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FRONT COVER: Image of the Lattimer Massacre,  
from the *New York Evening Journal*, 11 September 1897.

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## Changing the Past for the Present and the Future

### ABSTRACT

The power of narrative lies in its ability to actively shape the representations of the past that form collective memory. Narratives of the past can be about power relations, and they can provide a map to help archaeologists think about the past and the present. They can reinforce and naturalize ideas about inequalities in resources and social relations. Unchallenged, these inequalities become part of a naturalized everyday existence. The authors in this volume use historical archaeology as a form of political action to challenge the dominant narrative and develop different ways of looking at the past. These new perspectives also have an impact on the way archaeologists view the present

### Introduction

Since the 1980s, scholars have increasingly explored the relationship among history, narratives, and memory, and its use in Western culture. In archaeology some of the important scholarship that critically evaluates the production of history includes Trigger (1989), Leone et al. (1987), and Shanks and Tilley (1987). These works evaluate the management and use of archaeological resources. They view the production of historical consciousness as an outcome of the struggle between groups. Much of this foundational work has become an important component of archaeological inquiry especially when challenging the way the past is presented as the official narrative.

In this vein, the goal of this volume is to show how archaeologists challenge and sometimes change the narrative about a particular place or event. Narratives can take different forms, such as text, speech, song, photography, or theater, to describe a sequence of events. Narratives are a way of organizing knowledge and transmitting this knowledge to family, community, or the nation. There are different ways to think about how narratives are constructed. For instance, some narratives are about a single

event. The event could be about an experience from a person's lifetime or an earlier event preserved in familial, community, or national memory. There is a second level of narrative organization that is concerned more with a general structure, pattern, or message rather than with specific events. This has been referred to as a schematic narrative template. Such narratives can vary in general detail; however, they reflect a generally agreed upon storyline. Several episodes or selected events are considered and add or reinforce the template (Wertsch 2008).

Narratives place events in certain contexts and memorialize an interpretation of how or why an event happened. They can make authoritative claims about the meaning of places or past events, and as a result they are a central part of structural power. They can also play an important role in nation building (Anderson 1991). The theme of this volume focuses on one form of narrative scholarship, the study of communication strategies and social relationships in storytelling. The social context of the narrative can influence the outcome of the storyline, and the storyline can and does change depending upon the social context in which it exists (White 1987). The authors in this volume challenge a variety of received narratives and confront long-held views of race, labor, and gender, as well as the memorialization of war, that are used to reinforce and support nation building. The authors provide a framework that allows the questioning of the long-held meanings associated with places, events, and memorials, as well as other forms of tangible heritage, as they challenge the traditional narratives of the past and help make the stories of traditionally subordinated groups a part of the collective memory.

### Changing Narratives

Scholars like Jerome Brunner (2002) and Bakhtin (1986) explain that collective memory is organized by written and spoken narratives. It is often the case that the narrative is constructed by individuals through consensus building in groups; however, differences in how

the narrative should be constructed often exist. They can be challenged and can become sites of struggle (Martin and Wodak 2003:6).

Edward Brunner (1986:139–155) provides a critical perspective on how ethnographies have been guided by implicit narrative structures. Brunner's observations about the narrative structures are useful for the work we do as archaeologists. Ethnographies, like archaeological materials, tend to use a narrative structure to interpret people and places. In Brunner's case, he examines the 1930s and 1940s anthropological narratives of American Indians. During this era anthropologists generally described the contemporary situation of American Indians as disorganized and undergoing a great transformation. Scholars wrote that their past was glorious and the future was about assimilation, subscribing to the "melting pot" theory. The "melting pot" story was part of the dominant narrative in which all Americans were in the process of becoming part of one homogenized American culture. However, after World War II, and influenced by the American Indian movement and other civil rights movements of the 1960s, the narrative structure abruptly shifted. The popular narrative viewed the American Indian past as being characterized by the exploitation of a subordinated group, while the future became an opportunity for ethnic resurgence. This story follows along the lines of the current national narrative, which now supports ethnic diversity. The earlier narrative of assimilation is discredited as the new narrative of ethnic resurgence takes hold. There is no continuity between the two narratives (E. Brunner 1986:139).

Brunner (1986:142) goes on to explain that the 1930s and 1940s narrative structure of American Indians created by anthropologists emphasized the imminent extinction of their culture. Therefore, their future was about assimilation into Western culture—despite much evidence to the contrary. For instance, he cites anthropologist Ralph Linton's (1940) observation that the San Ildefonso ceremonies were still being maintained and were being performed with great vigor. Then, in the same sentence, Linton claimed that within the next few years this esoteric form of culture would disappear as the tribe assimilated into Western culture. So, while there was evidence to the contrary—the vigor of the ceremony—Linton held to the

dominant narrative structure of assimilation. The narrative structures that we archaeologists develop are often not about the data, but rather *what is to count as data*. The story is abstracted from the national discourse and serves to guide the direction of future discourse (E. Brunner 1986:142–146).

The changes in the meaning of narratives, sometimes in the form of dramatic shifts, like the example provided by Edward Brunner (1986), are often influenced by historical events, institutional conditions, and the social and political context of the stories (Martin and Wodak 2003:9). There are incremental changes whereby the story can gradually shift over generations as the narrative takes into account previous versions. The story incorporates new conditions; however, the theme of the story remains the same (E. Brunner 1986:151). There can also be a type of discontinuity in which there is a radical shift and a new narrative emerges. The new narrative arises when the old narrative can no longer coincide with social and cultural events and beliefs. The discrepancy between the traditional long-held narrative and the emergence of a new narrative can lead to questioning of the old narrative. If the taken for granted can no longer be justified, then the narrative no longer works to explain the world. In order to support the changing narrative, the new story needs to be supported by organizations and social and political leaders. As the older narrative wanes and the new narrative takes hold, new spaces in discourse arise. These narratives give meaning to the present and serve as an avenue to understanding the past and the future.

Narratives that reinforce national stories or hegemonic power structures create an ideology whereby the narrative is seen as true and timeless. Michel-Rolph Trouillot (1995:15) notes that the dominant narrative often means that there is a process of selective remembering that leaves some accounts out of the story. The history that is not silenced is what the general narrative of the past becomes. Not all sources are valued equally throughout a community, and to some extent the dominant narrative often has components of a fictitious story. Trouillot (1995) cautions awareness of the silenced past. It is the silenced past that has the potential to provide a counternarrative to the received view of the past and present.

Memories become public when a group has the resources and power to promote a particular past. Through material culture, such as memorials, museums, and the built landscape, these histories mask or naturalize inequalities. However, not all people in the same group care to remember the same past. While there is always a movement to remove subordinate memories from the national collective memory, minority groups continually struggle to have their histories remembered. The clash over the control of public memory occurs in some of the most visible places on the landscape, and these become the arenas for negotiating meanings of the past. Those who are excluded from the collective memory of a place may try to subvert the meaning of the past, or they may also strive for representation in the form of a more pluralistic past (Shackel 2001, 2003).

Changing the narrative can be about fighting stereotypes and long-entrenched ideologies about race, class, and gender. To go against long-held beliefs that have been taught for many generations leads to discussions, debates, and possibly a transformative experience for those involved in changing the way archaeologists think about institutions, places, and histories. For instance, the classic American novel, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, provides an example of the conflict, debate, and transformative experience of going against society's long-held beliefs about race and enslavement. In the novel, the main character, Huck Finn, floats down the Mississippi River with an escaped slave, Jim. They escape from tyranny, though Huck is not comfortable with the role of abolitionist (Robinson 1999:xiii). For part of the voyage Huck has an internal debate about the institution of slavery. In the end, Huck, struggling with the concept of the enslavement of humans, finally denounces it. This transformation in thinking went against cultural norms, going against the words he had heard from the pulpit. Huck exclaims: "All right, then, I'll go to hell. ... It was awful thoughts and awful words, but they was said. And I let them stay said; and never thought no more about reforming" (Twain 1985:237). Huck chose eternal damnation over conforming to society and theology's sanction of the enslavement of humans. Huck and Jim float down the Mississippi River, together running away from society and seeking freedom. Huck would

question his own intentions several more times during the journey (Shackel 2011).

Critically reflecting on some of society's long-held beliefs may allow us as archaeologists to think about how some of our ideals and values developed, stimulating discussions and questions about how society is organized and how these assumptions underlie social, political, and economic inequities. Eyler and Giles (1999) explain that we first need to recognize the problems or issues. Then we need to step back and ask why these problems occur. The last step is the identification of what needs to change to solve the problem. When we question the validity of what we think we know, or critically examine the very premise of our perceptions, then transformational learning occurs (Eyler and Giles 1999:133). Transformational learning doesn't happen often in a person's life, nor does one change one's perspective very easily. However, the transformation occurs when we question the assumptions about the way society operates (Eyler and Giles 1999:143). This transformation may lead to social change when action is taken to advance some interests over others or change arrangements that are already quite congenial to some people in the community (Shackel 2009). Huck Finn went through a transformational process leading him to think about social inequalities differently, and his actions eventually led to Jim's freedom. Critically evaluating and challenging the dominant narrative can enable a very different view of the past and a new reality in the present.

There are many examples of archaeologists challenging the received narrative. An important effort occurred when archaeologists worked with the Cheyenne to challenge the military account of the Outbreak of 1879. The event occurred on the night of 9 January 1879 when Dull Knife, with only a few rifles and pistols, led the recently surrendered Cheyenne on the famed outbreak from Fort Robinson. There was not much resistance, and 64 Cheyenne were killed by the pursuing military (McDonald et al. 1991). The tribal account of the outbreak differed from the military account. Roadside markers interpreted the route noted in the military accounts of the event. As a way of challenging the military version a metal-detector survey was performed by archaeologists and members of the Northern Cheyenne. The team only found

rifle and pistol bullets in the area noted in the tribal history. The Cheyenne could then rightfully commemorate the trail of the Outbreak of 1879 (McDonald et al. 1991). The archaeology at Little Bighorn Battlefield also helped to challenge the received narrative of the event. After the battle no American soldiers were alive to provide accounts of the battle, and historians debated the validity of the American Indians' narrative. Archaeologists confirmed American Indian battle accounts (Scott et al. 1989).

Relationships between archaeologists, descendant communities, and the meanings of the past have changed considerably with the passing of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) in 1990. American Indians have played a greater role in archaeological inquiries, and archaeologists are seeking their input and consultation on archaeology projects, including those investigating the past several centuries (Gallivan et al. 2011).

More recently, archaeologists are challenging the 20th-century scholarship of American Indian and European interaction that emphasizes disease as the main reason for the devastation of the Indian peoples. Wilcox (2009) believes that this narrative needs to be reexamined. Focusing on the American Southwest he notes that many of the narratives describing European and American Indian contact avoid colonial violence. Wilcox points out that the Spanish accounts reveal colonial brutality, as well as how ideology served to rationalize and quiet moral conflict about Spanish actions. While attempting to change the narrative his work has met with resistance by many (Wilcox 2009).

The 1990 discovery of the African Burial Ground on federal land in Lower Manhattan provides a watershed event for historical archaeology as a subdiscipline—see e.g., LaRoche and Blakey (1997). The burial ground dates from the late 17th century and it was used into the late 18th century. It was covered by 30 ft. of fill as the city expanded northward and developers filled in the low-lying areas that contained 15,000 burials. The archaeology brought new attention to the understudied phenomenon of enslavement in the North before emancipation. During the colonial period New York City had one of the highest proportions of African Americans living in an urban area in all of North America (Perry et al. 2006:444).

In 2006, the president of the United States signed a proclamation designating the federal land a national monument, and it became the 390th unit of the National Park Service. Today, a memorial stands at the site, and an interpretive center situated in the adjacent federal building includes interpretations of enslavement in the U.S. and in New York City (NPS 2006). During the course of this project the term enslaved African became part of the narrative, instead of terms like servant, bondsperson, chattel labor, or slave. Enslavement conveys the involuntary act (LaRoche and Blakey 1997). This change in terminology has influenced the discipline and changed the way archaeologists think about the forced migration to the New World.

Challenging and changing social and economic conditions can come from many different and sometimes unexpected places. There is an amazing and mostly unknown story about how the actions of one unassuming woman led to a revolution and changed a country, and perhaps a good portion of the Arab world. News media throughout the world reported that new technologies, like Twitter and Facebook, helped to coordinate the spring uprisings in Egypt that led to the downfall of Hosni Mubarak. However, very few people realize that the revolution began five years earlier in Egypt's industrial heartland, in the small mill town of Mahalla, which lies in the Nile Delta, known for its cotton industry. In December 2006, a middle-aged mill worker, Wedad Demerdash, was spurred into action. Despite long working hours she could not afford to buy meat for her family. Eating chicken was a rare event and occurred only about once a month. Wedad led her female co-workers on strike, marching on the factory grounds and chanting: "Where are the men? Here are the women." This action shamed the men to join in the protest, and after three days the workers won the strike. Mahalla has become known for its workers' militancy, and the events in the city set the tone for the rest of the nation. If the workers at Mahalla go on strike and win, the rest of the country will follow and go on strike. The success at Mahalla in 2006 stimulated a wave of strikes throughout 2007. The Mahalla workers took the lead in calling for a subsequent national strike on 6 April 2008 demanding a national minimum wage. Those who follow the Egyptian

labor movement claim that it was the success of the strikes at Mahalla and the militancy of the labor force demanding subsistence wages that led to the subsequent revolution in 2011 and the naming of the Facebook page the “6th of April.” The “6th of April” Facebook group became a major vehicle to rally the protesters of Cairo’s Tahrir Square in January 2011. These labor strikes continue, and the new government in Egypt will need to recognize the increasingly organized labor movement if the country’s unrest is to subside (Sly 2011:A9). Mentioning the heroics of a few people that changed a community and a nation is a simple lesson that we archaeologists can also make a difference in the way communities see themselves in the past and the present. This public memory has larger implications tied to issues of social and political justice as control of narrative plays out in communities and societies.

When doing an archaeology of labor the challenge is to redefine the way people think about class, conflict, human rights, and representation. It is about addressing issues about political and social justice, and making these issues part of the narrative structure. For example, in the late 1990s I became interested in the anthracite communities of northeastern Pennsylvania. One patch town, known as Lattimer Mines, developed from the late 19th century as anthracite coal fueled much of the industrial Northeast. After World War II the demand for coal dropped significantly. Today, the region is economically depressed, and the landscape is scarred from over a century of mining and environmental pollution. The double houses in the patch town of Lattimer Mines still survive with only slight modifications, such as screened-in front porches, kitchen additions, and aluminum and vinyl siding. However, the shanty enclaves inhabited by the newest immigrants have disappeared from the landscape (Novak 1978).

In 1997, I attended the centennial commemoration of the Lattimer Massacre, one of the deadliest labor massacres in U.S. labor history. Twenty-five immigrant miners were killed as a result of their march for equal pay and better working conditions. About six months later the sheriff and his posse were acquitted of all charges. Local stakeholders and representatives from the United Mine Workers of America were present for a two-day event during the

centennial of the massacre. What is interesting to me is that while this event is one of the bloodiest labor massacres in U.S. history, it is absent from the Pennsylvania school curriculum. On the other hand, the local community is quite aware of the events of the massacre, and they continue to pass the story down from one generation to the next.

So, an important question is how to make Lattimer part of the America’s public memory? I consulted the American Battlefield Protection Program, a program administered by the National Park Service (NPS). Researchers and communities embrace this program because it can potentially provide assistance to aid in the preservation and interpretation of battlefield sites. These additional resources to communities for interpretive and infrastructure improvements help keep these events in the national public memory, and for some communities these places become central to the area’s heritage tourism industry.

I wanted to see if American Battlefield Protection Program funding could be obtained to do a survey of the Lattimer Massacre site. The NPS website indicates that “Battlefield Land” is defined as “[s]ites where armed conflict, fighting, or warfare occurred between two opposing military organizations or forces recognized as such by their respective cultures (not civil unrest)” (American Battlefield Protection Program 2012). The words “not civil unrest” are neither part of the original legislation nor part of the regulations. So, an interesting question is who added “not civil unrest” to the definition of battlefield land? And the bigger question is how to get these places of labor unrest recognized as battlefields? Places like Ludlow, Blair Mountain, and Lattimer are battlefields. They are places of class warfare. It need not be pretended that class warfare does not exist today. After speaking with staff members in the American Battlefield Protection Program it became clear that NPS staff developed the definition of battlefield in the early stages of the program’s existence. As scholars and organizations like the NPS become more inclusive of the diversity of histories that makes up this country and place it under one umbrella—American history—then perhaps it is time for the NPS to rethink its view of what can and should be included in the American Battlefield Protection Program. It can

be a way of creating a more inclusive narrative of the past and the present.

The articles in this volume are samples of some of the scholarship whereby we archaeologists are taking an activist role in shaping the way we rethink the past, which also has implications for the present and the future. These participants are increasingly using the discipline to challenge established histories and help change traditional narratives, which also have larger political and social implications. In some cases the work has met with resistance from the communities or established scholars. Some of the case studies show that we need to deal with difficult histories for the sake of the present. Some of the authors reexamine a painful past, revealing information that was otherwise denied, hidden, or distorted. Archaeology also allows us to look at the roots of inequalities in the present and show that these conditions are not necessarily inevitable or preordained.

### **Civic Engagement and Reversing the Narrative**

One strategy that can help challenge the dominant narrative is to build coalitions and include various stakeholder participants. Civic engagement can lead to a broad societal measure of communal health with the development of social capital. Social capital develops in collectives and is important for building and maintaining a democracy. There are various types of social capital, including bonding social capital and bridging social capital. “Bridging” social capital refers to the networking between socially heterogeneous groups. It can help create many benefits for societies, governments, individuals, and communities. On the other hand, bonding social capital is exclusive and homogenizing (Putnam 2000).

The development of bridging social capital can lead to an effective strategy to challenge and reverse the received narrative. For instance, in Waterbury, Connecticut, schoolchildren visit a small museum known as the Mattatuck Museum. For generations they viewed a number of artifacts related to the town’s local history including a skeleton with the name Larry inscribed on its forehead (Mattituck Museum 2012). The skeleton was found in 1910 during a building renovation, and some investigations indicate that it is the bones of a man enslaved to a

Dr. Porter in the late 1700s. After the enslaved man died, Porter boiled and stripped the body to make an anatomy display. The name of each bone was written on the skeleton, and “Larry” was inscribed on the forehead. Porter’s descendants had locked Larry in the closet. When the bones were discovered they were donated to the Mattatuck Museum. Larry hung in a glass case until 1970 when museum officials finally acknowledged that he was more than a collection of bones (Mattituck Museum 2012).

The bones were boxed up and stored in the museum basement until 1999, when Waterbury’s African-American History Project Committee learned about the human remains. An investigation revealed that no one named Larry had ever lived in Dr. Porter’s house, though there was an enslaved man named Fortune. Local records reveal that he died sometime before 1803, and that he had had a wife, Dinah, and four children. Archaeologists, including Warren Perry of Central Connecticut State University, have examined the bones to get a better idea of how Fortune lived. The Mattatuck Museum now has an exhibit dedicated to Fortune. In the wake of the African Burial Ground Project in New York City, the exhibit is making local residents aware that enslavement did exist in the north, and it was also prominent in Waterbury (Mattituck Museum 2012).

Dealing with issues related to reconciliation can take on a new and interesting dimension when incorporating the arts with the sciences. This interdisciplinary venture can integrate the strength of each discipline by placing narrative at the center of a shared exploration of history. In this case Connecticut poet laureate Marilyn Nelson was commissioned by the Mattatuck Museum and received a grant from the Connecticut Commission on the Arts to write a poem in commemoration of Fortune’s life. *Fortune’s Bones: The Manumission Requiem* honors Fortune’s life. The preface lays out the facts of Fortune’s life, followed by “Dinah’s Lament,” in which his wife mourns the husband whose bones she is ordered to dust. Other pieces are in the voices of Fortune’s owner, his descendants, workers, and museum visitors (Barnwell 2011; Mattituck Museum 2012).

During the 2011–2012 academic year there was an ongoing dialogue at the University of Maryland bringing in many of the key stakeholders

to discuss issues related to honoring, studying, and perhaps burying Fortune for the first time. Dr. Ysaye Barnwell, well known for her work with the a cappella group, Sweet Honey and the Rock, brought this program to the University of Maryland campus. The different groups discussed the issues of examining human remains, working to recognize Fortune as having once been a real person rather than a museum specimen. Barnwell has set Marilyn Nelson's poem to music, and it was performed at the University of Maryland in February 2012. In this case, a dialogue about race and history among stakeholders, including scholars and the local African American community, has been facilitated by the melding of archaeology, music, and poetry, helping people understand the connections between the past and the present (Barnwell 2011).

