forest at 106 yd. from the earthworks. The lower oak counts in Cores 10 to 13 suggest that the forest was more open here than above Core 13.

Core Transect 6

The northern hillside at Great Meadows is eroded and very rocky in the vicinity of Transect 6. The majority of the hillside cores in this transect did not reach depths that are not contaminated with post-clearance pollen (Figure 10). The grass contribution, however, declines above Core 8 in Transect 6, while the oak counts increase in Core 9 and above. This is adequate to indicate that the forest edge lay between these two locations, about 97 yd. from the earthwork.

Core Transect 7

It was not possible to collect Cores 23, 21, 16, 14, and 12 because the northern hillside is very rocky, or these cores did not reach pre-clearance matrix. Cores 1 to 7 struck what later proved to be a 1950s parking lot, and a replacement transect was laid out 25 m to the east (Figure 2). Grass-pollen percentages are highest in Cores 2-E through 7-E, declining first in Core 8 and dropping off further in Cores 9 to 18, while the oak counts are highest at the top of the transect in Cores 18 down to 10, dropping off slightly in Cores 9 and 8, declining abruptly in Core 7-E, and leveling off out to Core 1-E nearest Great Meadow Run (Figure 11). The decline of oak percentages out onto the meadow is slower here than in the Tinsley and Smith (1974) model, and there appears to have been a fringe of alders at the edge of the forest. The alder-pollen percentages were

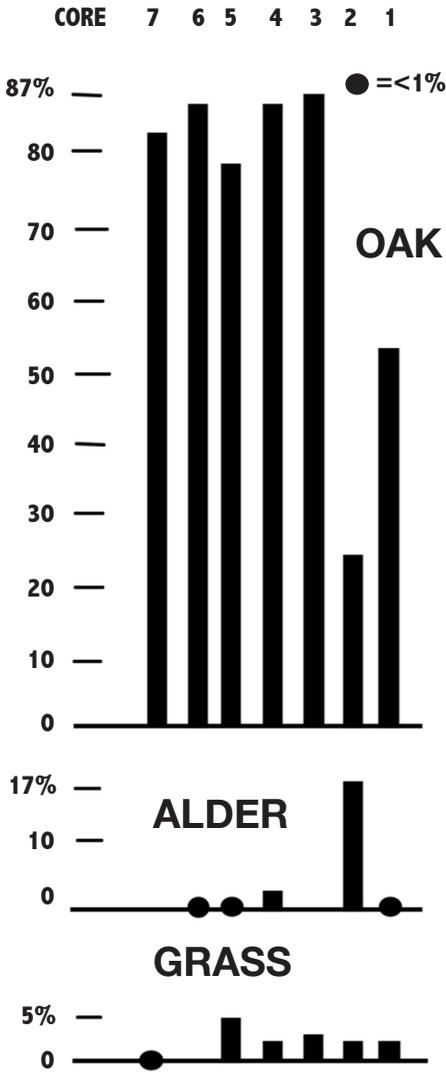


FIGURE 5. Key pollen spectra in Core Transect 1. (Drawing by author, 2012.)

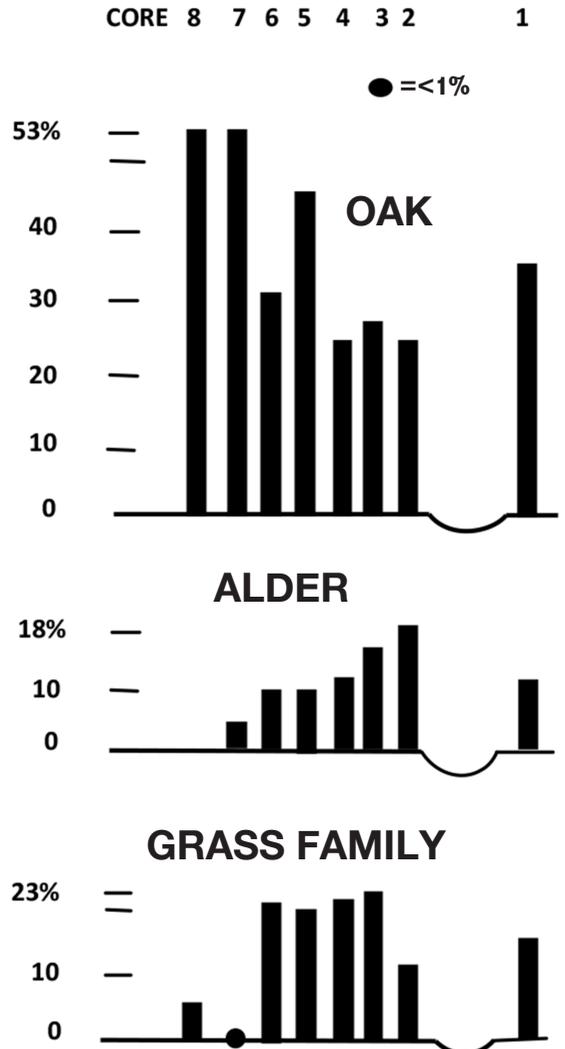


FIGURE 6. Key pollen spectra in Core Transect 2. (Drawing by author, 2012.)

most prominent in Core 7-E, and the decrease in the alder-pollen contribution to the first two cores' locations—6-E and 5-E, lower down on the meadow—is greater than the decline in the closest two cores—8 and 9—upslope toward the forest. This suggests that the oak-pollen decrease in Cores 9 and 8 was not entirely due to statistical constraint from larger amounts of alder pollen blown upslope into the forest. The counts imply that the oak stand in Cores 8 and 9 was not as dense as in Cores 10 to 18 and was interspersed with some alder. The lower edge of the oak stand with alders lay at about 65 yd. from the stockade, while the dense

portion of the oak forest began at about 90 yd. The French and Native Americans approached from a camp at Monongahela to the northwest, and this point of trees may be the source of the first effective enemy fire cited by Washington and Mccay (1754:3).

Core Transect 8

The soil under the upper one-third of Core Transect 8 was eroded and very rocky. Cores could not be collected at locations 12, 14, and 15. The pre-clearance spectra are, however, not completely lost, and a general outline of the

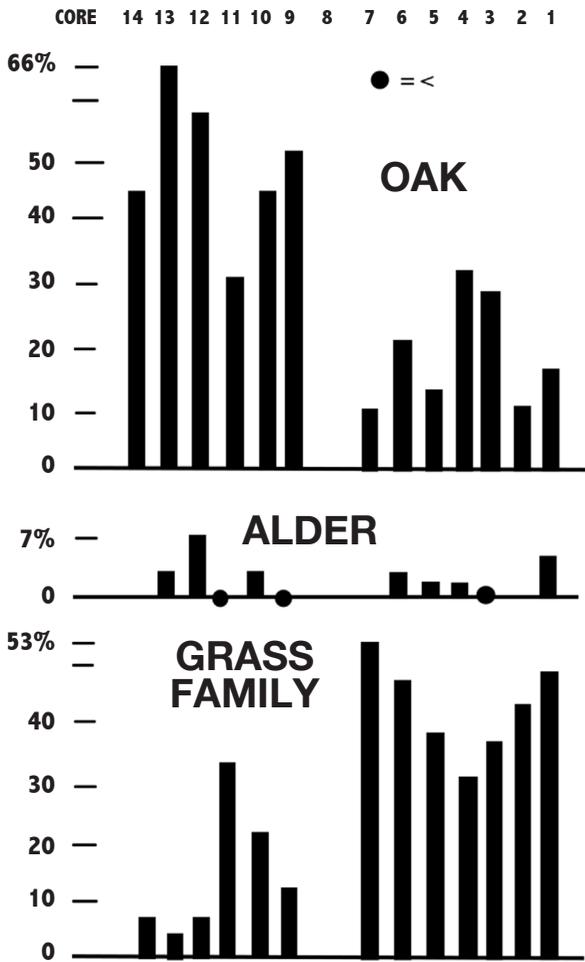


FIGURE 7. Key pollen spectra in Core Transect 3. (Drawing by author, 2012.)

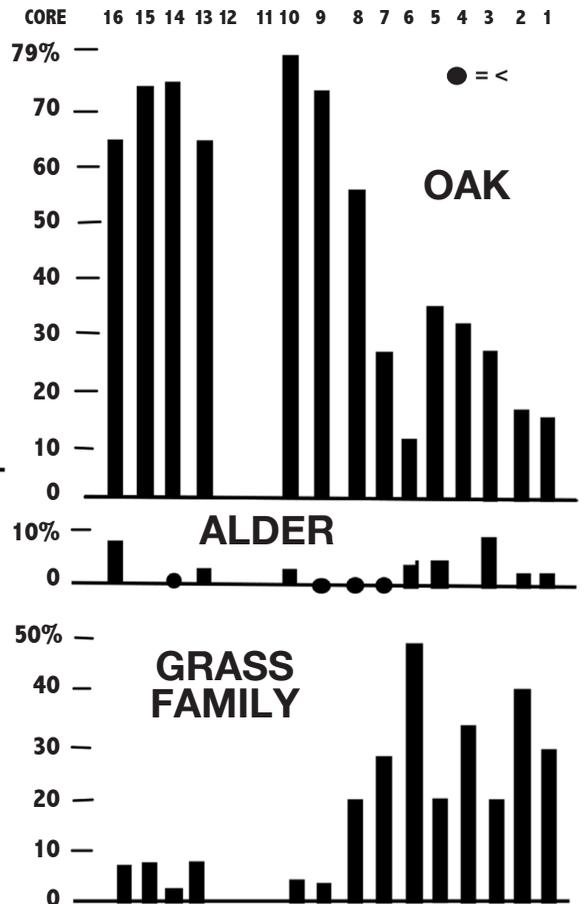


FIGURE 8. Key pollen spectra in Core Transect 4. (Drawing by author, 2012.)

pre-clearance vegetation is recorded (Figure 12). Alder percentages are also high in this wetter portion of the meadow, suggesting a stand of these trees along Great Meadow Run. Grass percentages increase in Cores 6, 7, and 8, indicating more open meadow in this transect segment, while grass percentages decline in Core 9 as those of oak increase. This reasonably approximates the Tinsley and Smith (1974) model, suggesting that the forest edge was located between Cores 9 and 10, about 133 yd. from the fort.

Summary and Discussion

The palynological investigation of the location of the pre-clearance forest border around Fort Necessity, Great Meadows, southwestern Pennsylvania, was undertaken to facilitate an accurate restoration of the 1754 appearance of Fort

Necessity National Battlefield. Pollen-diagram interpretation in this study is based on empirical studies of modern pollen transport from woodland and forest onto open spaces and from open spaces into forests, and their representation in soil samples. These studies indicated that the highest percentages of particular tree- and herb-pollen types are found at their points of origin.

The data-recovery stage cores from Great Meadows indicate that the pre-clearance forest edge in Core Transect 1 to the east of the fort was located about 62 yd. from the earthworks. Southeast and southwest of the earthworks the forest was about 90 yd. distant (Transects 2 and 3), while west of the fort it was about 88 yd. distant (Transect 4). On Transect 5, west northwest of the fort, the space between the forest boundary and the fort opened to 106 yd., while the Transect 6 data from northwest

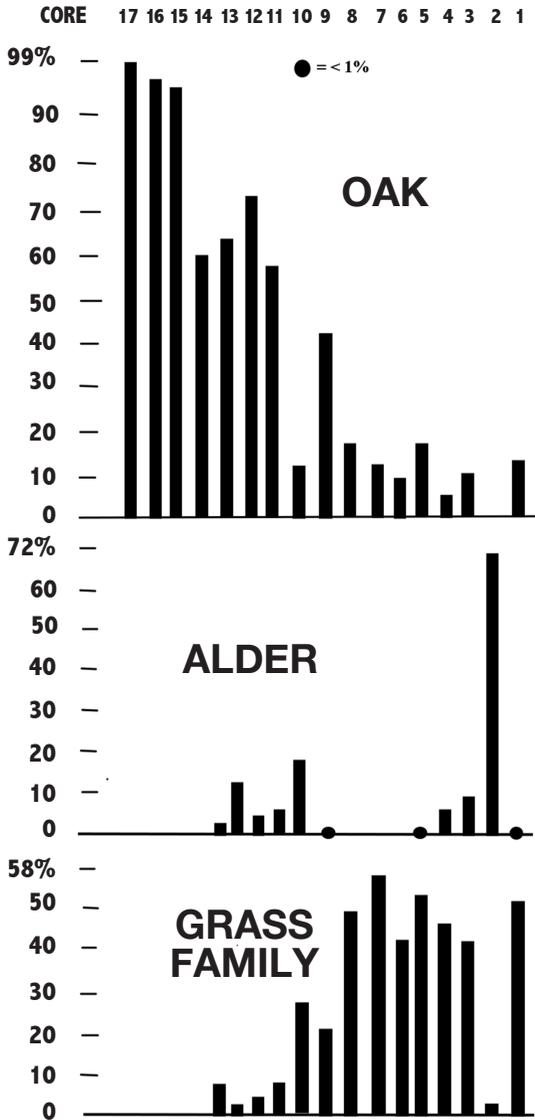


FIGURE 9. Key pollen spectra in Core Transect 5. (Drawing by author, 2012.)

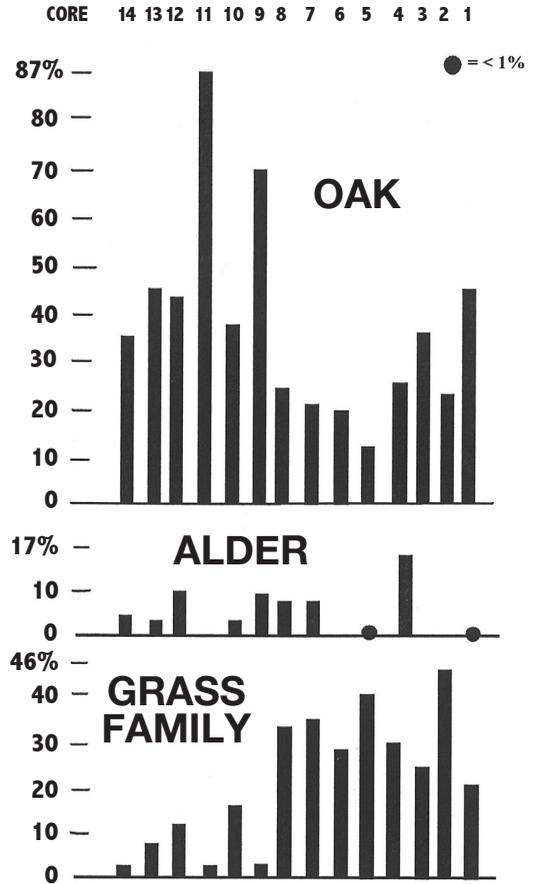


FIGURE 10. Key pollen spectra in Core Transect 6. (Drawing by author, 2012.)

of the fort on the north side of Great Meadows Run indicates the forest boundary was located approximately 97 yd. from the earthworks. North northeast of the fort, along Core Transect 7, the forest boundary was located 65 yd. from the palisade, while to the northeast the forest boundary was situated 133 yd. from the earthworks along Transect 8.

Washington and Maccay reported in 1754 that the first effective French and Native American fire came from a point of trees about 60 yd. from the fort, and that they were forced to capitulate by fire from woods on all sides. Five

years later British colonel James Byrd stated that the fort was commanded by three points of woods. The French and Native Americans approached from a camp to the northwest, and a point of trees indicated by the pollen data on the north side of Great Meadows Run, at about 65 yd. from the fort in the vicinity of Transect 7, appears to be the best candidate for the source of the first effective enemy fire and one of Colonel Byrd's commanding points. A second commanding point may have been the triangular wedge of forest southeast of Indian Run and south of Great Meadows Run where the forest boundary was found in Core Transect 1 at 62 yd. from the fort. The third point of woods is not evident on the mapped pre-clearance forest boundary. The forest boundaries, however, paralleled the water courses, and the trees southwest of the fort and northeast of Indian Run, where Transects 3, 4, and 5 were taken, constitute a broad wedge that might have been considered a third point.

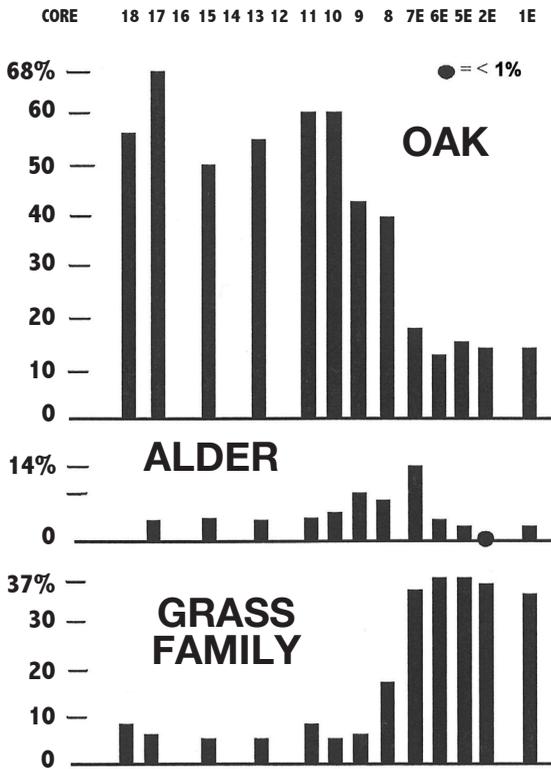


FIGURE 11. Key pollen spectra in Core Transect 7. (Drawing by author, 2012.)

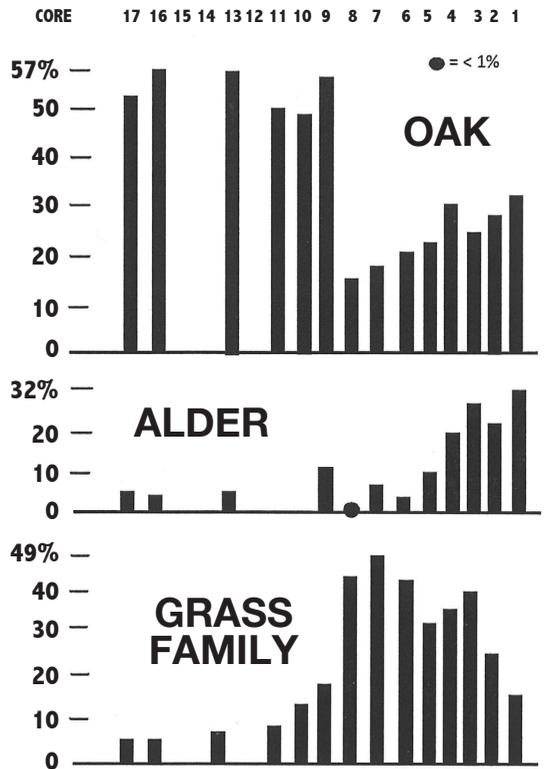


FIGURE 12. Key pollen spectra in Core Transect 8. (Drawing by author, 2012.)

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The Paradox of the *Paniolo*: An Archaeological Perspective of Hawaiian Ranching

ABSTRACT

Commercial ranches are part of Hawai'i's colonial landscape and form an expansive archaeological horizon in rural parts of the islands. Ranching facilitated the evolution of folk societies of cowboys (*paniolo*) who incorporated Hawaiian language and values in daily working activities despite the multiethnic origins and nontraditional occupations of the workers. The archaeology of these communities in upland pastures of the Humu'ula district on the eastern slopes of Hawai'i Island is presented herein. The study provides an enhanced understanding of the evolution of colonial identities through multiple scales of analysis, including social, economic, and environmental responses of the rise of industrial capitalism, trends in vernacular architecture, engendered analyses of living floors, and microhistories embedded in individual artifacts.

Introduction

Historical archaeologists often examine incipient multiethnic communities associated with 19th-century frontier industries. Ranches, like fur-trade sites, mining communities, and some plantation settings, were among the first institutions to insinuate Western capitalist ideologies within precapitalist societies. Commercial ranching is one manifestation of colonial economies in Hawai'i, the Americas, Australia, and New Zealand (Fontana 1967; Ritchie 1991; Harrison 2004), and thus forms a broadly influential phenomenon associated with the spread of industrial capitalism, with the potential to illuminate disparate patterns in labor, power, agency, identity, gender, and a multitude of other issues of interest to anthropologists. Despite the broadly interrelated nature of ranching enterprises in different regions, the folk societies in each area are quite distinctive.

This article contains an overview of the history of ranching on Hawai'i Island and of an archaeological project undertaken to understand

the formation and transformation of Hawaiian-cowboy (*paniolo*) labor and identity through the materiality of ranching life. It explores some of the intertwined threads of research that have been pursued in investigations of Hawaiian cowboys' lives. These threads traverse *paniolo* folk societies in relation to the daily practice of ranching and its material manifestations across social, economic, and environmental settings.

Syncretistic concepts, from acculturation theory to creolization studies, have been applied regularly to disenfranchised indigenous communities affected by Western expansionism (Kame'elehiwa 1992; Kirch and Sahlins 1992; Richter 2001; Lightfoot 2005). The historical anthropology of colonial relations in Hawai'i presents a somewhat uncommon pattern of indigenous transformation among Western colonial outposts. After the arrival of Captain James Cook in 1778, an indigenous monarchy reigned until 1893 and buffered Hawai'i from some of the coercive imperialism and genocide that occurred in the Americas. Nevertheless, introduced diseases caused the indigenous population to plummet, and the exploitative effects of global capitalism instigated a series of boom-and-bust commercial enterprises, beginning with the Pacific fur trade (1786–1810s) and followed by the sandalwood trade (1812–1830), whaling (1830–1860), and sugar plantations (1835–1990s) (Kirch and Sahlins 1992). Various ethnic groups immigrated to Hawai'i with each of these cycles, and despite the ultimate collapse of each venture, the cultural and environmental consequences were persistent and multifaceted. Unlike other ventures, Hawaiian ranching has operated continuously from the early 1800s to the present, albeit with significant changes. From its inception, Hawaiian ranching was motivated more by mercantilism than subsistence and, like other Hawaiian commercial enterprises, became entangled with global industries, in particular the Pacific hide-and-tallow trade, the expansion of the wool industry to the Pacific and Australia, and ship provisioning. Only eventually did local sales of dairy and beef products increase in priority as global markets changed.

Like Hawaiian plantations, ranches often depended upon immigrant labor, which contributed to the ethnic restructuring of Hawaiian society. Hawaiian plantations and ranches often created specialized work communities, many of which were similar to the work camps that formed in the American West (Hardesty 2002; McGuire and Reckner 2002; Van Bueren 2002), and understanding labor relations and working conditions in something other than a romanticized history is a central aspect of this research.

The Hawaiian ranching camps are connected to the American West through more than labor theory. Hispanic vaqueros, hired from Alta California, provided early expertise for the novice ranch workforce composed of native Hawaiians and immigrants from Alta California, Japan, China, Ireland, Australia, Great Britain, and Germany, almost none of whom were intimately familiar with livestock management. The particular influence of these vaqueros is commemorated in the Hawaiian word for “cowboy”: *paniolo*, which deserves special attention for the way it illustrates and embraces the paradox of being simultaneously Hawaiian and non-Hawaiian. The term derives from *Española* (Kimura 1969:260) and is one of thousands of neologisms that Hawaiians added to their lexicon to accommodate changes in Hawaiian society.