### **Challenging Established Histories: Insurgent Narratives**

One of the prime examples of an organization challenging the dominant narrative is the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience. This coalition consists of a group of museums and historic places that interpret some of the traumatic histories that affected communities and nations. There is strong social pressure to forget the histories that can reveal the roots of ethnic, racial, and economic inequities. These museums use histories to remember how these inequities were created, challenging current perceptions about race, migration, and ethnic cleansing. For instance, the District Six Museum in South Africa and Memoria Abierta in Argentina are about remembering discrimination, ethnic cleansing, and state oppression. Other places, like the Terezin Memorial in the Czech Republic, provide an overview of the history of anti-Semitism and connect this story to contemporary forms of racism, like the current attacks on the Roma people and the rise of neo-Nazi nationalist youth groups. The Martin Luther King National Historic Site confronts the failure of democracy and shows how citizens fought to improve their conditions (Ševčenko and Russell-Ciardi 2008). Remembering and commemorating these types of sites help keep these events in the public memory. All can learn from the past to make for a more just present.

While the discipline of historical archaeology has traditionally been about supporting the status quo, professionals are increasingly using

the discipline to challenge established histories and help reverse traditional narratives. Historical archaeology can accomplish this task by expanding and challenging discourse by addressing issues of inequity related to the development of ideas of race, class, and gender. The discipline can also help to reevaluate historical moments, reappraising the way interpretations are viewed or appropriated in the present. By examining the manner in which localized practices and conflicts have broad implications for popular or ideological understandings of American society, the papers in this volume bring the evidence of historical archaeology to provide a voice to historical absences and create new intersections between the past and present.

For instance, Craig Cipolla's archaeological investigations have focused on the Brothertown Indians, a multitribal Christian community that developed in Wisconsin. These people escaped the racism and hardships of reservation life in New England. They fled to New York and then eventually settled in the Midwest. Cipolla worked collaboratively with the Brothertown to counter the dominant narrative of colonial progress, cultural evolution, and the "vanishing Indian." His archival and archaeological research provides a sense of heritage and place for the community as the Brothertown Indian Nation strives for federal recognition as an Indian tribe.

Chelsea Rose grapples with the issues of gender and representation. The stories that surround the era of the Wild West focus on male activities, with women mostly absent from the narrative. When women are part of the story, it is often in reference to prostitution. At Kanaka Flats, Oregon, ethnicity also played a role in how women were represented among contemporaries. While many miners married Indians or Hawaiian women, they were not regarded as legitimate partners or wives. The historical and archaeological investigation by Rose sheds light on the "invisible wives" of Kanaka Flat. She shows that diversity existed in the past, and sexism and racism allowed for a skewed narrative of the place to exist for over a century.

Jamie Brandon's work at Van Winkle's Mill, a late-19th-century sawmill community in the Arkansas Ozarks, has been ongoing since 1997. This multidisciplinary work focuses on a form of industrialization and modernization of the South, and it also provides information about

African American contributions to industry and culture in the Ozarks. African Americans have been traditionally absent from Arkansas's narrative of its past, a product of forced exile and amnesia. The archaeology at Van Winkle's Mill is a way of highlighting a more inclusive past as well as some of the difficult histories of the region. Brandon's work also provides a platform to examine the creation of some of the myths about Ozark culture and history.

In another case for the struggle to control the memory of an event, archaeologists, conservationists, and environmentalists are fighting to resurrect and preserve the labor history associated with Blair Mountain in southwestern Virginia. The Battle of Blair Mountain is the largest armed labor insurrection in U.S. history. In 1921, approximately 10,000 coalminers participated in a battle against law-enforcement officers and Baldwin-Felts detectives, resulting in the intervention of the U.S. military to suppress the uprising. Brandon Nida shows that the archaeology of the battle site enabled archaeologists to list the site on the National Register of Historic Places. However, politicians who favor mountaintop removal successfully delisted the site from the National Register. It is clear that preservationists and the coal company are at odds on how to treat this landscape that is important to the labor movement. The removal of the battlefield is an attempt to remove this episode of labor strife from the national public memory.

W. Stephen McBride's work at Camp Nelson in Kentucky has brought to light a very different view and a more inclusive perspective of Kentucky's history. While Kentucky was a Union state that sanctioned enslavement, after the Civil War the state began promoting the Southern ideology of the "Lost Cause." The Lost Cause justified secession and denied the importance of enslavement as a significant factor for the war. Camp Nelson served as Kentucky's largest U.S. Army African American military and refugee camp. The story of the African American presence on the landscape and the memory of the place and event have not been part of the traditional narrative of the place. Archaeological interpretations of the history of the fort provide a more inclusive story of the African American soldiers and refugees.

In a case study that focuses on Southern California, Stacy Camp shows that capitalists

saw the value of exploiting nature, seeing it as an impediment to industrialization and resource extraction. However, by the turn of the 20th century the development of tourism and the meaning of nature dramatically changed. Experiencing nature became a popular tourist activity, and Southern California tourist resorts became places where people from urban areas could find relief from urban life and get closer to nature. Nature became a popular leisure activity. By the early 20th century tourists and tourist attractions went from seeing "nature" as a nuisance to expressing nostalgia for it.

In another case, Monocacy National Battlefield is preserved and commemorated as the place where Union troops slowed the advancement of Confederate troops as they marched toward Washington, D.C. Starting about 10 years ago, archaeologists from the NPS and students from local universities began a survey of the entire park that yielded a more complex and deeper history of the place. Megan Bailey describes the archaeology of a previously unknown slave village that was established by French immigrants that escaped the Haitian revolution of the 1790s. The work provides a new and important story about migration and enslavement, and complicates the traditional battlefield narrative.

Michael Roller examines the implications of the historical and present political contexts of the Lattimer Massacre, a late-19th-century labor strike and massacre in the Hazleton, Pennsylvania, area. The massacre occurred in 1897 when there was an influx of immigrants to the United States from southern and eastern Europe. The Gilded Age provides an important moment in the development of industrial capital and global exceptionalism, along with imperialist practices. The work at Lattimer provides a sounding board for the anti-immigration sentiment that existed at the turn of the century, and he uses the current anti-immigrant sentiment that exists in the region to show how racism continues today, however, with different ethnic groups being the target.

Barbara Little explains that archaeologists have the power to control narratives to make the discipline relevant, ethical, and useful to confront difficult, deeply embedded social, political, and environmental problems. Narratives, she explains, reinforce commonly held beliefs as they are repeated and cited as truths.

She also questions, for instance, why we as a culture spend so much time studying violence rather than ways of creating and maintaining peace. The issue that Little raises is how do we develop socially just solutions to our problems to help us prevent violent conflict, and how can our archaeology respond to this call. The study of heritage can bring to light some of the deeply rooted conflicts among people and regions. It can give us the tools to confront long-term embedded cultural biases. Archaeology can have a major role to play as archaeologists address some of the major issues of contemporary society.

### Conclusion

The power of narrative lies in its ability to actively shape the representations of the past that form collective memory. The narrative is the window to the past, and yet that past is shaped by the narrative. In turn it shapes the collective memory. Narratives influence the way we archaeologists think about the present, and they reinforce or challenge current relations of power. What the reader sees in these articles are different strategies historical archaeologists use to challenge the dominant narrative and therefore challenge relations of power. The authors use archaeology to show how the discipline can convey a multicultural world. The discipline can resurrect muted voices and forgotten histories, and make them visible to the general public, even when they are tough histories that challenge long-held beliefs about the past or a particular incident in history. In many cases it takes courage and fortitude.

The authors in this volume have committed themselves to the creation of a useable past and to changing the present. They have built an archaeology of political action to transform the way we archaeologists think about the past and present (McGuire 2008). If we appreciate human differences and accept that each group may have a different past and a different narrative about it, perhaps we can learn to appreciate diversity. Understanding different narratives teaches individuals to live peacefully and productively in communities that value persons of different races, genders, physical and mental abilities, religions, class backgrounds, and sexual orientations. As archaeologists we need to think about critically analyzing and

exposing the many “isms” that existed in the past and survive in the present, and to dismantle the structures of oppression where we can. We need to recognize these differences and provide an historical perspective when telling the story of any community. A story is not complete without a variety of perspectives, and we need to think about which people get invited to tell their stories about the past. We should help to create a past that recognizes hidden injustices and difficult histories rather than ignoring them. It is important to recognize cultural and ethnic differences in order to provide a richer perspective of the past and the future. If we implement these practices and work with stakeholders, then we can help create change—change in the way we look at the past and change in the way we live in the present and, it is hoped, change in the future. Providing a narrative of those who have been silenced should be an important goal for our archaeology—whether it is about addressing issues related to race, gender, class, or labor—we can make a difference.

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## Native American Historical Archaeology and the Trope of Authenticity

### ABSTRACT

This essay argues that historical archaeology has the potential to complicate and challenge colonial narratives of authenticity, not only in the rich data that it collects and studies, but also in the ways in which it goes about collecting these data. Case studies from colonial New England exemplify the nuanced perspectives on native spirituality and community cohesion offered via historical archaeology. These complex and variegated archaeological histories have the potential to break the dichotomous tropes inherent in public understandings of colonialism. Recent historical archaeological research with the Brothertown Indian Nation also serves to demonstrate the ways in which critical, collaborative, and pragmatic approaches can challenge colonial narratives on a local scale.

*Thus in the beginning all the World was America.*

—John Locke

### Introduction: From *Terra Nullius* to Authenticity

Popular understandings of colonial history and indigeneity perpetuate monolithic cultural essences: Europeans as colonizing, dynamic, and modern vs. native peoples as colonized, passive, antimodern, and disappearing, if not already extinct. As seen in a variety of contexts, ranging from the works of Pulitzer Prize-winning author Jared Diamond—see Wilcox (2010) and B. Williams (2013)—to media coverage and public responses to contemporary indigenous struggles for sovereignty, land, and control of cultural heritage (Den Ouden 2005), these tropes are ubiquitous in American culture. Many of these contemporary narratives tie back to the ideology of *terra nullius*, which was officially codified into British law in 1722 (Ruppel 2008:11)—see also Gosden (2004). Colonizing European nations used the *terra nullius* classification, literally meaning “no-man’s-land,” to frame precolonial North America as an empty space awaiting and justifying European encroachment, cultivation, and improvement (Berkhofer 1978:120; Ruppel

2008:11–16). For example, in his *Second Treatise of Government*, philosopher John Locke (1821) typified precolonial North America as unimproved wilderness. Of course, to enact their natural rights and to improve said lands, colonists first had to deal with America’s indigenous populations (McGuire 1992, 2004), which they initially regarded as subhuman.

Narratives of Indian authenticity sit at the forefront of contemporary colonial politics and—akin to *terra nullius*—function as tools of further conquest. A strict dichotomy between Indian and white defines Indian authenticity for many non-Indians, framing indigenous populations as unable to adapt (Wilcox 2010), homogenous (Grim 1996), and antimodern (Cothran 2010; Lyons 2011). I was reminded of the rigidity of these narratives during a phone conversation in 2007, when a nonnative resident of Brothertown, Wisconsin, summed up the Brothertown Indians’ complex history as follows: “They’re not Indians anymore anyway.” Such conversations are a necessary part of all research projects that focus on privately owned lands or that employ public, collaborative, and community-based frameworks. In this particular instance, I was a graduate student at the University of Pennsylvania attempting to plan out the first field season of my dissertation research in Brothertown. After having met a few months prior with the Brothertown Indian Nation at its tribal meetinghouse in Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, it was now my responsibility to begin negotiating with different stakeholders, not only to obtain the proper permissions but also to get them involved in the project. The resident continued: “Listen, I like archaeology and all, but I just think you should stick to the pyramids.” Needless to say, this particular negotiation presented a sharp challenge for me. Fortunately enough, many of the other landowners and residents of Brothertown reacted more positively, making the project—which ran for three consecutive summers—successful in several regards (Cipolla 2010, 2011, 2012a, 2012b, 2013a).

Following the basic logic of the landowner, any indigenous response to colonialism and modernity—other than complete and utter stasis—is framed as *inauthentic*. Such

assumptions are, of course, highly problematic and nearly completely detached from the realities of colonial entanglement, whether from the perspective of the colonized or the colonist. As Scott Richard Lyons (2011:303) notes: “[I]ndeed, colonization was the horse that modernity rode in on. But as with the history of actual horses, Indians quickly appropriated it and proved capable of its mastery.”

Narratives of both cultural and biological authenticity do much more than inform popular understandings, however. Overly simplistic perspectives on colonial history remain tools of conquest with which colonists, settlers, and the federal government challenge ties between indigenous North Americans and their homelands (Deloria and Lytle 1983; Grim 1996:362–364; Den Ouden 2005; Ruppel 2008). Authenticity provides a neat and tidy framework with which nonnatives evaluate and classify contemporary native peoples (Deloria 1998:137; Cothran 2010; Lyons 2011; Landrum 2012:185). When native peoples are deemed “inauthentic,” those that deem them so typically base their arguments on the fact that there has been *too* much cultural change since the times of Christopher Columbus, Coronado, and the Pilgrims. In this case, evidence of cultural change is used to weaken native connections—legal or otherwise—to lands and cultural heritage in the eyes of their judges.

In this essay, I argue that historical archaeologists have the potential to complicate and challenge the colonial narratives introduced here, not only in the rich data that they collect and study but also in the ways in which they go about collecting these data. The first part of this essay examines a series of case studies from New England, arguing that Native American historical archaeology challenges cultural essences by contributing new information on the complexities of continuity and change in colonial contexts (Ferris 2009; Silliman 2009) and by adding critical depth to simplistic historical narratives. Brief archaeological histories of spiritual and communal negotiation in native New England illustrate archaeologists’ abilities to explore and illuminate the “gray areas” between colonizing Europeans and colonized indigenous populations. Examples of indigenous flexibility, agency, and active appropriation of once-foreign beliefs, practices, and materials have the potential to challenge popular narratives and stereotypes.

The next part of the essay turns to the Brothertown Archaeology Project to consider the practices of critical, collaborative, and pragmatic historical archaeology in terms of their ability to challenge colonial narratives further, particularly those manifested in public perceptions of Native American authenticity. The final portion of the essay steps back to consider the future of Native American historical archaeology, pointing out areas in need of further scrutiny and growth.

### **Archaeological Histories of Native New England**

Popular narratives of New England history spare little room for Native Americans beyond their interactions with Pilgrims, their participation in colonial wars, and their confinement to reservations (Den Ouden 2005:19–20; Cipolla 2013a). This is partially due to the fact that many native peoples of New England did not write. Yet, it also ties to simplistic understandings of cultural identity and colonial interaction such as those introduced above. As native peoples negotiated their places in the modern world, they faced hardships, violence, and injustice; they incorporated once-foreign ideas, practices, and materials; and—like everyone else—they changed. Rather than judge such changes in terms of dichotomous cultural essences, historical archaeologists have the ability to explore the “gray areas” of these complex cultural negotiations, the ways in which indigenous peoples made their places in the modern world and actively appropriated once-foreign things. Case studies from the 17th century onward reveal details of everyday life that rarely made it into the colonial records of New England. Moreover, they offer new narratives of Native American flexibility and survival to challenge those introduced above.

### **Maintaining Faith: Archaeologies of Spirituality and Christian “Conversion”**

In the 17th century, Roger Williams (1973:126) observed that the Narragansett understood the world as rife with a spiritual power associated with *Manitoo*, what Williams defined as a god. This spiritual power, *manit*, governed the worlds of many indigenous groups of the Northeast (Simmons 1986; Crosby 1988) and could manifest itself in things, people, and

animals. A variety of deities governed these worlds, the most powerful of which was the Creator, *Cauntantowitt* (DeForest 1964:21–23; R. Williams 1973; Simmons 1986; Crosby 1988:183–192; Bragdon 1996). *Cauntantowitt* lived in the southwest and controlled life cycles. Upon death, one of the deceased's souls—of which he or she possessed multiple—traveled to *Cauntantowitt's* house to live with the ancestors. Another deity, *Hobbomock*, was deeply involved in daily life and was a source of personal spiritual power and knowledge (Crosby 1988:189–198). Residing in the east or northeast, *Hobbomock* was the spiritual force behind powwows (i.e., shamans). In certain instances, the souls of the wicked ended up with *Hobbomock*, who condemned them to haunt the living rather than go to *Cauntantowitt's* house. Although English colonists often made sense of these beliefs by laminating their own Christian sensibilities over them and framing these two deities as diametrically opposed (i.e., God vs. Satan), native cosmology was far more subtle and complex (Simmons 1986; Bragdon 1996).

Archaeological research shows that 17th-century Narragansetts in Rhode Island typically laid their dead to rest in the flexed or fetal position with the tops of the heads pointing to *Cauntantowitt's* house in the southwest (Simmons 1970; Rubertone 2001), see also Vitelli (2009). The flexed burial position tied directly to belief in the cyclical nature of life stages in the Narragansett world, and the grave orientation helped facilitate an easy voyage for the soul that resided in the head. The other soul, residing in the chest, required provisions. For this reason, the bereaved typically placed a variety of items in the grave and either hung one of the deceased's garments from a nearby tree or placed it on the ground above the grave (DeForest 1964; R. Williams 1973). Some of these practices appear to have been ancient in origin, enacting traditions that were in place well before the arrival of the English in Narragansett country. These traditions did, however, transform, as English colonists and settlers increased their presence in New England.

As the English increased in number so did the frequencies of European-manufactured goods that indigenous peoples placed into the graves of their deceased loved ones. Constance Crosby (1988) explains this pattern not as corroboration of complete and utter cultural change but, rather,

as evidence for the perpetuation of traditional belief systems. According to Crosby, such items had *manit* for the native peoples that sought them out. From this perspective, the technology of the English and their ability to resist disease meant that they and their gods possessed a greater amount of *manit* than the indigenous population (Crosby 1988:193). Native communities thus extended this spiritual power to European-manufactured goods, making such items highly sought after. Ethnohistorical accounts also document the incorporation of European-manufactured items into traditional native religious and curing rituals, further demonstrating their redefinition in native contexts. According to this interpretation, these items were not harbingers of cultural and religious transformation as much as vehicles for new iterations of deep-seated spiritual traditions (Crosby 1988).

In several regards, Christian conversion thus entailed a cosmological shift of epic proportions, literally turning native belief systems on their end—placing God above rather than to the southwest and putting Satan below rather than to the east. At the same time, God had to supplant multiple deities while a new and comparatively simplistic understanding of the body/soul dichotomy had to be instilled. Beyond these important differences, however, lay some interesting parallels between Algonquian spiritual traditions and Christianity (Seeman 2010:143–184). The materialities of conversion discussed next demonstrate the ways in which Algonquian peoples accepted Christianity on their own terms rather than those of the European missionaries.

By far, John Eliot's work in the Massachusetts Bay Colony represents the most widespread and institutionalized attempt to convert local Native American populations to Christianity during the 17th century (Salisbury 1974; Mrozowski 2009; Mrozowski et al. 2009). Eliot's first successes in preaching to native audiences came in the mid-17th century. Building on this momentum, from 1651 to 1674, he established 14 towns of Christian Indians, commonly referred to as "praying Indian villages" (O'Brien 1997; Cogley 1999). He strategically placed these settlements with hopes of isolating new converts, both from European colonists and from non-Christian natives. Rules and fines were established to prevent "idleness;" to institute sedentary, agricultural ways of life; and to replicate European

values and aesthetics (Salisbury 1974). To help ensconce converts in civility, Eliot produced Bibles written in Algonquian (Bross and Wyss 2008) and imported them to his villages along with an abundance of English-manufactured goods (Brenner 1986; Mrozowski 2009). In whichever form it took, material change from precolonial ways of life was a central component of Eliot's strategy.

In comparison to the Narragansett burial grounds discussed above, Christian Indian graves of the 17th century—including those directly associated with Eliot's praying villages—exhibit more continuity than change. Based on the limited archaeological data available from such contexts, the frequencies and types of grave goods found in praying-village cemeteries closely resemble those recovered from non-Christian burials of the time (Brenner 1986). Most significantly, inhabitants of Eliot's villages continued to place artifacts in the graves of their loved ones (Cogley 1999:244; Mrozowski 2009). This practice was in direct defiance of Puritan beliefs, yet Eliot's praying Indians maintained the tradition. Unfortunately, many praying-Indian cemeteries have been disturbed, and thus much less is known of the original orientation and placement of such graves. At least some burials in praying villages maintained the traditional northeast–southwest orientation (Mrozowski 2009:144), while others likely shifted to east–west orientations in the extended rather than flexed burial position.

Excavations at praying villages serve to further complicate this narrative, demonstrating the “gray areas” that Christian Indians created and inhabited. Archaeological investigation of a praying village in Natick, Massachusetts (Brenner 1986), suggests that, contrary to Eliot's objectives and rules, inhabitants of the village participated in trading networks and maintained nonsedentary ways of life, perhaps even continuing to practice seasonal mobility. Furthermore, inventories of English imported goods contrast sharply with the archaeological record, suggesting that Eliot's imports were quickly traded away or discarded by the Christian Indians of Natick. This pattern makes sense since accumulation of material goods was likely unappealing to local native groups who were traditionally very mobile (O'Brien 1997:18). Diana DiPaolo Loren and Mary Beaudry (2006) analyzed

sewing thimbles recovered from Magunkaquoq, another praying village located in Ashland, Massachusetts, and found evidence to support these tentative interpretations. Thimbles recovered from Magunkaquoq show little evidence of use wear or modification, suggesting that perhaps they were discarded quickly after their arrival in the village or simply not used at all. Although Eliot intended to prevent “idleness” through craft production, inhabitants of Magunkaquoq seem to have simply ignored his guidance and instruction. Alternatively, the disuse of thimbles at Magunkaquoq might also relate to the new sets of values with which European goods were often redefined in non-European contexts. In this sense, perhaps thimbles simply had no recognizable utility or symbolic value for the occupants of Magunkaquoq.

Stephen Mrozowski and his colleagues (Mrozowski et al. 2009) present compelling evidence that, in addition to disregarding Eliot's rules and regulations, praying Indians also maintained traditional spiritual beliefs. Mrozowski's excavations at Magunkaquoq focused on a stone foundation, interpreted as the meetinghouse for the praying-Indian community. Such a structure would have served as a gathering place for teaching and worship, but also as a place for Eliot and other officials to stay when visiting the village (Mrozowski et al. 2009:447). Mrozowski recovered heat-treated crystals from underneath three corners of the foundation, along with an outdoor hearth that contained burned quartz cobble fragments. The distribution of crystals underneath the corners of the foundation seems to indicate that “when the structure was built Native traditions of ancient origin were incorporated into the construction of a building that English observers may have viewed as the antithesis of such traditions” (Mrozowski et al. 2009:456). This interpretation is based on documented uses and meanings of crystals in native societies (R. Williams 1973:13; Miller and Hamell 1986; White 1991:99). For example, Miller and Hamell (1986:316–318) noted that the physical properties of crystals sometimes qualified them as divining instruments for Algonquian peoples. Furthermore, crystals were believed to be otherworldly, assuring “long life, physical and spiritual well-being, and success” (Miller and Hamell 1986:318). Based on these findings, it seems plausible

that at least some of the inhabitants of Eliot's villages saw Christianity as a complement to—rather than as a replacement of—longstanding Algonquian spiritual practices and symbols, and thus added the English God into their cosmology.

### **Maintaining Community: Archaeologies of Reservation Life**

The reservation system—established in Connecticut Colony in the mid-17th century—represented a drastic set of changes for local native groups. Life on the crowded and marginal environs of reservations stood in stark contrast to the precolonial rhythms of everyday life, when indigenous populations engaged in regular seasonal mobility with ready access to a variety of different ecosystems. To make things worse, neighboring European American farmers often ignored reservation boundaries and allowed their livestock to ravage reservation grounds. Numerous colonial documents record native complaints about European American trespassing on tribal lands and of intruding livestock ruining reservation gardens (Den Ouden 2005). In order to “make do” on reservations, native communities adopted novel subsistence practices and sought out new sources of income. Able-bodied males found employment in the outside world. Some left their communities on a daily basis to work on local farms, but most found jobs as soldiers or seamen, which took them away from their reservation communities for months and years at a time (Silverman 2001; Cipolla 2008; Silliman and Witt 2010). Those left behind on reservations coped with these changes and maintained their respective communities. As they did so, reservation grounds became homelands and safe havens (Silliman 2009) central to their communal identities.

Two long-running archaeological projects on the neighboring Mashantucket Pequot (McBride 1990, 1993, 1996) and Eastern Pequot (Silliman and Sebastian Dring 2008; Silliman 2009; Silliman and Witt 2010) reservations in southeastern Connecticut, see also Cipolla (2008) and Cipolla et al. (2007), reveal new information on the quotidian practices of reservation life, often undocumented in any other form. Despite new restrictions on movement associated with the establishment of reservations, members of the Mashantucket Pequot community continued to engage in seasonal mobility during the early

reservation period. Most sites dating between 1650 and 1750 represent short-term encampments for hunting or seasonal planting of corn or apples (McBride 1990:110). The Mashantucket Pequot only began using permanent dwellings in significant numbers during the second quarter of the 18th century. They mainly used wigwams before this time. With the adoption of more sedentary practices, however, came new architectural forms. Mashantucket Pequots began using stone, which was readily available in the rocky reservation soils, to build homes, walls, and other structures. At first, these new dwellings were hybrid in nature, combining elements of wigwams with framed houses. One residential site dating between 1740 and 1760 on the neighboring Eastern Pequot Reservation exemplifies the mixing of architectural traditions (Silliman 2009:219–221). As interpreted by Silliman, the dwelling at this site may have been a wigwam modified with nailed elements and window glass, or a small wooden-framed structure lacking a cellar, crawlspace, and chimney.

Kevin McBride (1990:111–113) interprets many of the mid- to late-18th-century sites on the Mashantucket Pequot Reservation as Pequot farmsteads. Such sites typically consist of a series of dwellings—both framed structures and wigwams—outbuildings, including possible animal pens and sweat lodges, fields and gardens, wells, storages facilities, stone walls, middens, and cemeteries. The presence of multiple-family dwellings on each farmstead implies a communal form of farming.

Stephen Silliman (2009:220–221) also observed new forms of dwelling on the Eastern Pequot Reservation during the second half of the 18th century. At one site dating between 1760 and 1800, he found evidence for “significant surface and subsurface components as well as prominent alterations to the surrounding landscape” (Silliman 2009:220). The site includes two chimney collapses, one full cellar, a rock-and-shell midden, a small trash deposit, a possible root cellar, and a small stone enclosure—possibly used for gardening or keeping animals.

By the early 19th century, increasing numbers of Mashantucket Pequot homes resembled European American framed houses. As McBride (1990:115–116) explained, some scholars interpret these shifts in dwelling style and subsistence base as evidence for a weakening of

Indian cultural patterns, however, the archaeology speaks to a continued emphasis on community. Silliman's (2009:221–224) work on the Eastern Pequot Reservation further bolsters this interpretation, demonstrating a complex admixture of cultural continuity and change. One household site dating between 1800 and 1840 provides a compelling case. The site consists of a large collapsed chimney for a framed house, a crawlspace, and a trash pit. The material assemblage from this site is particularly provocative, including a variety of 19th-century ceramic and glass artifacts along with lithic debitage, a soapstone bowl fragment, a stone celt, and an argillite projectile point dating between the Terminal/Transitional Archaic and Middle Woodland periods (3,700–1,000 years ago). The presence of this ancient material in the midst of an early-19th-century trash deposit warrants further attention to issues of memory, tradition, and identity on the reservation. Silliman (2009:224) suggests that “these items were reincorporated into Eastern Pequot practices that summoned deeper social memories and that brought them back into discourse and visibility.” Furthermore, faunal analysis suggests that chipped tools were used for at least some of the animal processing that took place on site (Cipolla et al. 2007; Cipolla 2008). Again, the juxtaposition of materials and practices of ancient origin with then-modern materials and practices on a 19th-century reservation site shows the “gray areas” of colonial interaction along with native agency and creativity during difficult times.

### **Creating Community: An Archaeology of Ethnogenesis at Brothertown**

Not all Native American groups of the Northeast elected to stay within the confines of reservations, however. One such group—now known as the “Brothertown Indians”—emerged in the late 18th century as Christian factions of seven native settlements in Rhode Island, Connecticut, and coastal New York, and moved away from their homelands to start anew in central New York State (Love 1899; Murray 1998; Brooks 2006; Cipolla 2010, 2013a, 2013b; Jarvis 2010; Silverman 2010). In contrast to the ways in which Christianity spread in 17th-century New England, the “Great Awakening” of the mid-18th century saw many native peoples adopt and appropriate Christianity for their own

ends, oftentimes using it as a form of cultural revitalization (Jarvis 2010; Cipolla 2013a). This was certainly the case for Samson Occom, a Mohegan Indian who at a remarkably early age dedicated his life to spreading Christianity to his native brethren (Brooks 2006). By the late 1760s and early 1770s, Occom and several other Christian native leaders began questioning their places in New England and looked west for a new home. After receiving a sizeable tract of land from the Oneida of New York, this group began a slow emigration to their new settlement. In the 19th-century, continued European American encroachment and other land problems in New York influenced the group to move once again, this time to current-day Brothertown, Wisconsin.

Archaeological research at the Brothertown settlements of New York and Wisconsin reveals the social and cultural negotiations that took place as Narragansetts, Eastern Niantics, Eastern Pequots, Mashantucket Pequots, Mohegans, Western Niantics, Montauketts, and Tuxis became Brothertown Indians. Analysis of a large sample of historical documents written by, to, or about the Brothertown community between the late 18th and mid-19th centuries shows a clear shift in uses of the name “Brothertown” (Cipolla 2010, 2012a, 2012b, 2013a). Not only did the name transform from a toponym (i.e., a place name) to an ethnonym (i.e., the name of a group of people), the ways in which Brothertown Indians referred to their new community also influenced the ways in which outsiders eventually referred to (and likely saw) the community. In this sense, the group transformed from a disparate collection of refugee tribes living in the same settlement into a unified tribal entity, “the Brothertown.”

In terms of the materiality of everyday life, Brothertown Indians used a variety of European-manufactured materials: they set their tables with mass-produced ceramics and they lived in log cabins. They also modified their commemorative practices to include professionally made grave markers with text inscriptions. As discussed in detail elsewhere (Cipolla 2010, 2011, 2013a), this transformation had both intended and unforeseen consequences. In one sense, it allowed members of the Brothertown community to align themselves with a variety of outsider groups (including, of course, European

Americans), but it also altered the ways in which members of the community remembered their ancestors and related to one another.

The archaeological examples discussed above demonstrate that the complexities of colonial interaction and survival lie neither wholly in past ideas (e.g., identifying as “Pequot,” “Brothertown,” “English,” or “American”), nor in materials (e.g., European-manufactured ceramics, wigwams, or grave markers), but rather in the relationship between the two. The case studies demonstrate historical archaeologists’ abilities to study this crucial relationship. As clearer understandings of these complexities emerge through historical archaeology, the discipline can better challenge the colonial narratives targeted in this essay. As discussed next, however, the actual archaeological interpretations are not the only way that historical archaeologists can begin to accomplish this goal.

### **New Perceptions of the Present**

The Brothertown Archaeology Project took a critical (Leone et al. 1987; Potter 1994), see also Palus et al. (2006); collaborative (Nicholas and Andrews 1997; Atalay 2006; Silliman 2008); and pragmatic (Saitta 2003; Cipolla 2013a) approach to the archaeological process. In other words, it attempted to collect and interpret data in a diverse research context that challenged colonial narratives and that took the project’s potential nonacademic impacts seriously. From 2007 to 2009, community members, students, volunteers, and archaeologists worked together on an archaeological survey of Brothertown, New York, and Brothertown, Wisconsin, including an intensive survey of Brothertown cemeteries. The collaborative process informed everything from research design and data collection to analysis and interpretation (Cipolla 2013a). As part of this process, nonnative landowners and residents of both Brothertown settlements were exposed to new perspectives on the places and spaces in which they currently live via archaeological fieldwork. In this form, collaboration helped emphasize the native presence in the landscapes of Brothertown, which can easily elude the uninformed and uncritical eye. By interacting with archaeologists and members of the Brothertown Indian Nation in the context of the archaeology project, local landowners and residents were endowed with new senses of their everyday surroundings. More

broadly, these experiences helped to challenge widely accepted cultural stereotypes of “Indianness” and myths of the vanishing Indian. By confronting contradictions of these tropes, the current inhabitants of Brothertown renegotiated their understanding of native communities, past and present. Colonial narratives of authenticity fell under stress when Brothertown’s nonnative inhabitants were challenged to make sense of stories of the Brothertown Indians’ building the first Methodist church in Wisconsin Territory or constructing the very roadways on which residents drive. The Brothertown Indians clearly define themselves today as an Indian entity, just as their ancestors did. The interconnection between these ideas and the materials of historical archaeology present a problem for simplistic understandings of colonial change.

Through this form of public collaboration, historical archaeologists have the ability to forge new communities (Silliman 2008) as they collect data. In general, cultural heritage sites draw different types of people together, often leading to new connections between groups of people that would not otherwise interact or even encounter one another in their everyday lives. This potential synergy is best illustrated by the interactions of one particular nonnative resident of Brothertown, Wisconsin, and several Brothertown Indians who regularly visit their ancestors’ graves just down the road from his house. Of note, these interactions occurred before the archaeology project began but still serve to illustrate the potential that historical sites have for forging new communities. The nonnative resident, born and raised in Brothertown, Wisconsin, fought alongside many Native American soldiers in World War II. He keeps a close watch on the local cemeteries, which is how he recently met several Brothertown Indians. The resident has a keen understanding of changes in the landscape during his lifetime, while his new Brothertown Indian acquaintances know the genealogies and long-term histories of his childhood friends, some of whom were Brothertown Indians. Since meeting and interacting in the cemetery, the local resident regularly attends the Brothertown Indians’ annual homecoming celebration and assists with the archaeological project and other efforts to preserve Brothertown history. It is through the formation of new relationships such as this that historical archaeology can begin to quash colonial stereotypes and narratives.

## An Unfinished Project

This essay argues that historical archaeologists have the potential to challenge colonial narratives; they can do so both with the rich data that they collect and in the ways that they engage—and conduct research with—the public. The funerary practices, forms of dwelling, and community structures discussed above speak to the diversity of native responses to colonialism and to the agency and creativity of “subaltern” peoples making their places in the modern world. Historical archaeology offers new perspectives on these histories by studying the vital relationship between ideas and materials, in turn, shedding light on the “gray areas” of colonial interaction and survival that are often overwritten by simplistic, black-and-white colonial narratives. The practices of historical archaeology—including those that take place in public—also have the potential to create new forms of public interaction that may serve to debunk these narratives. As demonstrated by the end results of the Brothertown Indian Nation’s quest for federal recognition, however, each of these projects remains incomplete.

In 2009, the Office of Indian Affairs denied the Brothertown Indians federal recognition. In the proposed negative findings published by the Office of Indian Affairs (Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2011), the Brothertown Archaeology Project was misconstrued and misappropriated. For example, the report (United States Department of the Interior 2009:12) states that “[s]cholarly archaeological excavations, even of sites in Wisconsin, do not provide evidence that any historical observer made a contemporaneous identification of an existing Indian entity (Cipolla 2007).” While the bibliography of the report lists the source of this statement as “Cipolla 2007, Brothertown Indian Nation Archaeology Project,” its origin remains unclear since the project had just begun in late 2006 and no findings had been published by 2007. The fallacious use of archaeology in this case serves as a harsh reminder of archaeologists’ responsibilities to the publics that they impact, intentionally or not. The project director’s responsibilities on site went hand in hand with his duty to point out these inconsistencies to the federal government and to the public.

Beyond the poor scholarship that went into the Department of the Interior’s report, however,

lies a much deeper issue concerning the relationship between archaeological data and the federal acknowledgment process. In direct contrast to the above quotation from the Office of Federal Acknowledgement, Brothertown cemeteries studied during the course of the project do indeed provide evidence of outsiders identifying an “existing Indian entity” in Brothertown. The spatial distribution of Brothertown and non-Brothertown graves in the cemeteries illustrates this point precisely. In the largest cemetery in Brothertown, Wisconsin, nearly all of the Brothertown grave markers sit in the southern half of the cemetery, which locals identify as the “Indian half.” In other words, the Brothertown Indians consistently chose to bury their loved ones in close proximity to other Brothertown Indians, while European Americans consistently chose to bury their loved ones in close proximity to other European Americans. The importance of this pattern should not be understated. Brothertown Indians and European Americans alike recognized the disparities between their two groups. Other cemeteries surveyed as part of the project provide similar examples of these historically recognized social and cultural distinctions. The fact that local European American residents continue to refer to the southern half of the cemetery as the “Indian half” also suggests that it was known as such since the 1850s, when European Americans and Brothertown Indians began sharing the landscape of Brothertown, Wisconsin.

Although these facts do not change the Brothertown Indian Nation’s current political standing, they do highlight an underexplored social use of archaeological data (Mrozowski et al. 2009). One of the criteria that petitioning tribes must demonstrate in order to become federally recognized is that a large portion of its members lived as part of an identified Indian community, distinct from other groups (Office of Federal Acknowledgement 2011). Archaeological histories speak directly to these issues, particularly in cases where the communities in question did not speak and write in the English language as the Brothertown Indians did. In these cases, archaeological remains may represent core pieces of evidence, but archaeologists have yet to fully apply their work in such instances (Mrozowski et al. 2009). This is just one direction in which archaeologists can further

decolonize archaeology and partially redress the injustices of colonialism in the general spirit of critical, collaborative, and pragmatic approaches (Cipolla 2013a).

This final example serves as a reminder that, as a whole, historical archaeology can make differences in the world beyond academia, but it will struggle to do so until it takes its relationship with its various publics more seriously (Sabloff 1998, 2008; McDavid 2002). It is only through deeper engagements with nonarchaeologists that archaeologists will help to do their part in challenging the colonial narratives highlighted throughout this essay.

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## Lonely Men, Loose Women: Rethinking the Demographics of a Multiethnic Mining Camp, Kanaka Flat, Oregon

### ABSTRACT

The historiography of the Western gold rushes is punctuated with rhetoric of the American Wild West. The mining camp in particular has become an institution of the traditional frontier narrative, biasing interpretations of the composition of early mining settlements. Historical and modern accounts of Kanaka Flat describe a lack of women, yet archaeological data and documentary evidence indicated women were present and integrated into the community. Low-status Indian or Hawaiian women on Kanaka Flat were disregarded and not seen as legitimate partners or wives, suggesting that the idea of “women” often referenced more than sex or gender, but also ethnicity and class. Archaeological investigations challenge dated frontier archetypes, allowing recognition of the diversity of experiences on the American frontier. The “invisible wives” of Kanaka Flat illustrate that the camp was not a haven of single men and sinful women, but a complex community comprised of both bachelors and families.

### Introduction

The story of the American West is closely tied to the frontier gold rushes and the waves of population and infrastructure that closely followed. These cultural phenomena not only dictated the flavor of the historic sections of modern Western towns and cities, but were also intimately tied to their geographical placement, access to environmental resources, and place in historical memory and contemporary culture. Western gold rushes are often portrayed through sweeping statements and generalizations, many focusing largely on what has become the American institution of the mining camp, a bachelor society rife with all the vice and violence of the frontier. Recent scholarship has worked hard to counter the traditional gold-rush tale and bring to light the various other experiences of the gold fields as seen through the oft-overlooked female, ethnic, or minority participants. While this has certainly updated the variety and types of contributors to the mining

frontier, most accounts are still placed within traditional frontier narratives.

The Western mining narrative is not intrinsically problematic; however, there is a danger that inaccurate assumptions and paradigms conveyed in the frontier myths could potentially bias scholarly interpretation of tangible historical sites and circumstances. To avoid or at least acknowledge these biases, they must first be identified. My article will use a small, multiethnic mining camp in southern Oregon as a case study with which to challenge one of the more pervasive frontier myths: that mining camps were comprised of lonely men and loose women. When looked at uncritically, both primary and secondary literature has painted Kanaka Flat as a haven of single men and sinful women.

I originally set out to document the “Wild West” mining camp of Kanaka Flat. However, upon closer inspection, documentary and archaeological research did not reveal the anticipated landscape of saloons and brothels, but rather a small community living in and amongst the placer mines that provided its livelihood. To date, a comprehensive archaeological survey has been conducted at Kanaka Flat, which is located on several privately owned land parcels in a rural residential neighborhood (Figure 1) (Rose 2009). Two “marble elephants” marking the edge of Kanaka Flat were touted by locals as remnants of the brothel but were in fact a mid-20th-century gag gift of pink plaster elephants given to a former resident and owner of the Jacksonville Tavern (Rose 2009:101). As the pink paint faded, the meaning of the statues was reappropriated by locals eager to connect with the region’s frontier legacy. This fascinating discrepancy between the memory, history, and archaeology of Kanaka Flat became the focus of my research and has highlighted how easily historical contexts can be hijacked by frontier rhetoric.