Although the original term identified the Hispanic origin of some cowboys, the practice of *being* a “*paniolo*” transformed the connotation from an ethnic one to that of an occupation. Because many *paniolo* were at least partially of Hawaiian ancestry, and the trade language of 19th- and 20th-century ranches included an extensive Hawaiian lexicon, the term’s meaning has shifted back toward ethnicity and now often implies a cowboy of Hawaiian descent (Brennan 1978; Bergin 2004). The lifestyles of the *paniolo*—on horseback, managing introduced ungulates, and working in high-elevation camps above the forest—have few parallels in precontact Hawai‘i, but the innovative Hawaiian lexicon covers virtually every aspect of the material assemblage, from shirts made from imported New England plaid fabrics (*palaka*), to knives (*‘ili wahi*, *pahi olo*), lariats (*kaula ho‘ohei*), bridles (*kaula waha*), saddles (*noho lio*), cinches (*kaula ‘opu*), and stirrups (*‘ili ke‘ehi*). *Paniolo* were agents of culture and culture change who redesigned, in distinctive forms, many of

these items from mainland counterparts (Bergin 2004:98–139). For example, *pahi olo* (literally: knife saws) are knives that are made from discarded carpenters’ saws. They retain sawteeth on one side but narrow the blades to approximately 2.5 in., and the opposite edges are honed for use as machetes, skinning knives, or razors (Bergin 2004:134–135).

Such syncretistic aspects of Hawaiian cowboy society, which formed and operated under the Hawaiian monarchy, complicate models of settler colonialism. Where settler colonists have introduced pastoralism, the social history and heritage of the industry is often framed in terms of pure-indigenous and foreign participants. The dichotomy between “cowboys and Indians” in the American West, no matter how mythic, is deeply engrained in the American psyche. Rodney Harrison (2004) argued for understanding Australian pastoralism as a “shared heritage” in a “shared landscape,” rather than one involving the replacement of Aboriginal lifeways with those of settlers. Hawaiian cowboy culture contrasts even more so with the “cowboys and Indians” dichotomy and is now intimately connected with indigenous modern Hawaiian cultural identities (Fischer 2007, 2008). *Paniolo* are often romanticized in ways similar to nationalistic depictions of American cowboys, but they are instead perceived as perpetuating an indigenous ethos rather than obliterating it. The reasons for this difference are undoubtedly complex but can be traced in part to Hawaiian agency. For example, Fischer (2008) points to the immense impact of three Hawaiian *paniolo*, Ikua Purdy, Archie Ka‘au‘a, and Jack Low, who in 1908 took first, third, and sixth place, respectively, at the Frontier Days World’s Steer Roping Competition in Cheyenne, Wyoming. This event followed the overthrow of the indigenous monarchy by U.S. businessmen in 1893 and subsequent U.S. annexation claims in 1898. It was leading news in Hawai‘i and Wyoming newspapers (Fischer 2008:1), and fueled a sense of ethnic pride in the Hawaiian community because Hawaiian cowboys had outdone Anglo-American cowboys at their own games. In the Cheyenne Frontier Days Old West Museum and in the town of Waimea, Hawai‘i, bronze statues of Ikua Purdy on horseback commemorate the event.

In many ways, Hawaiian ranch workers invented and embraced new traditions to

navigate the material and behavioral aspects of their transformed worlds, as practice theorists have outlined in general terms (Bourdieu 1977; Giddens 1979; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1992) and that broadly fall under the rubric of creolization studies in historical archaeology. The formulation of creolized Hawaiian cowboy identities is considered here in a multiscalar paradigm that draws from practice theory and neo-Marxist concerns with households, labor, and production in an incipient capitalist economy. What makes this particular case study somewhat different from many others in the New World is the indigenous authority over land and resources that was maintained by the Hawaiian monarchy throughout most of the 19th century. In this relatively novel context, individuals from many cultures, through their own agency and syncretistic innovations, created traditions of ranching work that are all fundamentally connected to the dialectics between practice and tradition. The historical narrative presented below describes the development of ranching as adaptive transformations of Hawaiian identity in the context of the rise of industrial capitalism and is followed by a preliminary presentation of some of the archaeological contributions to understanding the evolution of Hawaiian ranching communities.

History of Hawaiian Commercial Ranching

Captain George Vancouver delivered the first cattle to Hawai'i from Alta California in February 1793, and the paramount chief of Hawai'i Island, Kamehameha, supplied his own canoe to land several of the stock. Seafarers also brought sheep and goats in the late 1700s, but their populations did not increase as rapidly as cattle. Vancouver and other voyagers who introduced livestock were attempting to increase provisions for visiting ships in what Alfred Crosby (1986) describes as "ecological imperialism." The case of cattle demonstrates that these introductions were not always forced on the indigenous populations and, in fact, were supported by chiefs as part of their own agendas (Manby 1929:42; Fischer 2007).

Kamehameha placed cattle under a 10-year hunting restriction (*kapu*) to allow herds to multiply (Cox 1957:44; Vancouver 1984:1,180; Barratt 1987:98), and all cattle hunting after the end of the *kapu* required sanction by

Kamehameha (Corney 1965:205). By 1809, cattle were abundant on Hawai'i Island, and some of the herd was transported to other islands (Delano 1817:390; Campbell 1822:117; Bingham 1849:220; Kamakau 1992:268). By the time of Kamehameha's death in 1819, the monarchy allowed a few men to hunt cattle. These individuals, known as "bullock hunters," were mostly foreigners working individually to provide salt beef for native-owned vessels (Mathison 1825: 411; Ellis 1827:291; Macrae 1922:62; Mills 2003; Bergin 2004:31).

The earliest documented wild-cattle hunters are a Welshman and a Prussian who worked with a cohort of native Hawaiians in 1825 (Macrae 1922:59,62). A more-notorious bullock hunter, Ned Gurney, is known to have worked in Humu'ula (Figure 1) shortly thereafter. Gurney was English and had escaped to Hawai'i from the penal colony at Botany Bay, Australia. In 1834, Gurney hosted the famous Scottish botanist David Douglas at his residence at "Lahohinu" (literally: greasy/shiny scrotum) in the Humu'ula uplands. Douglas was found dead later that day in one of Gurney's pit traps, where a live bull had trampled his body (Goodrich and Diell 1834; Greenwell 1988; Theroux 1989).

Missionaries described Gurney's house in 1838 as a native structure with a grass thatched roof and mats on the floor, but with a wooden door in the Western style (Lyman 1906:29–30). He had two wives and several native laborers working with him and kept about 70 hunting dogs, many of which slept by the fire in his house in the evenings (Lyman 1906:29–30; Martin et al. 1979:99–100). Gurney's family represents the ethnogenesis of a poorly documented folk tradition that antecedes most of the ranching culture in the American West and that evolved into Hawaiian ranching communities of the later 19th and 20th centuries.

Influence of the Hide-and-Tallow Trade on Bullock Hunting

Commercial ranches in Alta California expanded following Mexican independence in 1821 (Lightfoot 2005:59), and a more open trade policy allowed many Californian merchants to develop business ties with Hawai'i (Davis 1987:16; Fischer 2007, 2008). Hides and tallow

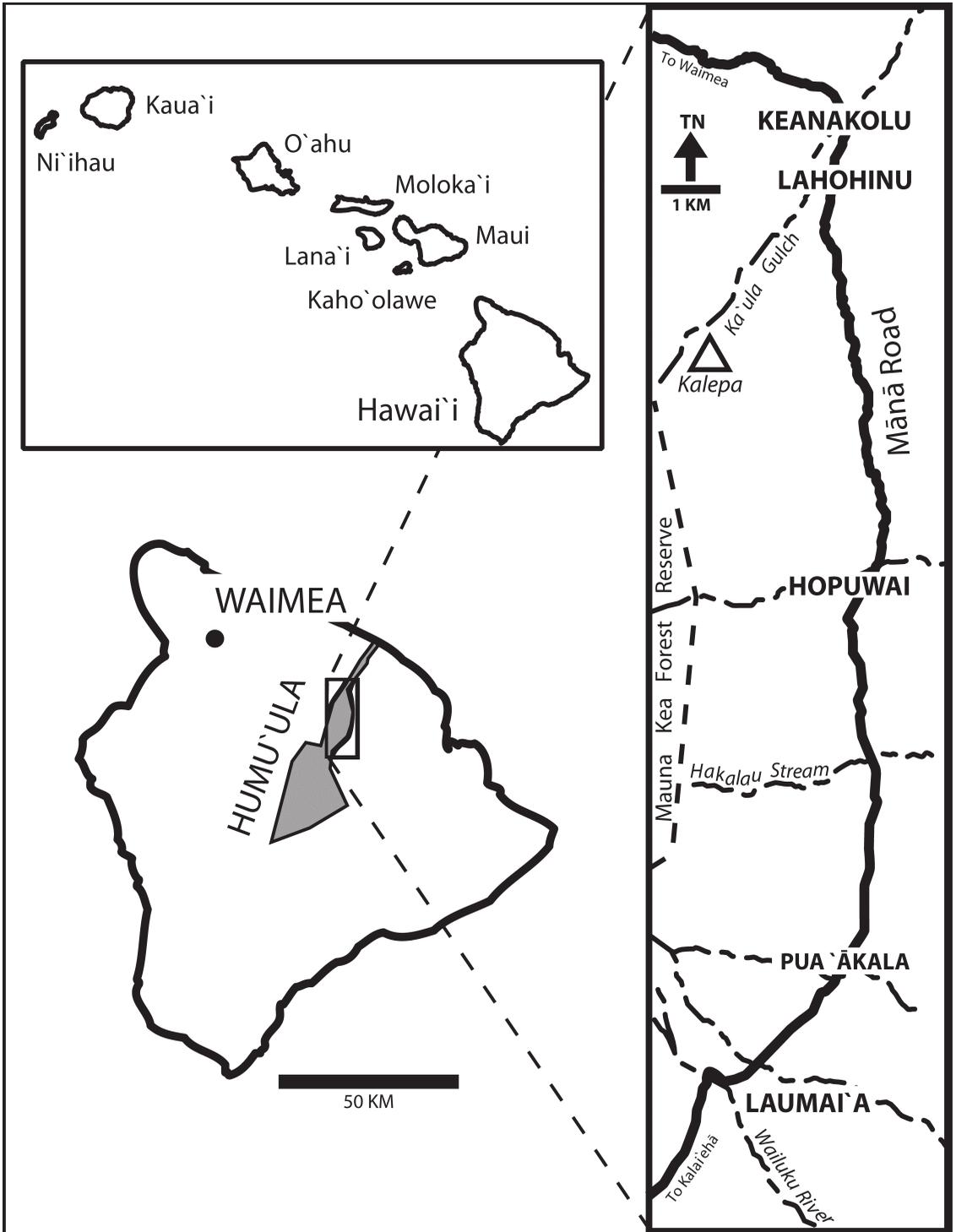


FIGURE 1. Map of Humu'ula region, Hawai'i Island. (Drawing by Benjamin Barna, 2011.)

from Pacific ports became profitable as industrial production of leather goods increased. Places like Boston's South Cove became large commercial districts devoted almost completely to the production of shoes and boots that were used throughout the Americas, Pacific, and Australia (Hazard 1913). Products from the California ranchos were regularly shipped via Honolulu by Boston-based firms such as Marshall & Wildes and Bryant, Sturgis & Company (Dallas 1955:230–250), but before the 1830s hides from Hawai'i were largely inaccessible because the feral cattle grazed in upland pastures far from the shore. The hide-and-tallow trade in California was not without its own problems. It suffered from a shortage of labor due to plummeting neophyte populations in the missions as a result of disease (Lightfoot 2005:68). The Californian market was also somewhat seasonal because the best tallow was obtained in the spring (Duhaut-Cilly 1999:56).

Before 1848, the indigenous monarchy controlled all land in Hawai'i, allowing no possibility for private ownership. Thus, ranching on Hawaiian land was either controlled directly by the monarchy or by lease agreements with the monarchy through which foreign entrepreneurs conducted small-scale operations. In response to the changes in California, the Hawaiian government acted on the economic potential of its herds by improving transportation infrastructure and livestock management. By 1830, Kuakini, the native Hawaiian governor of Hawai'i Island, ordered convict laborers to build inland roads (Frost and Frost 1977:177; Barrère 1983:32; Maly and Maly 2005:113,127). These roads were intended for travel by horseback. The first horses had arrived in Hawai'i as early as 1803 (Shaler 1808:165), and government and commercial efforts to increase the stock of horses (particularly from California) intensified through the 1820s (Sumner 1828–1829; Wellmon 1969:42,47; Gast and Conrad 1973:290; Reynolds 1989:173). The first horses that could be used in the Humu'ula uplands arrived in Waimea in 1828 (Langlas et al. 1999:43). By 1834, Hawaiian merchants were bartering hides for the equivalent of 50¢ each (Dallas 1955:240). This price and the difficulty of salting beef in large quantities meant that Hawaiian cattle were often killed just for their skins (*Sandwich Island Gazette* 1836:17,24; Pickering 1838–1841; Martin et al. 1979:100). The trade was not substantial enough to undermine the California trade and instead served to increase the

profits of traders who had come around the Horn to deliver hides to Boston, New York, and other leather-producing centers.

Vaquero Influence and Bullock Hunters

The earliest Hawaiian bullock hunters hunted alone, on foot, and used guns and pit traps. By 1830 and contemporaneous with Kuakini's investments in road infrastructure, a few vaqueros who had perfected methods of capturing wild cattle on horseback in Alta California began working for the Hawaiian monarchy. Spanish styles of hunting wild cattle avoided the use of guns (Hobbs 1939:97–98; Tomich 1986:14). Firearms tended to make the remainder of the wild herd even more reclusive, and bullet holes lessened the value of the hides. Instead, vaqueros typically lassoed cattle and cut their hamstrings; when a number of cattle had been disabled, the men would return to dispatch the cattle with knives.

In the summer of 1830, Protestant missionary Hiram Bingham took a trek to the summit of Mauna Kea, accompanied most of the way by King Kauikeaouli (Kamehameha III). Bingham described how the king himself chased down a wild bullock on his horse, and a "foreigner" lassoed and killed a wild bullock. He "witnessed several striking exhibitions of seizing cattle, chasing them on horseback and throwing the lasso over their horns, with great certainty, capturing, prostrating, and subduing or killing these mountain-fed animals, struggling in vain for liberty and life" (Bingham 1848:377–379).

As with earlier bullock hunters, only a few of the early vaqueros in Hawai'i are well known. Joaquin Armas arrived in Hawai'i on 4 April 1831 and stayed in Hawai'i at the bequest of King Kauikeaouli (Kimbrow et al. 1985). Armas had grown up in Monterey, where undoubtedly he learned how to rope cattle and process hides. Other contemporary vaqueros on Hawai'i Island were Miguel Castro, a man named Boronda, and Frederico Ramon Baesa (Henke 1929:19–20; Shinseki 1997:4–5; Bergin 2004:35). Baesa arrived with his Yaqui Indian wife, Vincenta Romero. The couple also had two sons, Frederico and Jose Ramon, who both married Hawaiian women.

In addition to these families, there were enough vaqueros to form small Spanish communities around the town of Waimea in the 1830s (*Sandwich Island Gazette* 1836:17,24; Kimura

1969:260; Wellmon 1969:47; Brennan 1978:51). Most vaqueros, however, did not remain in Hawai‘i. By the mid-19th century, the cattle herds had diminished due to overgrazing followed by excessive hunting. Charles Pickering also wrote that “it was difficult to conceive, how the [cattle] herds, alleged to have been so numerous formerly, could possibly have found support” (Pickering 1838–1841). As a result of dwindling wild herds, the vaqueros no longer had wild cattle left to support their livelihood (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser* 1859:2; Wellmon 1969:104). Despite modern romanticized representations of early vaqueros in Hawai‘i, there are indications that some were maltreated for their Catholic beliefs in Hawaiian communities dominated by Protestantism (Frost and Frost 1977:180; Shinseki 1997:4; Bergin 2004:34).

It is important to note that some Hawaiians also could have obtained cattle-handling skills independently of these immigrant vaqueros. Hawaiian sailors had been visiting California for many years in the course of both the fur and the hide-and-tallow trades, and these men could have returned to Hawai‘i trained in techniques that they had learned in California. For example, in early 1835, Richard Henry Dana, Jr., (1840:106) observed in San Diego that “a half-dozen Sandwich-Islanders, from the hide-houses and the two brigs, bold riders, were dashing about on the full gallop, hallooing and laughing like so many wild men.”

Hawaiian cowboys appropriated vaquero traits, including the braided lariat, broad-winged and hooded stirrups (*tapaderos*), and highly adorned saddles with large horns (Hobbs 1939:95). *Paniolo* were described wearing brightly colored ponchos; pantaloons buttoned along the side seam; boots with long spurs; bandanas on the head or neck; wide-brimmed, low-crowned hats; and a knife strapped to the right leg (Kimura 1969:260; Olmstead 1969:230). Some accounts from the early 1840s, however, still contend that Hawaiians had not yet become adept at hunting cattle. For example, while traveling through Humu‘ula on 15 January 1841, Charles Pickering (1838–1841) with the U.S. Exploring Expedition wrote:

[We were] shewn a heap of stones, which marks the spot where a Native, thinking to shoot Bullock like a White Man, was killed by the wounded animal; who “carried him on his horn for a couple of hours

afterwards.” We have also heard of a Native, who having finished a pit & nicely tracked it with a bullock’s hoof, was so much excited on the capture of an animal that in his haste, he fell in himself—but being armed with a knife, they were both found dead!

The text above also indicates that some bullock hunters continued to shoot cattle and build pit traps after the arrival of the vaqueros.

From Bullock Hunting to Commercial Sheep and Cattle Ranching

Cattle populations in Humu‘ula rebounded somewhat by the mid 1840s, and in 1848 the Hawaiian government adopted a Western system of fee-simple land ownership that replaced the traditional usufruct system. This change facilitated the ability of foreign entrepreneurs to buy land and build the infrastructure necessary to operate ranches and plantations. This transformation was largely contemporaneous with the industrialization and anglicization of ranch operations in California (Gherini 1997; Iglor 2001). Humu‘ula lands remained under lease by the government, but other ranches came under private ownership. The California Gold Rush and whaling industry created demand for salted beef that continued through the 1860s (Baxley 1865:559; Thrum 1876:19), and local beef consumption increased to feed the burgeoning pool of plantation laborers (Plummer 1991:52–53).

One of the first private commercial ranching operations in Hawai‘i had been founded in 1835 by William French, a former agent of Bryant, Sturgis & Company. French’s company hunted wild cattle and began establishing tame herds in the Waimea area. He employed a saddle maker, operated a tannery, and sold lumber as early as 1837. In the early 1840s, with the reduction in wild cattle, French expanded into sheepherding and exported wool by 1844 (Wellmon 1969:57; Langlas et al. 1999:43). Another part-time bullock hunter, John Parker, went into business with French and established his own cattle herds. Parker’s enterprise prospered and became the largest ranch in the Hawaiian Islands (Langlas et al. 1999:43; Bergin 2004, 2006). By 1846, missionary Lorenzo Lyon lamented that two-thirds of the town of Waimea had been converted into cattle pasture, driving out many of the traditional agriculturalists and turning the whole community into a “cattle pen” (Clark 1983:49).

The increased productivity of the commercial ranches expanded Hawaiian participation in global trade networks. By the 1850s, there were an estimated 12,000 wild cattle and 8,000 tame cattle on Hawai'i Island (Hobbs 1939:96). Hide values also increased to between \$1.00 and \$1.25 per hide, double the amount paid in 1834 (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser* 1859:2). Hides and tallow supported a local leather-product industry that used bark from native trees for tanning and supplied harnesses and shoes to most of Hawai'i (Olmstead 1969:233; Brundage 1971:16; Maly and Maly 2005:379). Twenty years later, finished Hawaiian leather products and tanned hides were being exported to Texas, Colorado, Washington State, California, and Massachusetts (Brundage 1971:17).

Also by the 1850s, a strong native Hawaiian presence had developed among the cowboy population. As skilled laborers, *paniolo* earned significant profits that were often quickly spent in ranching towns. One anonymous account of hunting cattle on Mauna Kea in the 1850s describes a group of about 30 Hawaiians, including 3 women, who worked out of an upland camp: "living a vagabond life" but engaging in "lavish expenditure" when they returned to the town of Waimea (*Pacific Commercial Advertiser* 1859:2). Their field shelter was built of three stone walls and a log roof, with an opening on the south where a large fire was maintained. The walls were plastered with grass and mud, and the floor was covered in hides. A nearby half-acre corral was made of wooden posts, and an associated Y-shaped fence was used to collect cattle driven down the mountain. In one hour's time, the team had collected a herd of around 800 cattle. Little else from the written record is known of the structure of *paniolo* work camps in this relatively early era of ranching.

Commercial Ranching in Humu'ula

The Hawaiian government made a number of agreements that allowed the hunting of wild cattle in Humu'ula between 1857 and 1861, but on 1 August 1861 it leased the area to the Waimea Grazing and Agricultural Company (WGAC). One of the main partners in the company, Frank Spencer, had arrived in Hawai'i from Tasmania. He had married a part-Hawaiian woman and acquired some of William French's holdings when French died. In 1861, Spencer

merged his business interests with several other local businessmen to form the company (Maly and Maly 2005:vii,15,377–378). The WGAC sold hides, tallow, salted beef, wool, and mutton, and maintained several company stores (Langlas et al. 1999:44). In Humu'ula, the WGAC first established ranching stations at Kalai'ehā, Laumai'a, and Hopuwai, and possibly also Keanakolu and Lahohinu, where cattle were raised (Lyons 1891; Wellmon 1969:113). These stations represent the first significant capital investments in commercial enterprises in the Humu'ula region.

The market for sheep and cattle products was in flux in the 1860s and 1870s, with the value of sheep eventually rising above that of cattle. Demand for salted beef decreased with the collapse of the whaling industry in 1864, but hides and tallow continued to provide economic impetus to raise cattle (Nordhoff 1875:94). Wool values rose in the 1870s (Thrum 1876:57), and the operations in Humu'ula by 1873 involved 25,000 head of sheep between the three stations and only 1,000 head of cattle (Bird 1875:223). Isabella Bird described the station at Kalai'ehā, managed by one of Frank Spencer's sons, who was married to a Hawaiian woman. The station included a wool shed, two grass huts (one with an open side), a canvas tent, and a "cabin" with an earthen floor and stone chimney. The main cabin was partitioned with a canvas wall, and the furnishings were sparse—a high bench and chopping block, small table, tinware, five guns, and a lamp improvised from a jar and beef fat. Isabella Bird mentioned that a few "natives" were working outside the cabin shearing sheep but provided few details (Bird 1875:346–348).

In 1876, WGAC sold its lease of Humu'ula to James W. Gay of Honolulu for a 25-year term. Gay established the Humu'ula Sheep Company, and his headquarters were at Keanakolu. The lease was underwritten by Paul Isenberg, a Hawaiian senator who also served as a manager of the German-run merchant firm, H. Hackfeld & Company (Thrum 1876:8; *Paradise of the Pacific* 1903:13). By 1884, the Humu'ula Sheep Company was held in a partnership among H. Hackfeld & Company, James Gay, and another German investor, Conrad Henke.