### The Discovery and Pursuit of Gold

The gold rushes have been widely hailed as some of the most “dramatic episodes of

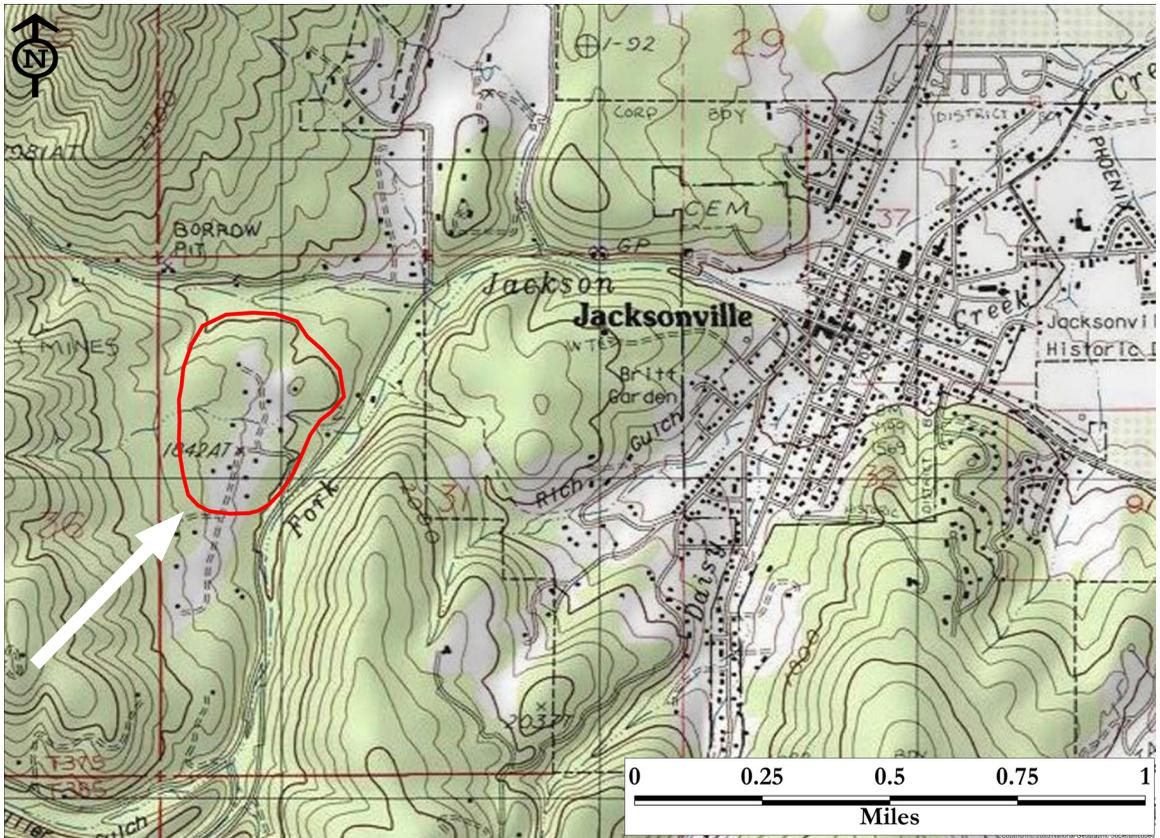


FIGURE 1. Site-locator map for Kanaka Flats, Oregon (United States Geological Survey 1983).

American Western history” (Cronon 1997:xi). The mining camp is central to this drama, as it has proved to be a reliable and romantic backdrop for the vice and violence of what historian Richard White described as the “imagined West” (White 1991:613–632). White’s “imagined West” is a “mythic West” built on collective falsehoods that serve to form a larger story, highlighting “who westerners—and who Americans—are and how they should act” (White 1991:615). In her book, *Roaring Camp*, historian Susan Lee Johnson further argued that, since the 19th century, the gold rush itself has been morphed into the “historical property” of white American men, in particular, becoming “associated in everyday language with the facile notions of fast fortune” (Johnson 2000:11).

Real or imagined, the beloved gold-rush story has served to both inspire and misinform the public about American history. Like many signifiers of the Wild West—the gunslinging cowboys, befeathered Indian warriors, and hearty

pioneers—the gold rush evokes a set of specific visual and anecdotal triggers that have become the popular historiography of the mining frontier.

The very concept of “frontier” has been debated in history, geography, and anthropology for decades. Much of the accepted frontier narrative can be traced back to Frederick Jackson Turner and his 1893 landmark paper “The Significance of the Frontier in American History” (F. Turner 1962). By using the frontier as an “organizing idea,” Turner succeeded in building a “monumental narrative whose framework would guide the study of American history in succeeding generations” (White 1994:26). Turner’s thesis would become the dominant paradigm of frontier historiography for nearly a century, fundamentally shaping the history of the American West. Even today, the study of the frontier is still inextricably linked with the 19th-century American West, and by default Turner, leaving the frontier concept to be considered by many to be “hackneyed and ethnocentric, bound up with Victorian notions

of manifest destiny and rugged individualism” (Parker and Rodseth 2005:3).

While revisionists have been adding new and important perspectives to the story since the late 1980s, namely those of minorities, the abused, and the disenfranchised (Limerick 1987; Hardesty 1991, 1998; Purser 1991, White 1991; Johnson 2000, 2004; Taniguchi 2000; Boag 2011), female historians have been critiquing Western historiography for even longer. This attack originally took the form of what historian Susan Lee Johnson described as a “new, largely white, women’s league” that took “a sort of ‘our books, ourselves’ approach to the game of historical scholarship” (Johnson 2004:102). In general, most Western historians now recognize the West as “historically a place of disrupted gender relations and stunning racial and ethnic diversity, a diversity structured by inequality and injustice” (Johnson 2004:93).

Archaeologists have addressed the lack of scholarship on women in general by promoting a gender-based approach to archaeological inquiry (Purser 1991; Seifert 1991; Wylie 1991), and regarding frontier women in particular, primarily by looking at the material culture of prostitution (Simmons 1989; Spude 2005; Vermeer 2006). Despite improvements, scholars have noted that “revisionist histories of the West have not been accepted within some scholarly circles and have not permeated into popular perceptions of western history” (McGuire and Reckner 2002:45). Ongoing efforts have been critical in reclaiming women’s place in Western history, yet some have critiqued the continual focus on white women, arguing that “there is no reason for historians to assume that the first European American woman in an area was more important as a woman than the thousands of Native American women or Mexicans who were already there” (Jenson and Miller 2004:21). This observation is central to this article, as it illustrates a need to further deconstruct the frontier paradigm. To date, the overarching narrative of the gold rush, and more specifically, the mining camp, has remained the same, albeit a bit more problematized.

Although mining-settlement types shifted over time and space from tent city to company town to large industrial center, it is the small 19th-century camps that have become the archetype of the mining settlement. Small placer camps, unlike the established industrial centers or

company towns associated with later mining ventures, largely operated within the context of the American “frontier.” As the placer camps often functioned on the periphery of Western settlement, they served as a meeting point among cultures, “civilization,” and nature. In this familiar frontier context, Western lands, their indigenous inhabitants, and natural resources were confronted and appropriated by foreign interests. The fact that those doing the appropriating initially lacked any sort of grander ambition beyond the goal of finding gold did not detract from the reality that regions where gold was discovered soon became regions under invasion.

The mining camp was typical of the frontier in creating new cultural interfaces and fostering colonization, but it was also distinct in its expediency, as “mining took a comparatively gradual process and accelerated it” (Limerick 1987:99). It has been argued that “no industry had a greater impact on Western history than mining,” not only due to its speed, but “mining set a mood that has never disappeared from the West: the attitude of extractive industry—get in, get rich, get out” (Limerick 1987:99–100). Benedict (1996:6) observed that while the “New Western Historians” have “tempered ‘glory days’ with environmental disasters, the ugliness of violence and racial hostilities, the displacement of native peoples, and the desperation that often drove the Westerner to transience,” they have nonetheless overlooked many of the mundane, yet integral, aspects of daily life and community on the frontier.

In his landmark text, *The Archaeology of Mining and Miners*, Hardesty stated that “settlement is a focal point of social information about the mining frontier” (Hardesty 1987:13). That said, the difficulty lies in characterizing these early mining settlements. It has long been argued that placer-mining settlements existed as a conglomeration of restless strangers rather than a community of neighbors and families (White 1991; Douglass 1998). The hordes of men descending on the gold fields were faced with the need for “some sort of collective *modus vivendi*” in a situation where human greed was said to be the “prime motivating force” (Douglass 1998:100). Due to the fickle and extractive nature of mining, mining settlements were rarely stable or sustainable. The transitory nature of placer mining and the

eternal quest for the “mother lode” precluded long-term commitment to a region’s social or environmental health, and this restive search for gold inevitably led to a mobile society of “incredible rootlessness, diversity, and fragility” (White 1991:303; Benedict 1996).

Scholars argued that miners tolerated a notoriously fast and loose lifestyle, as they never intended to stay and build community (Limerick 1987; White 1991:302; McKanna 2004:402). Competition and a fierce “everyman for himself” mindset was said to have fostered a “cultivated anonymity” that allowed for social freedom, yet precluded long-term community building (Marks 1994:224). In the unending restless search for gold, scholars have argued that miners “ruined the opportunity for stable community for everyone in the mining west” (Benedict 1996:13). Marks argued that this unique social climate created the “mining-camp man,” characterized by his “free” and unconventional “open ways” (Marks 1994:227).

Historian Richard White further proposed that the acceptance of “sex as a mere commodity” was proof positive of the sojourners’ disregard for permanence on the mining frontier (White 1991:304). In theorizing the lack of social cohesion and abundance of “wild” behavior in the mining camps, scholars have legitimized certain assumptions about life on the mining frontier. However, some scholars have recognized the mining camp stereotype of “wickedness and extravagance,” and have argued that “behind this false front was the real mining camp, less glamorous but more significant in American history” (Smith 1967:4).

While mining camps may not have functioned as cohesive communities in the traditional sense, some scholars have pointed out that they were communities nonetheless. One scholar stated that the same factors of greed and rootlessness that hindered community development fostered a bizarrely altruistic “gold rush code” in which honesty, privacy, and reciprocity allowed miners to create tentative social bonds (Shinn 1884; Marks 1994:227). In the dire situations encountered on the mining frontier, people needed to work together in order to survive and be successful. Those who found themselves “down on their luck” were often sustained by their fellow miners (Shinn 1884; Marks 1994:230). In using settlement as a focal point, it is important to

note that the prevailing social models of community on the mining frontier are in themselves romanticized scenarios. Organizing the goldfields into disjointed clusters of “Mining Camp Men” or de facto utopian communities conceals many of the relationships and social organizations that do not conform to frontier stereotypes. Furthermore, mining settlements did not operate in complete isolation, it could be assumed that miners were motivated to interact politically, if not socially, with other stakeholders in gold-bearing regions—namely the indigenous populations.

### The Case Study: Kanaka Flat

The site of Kanaka Flat lies approximately 1 mi. southwest of the town of Jacksonville, the home of one of Oregon’s earliest gold discoveries and the core of the southern Oregon gold rush. Although both spatially and socially distinct, Kanaka Flat and the nearby town of Jacksonville were fundamentally linked. While one early historian claimed “there never was a mining camp where personal liberty was less restrained, better enjoyed or less abused than in Jacksonville,” nearby Kanaka Flat is usually credited with being Jackson County’s epicenter of sin (Walling 1884:337).

Short-lived mining camps like Kanaka Flat represent a type of underemphasized settlement both plentiful and important to the gold rushes of the American West, yet poorly understood. Kanaka Flat has been long portrayed in history books and articles through colorful phrases describing an “outcast-community” of “disreputable saloons and shanties which [were] the center of the wilder aspects of Jacksonville life,” and where “bowling saloons, gambling, and drinking and opium dens became the pass [*sic*] time” (Haines 1967:79; Hegne 2002:76; Rogue Valley Genealogical Society [RVGS] 2005:12); see also Simmons (1989), Hegne (1995), and Barman and Watson (2006). In reality, research indicates that the settlement of Kanaka Flat is not deserving of its larger-than-life reputation. Instead, it appears to have been a small squatter community comprised of Hawaiians, Native Americans, Portuguese, whites, and blacks living adjacent to placer mines along Jackson Creek (Rose 2009).

While some scholars have attempted to diversify the monolithic gold-rush tale by acknowledging these pervasive frontier stereotypes, they are often

circumscribed by the range and availability of documentary sources. The site of Kanaka Flat has been abandoned for nearly 150 years, and initial research on the site highlighted that its modern legacy rested more on fantasy than fact. In order to get beyond the boilerplate Western narrative, a multidisciplinary approach was used to shed light on the long-hidden aspects of this short-lived settlement. In using a variety of what Hardesty and Little called “pathways to the past,” data derived by combining documents, archaeological data, and oral testimony allowed for the integration of multiple lines of evidence (Hardesty and Little 2009:196).

Although a distinct mining landscape can be seen on Kanaka Flat, it is difficult to associate the mining features with a specific time period or occupation. Most of the mining consisted of small-scale placer mining, a technology that has changed little over the years. Kanaka Flat was mined in at least three periods: the initial 1850s “boom” period on what was then called “Jackson Flat,” the Kanaka Flat era of the 1860s and 1870s, and a later Depression era phase that reworked the flat

from the late 1920s to the early 1940s. While the largest percentage of archaeological features was associated directly with mining, including ditches, dams, reservoirs, prospect hole, and adits, there were also a few domestic features. Most notably, two potential cabin sites and several can dumps were observed. The can dumps date to the 20th-century mining; however, at least one of the cabin sites appears to date to the Kanaka Flat occupation. The roughly 15 ft. diameter cabin feature is surrounded by a copse of locust trees and marked by structural material such as bricks and cut granite (Figure 2). A few diagnostic artifacts, including mold-blown alcohol-bottle fragments, are consistent with the Kanaka Flat era occupation.

As ephemeral settlements like Kanaka Flat are often sparsely documented in the historical record, a careful survey was conducted of local county and municipal records, territorial and federal census population schedules, journals, letters, newspapers, and photographs that might pertain to the research area. It is unclear how accurate many of these early records are. Women and minorities were commonly underenumerated or



FIGURE 2. The circle of trees marks the cabin site believed to date to the Kanaka Flat era occupation. (Photo by author, 2008.)

altogether ignored. During the Oregon Territory years (1848–1859), census population schedules taken in 1854 and 1857 only recorded those eligible to vote, and marginalized populations such as the native Hawaiians were omitted. Primary records are, in themselves, artifacts. As such, documents often reflect the “cultural and idiosyncratic views of their creator” and therefore must be critically examined (Hardesty and Little 2009:196).

Many of the primary documents describing the “disgusting den of infamy” of Kanaka Flat were written by local federal Indian agents in response to a smallpox epidemic the citizens of Jacksonville used as justification for the essentially “forced” removal of up to 60 Indian women and children from Kanaka Flat to the nearby Klamath Indian Reservation. Therefore, these “firsthand accounts” are clearly influenced by a specific agenda.

Much of the secondary information published on Kanaka Flat relied on a short article written by local historian W. W. Fidler (1909) who wrote for various newspapers about the region’s early history. Fidler described the settlement of “copper-colored Argonauts” at Kanaka Flat as a place where one could find “all the conductive accessories of evil conduct that Satan himself could desire,” and where one could always hear “a sound of revelry by night” (Fidler 1909:71–72). Although Fidler wrote nearly 50 years after the height of the occupation, most have treated his article as an eyewitness account (Simmons 1989; Hegne 1995, 2002; Barman and Watson 2006). Fidler’s colorful prose is a perfect example of the biased and paternalistic interpretation of a mining camp that, when read uncritically, contains all of the anticipated Western signifiers needed to fit Kanaka Flat and its inhabitants neatly into the established frontier stereotype.

Kanaka Flat was named after the native Hawaiian residents who lived on the flat. The term *kanaka* derives from the Hawaiian word for person or human being, and was used in Hawai‘i to distinguish the common man (*kanaka*) from the royal class (*alii*) and the native priests and healers (*kahuna*). It was the *kanakas*, not the *alii* or *kahuna*, who took to the seas and ended up in Oregon and throughout the Pacific Northwest. John Sutter, founder of Sutter’s Mill, where the California Gold Rush began, came to Alta California in 1839 with “[t]en Kanakas and a bulldog

from Oahu” (Dillon 1955:17). A second wave of Hawaiians came in 1849–1850, like others from around the world, in response to the California Gold Rush (Dillon 1955:21).

While largely absent from gold-rush historiography, the Hawaiian presence was such that they were subject to much of the same racist legislation that affected other minority miners. The Oregon and California Foreign Miners Tax charged mining Hawaiians a monthly fee (Atwood 1976), and legislation barred Hawaiians from participating in the Oregon Donation Land Claim Act of 1850, as Samuel Thurston wrote in 1850: “Canakers [*sic*], or Sandwich Islanders ... are a race of men as black as your negroes of the South, and a race, too, that we do not desire to settle in Oregon” (Whaley 2005:4). Across California and the Pacific Northwest, the words *kanaka* and *owyhee* can still be seen as a testament to the wide participation of the native Hawaiians in the gold rush and early industry of the West.

Unlike other remote mining camps, Kanaka Flat functioned as a type of ethnic suburb for nearby Jacksonville by providing a convenient locale for the more socially self-conscious Jacksonville to export its vice (Rose 2009). Newspapers and court transcripts show that the saloon and dance hall on Kanaka Flat was patronized by residents living in and around both communities. In addition to sinful activities, Jacksonville also outsourced disease to Kanaka Flat. Following the outbreak of a smallpox epidemic in early 1869, the board of health established a “pest house” on Kanaka Flat (Jackson County 1869:350–354). In a letter to Federal Indian Agent Lindsay Applegate, William Turner said of Kanaka Flat, “it is a disgrace to any civilized community that such a place should be permitted to exist and, in my opinion, the only preacheable way to break it up is to remove the women. In so doing you will have the hearty thanks of all the good citizens of the place” (W. Turner 1869b). Jacksonvillians blamed the smallpox epidemic on a “half-breed” woman, making the large population of Indian women and children living on Kanaka Flat vulnerable to public scorn and prompting their removal to the Klamath Indian Reservation shortly thereafter.

### Lonely Men and Loose Women

In western American history, heroism and villainy, virtue and vice, and nobility and shoddiness appear

in roughly the same proportions as they appear in any other subject of human history (and with the same relativity of definition and judgment). This is only disillusioning to those who have come to depend on illusions (Limerick 1991:86).

No traditional depiction of the mining camp, be it literary, film, or scholarly would be complete without the colorful portrayal of the buxom prostitutes and gruff and lonely miners. As the frontier institution of the mining camp is largely synonymous with bachelor society, it should be no surprise that in most portrayals women existed as prostitutes or not at all. Historical revisionists have succeeded in expanding the economic roles women held in the goldmines (Johnson 2000; Taniguchi 2000), such as cooking, running inns and boardinghouses, and so forth, but it is nonetheless the “soiled dove” that is the default position for the frontier female. Historian Malcolm Rohrbaugh stated: “[T]he presence of women in California turned out to be, initially at least, ever rarer than gold” (Rohrbaugh 1997:91). Similarly, an article on Kanaka Flat claimed “the only thing lacking were the women,” although Indian women could be purchased or traded for “housekeeping, prostitution, or marriage” (RVGS 2005:12). These statements highlight the idea that “women” referenced more than sex or gender, but also ethnicity and class. Scholars have increasingly recognized this oversight in gold-rush literature and have begun to explore the presence of “Other” females in the goldfields (Johnson 2000, 2004; Taniguchi 2000; Jenson and Miller 2004; Boag 2011).

Both contemporary and modern accounts disregard the Indian or Hawaiian women living on Kanaka Flat as legitimate partners or wives. Mixed-ethnicity relationships were often assumed to be of suspect character, and the dozens of Indian women living on and around Kanaka Flat were described as living with “a low class of white man or with Kanakas and Portuguese” (W. Turner 1869b). Contemporary accounts further describe the women as being “held as concubines by certain degraded whites, many of them ... with halfblood children” (Applegate 1866).

The gold rush in southern Oregon was punctuated by a series of conflicts known as the Rogue River Indian Wars (ca. 1851–1856). Prior to the discovery of gold, only a handful of European Americans were living in southwestern Oregon. A decade of trespassing fur trappers,

cattle wranglers, and pioneer wagon trains had left the Indians suspicious of foreign visitors. The rush of miners heading south to the California goldfields in 1849 only added to the tensions. Unfortunately, the interactions between the Native Americans and the incoming settlers did not follow a conciliatory course, and the settlement of southwestern Oregon was ultimately a violent process (Schwartz 1997; Tveskov and Cohen 2008).

The continued influx of white settlers and the escalating violence led to the establishment of the Table Rock Indian Reservation (1853–1856), one of the first reservations in the American West (Tveskov and Cohen 2008:2). The Table Rock Treaty negotiations began between Territorial Governor Joseph Lane and Rogue River Indians in the late summer of 1853 (Tveskov and Cohen 2008). Despite the propaganda suggesting that the Indians were “well satisfied with the sale of their lands” in exchange for the Table Rock Reservation, supposedly home to their “best hunting grounds” and “all their old fisheries,” trading the entire Rogue River Valley for a small chunk of land was ultimately unsatisfactory to the Rogue River Indian people (Drew 1860:15). The Table Rock Reservation was inadequate and the promised government supplies sparse; therefore, the Indians were forced to look elsewhere for food.

In the end, the reservation was an entirely short-lived and unsuccessful venture. Removal of Native Americans from southern Oregon began on 22 February 1856. Around 400 “friendly Indians” peacefully left the Table Rock Reservation under military escort and headed for the Grand Ronde Reservation in the Willamette Valley (Douthit 2002:147). The coastal and “hostile” Rogue River Indians were rounded up by the U.S. Army and moved to the Siletz Reservation on the northern coast (Douthit 2002:147). Over the years, federal Indian agents organized the removal of any remaining displaced “stragglers” to the Klamath Reservation to the east.

During the Rogue River Indian Wars (1855–1856), southern Oregon men were described as being “vile enough to take advantage of the necessities of the Indians, and tempt them to trade off their daughters for revolvers, rifles, and ammunition” (Beeson 1857:28). This reportedly “shameful traffic” was said to be so widespread that “the common lament was everywhere heard, that there were scarcely any arms in the Valley,

for the Indians had them all” (Beeson 1857:28). The disproportionate loss of male tribal members in the war left southern Oregon Indian women without husbands, fathers, and sons. While it is not possible to know if marriages were based on love, convenience, or coercion, some scholars have observed that “one of the many survival strategies was for [Indian] women to continue, or take up for the first time, a relationship with a white male as a source of economic support” (Douthit 2002:162; Tveskov 2007). While many settlers had hostile relations with the Indians, others chose cooperation and alliance over conflict. In many instances the local Indians welcomed and helped the newly arrived settlers (Beeson 1857; Douthit 2002; Tveskov 2007; Tveskov and Cohen 2008). This practice was an extension of the local traditions of maintaining social relations between villages or tribes by establishing kinship ties through the arranged marriage of daughters.

In addition to relationships with Anglo-American men, Jackson County records indicated that Native American and Hawaiian women living on Kanaka Flat also married native Hawaiian residents. On a spring day in 1858, James A. Raynor officiated at three marriages; John and Mary Kewins, James and Bodey Alapai, and John and Maria Tomiah all were wed in front of witnesses at the home of John Johnson (Jackson County 1854–1880:49–50). On 6 January 1859, Raynor married John Kehi to Julie, a fellow native Hawaiian, in front of John Johnson and a Hawaiian named Moses (Jackson County 1854–1880:56). On 7 October 1861, George Maio was wed to Susan of the Rogue River tribe by C. C. Stratton in front of James and Elizabeth Cummings (Jackson County 1854–1880:85). A preacher performed these marriages in front of friends and family, yet historians have not recognized them.

There are no marriage records for Kanaka Flat residents after 1861, which likely reflects the passage of a legislative act in 1862 that prohibited the intermarriage of whites with “Negro, Chinese or any person having one-quarter or more Negro, Chinese or Kanaka blood, or anyone having more than one-half Indian blood” (Barman and Watson 2006:138). Although it is unclear to what extent the state enforced this law, it remained on the books well into the 20th century.

In addition to marriage records, 1860 census records showed that 4 (13%) of the 31 households on Kanaka Flat were single-family units. No single- or multiple-female houses (traditionally associated with prostitution) were listed. There were eight households (25%) listing multiple male occupants and seven households (23%) containing a single male occupant. The census also showed that eight (26%) of the houses on Kanaka Flat were listed as unoccupied. This could be due to the fact that census data were collected in July, a dry time of the year when many placer mines were not active, and seasonal miners were employed elsewhere (United States Bureau of the Census 1860).

In addition to U.S. census population schedules, an inventory of Indians living on and around Kanaka Flat was taken on behalf of the local federal Indian agent in response to the smallpox epidemic and the perceived “Indian problem” around Jacksonville. The survey was conducted in the spring of 1869 in order to inventory the size and condition of the Indian population, which the Indian agent then requested be removed to the Klamath Indian Reservation. Twenty-six households were described, containing sixty Indians of the Klamath, Modoc, Shasta, Pitt River, Umpqua, and Rogue River tribes. In the survey, there were 3 (12%) women-only households (with a total of 6 women), 3 households (12%) where multiple women were listed as living with 1 man, and 17 households (64%) comprised of a single couple or family. Of the 60 Indians recorded, 20 were children. The two widows listed in the inventory lost their husbands to the smallpox epidemic and were described as “destitute” (W. Turner 1869a). Again, unlike the traditional narrative of the site, these numbers clearly indicate that women were present and living as part of the Kanaka Flat community.

While local newspapers occasionally mentioned female residents, the only potential reference to prostitution comes from court transcripts of a deadly bar fight. Witnesses in the widely publicized Riley murder trial recalled a violent altercation in the “dance house,” where a “mixed up” crowd of “Indians, white men, and Kanakas” danced, dealt monte, played poker, and were “drinking considerably” (Oregon State Archives [OSA] 1862). According to one witness, “the house was pretty much full” and there was a “parcel of old squaws” on the dance floor (OSA

1862). While the “parcel of squaws” might not have been involved in illicit activities, years after the Riley murder trial, while preparing the Kanaka Flat Indian census, William Turner used the dance house, “where whiskey is sold and where the women are plied with liquor and debauched in the most shameless manner,” as justification for promoting the removal of Indian women from Kanaka Flat (W. Turner 1869b).

Other newspaper transcripts describe the murder of a “Spaniard” named Eskalone by a Hawaiian named Bill Butler, who “had an Indian wife; Eskalone stole her, or got her away, and brought her down to the town. Butler went to Eskalone’s house, and after some harsh words had passed between them, Eskalone went towards Butler, when the latter seized his gun and shot the deceased” (*Oregon Sentinel* 1862). Butler was later acquitted of the crime and established a mining claim and a cabin on 4 ac. on Kanaka Flat in 1865 (UOSC 1864–1866).

Like many early camps, when unsupported by mining Kanaka Flat’s location was not conducive to long-term settlement. Lack of water and access to other resources made life difficult. When the goldmines were exhausted, some residents were able to remain in the area and work as laborers in Jacksonville, but most left in search of work elsewhere.

Hiram Alison, listed in the 1869 Indian census with his Indian wife Betsy and child, mined and lived on Kanaka Flat through at least 1887 (UOSC 1860–1861:262–263; Rose 2009). Other residents like the families of William and Mary Butler and Kanaka George moved to Siskiyou County in northern California where a large population of Hawaiians was mining in the mountains (Hegne 2002; Rose 2009). An obituary posted in the *Tidings* from 19 September 1890 reported:

Kanaka George, a full blooded kanaka, who has been a resident of Jacksonville since 1852, died at his home last night, aged about 65 years. George was a man of good intelligence, and an honest and industrious citizen and well respected. He has always worked in the mines around Jacksonville. He leaves an Indian wife and several children.

This obituary highlights that women were present on Kanaka Flat, and that these “invisible wives” were forming lasting partnerships with male miners. Yet these families operated on the margins of southern Oregon society. Despite the

decades Kanaka George worked as an “honest and industrious citizen,” his wife and children were left in poverty when he died, forcing the county to pay for medical and burial costs (Figure 3) (Jackson County 1890).

### Summary and Conclusions

Preliminary evidence from Kanaka Flat does not support the myth of “lonely men and loose women.” Rather than revealing the expected cluster of brothels and saloons, research has shown Kanaka Flat to be a settlement of couples of mixed ethnicity, who married in religious ceremonies when legally able to do so. Although these unions were considered “nontraditional” and largely ignored in contemporary and modern accounts, they were nonetheless long-lasting partnerships and in many cases could be traced for generations (Rose 2009). Very few single women were associated with Kanaka Flat, and while there may have been prostitutes living or working in the community, they were just one portion of a larger population of women in the camp. The diversity of Oregon and California Indian tribes represented on and around Kanaka Flat could indicate that the community served as a refuge for the Native American women and children who were displaced after the Rogue River Indian Wars of the previous decade.

Many of the small settlements that do not fit neatly into the larger paradigm of the mining camp are often overlooked, as they are uncomfortably incompatible with our understanding of the gold rush. As a result, the individual histories of the hundreds of small camps have been inadvertently coopted into what has become the institution of the mining camp. The intense urgency, fleeting opportunity, competition, and relative anonymity often associated with the mining frontier has allowed for colorful aspects of history to be associated with it. Furthermore, the boom-and-bust nature of many of the camps resulted in ghost towns that presented ideal historical tableaux that allowed “the romanticized past to be relevant in the present” (Delyser 2003:276).

Research suggests that while there may be similarities among frontier gold camps over space and time, geographical, social, and economic factors all contribute to the camps’ individual form and function (Rose 2009). This brief analysis highlights the need for scholars to reexamine frontier institutions like that of the mining camp. Biases

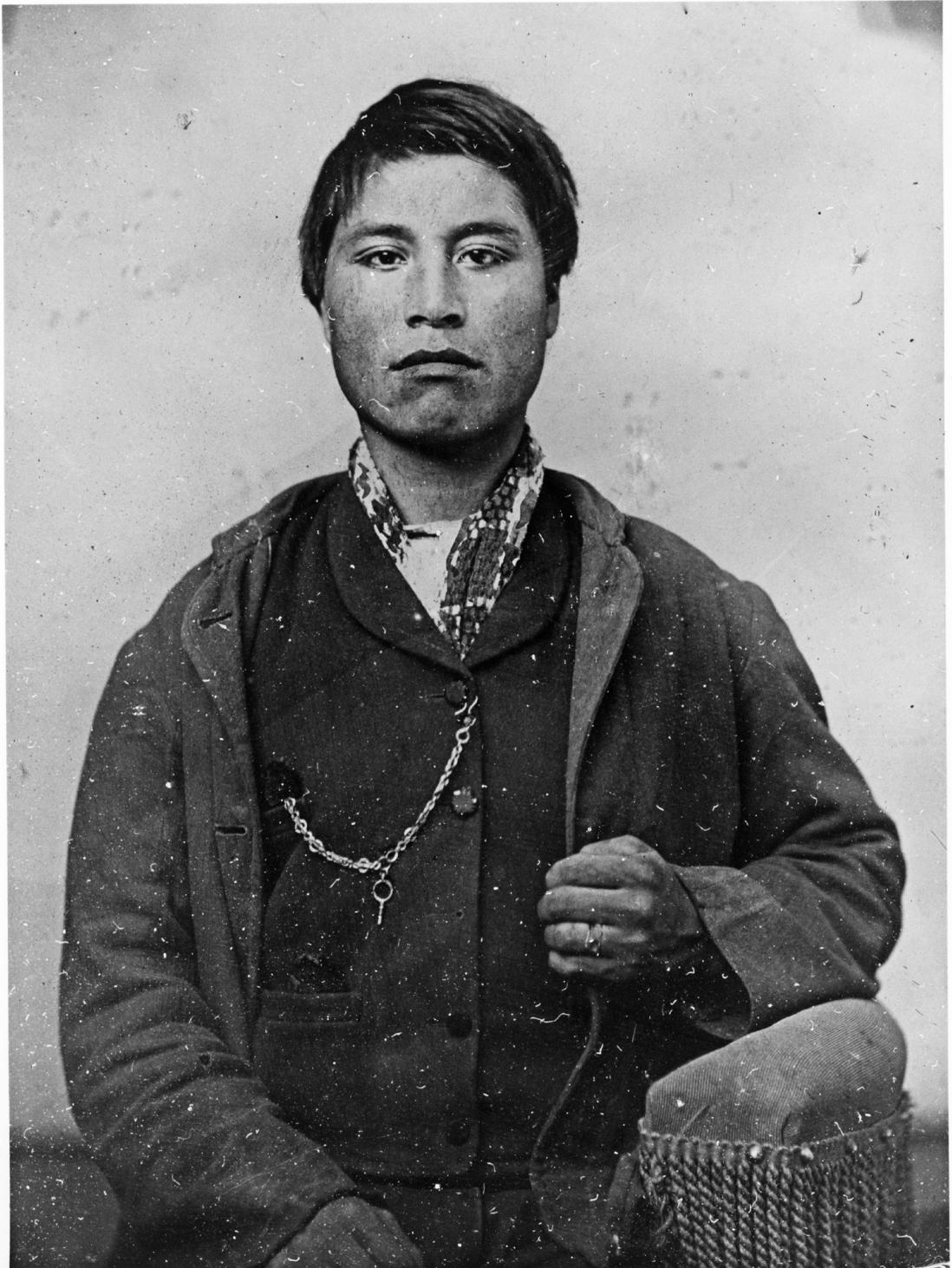


FIGURE 3. Photograph of an "Unknown Hawaiian Man" believed to be Kanaka George, ca. 1870. (Photo by Peter Britt, Peter Britt Photograph Collection, Hannon Library Special Collections, Southern Oregon University.)

inherent to the mining-camp settlement type can and do lead to misinterpretation of historical communities by providing an antiquated framework with which to interpret the history of places like Kanaka Flat. The often-erroneous stories that conform to these expectations continue to be written and reinforced over time. Put crudely, having a clearer glimpse of the historical context of frontier sites, such as the traditionally male-dominated mining camp, can help scholars escape simplified “beads-equals-babes” type of analysis wherein evidence of women in the early American West is quickly equated with prostitution.

As scholars have noted, “gender is, in its various forms, a fundamental structuring principle” within communities (Purser 1991; Wylie 1991:38–40; Tveskov 2007). Therefore, if a variety of women were present on the mining frontier, it fundamentally alters the “bachelor-camp settlement” model. Frontier history has been circumscribed “by virtually excluding women from western studies on the one hand, and emphasizing their rareness on the other,” and as a result “the impression is left that women played insignificant roles in settling the American West” (Jenson and Miller 2004:12). Furthermore, as long as frontier historiography conflates “white men” and the “American West” ... both in popular culture and in mainstream scholarship, the relationships among western-history-as-usual, (white) western women’s history, western ethnic history, and the history of western women of color will remain brittle at best” (Johnson 2004:92).

Research at Kanaka Flat is ongoing. The intact cabin site identified in 2008 could provide important data about the demographics of the residents on a single-household scale. In addition to the family households listed in the census, documents specifically mention that Hiram and Betsy Alison and William Butler and his wife occupied cabins on the flat. Armed with the knowledge gained during this research, the material culture of the once “invisible wives” of Kanaka Flat could be better interpreted. Future research will also explore other pervasive aspects of mining-camp mythology including vice, violence, and cycles of boom and bust (Rose 2009). Mining camps are only one component of the prevailing Western narrative. There are many other site types that come complete with preconceived backstories, and scholars have noted a larger trend within the archaeology of Western communities of focusing solely on

their “uniqueness as western phenomena,” which makes it difficult to place these sites within the context of larger national processes (McGuire and Reckner 2002). Inherent in many of these Western myths may be a grain of truth. However, it is important for archaeologists to approach these sites with a critical eye, lest they be lured in by the traditional tales and characters that marginalize the many individuals and events that actually took part in shaping the American West.

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## Reversing the Narrative of Hillbilly History: A Case Study Using Archaeology at Van Winkle's Mill in the Arkansas Ozarks

### ABSTRACT

One of the most powerful and pervasive narratives at work in the Arkansas Ozark Mountains is that of the “hillbilly.” This narrative emphasizes ruralness, whiteness, and an antimodern attitude that both frames how the world sees the Ozarks and how Arkansans see themselves. Since 1997, archaeological investigations have been ongoing at Van Winkle's Mill, the site of a late-19th-century sawmill community in the Arkansas Ozarks. This multidisciplinary research endeavor has provided important information about the African diaspora in the Ozarks and also aided in the understanding of the industrialization and modernization of the region. Most importantly, it provided a platform for public history that may shed light on the processes of remembering and forgetting at work in Ozark history that have led to the proliferation of myths about the Ozark past and the erasure of a rich African American heritage in the region.

### Introduction

The Ozarks, like their cousins the Appalachian Mountains, hold a particular place in modern cultural memory and imagination. That “place” is uniquely American, decidedly rural, antimodern, and *white* (Brandon 2004a:78–137; Harkins 2004; Blevins 2009). This Upland South seems wholly subsumed under and conflated with what it means to be rural in America—perhaps more so than any other region of the country. Certainly, “the portrayal of southern mountain people as premodern and ignorant hillbillies is one of the most lasting and pervasive images in American popular iconography” (Harkins 2004:3).

This “hillbilly history” is not the only historical narrative at work in the Arkansas Ozarks, but it is the most powerful and pervasive one. Moreover, it is a narrative that has great currency on the local, regional, and national levels

of discourse. In complex ways, this narrative frames how the world sees the region and how those who call the Ozarks home see themselves (Blevins 2009). One of the many facets of the hillbilly narrative is that it masks the diversity inherent in the region—this extends not only to class and the rural/urban dichotomy, but also to ethnicity and race. The fact that the backwoods yeoman farmer of the narrative is invariably white and of Scots Irish descent obscures the Native Americans, Germans, Mennonites, Swiss, Poles, Bohemians, Moravians, and Italians who all called the Ozarks home in the 19th century (Brandon 2004a:17–20). More importantly for this case study the hillbilly's whiteness erases any African American heritage in the Ozarks. More than that, as will be seen, removing racial diversity from Ozark history erases *racism* in the region.

While archaeological work was ongoing at the site of Van Winkle's Mill, a 19th-century sawmill community in the Arkansas Ozarks that utilized African American labor both before and after the Civil War, visitors were constantly surprised that we archaeologists were working on a site connected with the African diaspora. They were surprised that there was, in fact, *any* African American heritage in the Ozarks. This led to an in-depth study of the hillbilly trope, its history, and the social work that it does in our collective memories (Brandon 2004a). Moreover, it led to an attempt to use the archaeology at the Van Winkle's Mill site as a mechanism to “reverse the narrative” presented by hillbilly history in the Arkansas Ozarks.

While the Arkansas Ozark Mountains are not a place widely associated with the African diaspora, working on diasporic sites in such locales can materially confront the silences in the historical record and help to “reverse the narrative” that dominates cultural memory both locally and in the greater national imagination. In the Arkansas Ozarks, sites such as Van Winkle's Mill alert everyone to a deep African American heritage in the Ozark Mountains. Moreover, archaeological work on this site can become an important tool for creating a dialogue

on race—a nontraditional venue to teach about race, racism, and the construction of history. This article will examine one case study that attempts to reverse one aspect of the dominant narrative in the Arkansas Ozarks.

### **Ozark “Hillbilly History”: Erasing Racial Diversity in the Ozarks**

The historical narratives of the Ozarks stress their “Otherness” and rely on a series of tropes that enhance their place as a foil to an increasingly urban America—an Othering process that I think slowly began to take form in the middle of the 19th century, only to fully emerge after the turn of the 20th (Horning 2002; Brandon 2004a:78–137; Harkins 2004:13–69). Not coincidentally, this corresponds to a time when the conceptualization of whiteness was being refashioned by various contending forces in America (Roediger 1991; Ignatiev 1995; Hale 1998; Jacobson 1998:13; DuBois 1999:17).

As I have previously indicated, the trope of the Ozark hillbilly masks the diversity in the region. The whiteness of the Ozark hillbilly erases any African American heritage in the Ozarks. The hillbilly trope, however, is much more complex than that. Hillbilly history also masks racial conflict in the Ozarks. It is those conflicts that, in turn, effectively “whitened” the region and helped to reinforce the trope continuously. Finally, this recent, predominately white, state of the Ozarks becomes projected back in time, leading the Ozarks to be seen as always white and, thus, ironically, as a region with few racial conflicts.

It is important to note that in 1840, the first United States census for the state of Arkansas recorded over 20,000 inhabitants in the eight counties that made up the Arkansas Ozarks—including almost 2,000 enslaved African Americans (Blevins 2002:18) and almost 200 free persons of color (Morgan 1973:29,36). In 1850, Washington County, the second most populous county in the state, boasted 13,133 white inhabitants and almost 1,500 slaves (12% of the population, or 1 out of every 8 individuals [Catalfamo-Serio 1979:107]).

The African American population in the Ozarks peaked in 1890 when the U.S. census enumerated 7,379 blacks in the counties of the Arkansas Ozarks—with every upland Ozark county having a black population of some size

(Morgan 1973:62). The population had grown from 5,963 the previous decade, but would fall to 3,349 in 1900. This migration out of the Ozarks and nucleation within the Ozarks continued until the 1960 census recorded only 1,280 African Americans remaining in the Arkansas Ozarks—including five all-white counties.