H. Hackfeld & Company supplied merchandise to the laborers in Humu'ula through the early 1900s. Goods sold to the Humu'ula Sheep

Company regularly included significant quantities of tobacco (much of it shipped as cigars, with an average of 2.6 to 3.9 cigars per day), harnesses and horse tack, hay bales, rain slickers, rope, kerosene oil, horseshoes, *palaka* shirts, paint, lumber, and hardware. Common food-stuffs included sugar, flour, rice, baking powder, cheese, tomatoes, pickles, vinegar, oatmeal, beans, fish, Vienna sausages, and tea (Nelson [1990–1999]). When World War I began, however, the German-based H. Hackfeld & Company lost control of all its holdings in Hawai‘i, and the corporation was reorganized under new stockholders as American Factors Limited.

James Gay is credited with building a sheep-shearing shed at Keanakolu that was moved to Kalai‘ehā around 1887 when German brothers August and Armin Haneberg became resident managers (Brundage 1946; Langlas et al. 1999:44; Maly and Maly 2005:383–420). Photographs of the Keanakolu station in 1885 show a log cabin, a shearing shed near the cabin, and a dwelling a short distance to the south (Figures 2 and 3). An orchard was also planted in this early period and had already reached a state of neglect by 1909 (Lydgate 1909:9; Mesick 1909:21). The log cabin still stands, but the original roof was replaced in 1927. The vertical planking of the original roof boards under the gable (Figure 3) is characteristic, but not exclusively, of German and Dutch cabins (Weslager 1969:237).

The log cabin and company records document much about the multiethnic composition of the mid-19th-century ranching operations that is often obscured by modern emphases on the Hawaiian and Spanish composition of the Hawaiian ranching workforce. Individuals working in Humu‘ula who were noted in August Haneberg’s station journal largely carried Germanic, Irish, and Scottish surnames such as Low, Muir, McKinley, Muller, Waltgen, and Wulbers (Maly and Maly 2005:405); however, it should not be assumed that all these men lacked Hawaiian ancestry. For example, Eben Parker Low, a well-known *paniolo* of the era, was a descendant of Kamehameha I through his mother’s lineage. He often worked in Humu‘ula with his own business partners. In 1892, Low was driving wild cattle to the Laumai‘a paddock when he lost his hand in a roping accident. The first doctor to attend Low at Hopuwai

station was a Japanese plantation physician. Although the role of Japanese immigrants in shaping Hawaiian plantation culture is frequently acknowledged, their contributions to *paniolo* culture have been underemphasized (Nakano 1992:2).

The first Japanese contract laborers arrived in Hawai‘i in 1885, primarily to harvest sugarcane and pineapple. The Humu‘ula Sheep Company made use of the same labor pool, particularly in the summer when most sheep shearing took place (Blacksheep 1902). H. Hackfeld & Company also owned a number of sugar plantations and moved Japanese contract laborers seasonally depending on where they were needed. By the 1890s, Chinese laborers in Humu‘ula also served as cooks and sheep shearers, and occasionally as cowboys (Maly and Maly 2005:394). Through 1890 and the summer of 1892, the names of 29 Japanese laborers and 12 Chinese laborers appear in August Haneberg’s journal. They worked on various tasks, including shearing sheep, building walls, weeding, working on a cart road between stations, and constructing a telephone line between Kalai‘ehā and Hopuwai (Langlas et al. 1999:45; Warshauer 2002:22; Maly and Maly 2005:394). August Haneberg mentioned certain Japanese laborers only once each year, reinforcing the idea that they were typically working elsewhere. None of these Japanese laborers in 1890 and 1891 appear to have been horsemen, and other company employees helped move Japanese workers between camps, sometimes using mule trains to transport them. The first Japanese man that Haneberg mentioned, by 26 December 1891, in association with herding duties was named Sakamoto (Haneberg 1891:144).

There is little sense of the personal relationships among the various groups of laborers, or of their living conditions. Because the Japanese laborers usually worked in groups, August Haneberg often did not refer to them as individuals but simply as “Japanese.” Interestingly, for the first two years, there is no mention of an overseer (*luna*). After the arrival of the first relatively large labor force in the summer of 1892, Haneberg appointed a German employee named Schlemmer as *luna* on a fence-building project (Maly and Maly 2005:418).

On 10 May 1900, a descendant of John Parker, named Samuel Parker, Sr., purchased



FIGURE 2. An 1885 photograph showing a sheep-shearing shed and log cabin at Keanakolu, Humu'ula. (Courtesy, Eduard Arning Collection, Hawaiian Historical Society, Catalog No. 1.165.)



FIGURE 3. An 1885 photograph of the log cabin at Keanakolu. (Courtesy, Eduard Arning Collection, Hawaiian Historical Society, Catalog No. 1.166.)

the Humu‘ula Sheep Company and the 250,000 ac. of its lease as a private venture (separate from the Parker Ranch). By 1914 the Parker Ranch formally owned the operation (Brundage 1971:84–85; Maly and Maly 2005:439–440). Smaller-scale ranching enterprises continued to operate on leases nearby (Maxon 1922:16; Henke 1929:40; Langlas et al. 1999:37–38; Tomonari-Tuggle 1996:39; Bergin 2004, 2006, 2009). Parker Ranch continued to focus heavily on merino sheep. Mutton sold for 10¢ a pound, and the sheep when shorn each yielded wool worth an average of 75¢. Good shearers were capable of shearing about 100 sheep in a day, beginning with the ringing of a bell at six o’clock in the morning. Others worked as “roustabouts” collecting the sheared wool and taking it to the press, and two other men would press the wool into bales weighing an average of 275 lb. (Blacksheep 1902). Parker Ranch raised sheep on the acreage through the mid-1960s. Aging equipment, labor shortages, the loss of sheep to predatory dogs, and the expansion of a forest reserve eventually caused the ranch to abandon sheep operations in favor of cattle (Brundage 1971:85; Maly and Maly 2005:447).

Archaeology of Humu‘ula Ranching Sites

Beginning in 2001, participants in archaeological field schools conducted by the University of Hawai‘i at Hilo and the University of Nevada Reno surveyed ranching sites in the Humu‘ula district of Hawai‘i Island (Figure 1), which covers a 116,113 ac. portion of the eastern slopes of Hawai‘i’s highest mountain, Mauna

Kea (4,205 m or 13,796 ft. above sea level). Ranching activities there began in the 1820s and continue to the present, and 19th-century ranchers further subdivided the sprawling district into four regions: Keanakolu, Hopuwai, Laumai‘a, and Kalai‘ehā.

As is typical with frontier industries, the historical narrative presented above has been constructed from company ledgers, legal documents, and letters that describe the ethnic composition of the workforce, goods purchased, and some of the daily activities in ranching communities. In the case of Humu‘ula, however, there are few company records before the 1890s. Furthermore, the narratives are largely written by the business managers, and the lives of ranch laborers can only be inferred from oblique third-person references. Archaeological approaches thus allow us to transcend the limited written record to examine the ethnogenesis of Hawaiian ranching societies in a number of dimensions that are not otherwise available. Preliminary findings derived from fieldwork conducted on Humu‘ula ranching sites since 2001 reveal varied material expressions of life in the ranching communities. To date, the principal fieldwork has focused on developing an inventory of sites in the expansive district (Table 1), with an overall goal of identifying different types of sites associated with the various eras of ranching discussed above.

Early bullock-hunting sites from the 1820s remain elusive, but numerous sites from the mid-19th century to the present have been identified. Preservation of materials on house floors and in privies from the second half of the

TABLE 1
RANCHING SITES IN THE HUMU‘ULA REGION

SIHP No.	Name	Site Type	Date Range
50-10-15-07462	Keanakolu Cabin	Log cabin	1876 to present
50-10-15-24249	Keanakolu Caves	Lava-tube shelters	Precontact to 1900s
50-10-15-24250	Stone Corral Complex	Corral and associated stone outbuildings	Mid-1800s to early 1900s
50-10-15-24251	Lahohinu Homestead	Stone house platform, privy, and cistern	Mid- to late 1800s
50-10-15-24252	Keanakolu Ranger Station	CCC camp	1935 to present
50-10-15-24253	Paniolo Camp	Ruins of wood-framed cabins	Late 1800s to 1900s
50-10-24-15073	“Old Hut”	Stone enclosure	Mid-1800s
50-10-24-26825	Laumai‘a Cabin	Ruins of wood-framed cabin	Late 1800s to mid-1900s
50-10-24-26826	Old Laumai‘a	Stone enclosure	Mid-1800s
50-10-32-7119	Kalai‘ehā	Sheep station	1860s to 1960s

19th century is excellent and provides a wealth of information pertaining to the daily routines of employees of the WGAC and the Humu'ula Sheep Company. It is in these eras that German, Japanese, and Chinese laborers joined with native Hawaiian *paniolo* to manage cattle and sheep operations. Others, such as Frank Spencer from Tasmania, added to the cultural diversity of this group. We have taken up a variety of scales of analysis to understand the sites and the communities of *paniolo* that inhabited them. Although we have focused on broad-scale site identification, we have also exposed a wide array of expressions of material life that merit discussion.

Broad Brush: Landscapes and Large Scales

Some aspects of the ethnogenesis of Hawaiian ranching societies are visible in the settlement patterns and vernacular architecture found at the ranching stations. Archaeological survey of the built landscape of Humu'ula has identified a diverse range of houses, corrals, fence lines, water-storage systems, and roads that reflect the development of Hawaiian ranching traditions. Ranching stations in the district were placed at intervals along a road that traversed the district that appears to have first served as a trail in the precontact era. The trail, now known as Mānā Road after John Palmer Parker's home, has been modernized over the years through gradual improvements such as widening and cobble paving to accommodate wagon traffic (Williams and O'Hare 2001) and the installation of an early telephone line in the 1890s. In some cases, ethnic origins of elements in the built landscape can be discerned. Historical records of bird-catcher's houses and of the first bullock-hunter homesteads, such as Ned Gurney's homestead, describe grass- or leaf-thatched houses that have left little permanent record. The impermanence of these early structures represents a transient mindset in relationship to individuals' investments in specific localities, similar to that reflected in early plantation settlements in the Chesapeake and the southeastern United States (Carson et al. 1988; Deetz 1993:20–22). Hawaiian bird catchers used impermanent shelters and seasonally followed changes in bird habitats, and it may be that early bullock hunters and many cowboys used expedient or temporary shelters in

similar fashion. Rockshelters in gulches and lava tubes were regularly used throughout the period of ranching, and one identified cave complex, Keanakolu (literally: the three caves), was likely used in the precontact era as well as throughout the ranching period.

In the second half of the 19th century, as companies such as the WGAC obtained long-term leases or fee-simple ownership of ranch land, ranch owners and managers further modified the landscape by building fences, catchment ponds, and windbreaks, planting fruit trees and decorative flowerbeds, and clearing land. The archaeological traces of these interconnected ranch stations provide information on household composition and domestic life, the organization of labor, and the modes of production at the ranch stations.

One of the first ranch stations established by the WGAC, the site of "Old" Laumai'a (literally: banana leaf) (Site 26826), dates approximately from the late 1850s to the 1860s, and consists of the ruins of a stone-walled structure measuring approximately 5.3 × 8.5 m. Low spots on the earthen floor were paved with *'ili'ili* (stream gravel that was traditionally employed as floor paving across Hawai'i). The scale of the living quarters surpasses that of later eras. All of the archaeologically identified habitation structures from later decades are not more than half the size of Laumai'a, which we think suggests either smaller work forces by the 1870s or less of a preference for communal habitation. The latter may also reflect a return to temporary structures, such as canvas tents, for many *paniolo*. Eben Low described late-19th-century cowboys living in tents pitched by gulches with available water, who began each day at 4 a.m. with a breakfast of strong coffee and pancakes, and sometimes a glass of gin (Hobbs 1939:98).

At the Keanakolu station (near the caves mentioned above), structures included a wool shed, a log-cabin slaughterhouse, cabins with dry-laid stone walls (Figure 4), a stone corral, and, eventually, small wood-framed cottages. Two small stone cabins in the vicinity of Keanakolu (Sites 24250 and 24251) contain artifact deposits consistent with the 1870s and were built of undressed stone quarried from the local flows. Interiors were plastered with commercially produced lime. In 1868, a large earthquake

Keanakolu Stone Corral Complex
 50-10-15-24250
 Stone Cabin Excavations
 Summer 2005

0 1m

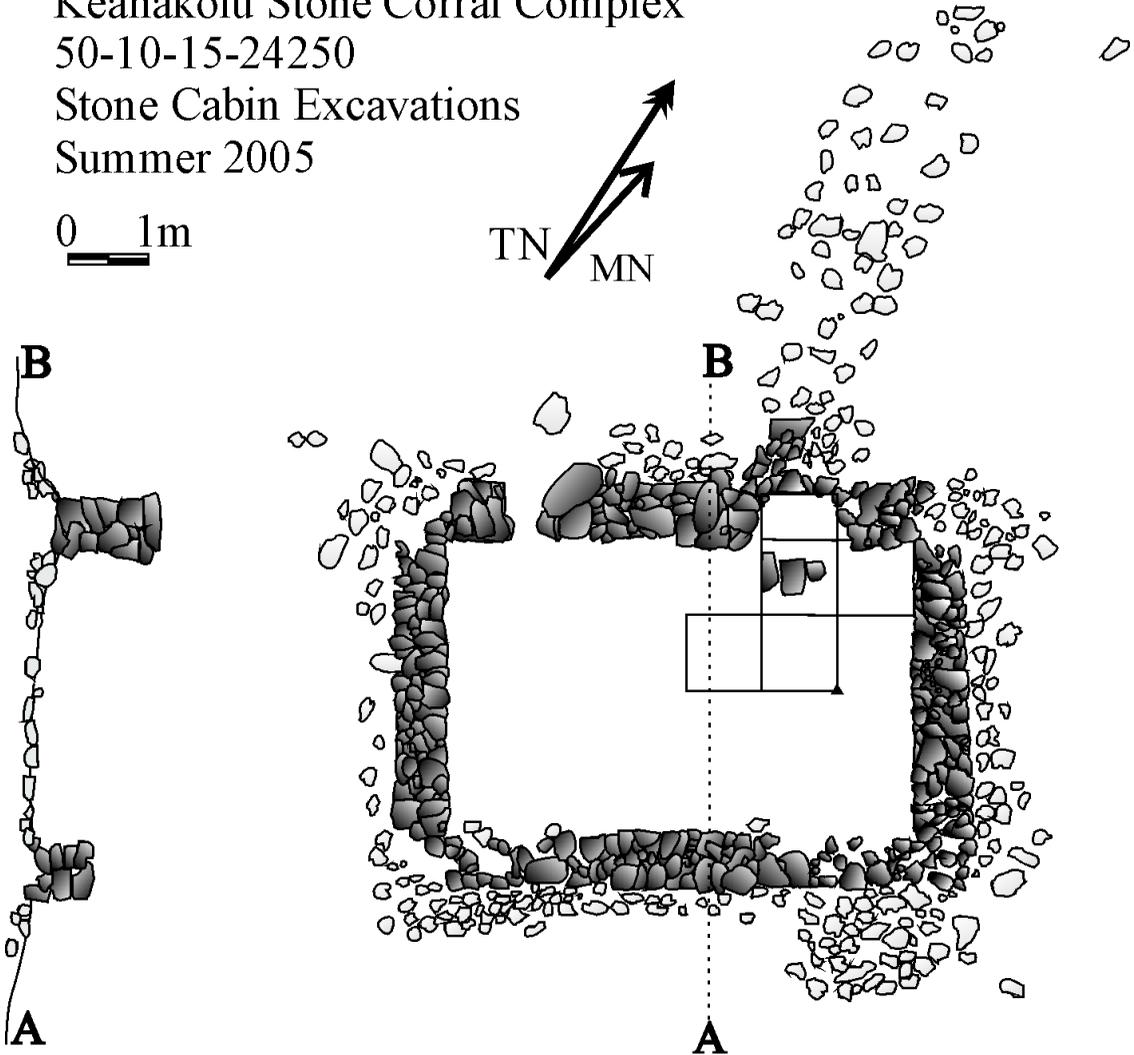
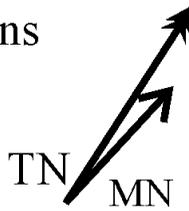


FIGURE 4. Remains of a stone cabin at Keanakolu, Site 50-10-15-24251. (Drawing by Peter R. Mills, 2005.)

on Hawai'i Island may have contributed to increased preference for wood-framed houses on the mountain, as there are no records or archaeological examples of stone-walled houses being built after the 1870s.

Structures in Humu'ula underwent significant changes in the 1870s and 1880s, but these changes were probably influenced by a range of factors beyond the 1868 earthquake, many of which pertain to the increased foreign capital that was being invested in ranching and plantations. In Humu'ula, at least some European-influenced buildings constructed from locally harvested hardwoods replaced the earlier grass huts and stone cabins. The log-cabin

slaughterhouse at Keanakolu is, to our knowledge, an idiosyncratic manifestation of this change; other new structures were built of koa planks. At Laumai'a, the early station with stone walls appears to have been abandoned by the 1870s, but some time later a wood-framed structure was built nearby which had, by the late 1800s, a corrugated metal roof (Site 26825) (Figure 5). A private koa-plank cabin known as Pua 'Akala was built nearby in 1884 by D. Howard Hitchcock and E. G. Hitchcock, who used it as an aristocratic hunting retreat (Maxon 1922:13; Tomonari-Tuggle 1996:39; Langlas et al. 1999:33). Near the turn of the century, ranchers, territorial foresters, and Civilian



FIGURE 5. Undated photograph, ca. 1900, of a wooden cabin at Laumai'a. (Courtesy of Sam Low, Vineyard Haven, Massachusetts.)

Conservation Corps workers used commercially produced lumber (mostly imported redwoods). They built cabins with board-and-batten walls, similar to those used in plantation towns, and water-catchment tanks composed of vertical redwood planks wrapped in thick-gauge wire.

The influence of Japanese culture in Humu'ula is also evident in the material record by the 1890s, particularly in the common adoption of bathhouse outbuildings known as "*furo*," in which a fire would be lit underneath a small tub. The small size of the tub and the heated water were well suited to both the cold conditions and to the limited supply of water. Remnants of these bathhouses are present at Kalai'ehā and Keanakolu, and the word *furo* is plainly understood in both ranching and plantation communities in Hawai'i today.

Gender and *Paniolo* Masculinities

Division of labor and aesthetics provide clues about the influences of ranch work and cultural mixing on the gendering of activities carried out by 19th-century *paniolo*. The archaeological

and documentary evidence suggests that the Humu'ula ranches were predominantly male environments, and so it might be assumed that *paniolo* and laborers lived stereotypically masculine lives. Company records contain references to divisions of labor in Humu'ula that modern observers would expect to be organized by gender but were mostly conducted by men. For example, sewing tasks were consistently assigned to one male Japanese laborer at Humu'ula in the 1890s. Such predominantly male environments were not out of the ordinary for the period and in parallel military and marine workplaces where work and domestic life overlapped. They also suggest a diversity of gender roles within these contexts (Alberti 2006)—and so it is interesting to think about who took on roles considered feminine outside Humu'ula, and how those roles might have been assigned by management.

The material culture of 19th-century *paniolo* must also be understood as embodying multiple traditions of masculine norms and preferences. Victorian sensibilities that appear as "delicate" teaware and perfumes complemented Hawaiian

aesthetics that may have been expressed through floral designs on imported buttons and Cornaline d'Aleppo beads. These items, delicate and feminine to modern eyes, could have belonged in the rough daily lives of *paniolo* much the same way that flower and feather lei are used to dress up a cowboy's hat on special occasions today. It would be unwise, however, to characterize Humu'ula as a strictly male place. One of the few extant photographs of turn-of-the-century Laumai'a shows women on horseback in front of the house (Figure 5), and Isabella Bird noted in the 1870s that a native Hawaiian wife of the station manager was at Kalai'ehā. Whether women were occasional guests of the all-male work households or cohabitating in the ranching stations, spouses and children of male ranch laborers would, of course, remain an important part of the social fabric associated with Hawaiian ranching communities.

Small Strokes: Artifactual Insights

To date, examination of the *paniolo* landscape has been broad in design, identifying sites, completing surface maps, and conducting limited testing. Test excavations reveal an array of artifacts that shed light on *paniolo* life in a detailed fashion. Detailed analysis of the material assemblages from the identified sites draw inspiration from object biography, microhistory, and fine scales of analysis current in historical archaeology today (Gilchrist 2005; Brooks et al. 2008; White 2009). The array of sites examined so far yield information across the ranching eras outlined above. Within almost every site, some artifacts conform to expectations regarding the tools and equipment of cowboys. There have also been, however, myriad artifacts that defy expectations.

For example, as noted above, the site of Old Laumai'a (Site 26826) yielded a wide assortment of artifacts typical of what might be expected on a living floor of a practical and rugged ranch camp dating to the 1860s. These include ball-clay pipe fragments, a worn-out horseshoe, glass trade beads, burned pig and cattle bone, bottle fragments with hand-tooled finishes and pontil marks, and lead waste. Several other items recovered from the living floor, however, do not seem to fit so easily with such expectations. Further analysis awaits this portion

of the assemblage, which includes a thin, delicate, faceted glass ring, buttons with jet facings and floral designs, fragments of a molded transfer-printed teapot, and a cologne bottle.

Two unusual finds are a pair of late-19th-century bottles from the Keanakolu Stone Cabin (Site 24251) that were intentionally drilled (Figure 6). We hypothesize that the bottles may have been intended as smoking pipes or as pipettes for measuring gunpowder or a similar product. Their recovery from the top of the cabin's earthen floor suggests the drilling took place around the time of the abandonment of the site at the beginning of the 20th century. It will be informative to see if other such bottles appear in other sites, or if they remain idiosyncratic. Future residue analyses or contextual information may help narrow the possible hypotheses.

Additional bottles identified across the ranch sites include embossed patent-medicine bottles, which relate not only to failing health and self-medication, but to the economic and physical dependencies that developed from the unregulated marketing of medicines laden with opiates and alcohol. Some such bottles recovered in Humu'ula include Ayer's Cherry Pectoral, Perry Davis's Pain Killer, and Brown's Pain Destroyer, all medicines that contained opiates (Oleson 1890; S. H. Adams 1905; Hodgson 2001; Olson 2006) and that were widely marketed in newspapers and advertisement cards (Figure 7) before the 1906 Food and Drug Act. One significant implication for the presence of patent medicines in Humu'ula is the economic toll on laborers with drug dependencies. The archives of the Humu'ula Sheep Company contain frequent notations in the company account books for items sold to workers, and "P.K.," which was occasionally spelled out as "pain killer" (Humu'ula Sheep Company 1896), is a typical entry in the 1890s. These entries, along with the material evidence, provide poignant examples of the extent to which drug companies were able to extract significant portions of laborers' wages throughout the colonial world. The appearance of these patented medicines also brings into focus the physical hardships that the ranch laborers endured in their daily lives and the economic exploitation of the working class through the marketing of addictive products.