This decline runs parallel to an overall trend in the larger Ozark population (Rafferty 2001:63); but it is a more exaggerated, precipitous drop. As the overall population of the Ozarks remained stagnant between 1900 and 1930 the region’s African American population plummeted. This “whitening” of the Arkansas Ozarks is no doubt due to both economic and racial pressures.

Following the end of Reconstruction and the institution of Jim Crow, segregated black communities began to coalesce across the Arkansas Ozarks. The fact that these towns and communities became, in certain situations, the target of racial pressures and sometimes violence, played a role in the exodus of black Ozarkians.

One dramatic example from the turn of the century in Harrison, Arkansas, demonstrates how racial conflict and historical memory work hand in hand to erase African Americans from the region. For much of the 20th century Harrison, Arkansas, in Madison County, was all white (Froelich and Zimmermann 1999:131). This, however, was not always the case. Harrison’s African American community numbered at least 115 in 1900. In 1905 and 1909, two separate acts of racial mob violence led to the complete depopulation of African Americans from the area (Froelich and Zimmermann 1999:132). It is an event many still have difficulty “seeing” today through the haze of historical memory.

Regional researchers later in the century were not able to find out much about Harrison’s African American community due to a county courthouse fire in 1908, see, e.g., Froelich and Zimmerman (1999) and Morgan (1973:133). Ralph Rea in *Boone County and Its People* notes only that there were “several hundred blacks in the county up until just after the turn of the century” (Morgan 1973:133). Black sociologist Gordon Morgan interviewed a 98-year-old resident who remembered “vague things about several hundred Negroes,” but he could not remember why they left (Morgan 1973:134). Even more suspicious were gaps

TABLE 1  
AFRICAN AMERICAN POPULATION IN THE ARKANSAS OZARKS  
BY CENSUS YEAR, 1840-1970

County	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970
Baxter	—	—	—	—	45	18	5	7	4	1	0	0	0	144
Benton	176	202	385	182	128	92	112	110	102	88	46	20	23	290
Boone	—	—	—	74	88	91	142	7	2	3	0	0	3	49
Carroll	142	223	330	37	60	82	166	64	82	25	8	13	6	22
Cleburne	—	—	—	—	—	49	11	7	1	3	0	2	1	18
Izard	135	196	382	246	467	833	285	242	217	175	140	95	54	57
Independence*	222	840	1,137	5,158	3,614	4,543	1,483	1,264	1,075	894	801	642	527	628
Fulton	—	51	88	85	36	85	79	44	26	0	0	4	0	21
Madison	83	164	296	150	124	58	44	55	40	16	15	3	3	21
Marion	102	255	269	19	43	32	38	0	0	1	1	0	1	63
Newton	—	54	24	9	5	6	7	10	10	0	0	1	1	27
Searcy	11	29	93	30	16	28	99	104	24	1	1	1	0	18
Sharp	—	—	—	144	176	177	74	83	15	19	8	12	0	22
Stone	—	—	—	—	99	113	94	94	15	15	12	4	0	28
Van Buren	61	29	200	119	118	162	167	220	211	121	137	106	95	103
Washington	901	1,213	1,540	674	944	1,010	543	614	508	571	411	422	566	1,072
<b>Totals</b>	<b>1,833</b>	<b>3,256</b>	<b>4,744</b>	<b>6,927</b>	<b>5,963</b>	<b>7,379</b>	<b>3,349</b>	<b>2,925</b>	<b>2,332</b>	<b>1,933</b>	<b>1,580</b>	<b>1,325</b>	<b>1,280</b>	<b>2,583</b>

Note: After Morgan (1973:62).

in the files of Harrison's newspaper coinciding with the events of 1905 and 1909 (Froelich and Zimmerman 1999:131). Jacqueline Froelich and David Zimmerman, who finally brought the riots to light in 1999, have put together the story of the Harrison race riots by bringing together the scattered small references to the events (Froelich and Zimmermann 1999).

In 1901 Harrison was an expectant community. Track was being laid for the Missouri & North Arkansas Railroad, which, they hoped, would bring economic prosperity to the town. Local histories indicate that the white and black communities of Harrison were getting along—even coming together to raise money for a black schoolhouse (Rea 1955:122; Froelich and Zimmerman 1999:133). However, in the summer of 1905 the railroad defaulted on its bond and declared bankruptcy, leaving the town that had invested heavily in the railroad's arrival shocked and financially crippled. Moreover, a steady stream of unemployed railroad workers—mostly young, single African American men—was arriving in Harrison following the railroad's collapse (Froelich and Zimmerman 1999:136). "Their mere presence, homeless and unemployed, was no doubt perceived as threatening" in a way that the local black population had never been—a situation that "often bred racial violence in the New South" (Froelich and Zimmerman 1999:137).

Saturday night, 30 September 1905, two black men—one known as Dan, the other called Rabbit—were arrested and jailed for breaking into the residence of Dr. John J. Johnson. The following Monday, a white mob stormed the building, removed the prisoners, whipped them, and ordered them to leave town (Froelich and Zimmerman 1999:141). The rioters then turned on the residents of Dry Jordan Creek:

[S]ome eight to ten [blacks were] tied to trees [and] whipped with five foot bull whips [while] several men and women [were] tied together and thrown into a three to four foot deep hole in Crooked Creek. Twenty or thirty well-armed men with guns, clubs, etc. burned three or four of the Negroes' homes, shot out the windows and doors of all of the other Negroes' homes ... and warned all Negroes to leave town that night (Froelich and Zimmerman 1999:141).

Much of Harrison's African American community made its way on foot that night to Eureka Springs, Springfield, or Fayetteville

(Rea 1955:141–142; Froelich and Zimmerman 1999:142). It is unknown how many people were killed during the violence, but federal records suggest that the victims included at least a 14-year-old girl, her 12-year-old brother, and a 65-year-old woman (Froelich and Zimmerman 1999:143–144). For those few who stayed, random violent acts and murder against African Americans continued in Harrison for some time afterwards. It was not until 1909, however, that a second explosion of racial riots would erase Harrison's black community completely.

Charles Stinnett, unemployed son of well-respected black resident Tom Stinnett, was arrested on 18 January 1909. Emma Lovett, an elderly white woman, accused him of robbery, assault, and rape. Stinnett admitted to being at Lovett's house but denied committing any crime (Froelich and Zimmerman 1999:150–151). Two tense days passed as the jury was selected, arguments made, and the jury deliberated. The jury returned a verdict of guilty on all charges and at sentencing the following day it was clear that the punishment "specified by statute for the offense of which Stinnett was convicted was death by hanging" (Froelich and Zimmerman 1999:152).

The tension grew as news spread that Lovett, the alleged victim, was gravely ill, and a mob moved through the town headed toward the Harrison jail, but authorities had evaded the lynching of Stinnett by moving him to the jail in nearby Marshall (Froelich and Zimmerman 1999:152). The threatening presence of the mob, however, proved the last straw for the 1905 survivors. Fearing for their lives, the remainder of the black community fled the town on the night of 28 January 1909, leaving Harrison a "gray town" throughout most of the remainder of the 20th century (Froelich and Zimmerman 1999:153).

An example of how powerfully and quickly the hillbilly trope silences African American heritage in the Ozarks can be seen only 11 mi. away from Harrison and 18 years later in the small community of Kingston, Arkansas. When a Presbyterian mission was established in Kingston, Arkansas, in 1917, the Rev. Elmer J. Bouher would write copiously to his patron church in Rochester, New York, that Kingston was a "cultural seed-bed" of "Anglo-Saxon and Elizabethan culture," and that the dialect and customs of the Ozarks were "virtually unchanged from those in England in the

sixteenth century” (Burnett 2000:38–39). He would write to one local that

[y]ou and your family have maintained the British character exemplified when their ancestors first settled on the Atlantic seaboard. *There is no melting pot in these mountains.* Your people have maintained your integrity, habits and racial purity [emphasis added] (Burnett 2000:38–39).

He goes on to detail that the folks in Kingston had never even seen a black man before—highly unlikely given the aforementioned history of the region. Bouher’s eugenics-influenced discourse is one of the common strains of the hillbilly trope. In this case the firm belief that the Ozarks are a “seed-bed” of whiteness—and *always had been thus*—blinds even those only briefly removed temporally and spatially from proof—not only of an African American presence in the region—but of the violence that helped diminish it.

“Hillbilly History,” the powerful trope that frames the historical narrative and cultural memory of a region on both the local and national level, is a vastly interesting and complex one—see Brandon (2004a:78–91) or Harkins (2004) for a more thorough discussion. Here I have focused on only one aspect of the trope—its ability to erase the

diversity historically present in the Ozark Mountains. Archaeology at places like Van Winkle’s Mill can help to reverse (or at least complicate) the narrative that hillbilly history weaves.

### Van Winkle’s Mill

Van Winkle’s Mill is situated in the extreme northwest corner of the state of Arkansas, in the Ozark Mountains (Figure 1). The project centers on the large sawmill enterprise that dominated the northwest Arkansas lumber market in late 19th century, rebuilt Fayetteville following the Civil War, and provided the lumber necessary for the establishment and expansion of regionally important towns such as Bentonville, Rogers, and Eureka Springs (Brandon 2004a:61–76). This sawmill complex is complete, with the residences of some of the workers and that of the owner and his family. Additionally, it has all of the other ancillary enterprises a mill such as this should have—a blacksmith shop, mule paddocks, and the like. This mill was founded by Peter Marselis Van Winkle, who was a seventh-generation American of Dutch descent. He had been born in New York City and had found his way to Fayetteville as a wagonmaker by the 1840s (Hicks 1990:15–18;

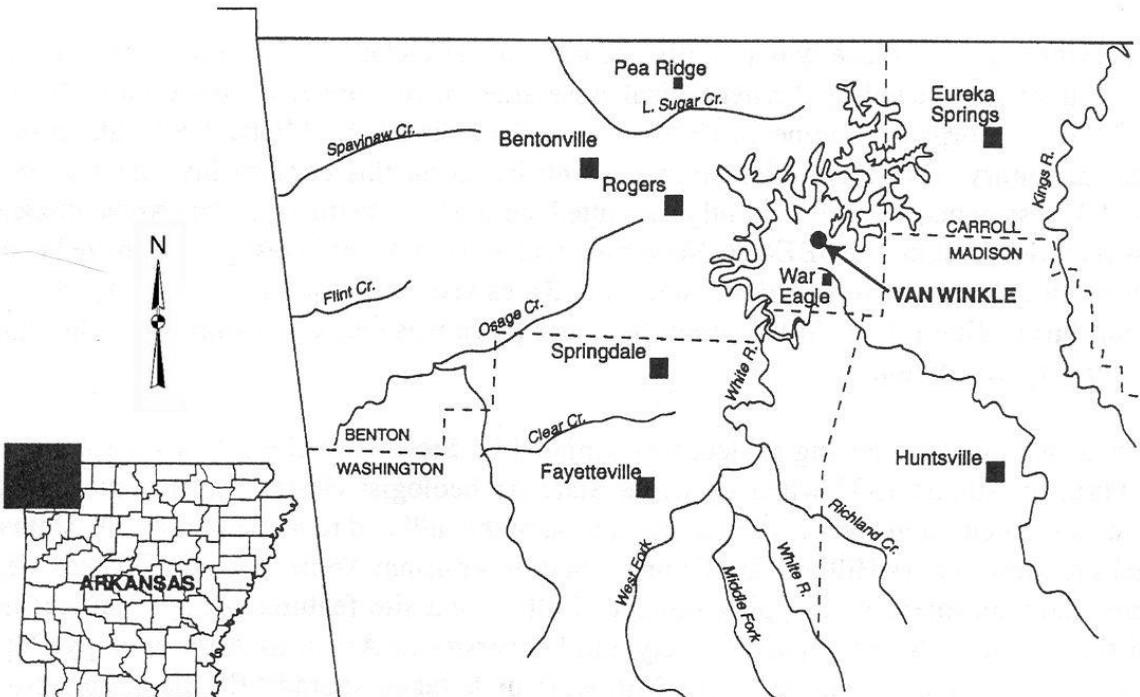


FIGURE 1. Van Winkle project area showing surrounding towns. (Map by author, 2004.)

Easley and McAnelly 1996:156; Blevins 2002:71; Brandon 2004a:54). In 1850, Van Winkle borrowed money from a local venture capitalist to buy land, equipment, and the enslaved labor to run his mill. Following emancipation some African American freedmen chose to stay on at the mill.

The site is now within the Hobbs State Park and Management Area. This project began in 1997 as an effort for Arkansas State Parks, which wanted to look at the potential for including Van Winkle's Mill in its heritage tourism program (Brandon 2004a:1–11). From that time until 2009, periodic fieldwork has been conducted in the narrow hollow that was once home to a vibrant, diverse sawmill community (Hilliard 1997; Brandon and Hilliard 1998; Brandon et al. 1999, 2000; Bowers 2003; Brandon and Davidson 2003, 2005; Brandon 2004a, 2008; Valentino 2006; Boykin 2010).

Aside from a limestone springhouse and the steps to the raised gardens, very little aboveground structural remains have been preserved. Archaeological work provided the basis for reconstructing the historical landscape of the mill community. Archaeologists have completed a thorough survey and at least five major testing programs—one at the main house belonging to Peter Van Winkle and family, one at a postbellum worker's quarters (Feature 9), one at possible antebellum slave quarters (Feature 33), one at the blacksmith shop (Feature 31), and one at the location of the sawmill boiler platform (Brandon and Hilliard 1998; Brandon et al. 1999, 2000; Bowers 2003:36–39; Brandon and Davidson 2003; Brandon 2004a:146–193; Valentino 2006; Boykin 2010).

The mapping, surveys, and testing programs have come together to give the picture of an evolving landscape—a landscape very much influenced by the structure of the cotton plantations of the Lowland South, although tailored to fit into the narrow Ozark hollow—see Brandon and Davidson (2005) and Brandon (2004a:194–223) for more discussion of this landscape.

### **African Diaspora Archaeology at Van Winkle's Mill across the Antebellum/Postbellum Divide**

At least 18 enslaved men and women lived and labored at Van Winkle's Mill prior to emancipation. After the war, at least two freedman families returned to Van Winkle's Hollow to live and work. While African Americans worked throughout the

industrial sector of the site, it is the domestic areas that provide archaeologists more discrete deposits that might be able to yield the material with which to confront the erasure of African American heritage in the region. Two archaeological contexts at Van Winkle's Mill lend themselves to such analyses—one is a potential antebellum slave quarter, the second is the home of a postbellum freedman family.

The antebellum slave quarter (Feature 33) was originally located in June of 2000 during a survey designed to assess the impact of the construction of a visitors' parking area on the south side of Highway 12. This location was subsequently tested twice; the first time in 2001 (Brandon 2004a:178–179) and the second time in 2009 (Boykin 2010). A total of 13, 1 × 2 m test excavation units revealed little in terms of solid architectural features (i.e., no in situ foundation stones or root cellars) but enough architectural artifacts (cut nails, cast-iron stove parts, etc.) and domestic artifacts (ceramics and vessel glass) to confirm the ephemeral existence of a predominantly antebellum building. Although the second testing project produced some evidence of a brief postbellum occupation (Boykin 2010:66), the vast majority of the material recovered at this location was domestic and antebellum.

The postbellum worker's quarters (Feature 9), however, provide a sharp contrast to the earlier dwelling. This building was the very substantial remains of a double-pen frame structure (perhaps a dogtrot-style building) with a continuous stone foundation and two chimney falls. This domestic structure was first discovered in 1998, and during three testing efforts (1999, 2000, and 2001) the entire footprint of the postbellum structure was uncovered via 36, 1 × 2 m excavation units (Figure 2). The materials recovered confirmed that the deposits dated between 1870 and 1910 (Brandon et al. 2000:53–55; Brandon 2004a:158–163).

The vast majority of the millworkers at Van Winkle's Mill were seasonal workers and lived on their own farms in the areas surrounding the hollow (Brandon 2004a:63). This and several other factors, including structure location, census records, artifacts recovered, and the known location of the residences of the white Van Winkle family aid in positing an identity for the family that inhabited the postbellum worker's quarters. Of the likely candidates, the

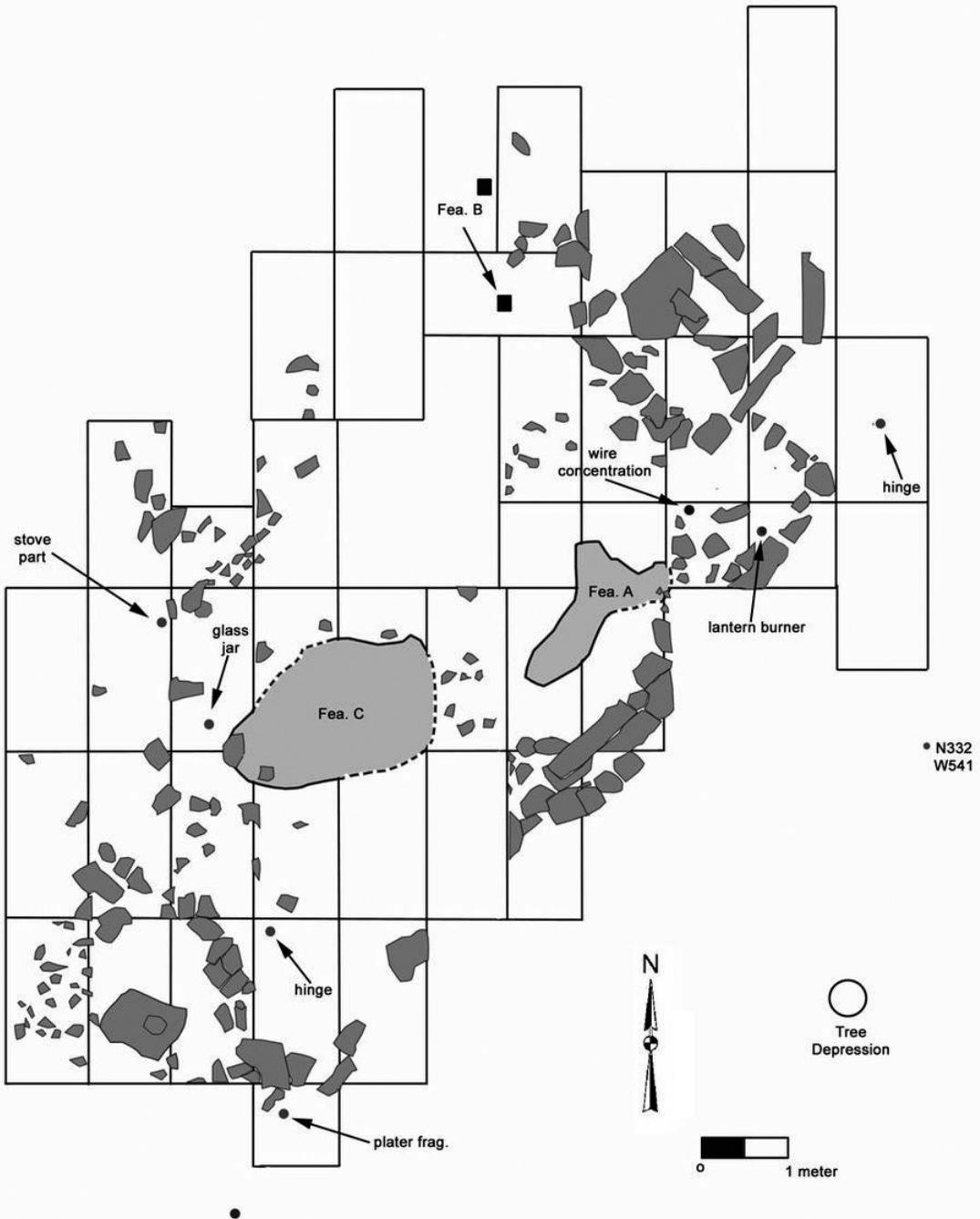


FIGURE 2. Plan view of the entire excavated footprint of Feature 9, a postbellum millworker's quarters. (Map by author, 2004.)

family of Aaron Anderson Van Winkle (Figure 3) seems to be the most compelling candidate for the residents of the postbellum house—see Brandon (2004a:133–134, 162–163), Brandon et al. (2000:55), and Brandon and Davidson (2003:17) for a more detailed discussion.

At the age of 6, Aaron Anderson Van Winkle was brought in bondage from Alabama to Arkansas by Colonel Hugh Anderson (Brandon 2008:440)—also see Hilliard (1998) for a discussion of that family and slavery. It is unclear when Aaron was sold to Peter, but by



FIGURE 3. The only known photograph of Aaron Anderson Van Winkle at a Van Winkle family gathering on the front porch of the Steele home in Rogers, 1901. Temperance Van Winkle is sitting *center*, Aaron is standing behind the matriarch. (Photo courtesy of the Shiloh Museum of Ozark History.)

the end of the war he was working at the mill as an “engineer” and later “foreman” (Brandon et al. 2000:14; Brandon 2008:440). He managed to garner a great deal of respect from both the black and white communities, and when he passed away in 1904 it appears that his death was mourned across the racial divide. At least three obituaries in local white papers described his funeral at a black Bentonville church.

The artifacts recovered from these two dwellings are perfect examples of items that can materially confront the silences in the historical narratives of the Arkansas Ozarks. The documentary record says little about the lives of the black Van Winkles or many of the other 7,000 African Americans who lived in the Arkansas Ozarks in the late 19th century. The artifacts recovered from Van Winkle’s Mill, however, offer tantalizing interpretive possibilities revealing not only

the small aspects of daily life, but also larger issues following emancipation, equality, and identity construction (Brandon 2004a:224–245; Brandon 2008).

For instance, at the postbellum structure it is easy to see an explosion of consumer activity brought about by both emancipation and the increasing availability of consumer goods. Certain artifact classes present at the postbellum site, but absent at the antebellum slave quarters, allude to a growing engagement with consumerism and desires that the black Van Winkle family might have sought to fulfill through carefully considered, critically aware consumption (hooks 1990:3–5; Mullins 1999b:3–4; Brandon 2004a:224–245, 2008).

The archaeological assemblage of the antebellum structure is low in numbers of household items in relation to the architectural materials

recovered from the site. The numbers of household items are also low in comparison to household materials from the later dwelling. Moreover, the antebellum structure's assemblage is *incredibly* low in the number of personal items recovered (restricted largely to one tobacco pipe and a few porcelain buttons).

At the postbellum dwelling, however, it is easy to see increased consumer activity. The diversity of ceramic vessel form and decoration recovered from this structure is much greater than in the ceramic assemblage recovered from the antebellum slave quarter. Additionally, the overall number of artifacts classified as "personal goods" and "small finds" is substantially larger (0.5% of the antebellum assemblage; almost 2% of the postbellum assemblage). These are the types of artifacts that can be used to tease out possible meanings that, in turn, offer potential clues to identity construction and the daily lives at Van Winkle's Mill that have been lost in cultural memory. This class of artifacts include items such as a brass pocketknife bolster embossed with a hunting scene, several harmonica reed plates, bric-a-brac fragments, and a number of children's toys (Brandon 2004a:246–253).

For the sake of brevity, I will concentrate on the large number of children's toys recovered from the postbellum worker's quarters (Figure 4). These seemingly innocuous artifacts provide a wide possibility of interpretations. Toys recovered from these excavations include 10 fragments of porcelain doll parts, 3 fragments from at least 2 alphabet plates, a cast-iron pistol fragment, 2 clay marbles, and 2 small, black, child-sized hard-rubber rings.

The presence of these artifacts in postbellum contexts can be seen as a mark of upward mobility and increased humanization through the consumption of seemingly frivolous goods. In "providing certain toys to children, adults were selling a larger ideological package. Working-class parents buying expensive dolls for their daughters may have been expressing dreams of upward mobility" (Wilkie 2000:150)—see also Brandon (2004b:197,207–208) and Mullins (1999a,1999b:155–184, 2001) for similar arguments. This large assemblage of toys does, after all, represent a considerable economic investment in the children living at Feature 9.

On the other hand, for this recently emancipated family (which was rapidly adding children

between 1870 and 1880), these purchases may be interpreted as a desire to provide certain aspects of childhood that the parents themselves had not been allowed to experience during enslavement. In the racialized atmosphere of late-19th-century Arkansas, this would have been a radical and subversive material statement. Such a statement is not without precedent, however, as children's toys have been documented as being used in dialogues on race by archaeologists in similar contexts (Wilkie 2000:151; Mullins 2001; Brandon 2004b).

Most poignant among the children's artifacts from the postbellum assemblage are the three fragments from two alphabet plates. These fragments of blue transfer-printed whiteware were from vessels typically used in Victorian America as serving dishes for children (Kwas 2009:110). The alphabet printed around the rim of the plate was meant to aid in the instruction of children in the learning of their ABC's. As literacy was socially discouraged among enslaved African Americans in Arkansas prior to emancipation (and Aaron reported to the 1870 census that he could not read or write), these plates take on an important meaning. In period discourse, education was stressed as a path to equality as often as (if not more often than) judicious consumption. The Freedmen's Bureau and African Americans throughout the South quickly moved to provide at least a rudimentary education to the newly freed masses. These plates may represent Aaron and Jane's desire to raise the first generation of literate African Americans in Arkansas and, thus, provide opportunities that they themselves had not had due to enslavement and illiteracy.

This example is just a brief glimpse of consumption among the African American community at Van Winkle's Mill. Obviously, many other such interpretations can be made using these assemblages, but it does demonstrate the way that archaeological artifacts (and their interpretations) can be used to confront the narrative of "hillbilly history." The presence of the artifacts themselves attests to an African American heritage in the Ozark Mountains, and this interpretation offers a very human story and a complex picture. Consumers such as Aaron and Jane used material culture to, in Paul Mullins's words, "imagine new social possibilities, mediate lived contradictions, and envision new personal pleasures, posing new relationships between consumers and society and portraying who we *wish* to

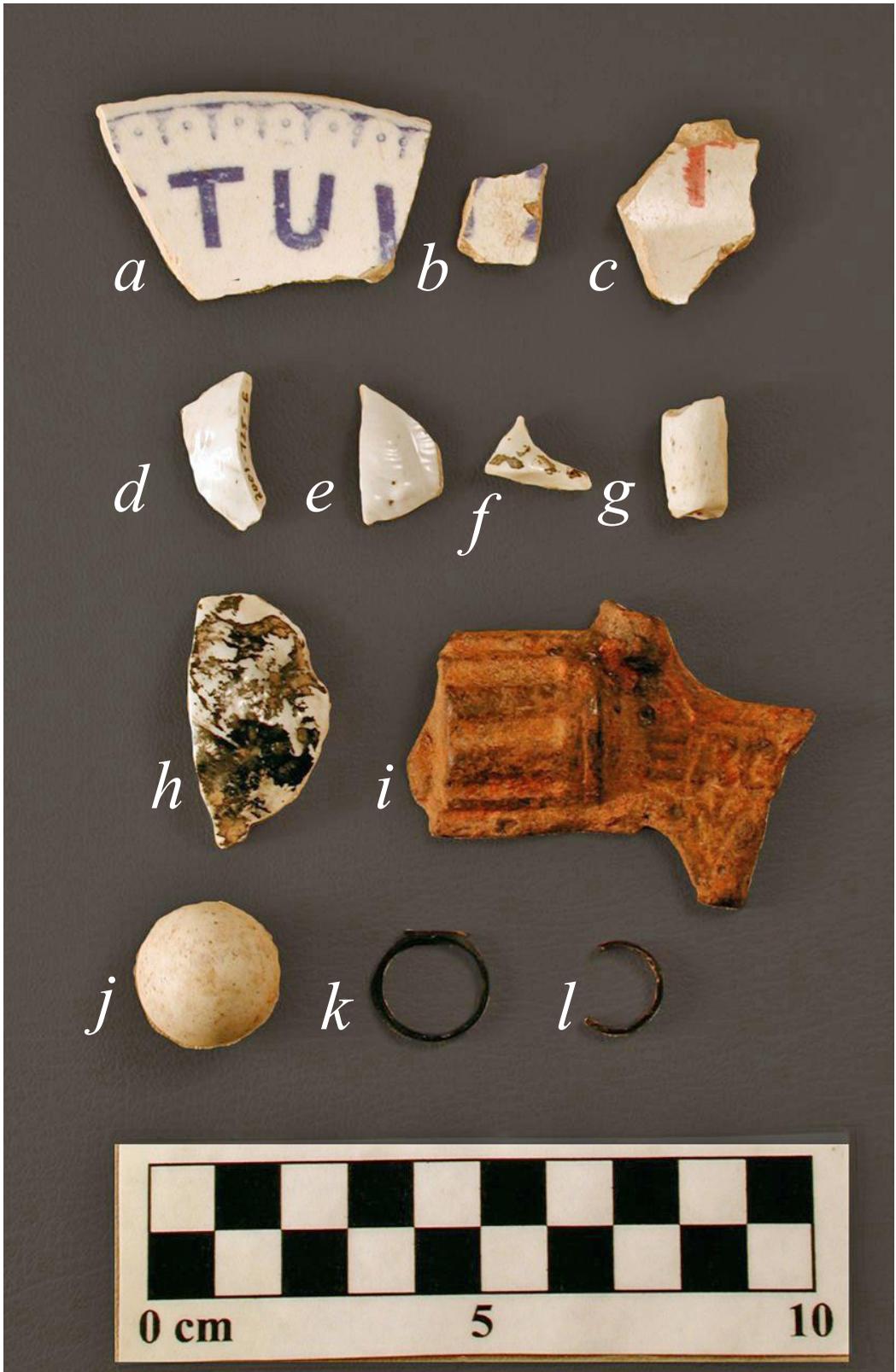


FIGURE 4. Children's toys recovered from Feature 9: (a–c) transfer-print alphabet plate fragments, (d–h) porcelain doll fragments, (i) cast-iron cap-pistol fragment, (j) porcelain marble, and (k–l) bakelite children's rings. (Photo by author, 2004.)

be” (Mullins 1999b:28). In order to reverse the dominant narrative of Ozark history, however, archaeologists will need to interpret these artifacts, and the stories they tell, to the public.

### Historical Archaeology, Public History, and Reversing the Narrative at Van Winkle’s Mill

Most archaeologists are increasingly aware of how the past is interpreted to the public and the public benefits of archaeology (Shackel et al. 1998; Little 2002; Skeates et al. 2012). As this project has grown out of the intent to interpret Van Winkle’s Mill publicly for visitors to Hobbs State Park, the subject is all the more germane. Van Winkle’s Mill Historical Trail is now established with developed hiking trails and signage that seek to raise public awareness of African American heritage in the Ozarks (Figure 5). Additionally, whenever archaeology is conducted

in the park, we archaeologists engage in public archaeology—telling the stories of both the white and black Van Winkles that once lived and worked at the mill. These are both big steps toward attempting to challenge and complicate the dominant narrative in Ozark history.

As I have written technical reports, text for park signage, and provided State Parks with other interpretive opinions, I have always thought my job was to “encourage visitors to identify the evidence used to support historical interpretations, recognize how that data is used to interpret a research issue, and critically examine interpretations, particularly those presented as self-evident facts” (Shackel et al. 1998:3). Thus, when the Rogers Historical Museum launched its ambitious Van Winkle educational program, I saw it as an opportunity to observe the public engagement between archaeology and cultural memory, but also to understand how

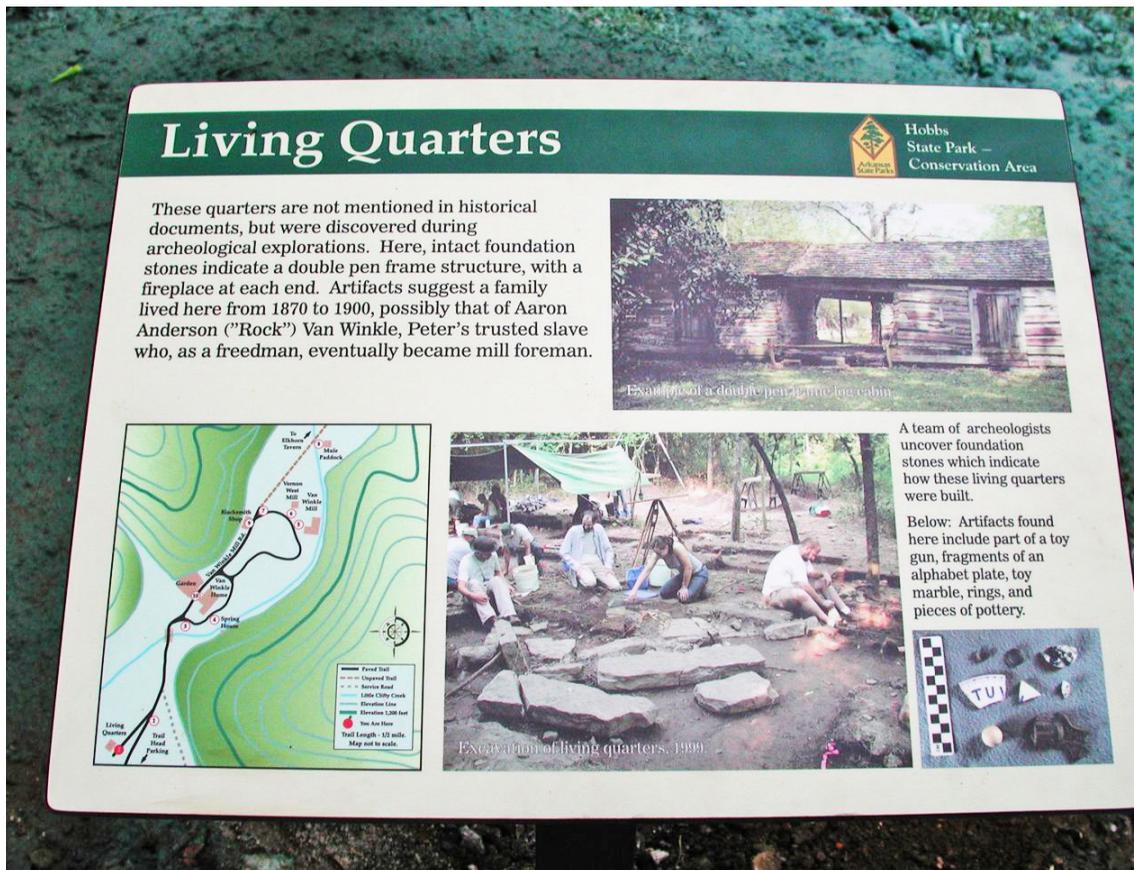


FIGURE 5. Example of interpretive sign at Van Winkle’s Mill. This sign, at the site of Feature 9, interprets both the archaeology and the presence of Aaron Anderson Van Winkle and his family. (Photo by author, 2006.)

public interpretation at Van Winkle's Mill can be made both more critical and accessible—especially as such “sticky and unsettling” topics as slavery, racism, capitalism, and class conflict are tackled.

From 2002 through 2009, in an attempt to tell the complex story of diversity in the 19th-century Ozarks, we archaeologists partnered with lineal descendant communities, the Rogers Historical Museum, Hobbs State Park, the Arkansas Humanities Council, and the Bentonville and Rogers school districts to launch a project as a part of their educational programs for schools. Using historical documents, archaeological information, family history, and other sources, we proposed to expose some 1,300 fifth-grade children in Benton County schools to critical history through the story of Van Winkle's Mill (Brandon 2004a:255–277; Davidson and Brandon 2012:619–622).

The curriculum was multidisciplinary and sought to introduce students to aspects of the natural environment that made the lumber mill possible; the social, political, and economic history of northwest Arkansas; the concept of industrial slavery and African American heritage in the Ozarks; the impact of the Civil War on the region; and how different types of sources (including historical archaeology) come together to reconstruct the history of a site. The program included a class visit to provide background information for (and primary documentation of) Van Winkle's Mill, and a field trip to the site where students rotated through several key interpretive locations.

The museum and educational communities in Arkansas widely considered the Van Winkle educational program an overall success. In its first year, 36 fifth-grade classes participated, and the Rogers Historical Museum won the 2004 Educational Program of the Year Award from the Arkansas Museums Association for the effort. From the archaeologists' perspective it successfully complicated the narrative of hillbilly history in the region. Exit evaluations (for both teachers and students) indicated that the majority of the teachers thought that the program led students to a better understanding of African American heritage in the Ozarks, and that the field visit to Van Winkle's Mill “to observe the architectural remains and locations of archaeological investigations” enriched

what was learned in the classroom (Brandon 2004a:260–263). Furthermore, student evaluations revealed that most of the learning objectives outlined for the Van Winkle program were met—especially in the areas of identifying archaeology as a primary resource and raising awareness of industrial and African American heritage in the region (Brandon 2004a:263).

On the surface of things, given the trails, standing signage, and yearly educational programs' impact on visitors, Van Winkle's Mill looks like a successful attempt at using archaeology to “reverse the narrative.” Yet some aspects of the program were clearly more successful than others and it is believed that this is due to several factors—the resilience of cultural memory and the confusion caused by the complexity of the two historical narratives being presented (i.e., the story of the African American community at Van Winkle's Mill and the story of Peter Van Winkle and industrial heritage in the Ozarks). What follows is a cautionary tale about the difficulties inherent in attempting to engineer the reversal of a dominant narrative.

### **The Resilience and Complexity of Cultural Memory: Challenging, but Not Fully Reversing the Narrative**

Student evaluations made it clear that we archaeologists were successful in challenging one of the facets of hillbilly history—the idea that the Ozarks are rural, antimodern, and nonindustrial—through the story of Peter Van Winkle and his mill. However, the students' reaction to the critical history of African American heritage was more complicated. While they were now more aware of the presence of African Americans in Ozark history, their view of racial relations in the mountains was being influenced by another narrative. For example, in a 2003 assessment a total of 673 students responded to the question: “Most African-Americans who were slaves worked on plantations. How was slavery different in Van Winkle Hollow?” Despite the direct efforts of the program designers, 281 students (41.8%) responded with an answer that depicted slavery at Van Winkle's Mill as better, more kind, or otherwise indicated that the slaves were better treated by Peter Van Winkle than they were in plantation settings (Brandon 2004a:234).

Thus, while we archaeologists have successfully challenged the erasure of African American history in the Ozarks, here students are tapping into another, secondary narrative that needs confronting in the Upland South. This is a narrative that stresses that if slavery did exist in the Upland South, it was a kinder and gentler version (Brandon 2004a:264–270; Davidson and Brandon 2012:621).

Historians have made much of the differences between upland and lowland slavery in the American South. Even in the Ozarks, researchers such as Gordon Morgan, in his study *Black Hillbillies in the Arkansas Ozarks*, have speculated that the low numbers of slaves and the degree of personal interaction between slaves and masters may have created a close social relationship between enslaver and the enslaved:

More probably, there might have been a kind of mutual benefit relationship between some masters and their slaves, each contributing to the protection of the other in their struggle to survive in the frontier environment. Also, there is the possibility that given more of a balance between numbers of slave owners and the slaves that there was less master-servant social distance and more of a partner relationship between them (Morgan 1973:28).

According to Morgan's argument, shared living quarters, working conditions, and the frontier character of the Ozarks helped create situations where neither master nor slave preferred to break the bonds of the relationship. Echoing public impressions of slavery in the North prior to the African Burial Ground Project, the students often eventually settled on: "They must have been few; they must have been free; they must have been treated better" (Blakey 2010). None of these statements were necessarily true. Elsewhere I have argued using newspaper accounts, runaway ads, and WPA slave narratives that slavery in the Ozark uplands was far from harmonious, and that the enslaved did actively resist (Brandon 2004a:23–31).

In this case, challenging one narrative in Ozark history has triggered reliance on a secondary narrative—one that like "hillbilly history" obscures more than it explains. If researchers and educators are serious about "reversing the narrative," they must expect that they will not succeed immediately. One must be constantly thoughtful, critical, and self-reflexive

in order to engage the narratives at work in cultural memory. It should be evident that although highly flexible and contradictory, there is also a certain resilient quality to cultural memory. This can be seen in works such as Richard Handler and Eric Gable's *The New History in an Old Museum* (1997), which chronicles the complications and difficulties of the attempts of social historians to introduce critical views of colonial America (including a revised examination of slavery and the African American colonial experience) into the public interpretations at Williamsburg. The identity of Williamsburg's white citizens had been actively remade in cultural memory with the American Revolution as its focus (Handler and Gable 1997:33). This substitution of the colonial trope for the Civil War trope in both local and national cultural memory is not unlike the hillbilly trope's ascendancy in the Ozarks—focusing attention on a favored protagonist and erasing the diversity of Williamsburg from memory. This resistance to constructionist views of history and alternative historical narratives at Colonial Williamsburg strikes a resonance with some of the experiences at Van Winkle's Mill. It is difficult to complicate the cultural memory of the Ozarks with such topics as diversity, modernity, industrialism, slavery, and racism.

### Conclusion

There are many powerful narratives at work in the collective historical memory. Each of these narratives focuses attention on particular topics and/or protagonists as it also obscures other facts and/or actors. In the Arkansas Ozarks—and all of the Upland South—hillbilly history focuses on a white, rural, yeoman farmer who is backward and antimodern. This obscures much diversity in the region and, more importantly, absolves the region from its history of racial conflicts.