Other health issues are reflected in another class of material culture. Percussion caps were frequently recovered from mid-19th-century sites



FIGURE 6. Drilled bottle inscribed: LUBIN PARFUMEUR PARIS, from Keanakolu. Unlike a Hertzian cone that would occur if the bottle had been shot, the hole is widest on the exterior, and the glass surface is abraded rather than fractured. (Drawing by Peter R. Mills, 2011.)

in Humu‘ula. These caps contained fulminate of mercury in the contact explosive, and the regular use of percussion caps in proximity to the face engenders questions about occupational hazards of repeated exposure to mercury vapors. Like lead poisoning, this may have been an unrecognized health hazard in the 19th century, especially for individuals who regularly fired weapons as part of their daily routines.

The common presence of percussion caps also dispels the written record’s implication that guns were not regularly used in Hawaiian ranching after the adoption of vaquero herding styles in the 1830s. Although the percussion caps and large-caliber bullets found on the living floors at Keanakolu and Laumai‘a may be, in part, for the control of wild-dog populations by station managers instead of *paniolo*, their presence clearly indicates that guns remained an essential part of toolkits on ranching sites.

As noted above, the built environment suggests different sorts of living spaces for different status levels (permanent structures vs. canvas tents). The material record also suggests status differentiation across the ranching sites. At the

Keanakolu Stone Cabin, there was a variety of expensive materials, including a wall-clock pendulum arm, a cognac bottle, a small pressed-copper embossing of a rampant lion (Kahahane 2006), and faunal remains that include fish and game birds. All of these items suggest social stratification in contrast with the inexpensive and readily accessible material goods recovered in the workers’ shelters. Similarly, the inclusion of such “delicate” items as a transfer-ware teapot and dressy garments with buttons faced in jet or molded in floral designs in the Old Laumai‘a assemblage may suggest its long-term occupation by a supervisor or *luna* acting as caretaker.

Whereas Japanese, Hawaiian, and Western elements can be found in the vernacular architecture discussed above, some Chinese influences are apparent in portable artifacts. One archaeological indication of Chinese influence in the archaeological material assemblage appears in brown stoneware food jars and associated unglazed jar lids at the Keanakolu Stone Cabin site. Stoneware food jars were commonly exported from the southern Chinese province



FIGURE 7. A 19th-century advertisement card for Ayer's Cherry Pectoral. (Courtesy, National Library of Medicine, QV 772 C25 No. 84 pm.)

of Kwangtung and have been identified in 19th-century deposits in Honolulu (Lebo 1997:appendix C-12; Thomas 2005), and in 19th-century and early-20th-century sites in the American West (Olsen 1978:37; Lister and Lister 1989:40–43). Typical contents included salted vegetables, dried fruits, dried mushrooms, shrimp paste, bean curd, sweet gherkins, soy beans, cheese, pickled ginger, pickled lemon, peanut oil, salted garlic, salted radish, salted onion, and fish pastes (Lebo 1997:appendix C-12). It is notable that similar stoneware is lacking at the Old Launai site from the 1860s, which predates the presence of Chinese and Japanese laborers on the ranches.

While items like cough syrups, painkillers, and French perfume reflect participation in a global market, other products suggest the resiliency and continuation of local economies. For example, virtually every domestic-site assemblage tested to date contains *kukui* endocarps. *Kukui* (*Aleurites moluccana*) is one of many species introduced throughout Polynesia by long-distance Polynesian voyages. The oily nuts were typically used in Hawaiian houses as a source of lighting, but the nuts also had medicinal purposes. *Kukui* trees only grow at lower elevations, so their presence in Humu'ula uplands indicates *paniolo*'s sustained relationships with natural resources (and people) at lower elevations. While the presence of the nuts in ranch settings may indicate traditional uses, innovative uses in a ranching context might include waterproofing leather jackets, chaps, and boots. Similarly, fish bones in the hearth of the stone cabin at Keanakolu also point to exchange of local products from the coast to add variety to the foodstuffs available at higher elevations. Fish would not have been brought to the mountain out of necessity, because there was plenty of meat protein to be consumed locally. The consumption of fish was clearly a dietary preference supported by connections with coastal communities.

Discussion

The cultural developments in Humu'ula that gave rise to *paniolo* identities broadly relate to other creolization studies in historical anthropology and represent the ethnogenesis of new folk traditions that often accompanied the spread of capitalism in colonial settings. As Croucher and Weiss (2011) recently argued, capitalism and

colonialism are the two most central themes of historical archaeology, but the differences in their manifestations force archaeologists to examine the complexity and variegated nature of each concept. Creolization, as a central concept in the historical archaeology of American colonialism, is often viewed as a kind of negotiation of power between the colonizers and the colonized (Mullins and Paynter 2000; Voss 2005). The distribution of power between the Hawaiian monarchy and early-19th-century foreigners, however, appears to be a poor match with most other settings in the New World (Mills 2002:234), in part because an indigenous Hawaiian monarchy maintained its political control over the islands for more than a century after Western contact. In Hawai'i, it was King Kamehameha I who ensured that the few cattle delivered by Vancouver in 1793 would propagate, and it was the Hawaiian monarchy that controlled access to the herds. When the hide-and-tallow trade flourished in the 1830s, Hawaiian chiefs actively facilitated the development of the industry. By that point, the chiefs had been engaged in capitalist enterprises for over half a century. They fully understood that if they controlled resources desired in the West, they could improve their national and personal wealth through the global economy in what Marshall Sahlins (1990) refers to in Hawai'i as the "political economy of grandeur." Governor Kuakini ordered roads to be built to the ports, and King Kamehameha III solicited trained vaqueros to help operate the trade and to train other social actors to become effective cattlemen.

The first laborers were largely isolated foreign "bullock hunters," but by the 1830s a multiethnic group of cowboys had developed trade skills garnered from vaqueros and became known collectively as *paniolo*. At first, the term applied to vaquero immigrants, but, as other individuals appropriated and modified the vaqueros' practices, the term came to refer to cowboys working on Hawaiian ranches regardless of their ethnicity. Because the labor force used a great deal of the Hawaiian lexicon in its trade language and because of a strong native Hawaiian investment in the multiethnic cowboy communities, the *paniolo* tradition has been embraced within a modern Hawaiian cultural identity. Some early ranch stations provided communal settings where laborers ate, slept, and lived together, which facilitated the inception of folk traditions.

The conditions that facilitated the ethnogenesis of *paniolo* folk societies are further illuminated in the varied structures and material remains of their camps, many of which are poorly documented or undocumented in archival sources. The archaeology of these camps reveals a complex history; one must consider the changing power dynamics, household genders, and ethnicities that accompanied the transition from individual bullock hunters to commercial stations that employed managers, cowboys, and common laborers (cooks, wall builders, sheep shearers). The observation that some of these work camps were occupied for short periods of time enables the examination of the changing material world of Hawaiian ranching as it rapidly transformed from the pursuits of individuals to the pursuits of companies with organized labor forces. Rather than exposing holotypic, redundant, and timeless assemblages of the iconic Hawaiian cowboy, the archaeology of the Humu‘ula ranch stations offers insight into the changing materiality and identities of colonial Hawai‘i and points to the potential value of comparative studies of 19th-century ranches across the Pacific and the American West.

As is evident in most 19th-century sites in the New World, a global chain of distribution is present in the material remains of Hawaiian ranch stations, where products originating in France, New England, China, and other overseas production centers were being consumed on a regular basis. It is easy to see these products simply as things that were distributed at the will of large market forces, but the specific items reflect culturally determined patterns of production, distribution, and consumption. The market for these materials was determined not only by their availability on the national and international market, but also by their desirability in folk settings. The artifacts and their sources expose a great deal about the popular cultural influences that affected the daily lives of the *paniolo*.

Many more questions remain concerning livestock ranchers and workers in Hawai‘i. Historical archaeology of Hawai‘i’s ranching community affords an opportunity to revisit debates about acculturation in a colonized Hawai‘i. The scholarship of Jonathan Okamura (2008) and Brandon Ledward (2007) questions older models of Hawaiian multiculturalism that

characterize the islands as a “racial paradise” (R. Adams 1934, 1937; Grant and Ogawa 1993; Chang 1996; Takaki 1998). These models and their critiques largely derive from the legacy of sugar plantations in the archipelago. The ranching community does not fit neatly into either version of Hawaiian multiculturalism but demands its own historically contingent explanation of its ethnogenesis. Historical archaeology of Hawaiian ranching could explore the role of various factors in the community’s development, including structural differences between labor strategies on ranches and plantations, historical continuities with precontact animal-husbandry practices, and the ways family and kin ties have influenced the workforce.

The *paniolo* community continues to raise and market livestock and has a keen interest in maintaining its heritage. Going forward, archaeological research on Hawai‘i’s ranching landscapes can be part of efforts to remember and connect the community’s living traditions with the tangible places of its present and past. Additionally, current efforts to restore Mauna Kea’s forests are focused on reversing ecological damage attributed to livestock grazing (Ho‘okuleana LLC 2009). As the forests return, it will be important to document the extent and variability of archaeological traces of ranching as reminders of that episode in Hawai‘i’s colonial past and in the interest of heritage tourism.

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Reviews

The Editorial Advisory Committee of *Historical Archaeology* advises its readers that the book reviews are posted on the SHA website <<http://www.sha.org>>.

Edited by Richard Veit

*Community-Based Archaeology:
Research with, by, and
for Indigenous and
Local Communities*

SONYA ATALAY

University of California Press,
Berkeley, 2012. 328 pp., 20 figs.,
bib., index. \$70.00 cloth, \$29.95
paper.

In *Community-Based Archaeology*, Sonya Atalay outlines her thoughts and experiences regarding the benefits of a truly collaborative archaeological practice. In designing research projects with, by, and for various stakeholder communities, Atalay provides a methodology for decolonizing archaeology while promoting its use as a tool for social change. By crafting research designs through a methodology Atalay calls community-based participatory research (CBPR), archaeological projects become relevant and accessible to local communities. In turn, these communities benefit from an inclusive and integrative process that develops and fosters ground-level capacity in the stewardship of cultural resources. In this collaboration-driven model, CBPR allows for the democratization of archaeological practice while also providing a platform for shared authority and knowledge production with local and descendant communities.

Atalay's text is divided into eight chapters tracing the origins, principles, and various practices of community-based archaeological projects. Using five case studies, Atalay differentiates CBPR from other forms of community or public archaeology by anchoring its principles in postcolonial theory. Her approach examines the internal and external forces that continue to decolonize archaeological practices. Discussions of self-reflexivity, subjectivity, multivocality, ethics, public education, and outreach within the archaeological community have exerted internal influences on the way archaeology is practiced and approached. In addition to

these internal influences, Atalay stresses how Native American activism shifted archaeological practice toward a more inclusive and culturally sensitive approach. Both of these internal and external forces were central in creating and embracing CBPR, a methodology that directly addresses theoretical and ethical concerns of academics and descendant communities alike.

In discussing CBPR, Atalay differentiates it from public and community archaeology by asking the question, who does the research benefit? Central to Atalay's definition of CBPR is the decolonization of archaeological practice. By involving descendant communities in every aspect of the research project, from design to execution, CBPR provides a methodology that fundamentally shifts the power paradigm of traditional archaeological research projects from archaeological objectives to community goals. In developing a CBPR project, where community concerns and research questions are given primacy, a true collaborative nature is fostered by both academics and the people they work with. Through such a framework, CBPR differs from most concepts of public or community archaeology.

Another way in which CBPR differs from previous concepts of public and community archaeology is through knowledge production and dissemination. CBPR is concerned with how knowledge is produced, who produces it, who this knowledge is for, and ultimately, who benefits from it. In CBPR these concerns directly influence community engagement, research partnerships, and power sharing through a decolonizing of the research process. Essential to this process is the recognition that every member participating in CBPR has valuable input, knowledge, and skill-sets that complement other facets of the project. The community therefore is involved as an active participant in the research rather than being a passive consumer of "expert" knowledge. Through this manner, in being consciously aware of the political action of archaeological research, CBPR serves as a collaborative and reciprocal tool for social and civic engagement.

One goal of Atalay's book is to provide a way to operationalize the theory of CBPR into practice. Since CBPR is flexible and locally specific, there is no one-size-fits-all methodology. Instead, Atalay offers five commonalities that she draws from involvement with various CBPR projects, as follows: "1) they utilize a community-based, partnership process; 2) they aspire to be participatory in all aspects; 3) they build community capacity; 4) they engage a spirit of reciprocity; and 5) they recognize the contributions of multiple knowledge systems" (p. 63). In approaching research projects with these commonalities in mind, Atalay has found great success in implementing CBPR.

Atalay acknowledges the difficulty of applying CBPR to all archaeological projects, and dedicates a significant portion of the book to addressing potential skeptics with relevant examples showcasing how CBPR offers a beneficial reorientation for archaeology. Using five case studies, Atalay shows how projects can benefit from a CBPR model by ameliorating tense and untrusting relationships between archaeologists and communities. In using CBPR, research designs and goals become transparent, building a level of mutual respect and trust for both parties involved in an archaeological project. In addition to this transparency, by sharing authority through decision making, planning, and execution, CBPR provides a level playing field for multiple knowledges and skill-sets to contribute to a project. Atalay refers to such collaboration as "braided knowledge," a substantive and enlightening way of integrating multiple truths into a story.

Atalay also addresses concerns of those who wish to practice CBPR but are hesitant. She understands how scholars are often

restricted by stringent timelines, making the practice of CBPR difficult. Atalay cogently explains how the research methodology presented in her book can overcome this and other difficulties commonly restricting full community participation. In approaching projects with CBPR, Atalay reminds research participants to be aware and open with their goals and timelines from the outset of meeting with community members. In being transparent with personal concerns, many of the difficulties and questions arising from adopting a CBPR methodology can be mitigated. Atalay urges that the benefits to scholarly and community research through the use of CBPR are worth the constraints and obstacles that may occur.

Community-Based Archaeology is a must read for those seeking substantive approaches in decolonizing archaeological practice. The methodology and examples explored by Atalay address numerous concerns and hesitations that may prevent the adoption of CBPR. Atalay convincingly reveals the benefits of CBPR for both professional archaeologists and descendant, local, and indigenous communities by grounding her methodology in postcolonial theory. The practice of CBPR successfully operationalizes postcolonial theory, fundamentally shifting the power paradigm toward a productive and meaningful engagement between all participants in a project. *Community-Based Archaeology* will serve as a beacon and guide to self-critical archaeologists wishing to engage the public in a substantive manner.

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Breathing New Life into the Evidence of Death: Contemporary

Approaches to Bioarchaeology

AUBREY BAADSGAARD, ALEXIS T. BOUTIN, AND JANE E. BUIKSTRA (EDITORS)

School for Advanced Research Press, Santa Fe, NM, 2011. 340 pp., 37 figs., 20 tables, refs., index. \$39.95 paper.

The papers in this edited volume arose out of an eponymous seminar held at the School for Advanced Research in 2008. Divided into three themes, the nine contributions represent a contextual approach to the production of bioarchaeological understanding, including both theoretical and data-driven studies. Every paper foregrounds the interrelationship between individual and collective skeletal remains and the sociocultural factors that affect the process and interpretation of the treatment of the dead.

Part 1 involves three theoretical, historical, and methodological explorations loosely centered on the theme of community. Pamela Geller links the living and the dead in the Mayan world through a nuanced treatment of child sacrifice, arguing that the practice both contributed to a cohesive society and was permanently embodied by individual mourners who amputated their own finger for a sacrificed child. In studying burials from Halaf times, Susan Pollock suggests that rather than focusing on deviation from the normative burial pattern as an explanatory framework, it may be more useful in many contexts to pay attention to the idiosyncrasies as well. Drawing on social theory, Pollock argues that variation in Halaf burial is not necessarily intentional or meaningful, but rather a flexible perspective or improvisation in ritual surrounding death. In a complementary chapter, Rachel Scott presents burial data from early Christian Galway and argues that, rather than finding meaning in patterned differences in burials, looking at similarities that crosscut the graves demonstrates

the significant role of religion in Irish society. Both Pollock and Scott persuasively revise the Binfordian model, wherein mortuary treatment reflects social identity, to underscore the influence of community and conformity in burial.

Part 2 provides two perspectives that push bioarchaeological research in a more cultural direction. By grounding her fictive narratives in traditional osteological data sources, Alexis Boutin effectively highlights individual experiences in Alalakh, Syria, in the 2nd millennium B.C. through unique and compelling prose. This focus on the human scale is echoed in María Cecilia Lozada's call for a multidisciplinary approach to ancestry. With genetic analysis on the rise, Lozada points out the need to differentiate cultural and biological understandings of social relationships with a case study of the Chiribaya of Peru, where cranial modification styles correlate with burial groups better than genes do. Both contributions call attention to the various ways that personhood may have been constructed in the past and the pitfalls associated with contemporary attempts to reconstruct these intricate relationships.

Four authors contribute bioarchaeological case studies to part 3. Christina Torres-Rouff and Aubrey Baadsgaard investigate cultural additions to the biological body with, respectively, a study of labret use in prehistoric Chile and mortuary dress in the Royal Cemetery of Ur. Both take as a starting point Joanna Sofaer's notion of the body as material culture and suggest that these objects not only reflect an individual's identity but also helped create that identity in life and in death. Christopher Knüsel discusses masculine social identities in late medieval England with a thorough analysis of elbow injury patterns that resulted from overuse among lower-status men training to use the longbow. The synthesis of pathology data with bioarchaeological context and historical information allows Knüsel to both reconstruct activity patterns and identify the social memory of the warrior. Within this section and the volume as a whole, however, the standout contribution comes from Ann

Stodder, whose treatment of skull art from the Sepik coast of New Guinea emphasizes the idea that death is a complex social process rather than a simple biological event. These human skulls are modified by skilled artisans, who turn individuals into ancestors following biological death. Yet their story does not end at this point; individual ancestors move into collective memory as time passes, allowing those once-sacred skulls to become trade commodities, eventually ending up in the collection of the Field Museum. Stodder expertly employs ethnographic information, history, iconography, and biological remains to complicate the life/death dichotomy and reformulate it as a continuum with various scales of social memory.

Pulling the diverse chapters together is a meaty introduction by editors Jane Buikstra, Aubrey Baadsgaard, and Alexis Boutin, which presents a brief but thorough history of bioarchaeology as a discipline, summarizes the contributions to the volume, and encourages bioarchaeologists to define themselves by the questions they ask, not the methods they use, and to communicate the answers to those questions to an increasingly diverse public. Some of this introductory chapter, however, would have been better used as a conclusion

or discussion piece, which the volume lacks. In terms of mechanics, the bibliography is extensive and the index is useful, but the volume is not particularly well copyedited, to the point of being distracting in several chapters.

As a whole, this book draws together a range of methodological and theoretical perspectives that complement one another and provide an integrated view of the discipline of bioarchaeology. Many of the contributions are not as novel in 2013 as they likely were when first presented in the seminar series in 2008, yet even today they showcase the volume editors' assertion that, in terms of holistic approaches to the past, bioarchaeology "is helping to lead the way, even interrogating the very nature of archaeological research, reporting and increasing its relevance to modern communities" (p. 25). As such, the volume is a strong statement on the current practice and future directions of the anthropological study of death in past societies.

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Archaeology of the Chinese Fishing Industry in Colonial Victoria

ALISTER M. BOWEN

Sydney University Press, Sydney, Australia, 2012. 177 pp., 113 figs., refs. A\$40.00, paper.

Alister Bowen's monograph details an archaeological site that may be unusual to the point of perhaps being unique. As Bowen himself notes in the introduction, his Chinaman's Point site in the colonial Australian town of Port Arthur may well be the only archaeologically excavated Chinese fish-curing site anywhere in the world, never mind in Australia's southeastern state of Victoria. This monograph (the third in the Australasian Society for Historical Archaeology's Studies in Australian Historical Archaeology series) nonetheless holds interest beyond the likely narrow demographic of colleagues interested in 19th-century Chinese fish curing.

The monograph begins with an introduction clearly outlining research questions and themes. As Bowen notes, while the initial aim may be to understand Chinese involvement in colonial Victoria's fishing industry, the broader theme is to examine Chinese society in colonial Australia, and the implications thereof for both Chinese and non-Chinese alike. While the introduction is clearly laid out, and will be of interest to anyone interested in comparative historical archaeology practice and theory between their home region and Australia, this is the section that perhaps most clearly show the monograph's origins in Bowen's Ph.D. thesis. This is particularly true of the theory discussion, which, while entirely relevant, does read like a distilled doctoral dissertation overview.

Chapter 2 discusses the history of commercial fishing in Australia. This fascinating chapter discusses Aboriginal, European, and Chinese commercial fishing activities both generally and within the specific contexts of Victoria and Port Albert. Bowen outlines

cultural exchanges, technological development over time (beginning with the 5th century in the European discussion), the historical background to the colonial settlement of Port Albert and its broader region of Gippsland, and the scale of the economic activity of the local fishing industry. It may come as a surprise to many readers to learn just how lucrative Chinese fish curing was: a Chinese fish curer could sell his wares for more than four times the price a European fisherman could charge for his uncured fish.

Chapter 3 focuses more specifically on Chinese fishing industries in China, but also contains a discussion of Chinese emigration to Victoria in the colonial period. Chinese immigration in the 19th century was at its peak during the gold rush period, offering immediate points of comparative commonality to the western North American experience. This discussion in turn builds the ground for chapter 4, which further narrows the focus to the role of the Chinese in Victoria's fishing industry (though the chapter does touch upon activity in other Australian states and the Northern Territory). The chapter focuses on both industrial activity and economic and labor structures. Chinese fish-curing methods are outlined in detail, and an explicit comparison is made with Chinese fishing activities in the United States.

Chapter 5 describes the archaeological excavation Bowen carried out at Chinaman's Point, and chapter 6 contains the artifact analysis. In addition to describing the archaeological data, these chapters contain highly detailed information on methodology and the source of typological terminology that should greatly enhance the monograph's utility for further comparative analysis. A central challenge for Bowen—mentioned in both chapters—is that bottle collectors and other artifact hunters had looted the site over the last century and a half. Additionally, historical documents and photographs demonstrated that up to 100 m of the site foreshore had eroded away in the century and a half between

the site's occupation and the archaeological excavation. This inevitably impacted both data recovery and data interpretation. Bowen is commendably open about both the extent of the problem and the likely impact on his data; the issue is tackled head-on rather than ignored or gently brushed to one side. In fact, much of the data seem interpretively robust despite these challenges, with the ceramics assemblage (overwhelmingly dominated by Chinese ceramics), faunal evidence, and artifacts relating to the fishing industry among those offering interesting insights into everyday life at Chinaman's Point. Given the scope of both bottle collecting and erosion, the glass assemblage is more problematic (as Bowen acknowledges), but even here individual artifacts such as Chinese medical vials and bottle bases likely modified to be used as lamp chimneys have been usefully employed in overall site interpretation. There is also artifactual evidence of opium smoking at the site.

Chapters 7 and 8 contain discussions of site dating, interpretation, and the overall summarizing conclusion. These help summarize

the monograph's contributions to both the understanding of the Chinese involvement in Victoria's fishing industry specifically, and the Chinese immigrant experience in Australia generally. Bowen's monograph offers an important contribution to our understanding of both. The number of directly analogous sites to which Chinaman's Point can currently be compared is perhaps small, but Bowen's work will be of interest to many colleagues working on Chinese sites around the Pacific Rim given the data it provides on Chinese emigrant cultural activity and material culture. Additionally, the monograph offers useful insights into Australian colonial society that are more broadly useful for anyone interested in 19th-century comparative colonialism, and serves to demonstrate the disciplinary strength of Australian historical archaeology in the early 21st century.

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*Culinary Creolization:
Subsistence and Cultural Interaction
at Fort Michilimackinac,
1730–1761*

JENNA K. CARLSON

Archaeological Completion Report Series, Number 18, Mackinac Island State Park Commission, Mackinac Island, MI, 2012. 138 pp., 22 illus., 13 tables, bib., 3 apps. \$48.95 paper.

Over the course of five chapters and three appendices, Jenna Carlson explicates the archaeological history of Fort Michilimackinac in Michigan with a particular focus on the faunal assemblages from Houses C and D at the site, and their ties to the multiple cultural groups living at the site in the 18th century. This work culminates from Carlson's master's thesis and provides another archaeological record of the faunal-rich site and geographic region. In this report, Carlson compiles known historical occupancies of these two houses, to the point of examining ancestries of all residents, including bicultural spouses. In particular, she examines the Parants and the Bolons, both "middle- to upper middle-class fur trading families" (p. 69).

Carlson's central argument is that through analysis of these remains, one can see both "creolization" and "transculturation" at work during this critical juncture in history, when the site transitioned between French and British occupation and saw mixing with Native American populations in the region and even within households. Per Carlson and previous archaeological research, the term "creolization" refers to multigenerational changes over time, while the term "transculturation" specifies changes due to contact among cultural groups over shared space.

Ultimately, Carlson poses three questions regarding this subsection of the Fort Michilimackinac site during the 31-year span of

occupancy, namely: (1) what was consumed, (2) whether Native American ancestry is discernible within the assemblage, and (3) what exists as comparisons and points of contrast during the French and subsequent British encampments at the site.

Overall, Carlson's chapters follow the traditional progression one expects in a faunal report. Once Carlson explains the geographic and historical contexts of the site, she seamlessly transitions into her research, data recording, and collection methods. From there, Carlson's reporting investigates the animal remains found at Houses C and D, documenting raw data in both table and chart/diagram form, leaving the reader with a primary understanding of how the two houses relate. The fourth chapter illustrates the relationship of two houses to the Fort Michilimackinac site's rich zooarchaeological and occupancy history. This penultimate chapter reframes the data in the context of the three core questions Carlson posed at the beginning of her report.

Through discussion of economic and ethnic markers in diet and food consumption, Carlson comes to the conclusion that the comparison of these two houses during this time and within the context of the various parties living here during the time show both a fusion and clear ethnic markers. The amount of wild vs. domesticated animals and the types of animals whose remains show clear indicators of consumption document the impacts of "transculturation" and "creolization." It is interesting that the Native American impact shows more prominently in the data from the British occupancy than from the French occupancy, although the latter is the primary focus of Carlson's report. Differences in consumption of some foods such as beaver and use of other animals such as birds mark the archaeological record in a way worthy of further exploration, which Carlson provides quite adeptly.

Through her use of traditional zooarchaeological practices (discussion of NISP, MNI, biomass calculations, and the Shannon-Weaver index) and multi-sited archaeological report-

ing, Carlson provides a view into life at the multiethnic site of Fort Michilimackinac. She delineates the factors considered within dietary reconstruction data and argues for their inclusion through bone alteration documentation. She combines multiple house units at the same site, using previous studies as well as her own zooarchaeological research of the previously excavated collections. Although the assemblage is not definitive about occupational history in terms of duration and seasonality, Carlson does her best in showing how to deduce some of this information without overstepping the inherent limitations. She likewise documents the limits on the types of zooarchaeological analysis she could do given variations in excavation methods used at comparative sites in the region.

Ultimately, Carlson's report adds much to an already rich data collection for this critical juncture in Michigan site history during the 18th century. Through her meticulous discussion of the site's history and that of the respective occupants of Houses C and D, Carlson promotes a deeper analysis of the cultural and ethnic shifts as they exist not only in interactions but also in dietary consumption. This promotes the ideas of inclusion of "transcultural" and "creolization" investigations as appropriate and as possible in sites occupied simultaneously by people of multiple ethnic identities in zooarchaeological research. The inclusion of discourse on British, French, and Native American diet and how diet influenced, related, and reinforced traditional customs of the representative groups is a cogent and insightful approach.

There are only a few items left to hope for in a report such as this. Although there are certainly many figures and tables in her

report, Carlson could have included several more, particularly in the synthesis of the two houses presented in chapter 4. The raw data are of course of paramount importance and are included, but the comparative datasets are more text-based than tabular, making them at times a little cumbersome. Additionally, one of the maps provided of the fort (fig. 3) would have benefited greatly from an insert labeling the house units more directly, as the 18th-century map is essentially illegible as presented. Clearly, it must be to a degree readable in its original state given Carlson's later identification of Houses C and D, but the figure and the subtext provided do not help the reader situate these houses within the fort proper. Lastly, although the chapters and larger scope of this investigation are presented cogently, some areas within the chapters take some additional reading to piece together, as Carlson frequently alternates between small and large scale, raw and analyzed data. Archaeologists could benefit from seeing the development within each chapter a bit more, which would allow further cross-site comparison to occur as the rich history of Michigan and the Great Lakes region fur trade continues to increase in scope. Carlson's contribution with *Culinary Creolization: Subsistence and Cultural Interaction at Fort Michilimackinac, 1730–1761* serves both as a continuation and an advancement of faunal investigations and interpretations within dietary consumption analysis in the Great Lakes and fur trade region as well as within multiple ethnic group occupancy sites.

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*A Fine and Private Place:
The Archaeology of Death
and Burial in Post-Medieval Britain
and Ireland*

ANNIA CHERRYSON, ZOË
CROSSLAND, AND SARAH TARLOW
Leicester Archaeology Monograph
22, School of Archaeology and
Ancient History, University of
Leicester, Leicester, UK, 2012. 276
pp., 82 illus., 21 tables, bib., index.
£32.00 paper.

Researchers now have at their disposal a truly comprehensive and fascinating resource on postmedieval Britain and Ireland. *A Fine and Private Place* is really two impressive volumes in one. The first section, divided into seven chapters, integrates data from postmedieval and historical sites in England, Scotland, and Ireland. The second section, the gazetteer, presents summary information for all postmedieval and historical sites in these areas, including references for each. For the first time a book pulls together, makes accessible, and synthesizes all available data to note patterns, trends, and changes in burial practices from the 16th century through the 19th century.

As the authors note, the archaeology of postmedieval human remains in Britain and Ireland is primarily carried out by professional archaeologists when a site is threatened, and only rarely is it the topic of dedicated research. Because of this, much of the data remains unpublished. As a result the field as a whole has suffered from a lack of easily accessible and comparable data from postmedieval burials. It is of tremendous importance, then, that the authors were successful in tracking down so many sites, compiling the data from them, and weaving a story of burial practices covering a period of more than 400 years.

The first seven chapters consist of an introduction, conclusion, and five topical chapters. The five topical chapters combine the

data from all of the sites in these regions and discuss the preparation of the body, the dressing of the body, the burial landscape, unusual burials, and the use of the body for medical research. The authors carefully combine social history with the available data to explain, for instance, changing trends in dressing the body for burial. The shift from looser to more fitted burial shrouds from the 16th to the 19th centuries, for example, is noted using a combination of shroud pins and artistic representations, and the discussion is augmented by a review of burial laws surrounding fabric use for burial shrouds. Appendix 1 lists all of the major laws passed between 1547 and 1902 concerning burial practice, which is enormously helpful for understanding patterns in the graves themselves. Gorgeous color photographs, such as an excellently preserved open-back 18th- to 19th-century shroud from Christ Church, Spitalfields, accompany the text.

Part of the strength of this text is how it navigates between large social and historical changes and close inspection of individual bodies and cemeteries. In one example, the authors provide excellent detail about how changes in practice and ideology associated with the Reformation, changing ideas about health and safety of decomposing bodies, and the increasing personalization of the dead led to areas other than churchyards becoming acceptable burial locations. In their discussions and interpretations the authors carefully avoid overgeneralization, such as in pointing out that Ireland was less affected by Reformation practices, and monastic burial continued as a tradition for a longer period in that region.

All of the discussions in the book, from burial location to grave goods, are supplemented by extensive tables detailing sites from the study, their dates, original references, and how they fit with the discussion. For instance, a table on page 35 lists the limited number of pieces of jewelry found at some of the sites, which provides an example to the authors' point that inclusion of personal adornments was relatively rare at this period.

The tables, text, and images are just part of what make this book an excellent resource; the gazetteer, the second half of the book, is designed to be a resource unto itself. Organized by country, county, and then site name, it lists all of the sites the authors could track down, the grid reference, the type of site, the date of the cemetery, the number of bodies excavated, the excavation date, and a brief summary of the investigative project, along with references. With 68 pages of these listings, it should be a primary starting place for anyone doing research on the 16th through the 19th centuries. The authors also have an open call for help in adding to the gazetteer.

Clearly very important for postmedieval burial research in England and Ireland and related topics, this is the first book to draw these types of data together and provide synthesis and interpretation. In the last two topical chapters, focusing on unusual burials and the medical use of bodies, the authors also include some discussion of the skeletal remains themselves, discussing, for instance, the use of bodies to practice surgery, such as the case of a cranium found at Cotton Court, Hill Street in Belfast that had 11 postmortem practice trepanations. In the conclusion, the authors note that “[t]oo frequently the bone

report [from these sites] is entirely separate from the description of the archaeology. We have regularly been frustrated by the difficulty or impossibility of matching the individuals in the bone report with the burials mentioned in the text” (p. 159). The authors have appropriately attempted to accommodate some skeletal data into this volume, and while more could have been useful, one of their final concluding points is a call for a greater integration of the archaeological and skeletal data.

In the end, this book should be indispensable to those doing work in postmedieval archaeology and bioarchaeology of England and Ireland, as well as an invaluable comparative source, and will hopefully serve as an inspiration for those working in the United States and other regions to draw together historical data into such a volume. The authors have set a precedent for doing the hard work in tracking down sources and making important data accessible to all researchers, and their efforts have more than paid off in a fascinating, comprehensive, and invaluable book.

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*Evolutionary and Interpretive
Archaeologies: A Dialogue*

ETHAN E. COCHRANE AND
ANDREW GARDNER (EDITORS)

Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, CA,
2011. 361 pp., 28 figs., 7 tables,
refs., index. \$94.00 cloth, \$36.95
paper.

Evolutionary and Interpretive Archaeologies: A Dialogue is a collection of 15 papers, edited by Ethan Cochrane and Andrew Gardner, on the topics of evolutionary and interpretive archaeological perspectives. Cochrane and Gardner organized these papers so each author's research expresses their ideas, which can be applied to almost every discipline of archaeology. The introductory chapter by Gardner and Cochrane is a detailed synopsis of the need for better explanations about Darwinian applications in archaeology and the need to dialogue with interpretative theories. The book is organized into three parts: (1) "Theoretical Concerns," (2) "Context of Study," and (3) "Future Directions."

Part 1, "Theoretical Concerns," is composed of four papers. The first section, or chapter 2, by Cochrane details how archaeology and Darwinian theory serve to explain the archaeological record. The spreading of ideas lends itself to the evolutionary units of transmission culturally, which can be compared with even the spreading of a tool design or the application of pottery design. There are several distribution charts exemplifying the evolutionary transmission of artifact classes. Gardner explains in chapter 3 the "agency agenda," how in the 1970s the concept that developed into theory of interpretive archaeology had connections with postprocessualism, Marxist functionalism, and structuralism.

In chapter 4, R. Alexander Bentley examines how changes in cultural processes produce differences in style and function through time and space. In the end, Bentley believes evolutionary transmission is the best approach to predicting cultural development patterns that

can be followed from similarities in style and function.

In the next chapter, Bill Silla examines the development of the Inka State as a way to support the agency theory in the development of cultural traits. Interpreting the archaeological patterns reflects on how the idea of agency gets its momentum from individuals who combine the cultural traits of a society to achieve change.

Simon James's essay in chapter 6 expresses the need to learn more about the evolution of violence. He feels that the books written on these postprocessual topics never quite explain why communities and societies progressed from a processual warfare and military strongholds to thriving industrialized organizations. Chapter 7 examines how human behavior influences others and their actions. Robert Layton questions whether there is a correlation between behavior and the environment as reflected in violence. He points out from a reflection on theorists such as Hobbes and McGuire that the behavior of groups is not "by nature peaceful or warlike."

There are many theories on the evolutionary development of societies. Chapter 8, by Ulrike Sommer, discusses the variety of descriptions concerning ethnicity. The original definition of ethnicity was applied to a narrow, select group of people who shared a common set of values or traits, which set them apart from others. These similarities were used to categorize people into political classifications for the purposes of organizational constructs in the evolutionary development of a nation. Each stage as a progression of evolution could be traced through artifacts.

Chapter 9 was written by Claudia Glatz, Anne Kandler, and James Steele to show how organizations influence the evolutionary development of styles and traditional ceramic products as exemplified in the archaeology of the Hittite Empire. The authors of this detailed study explain how the production of pottery can be interpreted both as a function of demand by the elite and as a reflection of

the increase in the need for domestic quality and utilitarian ceramics with the growth of agrarian societies.

In Chapter 10, Ruth Whitehouse focuses on the importance of how the human body has been interpreted in the archaeological record. Chapter 11 concentrates on theories that suggest the possible links between the evolutionary similarities in the stages of development of varieties of artifacts. Jamshid Tehrani covers many ideas including the Pitt-Rivers evolutionary trail following the development of artifacts back to the central starting point. Chapter 12 examines landscape archaeology.

Part 3 is a summation of the differences in theories by the scholars of evolutionary and interpretive archaeology and anthropology. In chapter 13, the two authors suggest more effort should be concentrated on the scientific relevance of information concerning human behavior. In chapter 14, Matthew Johnson presents a brief look at the foundations of archaeological theory and how Darwin's evolutionary influence had a tendency to skew the interpretation of past records. The concluding paper, "An Evolutionary Perspective on the Goals of Archaeology," was written by Stephen Shennan. It argues for research that can

produce a result explaining the development of patterns of behavior, whether they were founded in evolutionary or cultural theory. The progressive stages of development, whether they are physical or cultural, can be linked if only by one thread, and that is the founding principle put forth in the laying of the Darwinian foundation.

The goal of this collection of papers is to show that scholars who profess an opinion about interpretive and Darwinian archaeology should practice working together. It gives prime examples of the need to merge the theories together. All theories to date have been influenced in some way by Marxism, feminism, structuralism, poststructuralism, and phenomenology. The archaeologists try to interpret the patterns of behavior from the remains of the earlier inhabitants, but trying to interpret thoughts is very difficult when you can only postulate the actions. The standard established an interpretative groundwork that suggests that studying the past was the safest path to follow when trying to find an answer.

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*A Bioarchaeological Study
of Medieval Burials on the Site
of St Mary Spital: Excavations at
Spitalfields Market, London E1,
1991–2007*

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JONES, REBECCA REDFERN, AND
DON WALKER

Museum of London Archaeology,
Monograph 60, Museum of London
Archaeological Service, London,
UK, 2012. 303 pp., 250 illus., 172
tables, bib., index. \$56.00 cloth.

This extensive monograph centers on the excavations conducted at Spitalfields Market, London, between 1991 and 2007 and the medieval burials associated with the St. Mary Spital cemetery, one of the largest samples of human remains excavated from an urban context (n=10,516). This volume—deliberately limited to interpretations of the bioarchaeological record—focuses on the synthesized analysis of population demographics, adult stature and subadult growth and development, biological relatedness and biodistance, health and disease, and traumatic insults to bone. The authors present demographic and paleopathology trends from the 12th to 16th centuries by charting patterns of biological change within and between the various temporal subsets of their data and by maintaining a chronological narrative that works very well.

The introduction to the monograph gives the reader, casual and invested alike, much of the necessary context and background on the archaeological project. Beyond a sense of place for the priory and hospital, the introduction also provides a layout of the intracemetery variation utilized during data analysis (e.g., temporal phases, burial practices and types, the source population), as well as a breakdown of other cemetery samples used later in the text for comparison to the Spitalfields sample. Most bioarchaeological texts report similar data, but

Brian Connell and colleagues go beyond the ordinary, genuinely committing to a thorough analysis of intercemetery variation and how this variation influences cultural, environmental, and genetic continuity in medieval London.

Once this broader context is established, the authors transition to relatively standard (although compulsory) reporting arenas, using the next two chapters to outline methodological considerations and to present the results of the laboratory analysis (*sensu stricto*). The “Materials and methods” chapter summarizes the initial pilot study and the subsequent sampling strategies, providing justification for the final sample size (n=5,387) used in the remainder of the monograph. The methodologies implemented during laboratory analysis are also herein delineated; to the authors’ credit they follow standard recording strategies not always implemented in, but sorely missing from, other bioarchaeological studies. Future researchers using this volume for comparative purposes will find the standardized data collection strategy and reporting protocols of Connell et al. an attractive attribute. The coverage on laboratory analysis in the “Results” chapter is overarching and impressive. Taking a page from Tufte, Connell et al.’s graphical presentation of the tabular data is well done and provides clarification when the text is repetitive or, at times, confounding. A large amount of data is presented in a clear and concise manner, leaving the reader with some sense of the Spitalfields skeletal assemblage size. Field and laboratory images enhance the results chapter and provide excellent visual support for differential diagnoses in the paleopathology section. These images are particularly significant in the “Treponematosi” subsection, wherein the authors lay out their evidence for the earliest signs of treponemal infection in Britain.

Chapter 4, “St Mary Spital in context,” represents the bulk of the monograph and is a synthesis of the laboratory analysis, placing the results in the larger context of medieval London and the various health risks (e.g., pollutants, occupational hazards) and cultural factors

(surgical intervention, health care systems) associated with general health and well-being in London. The authors also use historical, archaeological, and osteological data to outline compelling evidence for the relationship between a massive volcanic eruption in the 13th century and the appearance of mass graves at the St. Mary Spital cemetery, where the dead are clearly not victims of the Black Death or the Great Famine. Connell and colleagues close this chapter with a detailed comparison of the Spitalfields sample to other cemeteries within London and throughout Europe, finding similarities, but also noting disparities. The peoples of London during the medieval period suffered from urban living, where suitable conditions existed for disease transmission and the cultural stressors associated with urban hazards, not frequently found in rural environs.

The final chapter provides a general overview of the project findings and presents considerations for future research using the Spitalfields sample. The authors hint at a more robust analysis of the demographic data, which would have contributed greatly to the analysis of the Spitalfields sample. For instance,

unbiased reconstructions of the age-at-death distribution using transition analysis (a proportional odds probit model with age on a log scale) to investigate group-specific survivorship differences within the cemetery would provide useful insight into the life and death of the Spitalfields population. This would necessitate a more thorough study of the craniometric and postcranial metric data to obtain useful biodistance data. As the authors note, however, time constraint, and not analytical oversight, was the contributing factor to the occasionally limited analyses presented.

Overall, Connell and colleagues advance bioarchaeological research and skeletal analysis. The monograph is well written and provides a synthesis of the largest urban cemetery skeletal collection in Britain. Scholars and researchers will appreciate the breadth and depth of reporting, while dilettantes in medieval studies will revel in the well-told story of St. Mary Spital and the Augustinian priory and hospital of London.

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*Interpreting Ground-Penetrating
Radar for Archaeology*

LAWRENCE B. CONYERS

Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, CA,
2012. 220 pp., 216 illus., bib., index.
\$99.00 cloth.

Since the 1990s archaeologists have increasingly used ground-penetrating radar (GPR) as an important survey tool to investigate and interpret archaeological sites, due in large part to the efforts of anthropologists and geophysicists like Lawrence Conyers. With over 20 years of experience conducting GPR surveys on more than 600 archaeological sites the world over, Conyers, a well-published professor of anthropology at the University of Denver, Colorado, has tirelessly worked to communicate the use and benefits of non-invasive geophysical surveys on archaeological sites. In his recent book, *Interpreting Ground-Penetrating Radar for Archaeology*, Conyers has created a quasi-memoir of his vast experience with GPR in archaeological survey contexts. The book targets archaeologists, students of geophysics and archaeology, and academic/professional GPR operators, whom the author guides through the sequential application of GPR survey methods, data analysis, interpretation, and interdisciplinary collaboration. Conyers acknowledges that most GPR data are used as a preliminary planning device for archaeological investigations, but emphasizes that GPR data should be employed as an anthropological research tool to understand people, societies, and cultures.

The author employs an almost informal, but highly informative conversational writing style throughout the text. This literary approach is best exemplified by the sparing and selective incorporation of geophysical technical jargon and Conyers's personal recount of GPR surveys, data, and interpretations. The technique allows the text to flow as the intricacies of GPR use and data interpretation on archaeological sites from a variety of examples

are related to the reader and illustrated in hundreds of images. Writing candidly about his acquired practical GPR knowledge, Conyers puts pride aside to discuss information generated by his own and his students' geophysical surveys. Useful information gained from survey mistakes, data misinterpretation, and successful GPR surveys on a variety of archaeological site types with a multitude of site conditions is presented throughout the rich text. The approach aims to guide GPR practitioners toward appropriate survey methods, data interpretation, and pre- and post-survey collaboration with clients and/or other archaeologists. The book also provides illuminating examples of geophysical benefits and limits as an interpretive and planning tool used by geophysicists, archaeologists, and cultural resources managers.

After introducing the text and the basic concept of GPR, Conyers presents the fundamental method and theory of GPR in chapter 2. This chapter outlines the ways in which operators should determine the type of GPR antenna to use based on site conditions and expected cultural feature types. Conyers also describes the effects of water retention variation and voids in soil profiles, software application processing steps, and wave reflection descriptions. In his third chapter, Conyers provides a critique of his students', colleagues', and his own GPR survey methods and interpretations. Emphasis is placed on the laborious effort of closely examining reflection maps depicting radar profile data prior to establishing a context for the interpretation of generated amplitude maps. This theme is threaded throughout the text and is best illustrated by dozens of paired radar profile and amplitude map images. The complexities of geological formations and variations that affect GPR data are discussed in chapter 4. The author highlights the ways in which buried sand dunes, rivers and river terraces, bedrock, beaches, lake sediments, and lava flows affect GPR data. Depending on site conditions and survey methods, GPR will provide data on natural and cultural subsurface variations.

Differentiation between the two is necessary, which Conyers explains may be completed through a combination of radar profile analysis, site research, consultation, coring, probing, and exposed profile examination. Chapters 5 and 6 present ways that ground surface variation, proximity to above-ground objects, radio waves, electrical conductivity, water retention, soil type changes, and geochemistry affect radar attenuation, penetration depth, air waves, and distortion.

Discussion of GPR data on every type of archaeological feature one may encounter would be a near impossible task. Noting this dilemma, Conyers devotes chapters 7–10 of the text to highlight examples of several archaeological resource types typically identified during GPR surveys, including building foundations, cellars, storage pits, middens, shell mounds, tunnels, buried living surfaces, gardens, and shafts. Recognizing the prevalence of GPR surveys employed in human burial identification, chapter 8 is dedicated solely to GPR investigations of grave shafts. Chapter 11 focuses on ways in which GPR can be employed as an anthropological tool to recover data and form interpretations about societies and cultural change over time. Among the most important chapters of the text,

readers would certainly benefit by an expanded discussion of GPR as an anthropological research tool. Before concluding in chapter 13, the author wisely dedicates 16 pages to underscore the importance of collaboration and clear communication between GPR operators and other archaeologists and/or clients about site conditions, survey limitations, pre- and post-GPR subsurface excavation data, site geology, expectations, deliverables, timelines, and myriad other aspects that affect GPR surveys and interpretations.

If this book has any drawbacks, it may unfortunately be the monograph's sale price. Listed at just under \$100, the book's cost is undoubtedly directly related to the wealth of immensely helpful grayscale and full-color glossy images embedded on nearly every page of text. Images of reflection and stratigraphic profiles, amplitude maps, survey plans, and site conditions abound, all of which the author uses to illustrate complex geophysical survey data to the reader. Regardless of the sale price, this enlightening text is highly recommended for academic and professional archaeologists, geophysicists, and students of archaeology and geophysics.

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Britain Begins

BARRY CUNLIFFE

Oxford University Press, Oxford,
UK, 2013. 553 pp., 282 illus., index.
\$45.00 cloth.

Britain Begins is an exploration of the geological origins of Britain and Ireland and the subsequent impact of the emerging cultures of the people who populated its landscape. The timeline covered is from around 10,000 B.C. to just before the Norman invasion in the 11th century. This is a vast span and Barry Cunliffe begins his chronicle with the classical descriptions and observations of the isles, its peoples, and the sea journeys made by Greeks and Romans (e.g., Julius Caesar in 55 B.C. and 54 B.C.). This builds a history of the isles' position within the classical world. The identification of Britain itself comes from Herodotus repeating the hearsay of tin being an export from the isles known as the Cassiterides, to Strabo in the 1st century B.C. recording the first named instance of Britannia with its Pictish spelling of Pretannia, taken from Pretani, the Celtic for "painted ones." This cultural legacy is used later in British history to support the foundation myths and origin stories created for the emerging scholarly class by the Northumbrian Bede, ca. A.D. 731, and the Welsh Nennius, ca. A.D. 800, that were rooted in Biblical texts and synthesized with other knowledge. These origin stories would continue to influence scholars for nearly a thousand years.

During the 19th century the geological origins of Britain were hotly disputed. On one side were eminent archaeologists, such as William Buckland, whose view was firmly informed by catastrophic Biblical events, a view that prevented him from recognizing the true significance of the "Red Lady of Paviland" in 1823, a Cro-Magnon man he excavated in a cave in Wales and dated to the Roman era. On the other side, challenging the "Flood" and its subsequent timeline for the chronological origins of Britain and man were the uniformi-

tarians such as James Hutton, who influenced Charles Darwin, and Charles Lyell. Cunliffe presents a historical range of archaeological excavations and discoveries, including skeletal remains, tools, and tool marks on prehistoric bones displaying evidence of butchery on now extinct animals; and he relates these to the formation of theories on the antiquity of man. This is a chronology of archaeology and an overview of its early development in Britain.

The emergence of the British and Irish landscapes is revealed in a journey through their geomorphic formation and climatic environments during various glacial episodes to the topographic composition of the isles we recognize today. A range of climate maps, data, and illustrations supports this. The consequent repopulation began about 12,000 years ago at the end of the last ice age when the temperatures began to warm. The changes in temperature brought a range of grass and tree species and animals, resources that led the way to anthropogenic impacts such as clearing pastures and farming for those early humans migrating and repopulating the landscape.

Throughout this migration narrative is the role of the sea and its relationship in assisting the mobility of human populations, and how those populations have maintained connections with other communities within Britain and the Continent. Cunliffe discusses the evidence for the three types of maritime craft found in Britain and the principal motivations behind mobility, including mobility as a manifestation of aspiration and where this is found in the British archaeological record. This is also discussed alongside current techniques of DNA analysis in population studies and its relationship to mobility patterns of groups throughout the Continent. Cunliffe proposes the advantages of an interdisciplinary approach toward progressing a new understanding of the isles and their peoples.

He then considers the Mesolithic to Neolithic transition in Britain and their strategies of food production and cultivation and examines the "invasion" model of prehistory, which is questioned due to its being rooted in

colonial attitudes and beliefs. Throughout his narrative Cunliffe presents a big picture view and offers several hypotheses for appraisal, not least that mobility may be linked to climate change and population pressure.

Migration to the isles inevitably brought communities looking to create a sense of place and meaning. This is examined through the evidence of residences showing groups within the landscapes, and the variety of monuments to the dead indicating settlers had systems of belief and held values. This is explored in relation to regions throughout Britain and Ireland, demonstrating the similarity between groups and suggesting the likelihood of there being contact and interaction between migrant communities. This is considered further within the context and spread throughout Britain of the Beaker phenomenon, ca. 2500 B.C., and the technology to produce copper and the consequent British uptake of a new value system. Furthermore, Cunliffe proposes that by 2000 B.C. the ensuing migrations of Celts to Britain and Ireland distinguished the inhabitants as speaking in Celtic dialects.

The next period charts the rise of bronze weaponry and warrior elites, noting finds found prolifically in rivers, which suggest the presence of belief systems. Other finds indicating material culture include feasting equipment such as cauldrons and flesh hooks, spearheads, and gold ornaments. Iron was slowly introduced but Britain was changing considerably during this age, and Cunliffe explores how communities developed within regions and became culturally distinctive. As the Roman world impacted Gaulish commerce, Britain and Ireland's maritime networks were renewed. This was also the time of the Druids and

human sacrifice, and, from the classical writers, Cunliffe examines accounts of their practices.

Following the Celtic period there were the invasions of the Romans and the many forays by Vikings, and in between Cunliffe considers the changing ethnic makeup of the British during the Anglo-Saxon period. Earlier Roman mobility enabled the movement of various peoples from across its empire to Britain, and Saxons and Jutes among others migrated to the isles later on. The relationship between all these peoples to the original British settlers is not entirely clear, as DNA evidence cannot easily distinguish between a Jute and a Scandinavian on a Viking raid several hundred years apart. This raises interesting questions about the ethnicity of the English and if they exist as a distinct ethnic group or are a composite of several ethnicities. It is a question that remains under review.

Britain Begins is essentially the story of us and how the landscape and the people of Britain and Ireland began. Cunliffe presents a wide range of archaeological examples and current scientific data throughout the narrative, and the book is richly illustrated with color and black-and-white photographs, maps, drawings, and graphs. There is no bibliography but there is an index and a guide to further reading divided helpfully by chapters, as are the illustration sources, in this deeply considered, extensive, and compelling account of Britain.

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*Entangled: An Archaeology
of the Relationships between
Humans and Things*

IAN HODDER

John Wiley & Sons, West Sussex,
UK, 2012. 252 pp., 26 figs., index.
\$36.95 paper.

Ian Hodder, archaeologist and theorist, is currently an anthropology professor at Stanford University. He has written extensively about his projects at Haddenham in eastern England and Catalhoyuk in Turkey. His evolutionary and postprocessual archaeological theories unfold in his latest book, *Entangled: An Archaeology of the Relationships between Humans and Things*. He skillfully explains how the archaeological record illustrates how the lives of the people in a Neolithic village progress in a web of organizational patterns.

The front cover is an impressive array of conceptual art by the Numen group. It depicts exactly how Hodder views the interdependence between human life and all things. Every time a thing touches the life of a person it creates a thread. The strands multiply exponentially until they control the lives of an entire society or an individual. Things define human existence. Each life becomes so intertwined with new things that human life creates relationships with things that are necessary for survival. Things define what we are, how we live, and where we live. Things control the order of a person's movement from one job to the next, and even one area to another.

Many things all around us we take for granted. The natural order of things that affect human existence also determines the connections to a person's surroundings. This book explains how humans look and approach many surroundings differently. Humans are an essential part of this ecosystem because everything is interrelated. The things around us are stable but have movement; they are not inert. Hodder explains several approaches to the things and objects in a human life. A thing

like a computer functions in many ways. It provides information, but it takes other things to make it work. The computer needs many things to operate: electricity, disks for storage, and a source of input to make it worthwhile. It becomes a lifeline to the outside world; without these things we cannot function. Computers have evolved into sophisticated machines, which entangle a human life into a web of circuitry. A human's life, actions, and thoughts become entangled forever in these electrically charged units. These things are part of a consumer society based on planned obsolescence that discards the things when they are not worth repairing. The concern to save the environment and stop this self-destruction has created a new awareness.

Communication is one of the most essential things for a society. The evolution of writing was a thread that became a link to bind homogenous groups. One notable thing in writing was the development of paper. Humans advanced from stone tablets to writing on papyrus. The more advanced a society, the more demand there was to increase communication and documentation. Thus, there was a need to find a way to record information. The demands led to the development of paper. Paper was a thing that gave us the capability to record what we do every day and a way to store large quantities of information. The manufacturing of paper from trees increased the need to invent new machinery to meet the demands on this industry. These things are all dependent upon one thing: paper. Today, the demand for paper has grown so large that a shortage of trees has become an environmental concern.

Hodder effectively illustrates the relationship between humans and the smallest entity, or thing. It was a natural thing when man began to establish a place in the ecosystem and adapted to his surroundings. The meager decisions in a primitive life grow more complicated as man becomes more dependent on things that are necessary to make life better or comfortable. The dependency on animals for

food and work increased the human awareness of how much they need to support their mere existence. These small relationships expand into large conduits, which force a society to make things durable enough until another thing can replace it.

The archaeological comparisons of things show how a cooking adaptation can exemplify the whole process. The harnessing of fire made life better, and the realization of warmth and protection became a necessary thing. This led to developing ways to maintain the source of the flame. This dependence on preserving the fire influenced the structural designs of the shelters and hearths and how cooking was conducted. The association with these things builds a dependency on a group to have fire as a center where everyone congregates and exchanges ideas and property or uses it as protection. Originally, fire was a valuable resource and moved from place to place. A date can be established from the embers because it establishes a new point of origin. The remains can be dated from the charcoal and the debris.

Things can come into a life through many processes: projection, transferal, externalization, displacement, exchange, and inheritance. The basic principle of work transforms material things into tangible property. When we purchase an item we exchange it for another thing: money. Material possessions become a part of a person's inheritance. This gives them a position in the world.

Each chapter in this book supports the development of cohesive things in a human life and how entangled they become when a human grows dependent on each piece of a puzzle. The simple process of going to a job creates a network of sinews in every movement. Things can determine events, social interventions, and relationships. In this provocative book, Hodder explains how there is an evolutionary trail of collective things that shape human behavior.

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Archaeological Theory Today,

2nd edition

IAN HODDER, (EDITOR)

Polity Press, Malden, MA, 2012. 320 pp., 14 illus., 2 tables, index. \$89.95 cloth, \$29.95 paper.

Eleven years after the publication of the popular and influential *Archaeological Theory Today* (Hodder, Ian [editor], Polity Press, 2001), Polity Press has published the second, updated edition of the archaeological reader. This useful collection of essays presents a picture of the important theoretical concepts that inform the practice of contemporary archaeology.

Archaeological Theory Today, 2nd edition, is intended to introduce students to the influential strands of thought in contemporary archaeology. As editor, Hodder stresses in his introduction that archaeological theory has not only become accepted, it has also reached its maturity. This maturity is seen in the proliferation of volumes and conferences centered on archaeological theory, and the emphasis in the current job market on the ability to teach theory. Hodder conveys some main points that evidence the maturation of archaeological theory.

First, the acceptance and maturity of theory is seen in development of theory through the incorporation of cross-disciplinary ideas from biology, ecology, sociology, cybernetics, geography, and art history, just to name a few. Hodder is keen to emphasize that archaeological theory does not merely borrow from scientific, social-scientific, and humanist disciplines, it also contributes to these disciplines. One must wonder if he is overstating the case, as it seems doubtful that biologists and cybernetic researchers are referencing archaeological studies in their research.

Moreover, the incorporation of ideas from various disciplines highlights the multivocal nature of archaeological theory, which can

also be characterized as fragmentation. Indeed, devotees of theory are often divided on the issue of theory in archaeology. Is it theory, or theories? Are scholars still searching for that one unifying “Grand Theory,” or is it enough to apply multiple theoretical perspectives to one’s archaeological research? Hand in hand with the multivocality of theory is the continued tension and disconnection between theory, method, and practice that are the result of different levels of theoretical engagement.

Despite this diversity of ideas, however, the last several decades of theoretical engagement have resulted in clear “convergencies” of ideas that anchor theories of archaeology. These are ideas or concepts that have wide, if not universal, appeal to archaeologists and include agency, materiality, *longue durée*, and material culture, the evidentiary core of the discipline of archaeology.

Thus essays included in this volume are representative of a certain perspective of theory and the most influential and emerging theoretical ideas in archaeology today. As a second edition, it is interesting to see which theoretical subjects have been deemed mature theories and therefore worthy of re-inclusion and which are new or have been expanded upon and, of course, which theories continue to be excluded.

The expected chapters focus on the theories of Hodder’s “convergencies.” Chapters on “Behavioral Archaeology” (Vincent La Motta, chap. 4), “Agency” (John Barrett, chap. 7), “Archaeologies of Place and Landscape” (Julian Thomas, chap. 8), “Materiality” (Carl Knappett, chap. 9), and “Post-Colonial Archaeology” (Chris Gosden, chap. 12) are updated, but not all that dissimilar to those found in the first edition. These chapters outline the theoretical ideas that have demonstrated their longevity and importance in archaeological research, be it prehistoric, historical, Near Eastern, or European.

Among the new is the expanded selection of perhaps more “processual”-archaeology influenced theories or theories that seek a

middle ground between “processual” and “post-processual” ideas. These include “Darwinian Cultural Evolution” (Stephen Shennan, chap. 2), “Human Behavioral Ecology” (HBE) (Douglas Bird and James O’Connell, chap. 3), “Complex Systems and Archaeology” (Timothy Kohler, chap. 5), and “Towards a Cognitive Archaeology” (Colin Renfrew, chap. 6). Although historical archaeologists may have some difficulty in applying some of these theories, such as HBE and Darwinian cultural evolution, to their research, it is nonetheless important to be aware of the ideas.

The most esoteric selection in this collection is “Symmetrical Archaeology” (Bjørnar Olsen, chap. 10). If you are scratching your head over symmetrical archaeology, you are undoubtedly not alone. This chapter seems to be a chapter representative of Hodder’s characterization of the diversity of theory and the tension between ideas and practice. Symmetrical archaeology, as explained by Olsen, can be stripped down to one programmatic proposition: “that humans have always been cyborgs and that the human condition is characterized by its inextricable enmeshment with things and other non-human entities” (p. 209). This is a standpoint that seeks to blur and eradicate the subject-object dichotomy that archaeologists use when approaching material culture. This postcolonial influenced approach appears to position objects as subjects that need to be elevated from their subaltern situations, in essence proposing a symmetrical power relationship in researcher’s archaeological method.

The heart of symmetrical archaeology seems to be a discussion on object agency, which is an exciting venue of research. Unfortunately, the politicized critique of an essentialized unilinear power dynamic of researchers toward objects may detract many archaeologists from the perhaps more useful engagement with ideas of object agency. A researcher certainly needs to be self-reflexive, and circumstances and physical objects undoubtedly influence the actions of people, but returning to Hodder’s point about the tensions between theory, method, and practice, one must ask, “how would a symmetrical archaeology be practiced in all of its political and metaphysical form?” Olsen himself

admits that the research carried out thus far in symmetrical archaeology is modest, and he cites only a handful of researchers. Perhaps more useful for the historical archaeologist is a consideration of distributed, or secondary, object agency as proposed by Alfred Gell (*Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK, 1998).

One has to wonder at the inclusion and expansion of certain chapters to the exclusion of other important ideas in archaeology. One important lacuna is feminist archaeology. This is not a case of removal, but rather a continued omission. There were no chapters on feminist archaeology in the first edition of *Archaeological Theory Today*, and one would think, 10 years later, feminist approaches to archaeology would merit at least one chapter. This omission is especially surprising given that feminist archaeologists and scholars have critiqued specifically this issue of the exclusion (e.g., Conkey, Meg, Questioning Theory: Is There a Gender of Theory in Archaeology?, *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 14[3]:285–310, 2007; Wylie, Allison, Doing Archaeology as a Feminist: An Introduction, *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, 14[3]:209–216, 2007). If postcolonial archaeology, heritage, and symmetrical archaeology are deemed worthy, why is feminist archaeology, which has had profound impact on theory and method, not worthy? A feminist approach to archaeology is multivocal and focuses on redistributed knowledge and ambiguities (Wylie 2007), which are all important issues in archaeological research today as demonstrated by their appearance in the various chapters. While this absence may be viewed as “mainstreaming of feminist theory” (Conkey 2007, p. 293), to not have a chapter on it in a volume meant as an introduction of theory to students is a glaring lacuna.

The concluding selection of chapters in this volume deals explicitly with ethical concerns in archaeology. These include “The Social Life of Heritage” (Lynn Meskell, chap. 11), “Post-Colonial Archaeology” (Chris Gosden, chap. 12), “Archaeology and Indigenous Collaboration” (Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh, chap. 13), and lastly, “Archaeological Visualization” (Stephanie Moser, chap. 14), a historiography and a caution regarding self-

reflexivity in archaeological practice. This concluding section marks the major change from the first edition and reflects not just disciplinary self-reflexivity, but also, increasingly, the need for archaeologists to question the ethics of the practice of archaeology.

For the most part, *Archaeological Theory Today*, 2nd edition, is indeed a product that reflects the diversity of contemporary concerns in archaeology. For the student of archaeol-

ogy, this is a useful volume that presents mature and “cutting edge” ideas in archaeology that perhaps elicit more questions than answers, achieving, intentionally or otherwise, what it set out to accomplish.

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*Mundane Objects: Materiality
and Non-Verbal Communication*

PIERRE LEMONNIER

Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, CA,
2012. 205 pp., 58 illus., refs., index.
\$74.00 cloth.

If one were playing the children's game "point to the thing that is different" and were shown a series of Papua New Guinea (PNG) objects including a Baruya garden fence, an Ankave eel trap, a *songen* mourning drum, a ritual bundle for male initiations, and a French Dinky Toy model racing car, it is probable that before reading Pierre Lemonnier's book the answer would be wrong. The correct answer is that none of the above is different. They are all objects that focus and aggregate key aspects of human relations and play important roles in the stability and mutation of cultural configurations. Lemonnier's goal in this slim but challenging volume is to identify that concentration of multiple meanings and show how such charged objects interact with human actors to become, in effect, more than the sum of their parts.

The author of *Mundane Objects* essentially wants the reader to recognize that the creation (i.e., production) of objects is as critical to their comprehension as is their consumption. This point is especially apropos because Lemonnier has a long intellectual affiliation with the French *technologie culturelle* school and its intense focus on technology (e.g., as in *chaîne opératoire* studies). Thus his concern that current trends in material cultural studies with their focus only on consumption are missing a critical point—an absence he emphasizes by his observation that Appadurai's much-cited volume *The Social Life of Things* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1988) literally "paid no attention to the materiality of things" (p. 17). So too does he have little encouraging to say about the current rush to "materiality" (p. 18) that he characterizes as a "fashionable catchall" or the concurrent obsession with the "Quest

for the Holy Agency." In both instances his dissatisfaction centers on both the disconnect of the concepts from the critical ethnographic data and material base as well as the tendency of objects to increasingly have agency sans actors. But he is not an inveterate naysayer for he notes that materiality, agency, actors, technology, and so forth are all "good to think about ... if we are to understand the propensity of human beings to associate material actions and physical objects with the production and rendering visible of social relations" (p. 19).

Lemonnier's case studies are primarily those associated with his decades of research in PNG in which he combines what one might think of as Geertzian "thick description" with detailed analysis of technology to illuminate how objects can serve as the heart of a system of thoughts that cement the way people live together (chap. 1). His examples, ranging from eel traps to model racing cars, make the point that such key objects are seldom ritual items *per se* and are likely to be indistinguishable from their mundane counterparts. A prime exemplar of this is the Baruya garden fences. These robust fences, theoretically built to keep pigs out of the crops, are over a meter in height with sharpened posts two meters tall that, as the author notes, would stop a small car. Given the absence of any pigs able to leap such barriers the fences are clearly overbuilt for their purported function.

Through careful observation the Baruya fences are deconstructed as functional barriers and recreated as nonverbal communicators reinforcing in redundant ways highly esteemed and critical Baruya social values of cooperative work wrapped in kin rules governing in-law relations, the work obligations of male co-initiates, and the reinforcement of a primary Baruya social rule of male dominance of women. The construction process of cooperative male overbuilding of fences expresses often unspoken values tied to kinship and cooperative patterns that Lemonnier links to sister-marriage practices. To corroborate his point the author notes that in neighboring groups

where sister marriage has been abandoned, so too has the construction of overbuilt fences.

The essential intellectual thrust in the volume is that some objects have a special role in supporting and reinforcing social relations. They do this by rendering visible or actualizing in a performative way important aspects of social organization, culture, and systems of thought or actions ... importantly, objects often do what mere words cannot. They bring together in their creation social values that must be “thought together” and that often express essential aspects of social relations that are best unspoken. How are they able to do this?

Objects have a physical substance that is expressed in their component parts, their materials, their fabrication, their use, and their sheer physicality that captures and communicates important aspects of social relations and cosmology—thus Lemonnier’s insistence that the production of objects is as critical as their consumption to studies of agency, materiality, and the biography of things. Not only do objects make visible and tangible social relations but also they reinforce them by acting as *perissological resonators*, that is, they bring together heretofore discrete domains (e.g., kinship, exchange, death, marriage) through a process of repetition to reinforce a message. They can do this because of their unique ability to facilitate *convergences*, to serve as *condensers* bringing together and simultaneously incorporating (i.e., not polysemically) various modes of relationship, be they supernatural beings, odors, physical pain, verbal pronouncements, or mental visions.

Lemonnier challenges readers to rethink “objects,” to reunite their production with their consumption, and to be aware that their physical essence as well as their relationship with actors are essential aspects of their being. This new vision of objects rests on these key points “1) their making and using relate different domains of social life that are thus brought together in the actors’ minds in a unique way; 2) they are part of some kind of non-verbal communication; 3) that special communications concerns key values or key characteristics of particular social relations that are usually hidden, although they pervade everyday life; and 4) the very physicality of the artifacts in question is involved in the

process and is not equated to a vague and putative link with their ‘materiality’ but it can be precisely shown” (p. 119).

For a discipline such as archaeology that rests on the principle that one can derive an understanding of past societies based on their material remains, that is, their objects, Lemonnier’s arguments are refreshing. At a time when so much of sociocultural anthropology has abandoned the material world, except as concepts that are disconnected from its physicality, his focus on objects and their potential to reveal social relations is significant. It is also a focus grounded in deep description and long-term ethnographic observation of both technologies and social relations. Therein lies the rub for archaeologists because Lemonnier is adamant that understanding the role of apparently mundane objects as resonators and condensers of key social values is not apparent in their form, their context, their symbolic decorations, or, in fact, their physicality. It only becomes clear in the detailed ethnographic investigation of their composition, manufacture, and employment. This is a disappointing inference for archaeological research and one that confirms again why the continued dependence on anthropological theory leaves archaeology to so often be dismissively characterized by cultural anthropologists as a theoretical weak sister. There is much of value in Lemonnier’s arguments, especially in the conceptualization of objects as points of *convergence*, as *resonators* and as *condensers* of key social values—a conceptualization that holds great potential for our interpretation of the material of past societies. Readers may even be amazed to learn about the condensing and resonating power of Dinky Toys to a generation of French society! *Mundane Objects* will challenge the conception of the everyday objects that archaeologists routinely collect, catalog, and all too often set aside with little further thought—that in and of itself makes Lemonnier’s volume a worthwhile read.

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*Revolt: An Archaeological History
of Pueblo Resistance and
Revitalization in 17th Century
New Mexico*

MATTHEW LIEBMANN

University of Arizona Press, Tucson,
2012. 328 pp., 27 illus., 8 tables,
bib., index. \$50.00 cloth.

On 10 August 1680, Pueblo Indians in New Mexico rose in revolt against their Spanish overlords. They martyred Franciscan missionaries, killed Spanish settlers, looted farms, destroyed churches, and burned Christian ecclesiastical objects. Many of the surviving Spanish fled to Santa Fe where they fortified the Governor's Palace and faced an ever-growing army drawn from throughout the Pueblo world. After several days, the rebels allowed the Spanish safe passage to leave New Mexico. As the Spanish refugees trudged south to El Paso, Spanish survivors and allied Indians joined them. After 82 years of colonial rule, Pueblo warriors had won freedom for their people. The Pueblo peoples used this freedom to revitalize their traditional cultures and religion, create new communities, and transform their material lives. The Pueblos would remain beyond the pale of Spanish control until the Spanish reconquista of 1692. The returning Spanish reestablished the Catholic religion and forced the Pueblos back into their colonial communities.

Historians have read Spanish chronicles to intensively study the Pueblo Revolt and the reconquista but they have largely skipped over the decade of Pueblo independence. Bereft of documents except for the testimony of a few captives and a handful of military accounts, the epoch from 1680 to 1692 resists documentary analysis. In *Revolt: An Archaeological History of Pueblo Resistance and Revitalization in 17th Century New Mexico*, Matthew Liebmann uses historical archaeology and anthropology to give the reader a fuller understanding of this period.

Liebmann's analysis deftly weaves together data and insights from documents, indigenous

oral histories, and archaeology. *Revolt* does not pass judgment on the success of the Pueblo Revolt. The author seeks to escape characterizations of the insurrection as either a romanticized Pueblo victory or as a tragic indigenous defeat. Rather, he attempts to unmask the cultural logic that Pueblo peoples used to make sense of their world in the epoch between the revolt and the *reconquista*.

More broadly Liebmann presents his narrative of Pueblo independence as a case study with significant implications for a global understanding of subaltern resistance, cultural revitalization, and how colonized populations manipulate colonial signs. He strives to bring the events of the Pueblo Revolt into a dialogue with generalizable colonial processes. To do this, he draws on Anthony Wallace's mid-20th-century theory of revitalization movements and on late 20th-century theories of postcolonialism.

Revolt springs from a long standing and intensive collaboration between Liebmann and the people of Jemez Pueblo. This collaboration began in 2001 and continues to today. For much of this period, Liebmann was the Jemez Pueblo tribal archaeologist. He, along with paid interns from the Pueblo, collected archaeological data during multiple field seasons from 2001 to 2008. At the request of the Pueblo, Liebmann and his crews conducted a non-invasive archaeology that did not disturb ancestral remains. They used surveying instruments and ground-penetrating radar to map and record architecture. They collected ceramics and lithics, but after analysis returned the artifacts to their original provenience. These methods of surface examination collected a great deal of data from Pueblo Revolt period villages. Pueblo people had built these single component communities on remote mesa tops where a desert climate and slight vegetation assured good preservation and high visibility for architecture and artifacts.

Liebmann divides his narrative into three parts: (1) before the revolt, (2) the period of Pueblo independence, and (3) the *reconquista*.

In each part, he mobilizes archaeological data and Pueblo oral history as independent sources of information to correct biases in Spanish chronicles. He also uses archaeology to complete and enhance those texts and to provide data on the minutiae and mundane details of everyday life.

He begins his analysis with a discussion of Pueblo life from the time of Spanish conquest in 1598–1680. He raises the much asked question “Why did the Pueblos revolt in 1680?” He finds a multitude of reasons including Spanish taxation, exploitation of Indian labor in the *encomienda* system, evangelization, religious repression, enslavement, disease, and a drought. He concludes with a detailed account of the revolt drawn from Spanish documents and Pueblo oral history.

Liebmann brings archaeology to the forefront in his analysis of Pueblo independence. He and his crews investigated three communities from this period. After revolt, the Jemez people abandoned their colonial village and built two new settlements, Patokwa and Bolet-sakwa. In 1689 the people of Zia Pueblo fled their pueblo and established a fortified town at Cerro Colorado, a location now on the Jemez Reservation. They did this in fear of Pueblo reprisals because they had allied themselves with Spanish attempts at reconquest.

Liebmann’s analysis of architecture and ceramics reveals the ambiguities of revitalization during Pueblo independence. Both architecture and ceramics revived some pre-Hispanic traditions but also terminated others. They participated in a Pueblo ethnogenesis that for the first time helped to create a common identity among Pueblo people. The Zia’s alliance with the Spanish pointed to the ambiguities in this identity. The analysis also demonstrates how Pueblo peoples appropriated and remade

colonial culture, including the trappings and images of Catholicism, to create new identities for themselves.

Liebmann’s final part discusses the reconquista in 1692. In 1694, after the reconquista, Jemez people fled their two communities to found a more remote and defensible settlement at Astialakwa. That same year the Spanish, with Zia allies, attacked the Jemez and forced them back to their colonial mission. The archaeologists found evidence of this attack in Astialakwa and made inferences about mundane life in the short-lived settlement.

Liebmann draws several broad conclusions from his study. He notes that revitalization movements use and reinterpret material culture. He argues that people in revolt and building revitalization struggle over signs and images that lie at the heart of their insurgencies. This leads subalterns to transfer and redeploy the symbols of colonial culture. Finally, he decenters resistance as a simple opposition of colonizer and colonized. He hopes that he has demonstrated how archaeologists can reconstruct native worlds that set the stage for dramas interpreted from historical documents.

Liebmann’s book succeeds both as a study of the Pueblo Revolt and as a broader discussion of subaltern resistance, revolt, and revitalization. He writes very well and in an engaging way that makes the book easy to read. It is a good introduction to the Pueblo Revolt for nonspecialists in the Southwest. His analysis and conclusions demonstrate that scholars need to decenter our analyses of the colonial situation to get at the nuances and ambiguities that shaped native revolts.

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*Essays in Early American
Architectural History:
A View from the Chesapeake*

CARL R. LOUNSBURY

University Press of Virginia,
Charlottesville, 2011. 268 pp., 206
illus., notes, index. \$65.00 cloth,
\$35.00 paper.

Carl Lounsbury's purpose in compiling this anthology is to illustrate how—in one generation—scholars transformed the study of early American architectural history. No longer is it architects evaluating early American buildings as inferior copies of European design. Rather, it is buildings studied as clues to how immigrants adapted to the ever changing conditions of the New World. It is the joint product of architectural and social historians, archaeologists, folklorists, and geographers. One of the chapters was coauthored. In the other 11, Lounsbury demonstrates an impressive command of architectural history and building function—English and American, domestic and public. This book will appeal to a wide range of scholars. The chapter endnotes form an excellent bibliography.

The anthology is organized in four sections. The first—"The Origins of Early American Architecture"—contains three chapters. In the first of these, Lounsbury takes a transatlantic look at issues that arise in tracing early American architecture back to its European roots. One of these is the almost complete disappearance of first generation structures with the exception of a handful of New England dwellings. In Virginia, settled 1607, the oldest dwelling dates only to 1665. One reason for the disappearance of so much early building is that almost all of it was wooden. As late as 1798, perhaps 95% of standing structures were built of wood. The relatively low cost of high-quality timber led to rapid evolution away from British carpentry practices.

In the second chapter, "Adaptation and Innovation," Lounsbury and four collaborators revisit the evolution of Chesapeake architecture, 1607–1720. Their goal is to refine the hypotheses put forward by Cary Carson et al. in 1981 (Impermanent Architecture in the Southern American Colonies, *Wintertbur Portfolio*, Vol. 16, Nos. 2&3, pp. 135–196). Using the data from hundreds of subsequent excavations, especially those from Jamestown, they trace the evolution of Chesapeake dwellings from the slightly framed, mud-walled buildings of the first few years into robust, clapboard covered, post-in-the-ground buildings, and finally into the frame-and-brick farmhouses of the early 18th century. They look at architecture as a reflection of culture and show how changes in architecture had parallels in changes in diet, animal husbandry, clay tobacco pipes, and social structure. They link a late-17th-century increase in brick construction to the arrival of new, well-financed immigrants determined to signal their status and take political control. Shorter and wider ranging than the 1981 essay by Carson et al., the chapter's authors are not able to fully develop their ideas. For those wanting more, however, Carson and Lounsbury have edited an entire volume, *The Chesapeake House* (University of North Carolina Press, 2013).

In 1662 Governor William Berkeley persuaded the Virginia General Assembly to develop Jamestown by subsidizing the construction of brick townhouses. Archaeologists located two of these brick rows. In the final chapter in this section, Lounsbury traces the evolution of the English row house from the 14th to the 18th century. With ample space, Virginians built larger than average townhouses and arranged their rooms side by side rather than front to back. (I wonder if Jamestown builders also were attempting to adapt to climate? The side-by-side plan could provide better cross-ventilation.)

The second section, "Design and the Building Process," contains two short chapters in which

Lounsbury demonstrates how Americans adapted British architecture to American tastes and budgets. In the first essay, on a Virginia courthouse, he shows how the building committee adopted a young architect's innovative plan while simplifying the structure's exterior. In the second, Lounsbury looks at the architecture of colonial Charlestown, South Carolina, the richest city in English North America. While Charlestonians carefully copied British public buildings, their dwellings quickly evolved away from European prototypes.

In the third section, Lounsbury looks at "Regional Building Patterns: Ecclesiastical Architecture." Churches and meetinghouse survival rates are similar to those of secular buildings. Most early religious structures were wooden expedients that quickly disappeared. In Pennsylvania and New Jersey, researchers can document 660 colonial meetinghouses and churches of which only 110 survive. Log buildings were the most common—all but two have vanished. Ethnicity, ideology, and date of establishment all left their imprint on religious architecture. In Virginia, Anglican churches were built to the long, narrow, early-17th-century English style. Across the Potomac in Maryland—where the Church of England only became the state church in 1692—Anglican churches were built wider and shorter to facilitate hearing the sermon.

The last chapter in this section—"God is in the Details"—outlines how religious beliefs influenced church and meetinghouse design and decoration during the colonial period. In the early 19th century—except for Quakers and a few others—most of these distinctions broke down. Republican ideology and fading ethnicity led to the adoption of a national style in which preachers came down from their lofty pulpits to

face parishioners arrayed in neat rows. As the style of these new churches changed over time, travelers could no longer identify the denomination of a church from its design.

In the fourth and final section, "Williamsburg," Lounsbury looks at three aspects of the community and the restoration. The first chapter is on the struggles of vestries, college trustees, and public officials to create the public buildings of 18th-century Williamsburg. The second and third chapters address some of the architectural challenges in interpreting and reinterpreting the colonial town.

The second chapter is a case study on how intellectual training can blind designers to past conditions. The architects responsible for the restoration of Williamsburg were trained in Beaux-Arts design methods and "academic classicism." The architects—understanding neither frontier conditions nor courthouse function—designed a capital building that violated both archaeological and documentary evidence.

In the final chapter, Lounsbury reviews the motives that led to the restoration, subsequent changing attitudes, and the sometimes harsh criticism directed toward the restoration by modernist and postmodernist architects and critics. While he wonders to what extent modern research can reshape the colonial revival restoration, Lounsbury finds that ongoing research, research that marries architectural and social history, continues to expand our knowledge of colonial America.

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*Handbook of Postcolonial
Archaeology*

JANE LYDON AND UZMA Z. RIZVI
(EDITORS)

Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek,
CA, 2010. 525 pp., 15 figs., 1 table,
index. \$129.00 cloth, \$49.95 paper.

This thought-provoking and fascinating book, a World Archaeological Congress Research Handbook, contains a wide-ranging set of 36 essays that examine the generalities and specificities of postcolonial archaeology as practiced in a variety of contexts. In addition, there is an introduction and an epilogue by the editors. The primary goal of the volume is to examine in what ways the postcolonial critique has been incorporated into archaeological thinking and practice. This critique is understood as having had major impacts on the way archaeologists act in the present, and on how they study, analyze, and write about the colonial past. The book is divided into five sections. Unfortunately, in a review of this length it is not possible to touch on each contribution, but general themes that appear throughout the book will be highlighted.

It should be noted that the “postcolonial” in postcolonial archaeology does not refer to the historical time period postdating the colonial era but rather to a theoretical orientation, specified by the editors as having a “self-reflexive, political dimension” with a “fundamental ethical basis in examining oppression and inequality in the present” (p. 19). Part of this self-reflexivity involves a reflection on the role that archaeology played in furthering the colonial project and how the discipline itself was shaped by this process, which a number of chapters explore. Refreshingly, this discussion does not hinge only on conventional Western colonialism but includes analyses of what Alfredo González-Ruibal calls a process of “inner colonialism” (p. 42), which served to incorporate internal minorities into the formative nation states

in Europe in the 19th century; the colonial relationship between Japan and Korea and their archaeology (Koji Mizoguchi, Hyung II Pai); and the development of archaeology in the USSR (Pavel Dolukhanov).

In addition to considering archaeology as a discipline born of the colonial period, chapters also focus on new ways of using archaeology to examine the colonial past and the production of new archaeological narratives. These papers bring in perspectives from different regions of the world: North America, Australia, Africa, India, and Ireland. An outgrowth of this re-examination of the colonial past is a set of chapters that examines approaches to different aspects of identity (gender and sexuality, race and class) as well as the notion of archaeological (cultural) identity itself and how these topics intersect with colonialism and postcolonialism.

As stated above, postcolonialism is not conceived of as relating to the postcolonial time period but rather to a mode of thinking and doing archaeology. As Lina Tahan states: “The independence of Lebanon as a republic did not make us ... truly postcolonial in thought and instinct” (p. 301). For her, postcolonialism involves the contestation both of the legacies of colonialism and remnants of colonial assumptions and ways of doing. This is a sentiment echoed by many of the authors who also add the concepts of recentering the role of indigenous people not only as a topic of study but also as having played an active role in bringing knowledge of the past to light (Whitney Battle-Baptiste, O. Hugo Benavides); providing alternative histories (Joost Fontein, Peter Schmidt and Karega Munene); focusing on issues of identity such as gender, sexuality, race, and class and how they intersect; and interrogating the foundations of archaeology as a colonial discipline (Theresa Singleton). An outgrowth of this is an examination of practice and ways of incorporating other ways of seeing, analyzing, and representing the archaeological past (including in museums), particularly as it relates to working with

or in indigenous communities or practicing archaeology as an indigenous scholar.

An important theme in postcolonial scholarship worldwide is the issue of reparation or redress. Because of the materiality of the archaeological record this redress often has to take place within a legal framework that governs the management and return of cultural material and skeletal remains and, in some cases, land. Chapters on the success or otherwise of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act in the United States (Jon Daehnke and Amy Lonetree) are balanced by a consideration of practices (including land-use claims) in Australia (Michael Green and Phil Gordon, Peter Veth). There are also chapters that touch on issues around the cultural property held by museums, particularly property that might have been obtained through colonial practices or dishonest trading (Alexander Bauer, Magnus Fiskesjö). Fontein considers issues of global vs. local heritage in a chapter on Great Zimbabwe.

This book is not, strictly speaking, a “how-to” manual, but many chapters contain good ideas and examples for how practitioners might go about transforming their practice, especially those in part 5: “Strategies of Practice: Implementing the Postcolonial Critique.” Here scholars advocate the need for partnership with local and indigenous communities (Fernando Armstrong-Fumero and Julio Hoil Gutierrez, Liam Brady and Joe Crouch), archaeological ethnography (Lynn Meskell), storytelling (Sandra Scham), indigenous standpoint theory (Martin Nakata and Bruno David), public interest ethnography (Peggy Reeves Sanday), and critical race theory and community organizing approaches (Carol McDavid and Fred McGhee).

There is not much discussion of the “tug-of-war” issues that have emerged in many developing nations between heritage preservation and the need for economic development, although Meskell touches on it briefly. It is also clear from many of the discussions that history did not stand still with the end of colonialism and the attainment of independence. The impact of the Cold War and globalization will no doubt be examined in further collections in the years to come.

In a collection of this nature it is also appropriate to reflect on the geographic placement of the contributors considering that the chapters contain more than one reference to the problems of “gatekeeping,” “silencing,” and the role that Western institutions play in determining research agendas. Of the 44 scholars who contributed to the volume, 27 of them are based at institutions in the United States of America, 6 are from the United Kingdom and Europe, and 8 are from Australia. There are no authors based in South America (although there is one from Mexico), only one from Asia (Japan), and one (a coauthor) from the entire continent of Africa. This is not to take anything away from the quality of the papers (and at least some of the authors are expatriates) but, perhaps unwittingly, the composition of the book most clearly highlights the problems of access and representation that many archaeological scholars on the ground in previously colonized areas face in communicating their practice and theoretical approaches to members of the discipline at large.

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*Outside the Hacienda Walls:
The Archaeology of Plantation
Peonage in Nineteenth-Century
Yucatán*

ALLAN MEYERS

University of Arizona Press, Tucson,
2012. 248 pp., notes, index, bib.
\$55.00 cloth, \$24.95 paper.

In *Outside the Hacienda Walls*, Allan Meyers asks some very important questions for those doing archaeologies of political economy and social relations during colonial and postcolonial periods in Yucatán: “Who controls the landscape? What spatial features or processes give some people power over others? Which spatial meanings gain currency and which ones are suppressed?” As the title suggests, the focus here is on the villagers and hacienda workers living on hacienda lands, outside the walls of the sumptuous family and administrative compound of the owners. Hacienda Tabi is one example among “hundreds” of such places that were active in the period between Mexican independence and the revolution. In discussing the important role archaeology played in learning about the people and economy of the hacienda, Meyers points out that “knowing where people lived is as important as knowing who did and did not live there” and sets out to explore the landscape of debt peonage in terms of everything from built environment and material finds, birth and death records and other legal documents, to descendant narratives and soil chemistry.

Outside the Hacienda Walls is an example of the value of anthropological archaeology in addressing a period in Yucatán that was contentious in the past and can be controversial in present interpretation. Meyers strikes a successfully balanced tone appropriate for either professional or lay readers; this would be a terrific text for an upper division college course or, arguably, a Latin American culture or history class. It also provides an important link to complementary research by those

engaged in the archaeology of earlier, Caste War era haciendas such as Rani T. Alexander’s *Yaxcabá and the Caste War of Yucatán* (University of New Mexico Press, 2004), or works by Jason Yaeger, Jennifer Dornan, Richard Leventhal, and this author about those Maya villagers who migrated away, geographically and politically, from the oppression of plantation debt peonage during the Caste Wars and the Porfiriato.

This was a long-term project, undertaken over a decade, and it stands to reason that questions and approaches (not to mention research logistics) changed over the course of that time. The consistent thread that grounds the work through time is Meyers’s interest in the material realities and experiences of debt peonage at multiple scales: the stories of day-to-day life as the oppressive system impacted workers in their housing, in their neighborhoods, in their village, and in their navigations of physical and social terrain at the hacienda and on the plantation as a whole. Meyers begins the book with a poignant narrative pieced together from documents about one man who met a tragic, common, and (we now know) preventable death through malnutrition, and its impact on his wife and coworkers. Though the book is about archaeology at the level of landscapes, Meyers never lets the reader lose sight of the human-scale realities of a society and economy built around coercion and debt.

The methodology is interdisciplinary, demonstrating a command of data ranging from interviews with locals to soil chemistry to archival research. The scientific approach of triangulating independent datasets to strengthen interpretation, which serves the humanistic ends of historical anthropology so well, makes the conclusions drawn in this book clear and compelling. It is an excellent case study for the undergraduate classroom, but that does not mean the interpretations lack nuance. Throughout the book, Meyers intertwines a narrative about how his team collected data (what data they decided to collect and why, as well as the more usual how) with his interpretations of the

landscape past and present. This strategy allows him to differentiate between strongly supported conclusions and more speculative and circumstantial interpretations (that are nonetheless grounded in some data and experience).

He ends the book with a discussion of forgetting and remembering, specifically the regional history of debt peonage. Meyers notes that this labor system, an economy built on the backs of the grandparents and great-grandparents of the majority of Yucatán's current population and manifested on the landscape, goes virtually unmentioned in museums, guidebooks, plaques and displays, or guided tours. This state of affairs was no doubt the reason he decided to aim this book at travelers and tourists to the area, not simply students and other academics.

This book may irritate people who look for straightforward report-style interpretations uncluttered by discussions of the politics, logistics, personnel, and multiagency contexts

of long-term archaeological projects. In fact though, these are part of the book's strength, providing context for all the methodological and interpretive decisions made. This kind of transparency is useful for the reader, undergraduate or postgraduate: research questions and methodologies are never developed in a vacuum. The relationship building Meyers's team did with everyone from local government and preservation groups to the descendant community illustrates trust-building. This project and this book demonstrate that in the long term, at its best, archaeology is a locally based process built on relationships, rather than a seasonal event where students and professors swoop in, excavate, and leave.

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*Vertical Empire: The General
Resettlement of Indians
in the Colonial Andes*

JEREMY RAVI MUMFORD

Duke University Press, Durham, NC,
2012. 312 pp., 8 photos, 3 maps,
3 figs., bib., index. \$89.95 cloth,
\$24.95 paper.

The Spanish conquest of the Inca beginning in 1532 was followed immediately by conflicts over the colony's vast wealth. Conquistadores resisted royal authority and fought among themselves (Francisco Pizarro was assassinated in 1541), while warriors of the neo-Inca state raided the Spanish from their fortress in Vilcabamba. Jeremy Ravi Mumford analyzes this tumultuous history, focusing on the role of Francisco de Toledo, the fifth and most significant of the early viceroys (1569–1581), who conquered the neo-Inca state and established the outlines of subsequent colonial administration. The book centers on Toledo's reorganization of native life by resettling them in central towns.

Native labor was central to Spanish policy. Drafted to work the mines (notably silver at Potosí and mercury at Huancavelica), as well as other work, natives produced the wealth that supported local notables and flowed to Spain (and later also to Manila). By the 1560s, however, native populations had been seriously diminished by war and epidemic disease. The central question for the Spanish was how to continue to harness native labor while not destroying its economic base, and trying (sometimes pretending) to "civilize" natives and save souls. Toledo's solution was resettlement: forcing natives from scattered homesteads into new central towns where they could be counted and their labor and tribute effectively controlled. Known as *reducciones*, these planned towns were to be built on "a uniform, quadrilateral street grid surrounding a central plaza and church, governed by indigenous men holding Spanish municipal offices and titles"

(p. 1). To make the towns permanent, officials were instructed to destroy the original homes. The realization of this ideal, however, varied depending on local circumstances, the analysis of which provides the major contribution of Mumford's book. While Mumford's focus is on Spanish policies, he also examines the role of native leaders (*caciques*) who served as mediators, a form of indirect rule.

According to Mumford, rather than having been designed to destroy native culture, as most have believed, Toledo's *reducciones* also preserved some native customs, including the system of dual community organization (into *sayas*) and corvee labor (the *mita*). Mumford focuses on Toledo's use of ethnographic observations (mediated through Spanish eyes) to understand native practices in order to adapt them to Spanish rule. Less than a year after arriving in Lima, Toledo set out with the entire vice-regal court on his famous five-year general inspection (*visita*) of the central and southern highlands (roughly modern Peru and Bolivia). During this inspection, Toledo and his collaborators gathered information in the communities, tabulated their population, assigned tribute obligations, organized community officials, and decided on the best place to locate the new towns. Toledo's inspectors were told to consult native leaders about the location of the new towns, but they also consulted local Spanish authorities.

Toledo both admired and despised the Inca. In his view, they were tyrants, but that tyranny was necessary to their successful engineering and vertical mountain economy. Located in the tropics, the Andes recreate most of the world's major terrestrial ecological zones vertically along the mountain slope, from tropical to high alpine climates, while rainfall and geography produce many additional microniches. Broken topography separates those ecozones, so they appear like vertical archipelagos (as modern authors call them) in a mountain sea. Well before the Inca, communities had sent colonists (*mitimas*, anglicized spelling of *mitimaes*) to live in these distant "islands" to exploit their variety (pota-

toes from high and maize from low altitudes, for example) and to send the results via llama caravans back home. The Inca transformed this mitima pattern into statecraft: moving whole communities to new regions for political as well as economic reasons. Native communities therefore often consisted of mixed ethnic populations that owed allegiance not to the local community but to distant ethnic lords in their homelands, a very different conception of land use than in Spain.

These differing Spanish and native conceptions of land use, as well as conflicting interests of inspectors, priests, *encomenderos*, caciques, etc., complicated and slowed the formation of the new towns, and sometimes led to contradictory policies. Nonetheless, the need for native labor and its dependence on the vertical economy influenced many decisions. In some cases, Toledo (who idealized the Inca system of resource extraction) permitted mitima natives to reside near their rural fields and pastures, even as most natives had to move far from their fields. After a few decades, however, many natives returned close to their fields, so that many resettlements became primarily administrative/ceremonial centers, much like Inca towns. In the end, however, even as he allowed for continuity in some details, Toledo effected enormous changes in native life, assigning "more than a million people ... to live in about six hundred *reducciones*" (p. 119).

Mumford develops his argument by reviewing the conceptual origins of the resettlement policy in Spain, the Caribbean/Mesoamerica, and the Andes, and then examining the Peruvian General Resettlement itself, using information from archives, archaeology, other scholars, and Spanish chronicles. Mumford provides a nuanced view of the give-and-take reality of Spanish policy concerning native community organization, including discussions of native flight from the resettlements, other population movements, and the gradual loss of collective land rights. Readers will be especially interested in Mumford's discussion of the use of historical archeology in the reconstruction

of the resettlement process in the Colca Valley, where he utilizes the work of Steven Wernke. Chapter 10 summarizes Mumford's argument, outlines the later history of the resettlements, and examines a few extant Andean communities founded as resettlements. Indeed, some contemporary communities in the Ayacucho Valley, like Quinua where I have worked, maintain formal titles to distant lands in the tropical rain forest (*montaña*), remnants of the mitima system, although because of internal and external power struggles these communities are often unable to exercise their formal claims in practice.

Mumford's final chapter ("Epilogue") discusses modern population relocations in Europe (Soviet collectivization) and repopulation efforts in Africa (Tanzania) and elsewhere, emphasizing that Toledo's *reducciones* had anticipated them. Mumford strangely omits discussion of the forced resettlement of rural peasants during Peru's Shining Path War in the 1980s. I do not know if this program was influenced by Toledo's example or even by the more immediate strategic hamlet policy of the U.S. Vietnam War, but the Peruvian military forcibly moved peasants into newly created towns (sometimes on the outskirts of an existing town) in their efforts to defeat the guerillas. When they could, farmers gradually returned to their rural homes close to fields, as in the colonial period, but they continued to claim their new town homes for their greater access to education, transportation, and other resources. Omission of this contemporary Peruvian example while including discussions of Europe and Africa is odd in a book on resettlements in Peru.

Caveats aside, Mumford's book adds considerably to our understanding of the history of Spanish/native interactions in the Andes and is a significant addition to the literature.

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Saint Croix Island, Maine: History, Archaeology, and Interpretation

STEVEN R. PENDERY (EDITOR)

Maine Historic Preservation Commission and the Maine Archaeological Society, Augusta, 2012. 310 pp., 184 illus., 16 tables, refs., index. \$29.95 paper.

Saint Croix Island, Maine, measures less than 100 × 300 yds., yet its history, archaeology, and history of archaeology defy its small size. The island saw the earliest sustained contact between native tribes and the French, and an attempt in 1604 to establish a settlement. The island also saw possibly the earliest problem-oriented historical archaeology, in 1797. Steven Pendery and a stellar supporting cast do an excellent job of telling the story of this island.

The volume is densely packed with information. The authors make good use of the plentiful illustrations, a mixture of period maps and images, landscape photographs, archaeological plans, artifact drawings and photographs, and interpretive/reconstructive drawings. The volume lacks the choppiness that often plagues compendia.

In his preface, Pendery sets the goal of the volume as sharing the history and archaeology of the island with the public. In chapter 1, Pendery introduces the setting, the history, and the archaeology. He stresses the role of the island in early French exploration, and emphasizes that this area saw early, sustained contact and interaction between a native tribe and a European colonizer. Pendery also underlines the importance of the island in the history of historical archaeology. He casts the study as having been written for the public.

In chapter 2, Eric Thierry documents the French history on the island. In 1604 Pierre Dugua sailed for the New World to create a settlement in his newly obtained grant. The two ships carried 120 individuals in all, includ-

ing a variety of tradesmen, sailors, soldiers, clergymen, and Samuel Champlain. Champlain recognized that St. Croix Island offered a good anchorage and was defensible. By October 1604, all the main buildings were completed. Severe cold in the winter of 1604–1605 devastated the settlers, and scurvy ran rampant. By spring, 35 or 36 of the 79 colonists were dead. The settlement was moved in 1605, and the last French activity on the island was in 1613.

The French arrival at St. Croix Island and their expansion into the broader reaches of Acadia had significant impacts on the Passamaquoddy tribe. In chapter 3, tribal member Donald Soctomah describes the many outcomes of the arrival of Europeans. He stresses the many years of mutual loyalty and friendship between the tribe and the French.

In chapter 4, Johnson describes the history of the island and its environs in the 18th–20th centuries. Even long after the French had departed, the island had an interesting history. Pendery presents the history of archaeological research in chapter 5. Such discussions might typically begin in the early 20th century, but here archaeological research began in the 1790s. In 1780 Canada and the United States began the chore of finalizing the international boundary. Armed with a copy of Champlain's plan and with Champlain's descriptions of the island, early excavators found convincing evidence that the 1604 French settlement had indeed been on St. Croix Island.

In chapter 6 Pendery combines archival and archaeological data to reconstruct the cultural landscape during the French Outpost span (1605–1613) and the Lighthouse period (1856–1976). Champlain's map from *Les Voyages* (1613) is a critical piece of evidence in determining both the location and the nature of the French buildings.

Metal artifacts are discussed in chapter 7. Key classes of metal artifacts include iron fasteners, architectural hardware, tools, furniture fittings, a few arms-related items, and kettles and pieces of cut kettle. A possible crucible of fired clay was also recovered. In this and the

other material culture chapters, period drawings and data from other early French sites are utilized.

Pendery also wrote the ceramics analysis in chapter 8. His study is strengthened by direct comparisons in France with materials from known production centers. The stoneware includes Domfrontais, Bessin Cotenin, Beauvaisis, Loire, and unidentified gray varieties. Pendery presents photographs, profile drawings, period images, and his own conjectural drawings of how the whole pieces would have appeared.

Giovanna Vitelli presents the glass assemblage in chapter 9. The emphasis is naturally upon the earliest component, and she documents case bottles, flasks, tableware, and window glass. Vitelli includes vessel drawings and detailed descriptions.

The glass beads are provided a separate discussion in chapter 10. James Bradley describes 51 of the 57 beads reported to have been recovered from the island. The assemblage is attractive for bead studies because it is early and because the occupation span was short. Bradley places the beads into the Kidd system, and compares the assemblage with other known collections from French sites, early English sites, and native contexts.

In chapter 11, Pendery, Stéphane Noël, and Arthur Spiess discuss diet and nutrition. They look at archival and artifactual (i.e., ceramics, glass, and metal cooking implements) indicators of dietary practice, and discuss the faunal analysis. An interesting element of the discussion is the efforts the French went to in trying to prevent or cure scurvy.

Chapter 12 reports on the 23 human burials, with some very interesting findings. Thomas Crist, Marcella Sorg, Robert Laroque, Molly Crist, and John Benson coauthor the chapter. They present evidence of the earliest European autopsy conducted in the New World, and evidence of the first oral surgery by Europeans in the New

World. In the last chapter, Virginia Reams, Margaret Scheid, and Deborah Wade discuss the modern management and interpretation at St. Croix Island International Historic Site.

Is this a success as a public-oriented volume? Public outreach at many parks and many cultural resources management projects is reduced to a trifold brochure and basic signage. There is commonly a huge gap between the details in technical reports and what is shared with the public. The implicit assumption is that the public does not want or cannot handle the details. Consider military history as a parallel, however. The public purchases and reads literally thousands of volumes of highly detailed, technical discussions of specific battles. Do not those interested in archaeology deserve the same level of detail? I would argue that this volume succeeds marvelously as a public-consumption document. It provides much information, but the reader can pick and choose what sections they read, to match their interests. There is no tone of condescension, and no dumbing down of the narrative. The contributors are to be commended.

Where does that leave the readers of *Historical Archaeology*? The work provides a lot of important data on early French colonial artifacts and lifeways. This is a highly useful source. Although its stated goal is public outreach, the information is also important to historical archaeologists.

This volume warrants a thoughtful read. It tells interesting stories of discovery, interaction, failure, and a long history of research, all played out on a 300 × 100 yd. landscape. The volume's broader importance may well be as a model for providing detailed information to the general public. Kudos for a job well done.

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*The Oxford Handbook
of Public Archaeology*

ROBIN SKEATES, CAROL MCDAVID,
AND JOHN CARMAN (EDITORS)
Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK,
2012. 727 pp., 79 figs., 2 tables,
index. \$150.00 cloth.

In *The Oxford Handbook of Public Archaeology*, editors Robin Skeates (Durham University), Carol McDavid (Community Archaeology Research Institute), and John Carman (University of Birmingham) have assembled 34 essays that seek to capture the spirit of the rapidly developing world of public archaeology. What is perhaps most noteworthy about the book is the range of perspectives from which it presents the relationship between archaeology and the public, both in terms of content and in terms of the authors who contribute that content. Befitting its intent to provide a survey of the field and to push public archaeology in new directions, the book is divided into four sections, and each section includes the voices of, in the editors' words, "experienced practitioners" as well as "established and 'younger' scholars" (p. 2). This mixture of practice and scholarship, and of experience and new perspectives, proves to be very successful.

The first section, titled "Histories of Public Archaeology" includes six chapters that explore how the archaeologies of different parts of the world have been shaped by the cultural context in which they are carried out. Carman's chapter begins this discussion by suggesting a framework for studying the global history of archaeological heritage management. He draws examples from Europe, Britain, India, the United States, and Australia, and while the space allotted is, admittedly, just barely sufficient to introduce the concept, it prepares the reader well for the chapters that follow. Subsequent essays in this section include a legislative history and analysis of the significance of the National Park Service

Organic Act for the regulation of archaeology in the United States, an exploration of the relationship between metal-detector users and archaeologists in the UK, as well as chapters that examine how archaeology and archaeological resources have been presented, understood, or used in Malta, Latin America, and India. The chapter by Dilip K. Chakrabarti deserves particular attention because of the attention it focuses on the many challenges facing archaeology originating in the developing world. Legacies of colonialism, the multiethnic nature of many developing countries, and the different research agendas guiding local and international audiences all shape the political environment in which archaeologists must situate their work, whether for themselves, for other archaeologists, or for members of the general public.

The contents of the second section of the book, "Researching Public Archaeology," focuses a critical lens on how public archaeology understands and researches itself, and on how it explores the structure of its relationships with others. This particular set of boundaries allows the editors to link their contributors in an unexpected but effective way. It includes content as varied as Laurajane Smith and Emma Waterton's discussion of the authorized heritage discourse and Neil Brodie's exploration of the research methods used to uncover the antiquities market. These two chapters are indicative of the expansive scope of the content found both in this section and throughout the book. At both scales it does an excellent job of pushing through more restrictive definitions of "public archaeology" to include not only the relationships that archaeologists want to have with the public, but also the relationships that the public is initiating with archaeology, regardless of whether or not the archaeologists are necessarily comfortable with the form that those relationships take.

In the third section of the book, titled "Managing Public Archaeological Resources," the editors let the concept of "archaeology as resource" guide the essays. The section begins with Anthony Pace identifying some

of the conceptual similarities and differences between the idea of sustainability as applied to environmental and archaeological resources. He identifies a need to re-emphasize the role of stewardship in heritage resource management, stressing that while heritage consumption in the present is a powerful economic force, strengthening the stewardship ethic within site management might better allow the resources to remain accessible to future generations. The other essays that follow generally draw attention to the fact that while public archaeology will always have one foot in the past, it is also very much a part of the modern world of legal regulation and competing demands for financial and other resources. Adrian Praetzelis provides his view of the modern state of cultural resources management archaeology in California, identifying its successes, its failings, and areas that will soon demand greater attention. Others go into detail exploring the use and curation of material within archaeological archives, or the changing policy environment in the UK, within which actors from the archaeological, agricultural, and environmental fields must increasingly collaborate in order to achieve success under difficult circumstances.

At over 300 pages, "Working at Archaeology with the Public: Principles, Practices and Debates" is the largest and final section in the *Handbook*. Standing alone it would constitute a significant accomplishment in the scholarship of public archaeology, but the value of the contributing authors' work is made all the more apparent for having been so thoroughly contextualized by the preceding three sections. The chapters included here generally either detail different types of partnerships and examples of community driven archaeology, or

they draw attention to particular issues confronting the public archaeologists who conduct this work. Themes explored in the section include "Archaeologists as Professional Public Servants," "Public Interpretation and Presentation," "Public Learning and Education in the USA," and "Working with Particular Publics." As with earlier sections, these final chapters contain a mix of familiar and new voices. The book benefits from the insights offered by Barbara Little, Alice Beck Kehoe, Patrice Jeppson, and Joe Watkins among others whose work continues to shape the field.

The authors' exploration of projects where members of the public have worked alongside archaeologists through participatory geographic information system research, community service learning, community-initiated site interpretation, or other techniques will provide excellent guidance for those who might be looking to form their own partnerships with stakeholder groups. Conversely, and speaking to the nature of the work being discussed, these examples may also help members of the public to determine what it is that they most want from their relationship with archaeology. *The Oxford Handbook of Public Archaeology* is both ambitious and successful. Its geographic scope, the range of issues introduced, and the mix of theoretical and practical content will make it a very appealing sourcebook for those looking to understand the current state of the field and its likely future trajectory.

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*The Archaeology of Antislavery
Resistance*

TERRANCE M. WEIK

University Press of Florida,
Gainesville, 2012. 204 pp., 19 figs.,
index. \$69.96 cloth, \$19.95 paper.

Terrance Weik's *The Archaeology of Antislavery Resistance* presents a powerful synthesis of the ways people of African descent sought to escape and resist bondage and exploitation. The author presents a wide-ranging overview of freedom-seeking strategies employed throughout the Americas. Weik's own work provides the central case study without overshadowing the work of other scholars engaged in parallel studies. The text is grounded in a multidisciplinary perspective drawing upon numerous theoretical perspectives. The book will appeal to a wide audience within historical archaeology and intersects emerging interests in history, ethnic studies, and the social sciences in general.

The first chapter situates archaeology within broader antislavery studies. This includes the importance that studies of resistance have for individuals and communities of African descent in the present. Although a relatively new contributor to the field of antislavery studies, the archaeology of the African diaspora has a long tradition of examining sites that speak to these issues. The introductory chapter also clearly states that multiple forms of both resistance and freedom exist. As such, archaeological projects seeking to address antislavery topics must use specificities regarding these topics.

The following chapter discusses principal themes related to the study of antislavery resistance. This discussion further demonstrates the need for a nuanced and contextual approach to framing studies of antislavery resistance. Weik underscores the multidimensionality of slavery as it exists at various points of time and pays particular attention to its existence in Africa and the New World. Resistance is a similarly complex practice appearing in both visible and

covert forms. Weik's discussion of these issues acknowledges the subject's political nature and connects historical studies with modern human rights issues. These connections stem from the ongoing inequalities facing the descendants of freed Africans in the past and present.

The third chapter provides the theoretical center of Weik's study, which revolves around the construction of an anthropological framework for antislavery studies. This framework advocates an explicit theorizing of resistance, freedom, liberation, ethnogenesis, and scholarly networks. A longtime interest of historical archaeologists, resistance for Weik is more than physical actions seeking freedom. Resistance lives in the hearts and minds of enslaved peoples. It is present in numerous physical and cultural manifestations. Resistance changes through time and necessitates diachronic study. Weik also expands our understanding of freedom and liberation. While many conceptualize freedom as the ability to make one's own choices, Weik looks for the material signatures of freedom seeking by the enslaved. This broadens our understanding of freedom as the goal of the enslaved and instead examines it as a process. Weik goes on to conceptualize ethnogenesis as a theory challenging an essentialist view of culture and identity. The chapter closes with a discussion of networks, doubly framed regarding their role in antislavery resistance as well as modern networks of knowledge production. Weik weaves these themes together to produce a multidimensional approach seeking to negate deterministic, simplistic perspectives about the nature of antislavery resistance, community, and identity.

The following two chapters provide overviews of previous archaeological research. Chapter 4 examines the archaeology of maroon settlements in the Caribbean, South America, and the U.S. Case studies from Jamaica and Brazil demonstrate how material culture from such sites speaks directly to issues of identity. Research in the Great Dismal Swamp is potentially revealing evidence for defensive architecture and hints at a more sedentary life-

style. Chapter 5 discusses previous and ongoing archaeological research into antislavery collaborations and the Underground Railroad. Many of these sites, such as Harriet Tubman's Home, provide clear manifestations of individual and communal struggles against slavery. Other sites, such as New Philadelphia, provide glimpses into the lives of freed Africans. As Weik is quick to point out, however, the specter of inequality through time allows research at each of these sites to speak to issues of freedom and liberation in the past and present.

Chapter 6 focuses on Weik's work at Pilaklikaha in Florida. This site was once home to an African Seminole community, which Weik defines as people of African descent who had considerable cultural connections with Seminoles. These interactions include serving Seminole labor demands, partial genetic descent from Seminoles, or Africans living in indigenous territories. The site of Pilaklikaha dates to the early 19th century, and Weik skillfully draws upon the limited archaeological evidence to discuss kinship, social organization, subsistence, and spiritual-

ity of the site's inhabitants. The ephemeral quality of the settlement is partly overcome through Weik's careful analysis, which situates archaeological and documentary evidence alongside oral history.

The concluding chapter opens with an acknowledgment of archaeology's potential to combat Eurocentric, racist, and document-centric approaches to antislavery resistance. Weik also mentions numerous future directions including the need for work outside of North American, Caribbean, and South American contexts. Weik's writing is straightforward and accessible. His long-term engagement with the archaeology of antislavery resistance is evidenced through an expert treatment of the topic. The book's topic, geographic scope, and theoretical framework are timely and speak to issues of interest beyond the African diaspora. I highly recommend it.

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*Beer Barons of B.C., Featuring
the Secrets of the Stanley Park
Brewery*

BILL WILSON

Tamahi Publications, Lantzville, BC,
2011. 72 pp., illus. \$30.00 paper.

The focus of this slim volume is a directory listing more than 200 British Columbian breweries, an exhaustive listing from the Gold Rush era (1858) to the present. The directory details brewery names, locations, owners, dates, and black-and-white images of labels or bottles with a sprinkling of historical notes and explanations. Each brewery was also given an alphanumeric designator, which helps the reader track the breweries as they changed names and owners over time. The directory is prefaced by a brief overview of the British Columbia (BC) brewery industry and a history of the Stanley Park Brewery, the site of which is now an important Vancouver park. Another section, which was oddly plunked into the middle of the directory, has full-color images of labels and bottles. This section also has extra tidbits and facts that are quite enjoyable.

Unfortunately, the images section and the directory are difficult to cross-reference. The directory is listed alphabetically by location and then (somewhat) chronologically. The labels are simply listed alphabetically by brewery. Adding the alphanumeric code to the labels section would have been very helpful.

I have long been a huge fan of Bill Lindsey's "Historic Glass Bottle Identification & Information Website," and I believe this book would also be a dynamite resource as a website. The directory could be transformed into a searchable, updatable, sortable, formatted table with thumbnail links to images. Histories of individual breweries could each have their own page within the site. This would solve many of the minor design quirks of the book.

Overall, the directory is an excellent reference for BC brewery bottle finds. There is one important caveat emptor, however. This book was written by a bottle digger and collector with no archaeological pretensions. The directory's data are based on sound archival research, although awkwardly cited and needing footnotes, but the bottle and label images are all from the author's collection or fellow diggers' collections.

Some archaeologists may not want to support this publication. Others may ask if there is a middle ground for archaeologists to work with bottle collectors. On request, the author explained how his collector group chooses which sites to dig:

I participated in most of the significant digs in British Columbia. There are a core group of perhaps 150 diggers here in the province who monitor construction sites, awaiting opportunities to dig up old refuse sites from the 1860's to the early 1900's. The location of these sites is often known for years by our group through research of local directories, phone books, etc. and this information is closely guarded until the opportunity arises (Bill Wilson 2012, elec. comm.).

With so few archaeologists and so many collectors, we archaeologists cannot eliminate hobby collectors that are operating within the law. Archaeologists and collectors have had and will continue having selective, productive partnerships where archaeologists recover data that was otherwise completely unavailable to them. It is hoped that with collaboration, education, and the right people, we archaeologists can take advantage of collectors' enthusiasm for history and their knowledge base to gather better data and save some history along with a bunch of dirty bottles.

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