The long-term archaeological project at the site of Van Winkle's Mill has provided a mix of documentary and artifactual evidence that can be interpreted to visitors through trail signage, museum exhibits, and educational programs. This interpretation has been aimed at reversing the work of the dominant hillbilly narrative, not only by exposing it as an oversimplification, but also carefully following its historical construction and how it works on the collective

historical memory. It confronts stereotypical notions of Ozark history with a concrete landscape and artifacts that point toward not only progressive, modern technologies; industrialization; and an entrepreneurial heritage, but also to racial and ethnic diversity, and the complicated history of slavery in the region. Archaeology can help tell complicated narratives—such as stories hinted at by the artifacts and consumer patterns recovered from the possible antebellum slave quarter and the postbellum home of Aaron Anderson Van Winkle and his family.

However, these historical narratives are resilient, and while we archaeologists have had some success in reversing the narrative that completely writes African American heritage out of Ozark history, we find other narratives in its stead. These narratives convey to their audience how the present derives from the past. Moreover, they explain the present even as they shape present reality by providing the audience with a symbolic framework (i.e., the past) that enables it to make sense of the world. Historical reality is much more complicated, and one of the “public benefits” that one can derive from archaeology is the complication of these powerful, influential narratives.

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## Demystifying the Hidden Hand: Capital and the State at Blair Mountain

### ABSTRACT

The Battle of Blair Mountain is an important episode in American and world history that illuminates central tenets of the current American socioeconomic system. The artifacts from the battle as well as documentary evidence and oral history show that the events of the battle are part of a larger system of exploitation that continues today. Initial analysis of the artifacts from the battle allows insight into fundamental workings of the emergence and maintenance of capitalism. Archaeological work has been central in addressing issues and injustices within this system, as shown in preservation work at Blair Mountain.

### Introduction

It may seem unlikely that a nondescript rock outcrop on a remote mountain ridge in Logan County, West Virginia, is a central place in 20th-century American history. But this outcrop was the scene of a heavy firefight during the Battle of Blair Mountain, the largest open class war in U.S. history. For five days in late August of 1921, 10,000 miners fought against an army of 3,000 defenders entrenched along 14 mi. of steep ridges around Blair Mountain, only stopping when three regiments of federal troops were sent to the conflict zone. The miners were fighting against an unjust political and economic system in which coal operators held almost total control. In the years since the battle, the history of the West Virginia Mine Wars has been largely forgotten. Currently the battlefield is threatened with destruction by proposed mountaintop-removal coalmining operations. Archaeological work has been central in attempts to preserve the battlefield as well as researching the battle and drawing this history back into national discourse.

Blair Mountain is an important part of American history because it was an event that occurred at the basic foundation of early industrialism and mass economy, and so it helps illuminate central workings of that process. Using an historical

archaeology approach I will discuss in this article how the artifacts from the battlefield, documentary sources, oral histories, the surrounding landscape, and even the community today are part of a larger story that exposes fundamental injustices within the larger society, past and present.

In order to explore this topic, I will first introduce my theoretical positioning and then provide the historical context in which the battle took place. Next, I will discuss the context and background of the events that propelled the miners' march in 1921. In the fourth section I will discuss the battle itself and the aftermath. I will use these elements to show how archaeological work can challenge and interrogate fundamental tenets of the current social and economic systems. To conclude, I will use the example of the multi-pronged scholar-activist organizing around the Blair Mountain Battlefield and community of Blair to show how historical archaeology is part of a process in which heritage is being reexamined, reimagined, and applied in deconstructing injustices and building toward a better future.

### Liberating Theory and Emancipatory Archaeology

Over the past decade a body of theory has been built around working-class archaeology (Duke and Saitta 1998; McGuire and Walker 1999:160; Walker and Saitta 2002; Wood 2002a, 2002b; McGuire and Reckner 2003; McGuire 2008; Larkin and McGuire 2009). This framework focuses on collaboratively researching and analyzing the historical experiences of workers in order to facilitate awareness and change in the lives of working, lower-class, and impoverished people today (Duke and Saitta 1998:1; McGuire 2008:6–11). Most of emancipatory archaeology draws from Marxist principles, but the research framework that I use is based more upon liberating theory (Bakunin 1882; Camus 1956, 1960; Proudhon 1970; Albert et al. 1986; Hahnel 2002; Nida 2010).

Liberating theory focuses on the emancipation of people from all oppressions and conceptualizes different oppressions as interlocking and reinforcing each other (Albert et al. 1986:72).

There are two main axes that constitute the analytical model of society for liberating theory. The first axis is that of a human-institutional core, and the second is that of social spheres that crosscut the human-institutional core (Albert et al. 1986:82; Hahnel 2002:10). This framework should not be seen as rigidly modeling society but instead is a flexible method to begin looking for patterns of liberating processes. The aims of liberating theory, simply put, are to work actively and critically to bring about a more open, free, and tolerant society. Part of that work is building scholar-activist methods and theory that can be utilized by a multiplicity of people working toward those same general goals.

The core axis running through this model of society is the human-institutional axis (Albert et al. 1986:19; Hahnel 2002:3). At the center is the humanist dialectic, which is a philosophical theory that attempts to reconcile Hegel's idealism and Marx's materialism by placing the human as an embodied being at the center of history. Since human experience inextricably takes place within both a mental and a physical world, an analysis that relies on only a materialist or an idealist base is incomplete (Hahnel 2002:5). Humans as embodied beings are the prime movers of history; human agency is the creative force from which change radiates (Bakunin 1882:2; Fromm 1961:26; Freire 1970:51; Albert et al. 1986:82). Moving outward are the institutions, social patterns, and environments within which humans create or contend (Albert et al. 1986:82; Hahnel 2002:10). The human and institutional aspects are complementary and comprise each other (Albert et al. 1986:20). Humans assume the roles and positions within social arrangements that are historically accumulated and can either debilitate or facilitate human agency (Hahnel 2002:10).

Crosscutting the human-institutional axis is the axis of social spheres. This specific model discerns four main spheres of human sociality: (1) political, (2) economic, (3) kinship, and (4) community (Albert et al. 1986:72). These dialectic spheres are conceptualized as overlapping, mutually defining, dynamic, and changing (Ollman 1976:12–13; Albert et al. 1986:21; Kosko 1993). In order for transformative change to occur, each of these spheres must be addressed concurrently. It is not possible for one individual to address all aspects of the

social sphere, and so there is a need for multidisciplinary work involving different researchers and stakeholders (Albert et al. 1986:14; Collins 1991; Nelson 1997:16; Franklin 2001:111).

For this article I focus on the intersection of the political and economic spheres in looking at how state mechanisms and class roles maintain and define the other sphere. This, however, is only a very small segment of research on which a group of multidisciplinary scholar activists in the Blair area are collaborating. Although I am focusing here on the political and the economic spheres, it is only one part of a larger long-term research project that brings together the different social spheres and modes of oppression to understand how they relate, define, and influence each other. While focusing on the intersection between the political and economic spheres in this chapter, this is not meant to suggest these spheres have greater importance in society than the other spheres.

### **Capital, the State, and the Disciplining of Labor**

To understand the driving forces behind the Battle of Blair Mountain it is helpful to understand its role in much larger and international processes regarding the formation of capitalism and nation states. History is filled with examples of states using violence to order society coercively in ways that benefit the elites of capitalism—from its earliest stages until today. One of the earliest and best known examples is that of the Enclosures, in which from the late 15th to the 18th century government mechanisms were effectively used to stop commoners from accessing traditionally communal land and resources. This resulted in the destruction of the means of subsistence for wide swaths of the population (Federici 2004:68–70). In 1671, the first game law was passed, prohibiting commoners from hunting game, which was traditionally an important part of their livelihood (Perelman 2000:39). In parts of Europe begging was also outlawed, and repeat offenders were executed (Perelman 2000:14).

This same sort of coercive transition from traditional ways of life based upon self-sufficiency to that of wage labor occurred in central Appalachia as well. Prior to industrialization the area was immersed in a market economy tied to the rest of the nation, where places like Logan

County actually received an equal balance of finished goods for its raw materials (Williams 2001:103). Mountain farming was supplemented by raising hogs in the woods, hunting game, gathering herbs such as ginseng, and making whiskey to store agricultural surplus (Corbin 1981:33–37). The industrialization of the southern coalfields entailed the massive accumulation of land by industrialists through a variety of means, especially through the contestation of deeds due to overlapping claims and grants. In addition, a series of laws were implemented, to limit hunting and to tax whiskey, that directly challenged peoples' ability to live self-sufficiently without wage labor (Corbin 1981:33).

Once capitalism had emerged and a proletariat class had been engineered there was a need by the industrial elite to discipline labor for the larger aim of controlling the labor market. Some of the more-notable labor conflicts, where state or federal military force was used to bolster corporate interests, are the Great Railroad Strike of 1877, the Pullman Strike of 1894, and the Ludlow Massacre in 1914; but there were also subtler means by which government mechanisms were employed against organizing workers. One important example is that until 1933 the law did not legally recognize the right of workers to engage in collective bargaining. But long before that, capitalists were able to organize into groups, such as the Logan Coal Operators Association, whose members

get together for the purpose of controlling the labor situation from the employers' point of view. ... They themselves are one solid phalanx in dealing with the men. They themselves get together for the purpose of saying, "we won't recognize or deal with labor unions" (Senate Committee on Labor and Education [SCLE] 1921:704).

### *The Merger of Industry and Government in West Virginia*

The subordination of public governance to private industrial concerns occurred early in West Virginia's history. Gaining statehood in 1863, by the 1870s the representatives of Northern merchants, bankers, and industrialists had all but taken over the state government (Corbin 1981:15; Meador 1991a:58). Especially important was the rise of Henry Gassaway Davis and Stephen B. Elkins, who were business partners with extensive mutual economic interest in

national corporations. Davis was Elkins's father-in-law and the head of the Democratic Party in West Virginia. Elkins was the head of the Republican faction (Williams 2003:3). In this way, both major political parties were controlled by one industrialist family, and both men were extremely adept at using their political offices to further their private economic interest (Williams 2003:174). In southern West Virginia the specific characteristics of the coal industry allowed private industry to exert an even higher degree of control over the political and other spheres than in other areas of the state (Blizzard 2010:264–270; Corbin 2011:130).

The Logan Coalfield was opened in 1903, which was relatively late, both at a national level and within West Virginia. By the time this coalfield was opened the era of the small coal prospectors had ended. The companies that came into Logan County were backed by large amounts of capital, which allowed them to gain control of vast segments of the area's reserves and to a large degree minimize competition (Thurmond 1964:39–40). One example is the Boone County Coal Company that completely owned all mining operations in the whole Spruce River valley (Thurmond 1964:51). Due to the high quality of the coal from this region it soon became an important source of fuel for both industrial and household use. This thrust the seemingly remote area into the center of a national energy market that was highly competitive and composed of older coalfields with established markets.

With industrialization, the coal industry started constructing company towns among the mountain valleys (Blizzard 2010:35). Ostensibly these facilities were built in order for companies to provide goods and shelter in isolated regions. While there may be some truth to this explanation, there seem to have been advantages for coal operators that overshadowed the original purpose in maintaining company towns. This was because, in the early days of coalmining, in what are called the hand-loading days, the configuration of underground mines in West Virginia as well as processes of production meant that the foreman of a mine had very little contact with workers (Dix 1977:47–48). Therefore, the managers had very little control at the point of production in the mines. The real utility of company towns was the ability for operators to exert indirect control over the processes of production through

control of the community, political, kinship, and economic spheres (Dix 1977:55).

At the center of this system was the company store where all the goods that mining families needed to live and work were sold—often at inflated prices (Corbin 1981:10). Miners were paid in scrip, which is a form of fake money each company paid its workers and that could only be spent at their company stores (Corbin 1981:32–33). In these highly controlled towns the coal companies provided the doctors, teachers, preachers, and any scant entertainment (Corbin 1981:33; Lane 2011:15). They rented the shacks to the families and reserved the right to evict for any circumstance (SCLE 1921:45; Corbin 1981:9–10). Beyond this lay a web of political patronage, legal mechanisms, and cartel-like control of the job market that helped maintain this system. If these mechanisms were not enough to control the community, physical force and intimidation could be utilized (Corbin 1981:51; Blizzard 2010:45). Ultimately, if all these measures failed, martial law backed by state or federal troops would be declared.

### **Class War in the Coalfields**

As soon as the coal industry emerged in West Virginia, labor unrest began to break out (Meador 1991a:57; Blizzard 2010:27). There were labor strikes in 1892, 1894, 1895, 1897, and 1902. The 1897 and 1902 strikes were the earliest strikes that entailed violence. This involved both sides, and during these strikes operators starting bringing in detective agents such as the Baldwin-Felts Agency (Blizzard 2010:56). Machine-gun nests and floodlights around the mines became a common scene in coal camps during this period (Corbin 1981:88; McLean 1991:4–6). With these early strikes the end result was either the complete disregard of miners' demands or the ceding of extremely small concessions. Many times state force such as the national guard was used to break strikes (Blizzard 2010:70). With workers' grievances persistently unaddressed, tensions in the coalfields continued to heighten during the first decade of the century (Corbin 1981:51).

There were numerous reasons for the unrest during this period. Coalmining in general was an extremely dangerous craft, and within the nation's coalfields those in southern West Virginia had some of the highest fatality rates. Intense competition by southern West Virginia operators,

as they attempted to undercut producers from other fields and expand into their markets, drove wages, safety, and living conditions downward (Dix 1977:105). Framed by the overbearing and ever-present mine guards, the managers had a number of ways to cheat miners of their full pay for the coal they loaded (Dix 1977:52–53). Mining communities had attempted for a generation through a wide range of means to improve their situation, but every time their efforts had been stymied and their concerns remained unaddressed.

By 1912 the situation erupted in a bloody episode of class war known as the Paint Creek–Cabin Creek Mine War of 1912–1913 (Blizzard 2010:50). In this strike many of the core cadre of leaders of the Blair Mountain battle, such as Bill Blizzard, Frank Keeney, and Fred Mooney, emerged as leaders within District 17 of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) (Corbin 1981:100). During the strike mining families were evicted by company agents from company houses and lived in tent colonies throughout the narrow valley. On the night of 7 February 1913, coal operators brought in an armored train fitted with machine guns to fire into tent colonies at a place called Holly Grove (Corbin 1981:88). One miner, Francis “Cesco” Estepp, was shot in the face and killed by machine-gun fire (Platania 1991:19).

Miners struck back by ambushing and killing at least 12 mine guards at Mucklow near Holly Grove (McLean 1991:7). The State of West Virginia declared martial law three separate times in the strike zone before a newly elected governor negotiated a compromise that stopped the fighting, but that did not resolve the fundamental issues underlying the strike (Corbin 1981:99; Platania 1991:24). After Paint Creek–Cabin Creek, World War I brought a federally enforced truce between miners and operators (Blizzard 2010:109–114). By 1919 the war had ended but wartime restrictions on the miners' ability to strike were still in place (Bailey 2008:186). The industry was in a postwar slump and low wages, as well as irregular work, caused much hardship in coalmining communities (Corbin 1981:82–90; Bailey 2008:212).

Miners began to agitate, but their petitions went unheard. Their frustrations grew even greater as the abuses of the anti-union sheriff Don Chafin of Logan County became widely

known. Sheriff Chafin was paid by the Logan Coal Operators Association to keep union organizers out of the county and to keep miners in line using intimidation, beatings, and murder (Savage 1990:82; Meador 1991a:58; Blizzard 2010:264). The barrier of the Spruce Fork Ridge, of which Blair Mountain is part, runs north to south and effectively splits Logan County into two distinct areas. Chafin's control extended through the western portion constituting the bulk of the county, while a strong union presence operated throughout the eastern portion of the county on the Blair side of the mountain (Meador 1991a:59).

### *The Stage is Set at Matewan*

The tensions of 1919 spilled over into the spring of 1920 as the UMWA began an organizing drive in the southwestern part of the state. This effort lasted 28 months and involved multiple intercessions of federal- and state-mandated martial law, culminating at the Battle of Blair Mountain (Corbin 1981:200–218; Bailey 2008:224). The organizing drive began in Mingo County where a few independent towns like Matewan retained their own legal and political autonomy outside the coal operators' influence (Bailey 2008:12). Immediately after the mining families unionized, the coal operators locked the workers out of the mines and instigated a series of evictions (Bailey 2008:214). On 19 May 1920, the notorious Baldwin-Felts agents arrived in Matewan to evict the mining families (Corbin 1981:201; Burns 2005:216).

The agents started evicting families and throwing their belongings into the rain until town sheriff Sid Hatfield stopped the proceedings. The agents stopped the evictions for the day, but before they could leave town they once more came into confrontation with Hatfield. This led to a gun battle between the agents and citizens of the town that had gathered to support Hatfield. In the end seven agents lay dead including two younger brothers of the agency's founder, one of them reportedly killed by Hatfield. The mayor was also mortally wounded, and two miners were killed (Corbin 1981:201–202; Bailey 2008:1–7).

Into the summer and fall of 1920, violence erupted along the Tug River separating Kentucky and West Virginia. Mine guards shot up tent colonies, miners dynamited coal tipples,

and both sides took to the hills to snipe at each other. Multiple battles resulted in the repeated imposition of martial law. Fighting would stop until troops left the area, after which conflict would immediately begin anew. This cycle happened three times until the governor of West Virginia issued an especially harsh imposition of martial law in the spring of 1921, which was seen as being implemented in a decidedly partisan manner against the miners (Corbin 1981:202–209; Blizzard 2010:177–190).

In early August of 1921, Sid Hatfield was called to neighboring McDowell County to answer charges of dynamiting a coal tipple during the spring (Corbin 1981:217). While answering this legal summons, Baldwin-Felts agents assassinated the unarmed Hatfield as he walked up the courthouse steps (Blizzard 2010:141). His best friend, Ed Chambers, was also murdered that day. Sid, who had become a mythic figure to the miners for standing up to the hated Baldwin-Felts agents, was only 27 at the time of his death. Ed Chambers was 22 (Corbin 1981:210).

### *The Battle Erupts*

Outrage rippled through the coalfields over Sid's assassination. Along with the harshness of martial law in Mingo County, this was the last indignity for many mining communities, and they were ready to fight (Blizzard 2010:236). By 12 August 1921, the miners on the Blair side of the mountain mobilized armed patrols along the Spruce River valley. This caused Sheriff Don Chafin to send state troopers to the town of Clothier, a few miles downriver of Blair, where they arrested and assaulted a miner. Another group of miners retaliated later in the day by pulling five state troopers from a car and shoving them around before letting them go back to Logan (Savage 1990:75).

Miners began gathering near the state capitol in Charleston, and by 24 August they had begun to march to Mingo (Savage 1990:76; Blizzard 2010:240). The miners were intent on reaching Mingo in order to relieve striking miners imprisoned during the imposition of martial law there. But between the miners and Mingo County stood Blair Mountain and Sheriff Chafin's private army. The sheriff had wasted no time in entrenching his forces along the ridgeline. On 25 August, the West Virginia governor began asking President

Harding to send federal troops (Savage 1990:84). The army sent Brigadier General Harry Bandholtz to Charleston to bring the situation under control. On 26 August General Bandholtz met with UMWA District 17 officials and convinced them to halt the march (Savage 1990:87). The UMWA leaders immediately left to overtake the miners and were able to persuade them to return home.

The miners who were convinced to stop the march gathered to await trains promised by the governor to move them out of the area (Savage 1990:89). It was a different story around Blair and the Spruce River valley, where 500 miners shut down the mines and prepared to fight (Savage 1990:92). In Clothier a group of miners stole a train and began shuttling miners from Danville to Blair (Savage 1990:96; Meador 1991a:60). Even with these actions, it seems the uneasy truce would hold, and that the conflict had been averted.

On 27 August, Don Chafin sent a force of 300 state police and deputies across Blair Mountain into Clothier to arrest the miners who had humiliated the deputies a few weeks earlier (Savage 1990:103; Blizzard 2010:288). In what seems to have been an action intended to provoke the miners, the deputies started up a hollow at Ethel around six in the evening and followed an old horse trail crossing over the ridge into Beech Creek (Savage 1990:103). As they descended into union territory at night near the town of Monclo, a group of miners confronted the troopers and a firefight broke out. Three miners were killed and the deputies retreated back over the mountain to Logan with three prisoners in tow (Savage 1990:105; Blizzard 2010:290).

As news of this night raid spread, the miners that had been headed home turned back to Logan (Blizzard 2010:296). In Blair the armed pickets grew larger as miners streamed to the Spruce River valley from all different directions (Savage 1990:107). They commandeered any sort of transportation they could find, cordoned an area of 500 sq. mi., issued passes to control access to their territory, and cut telephone and telegraph lines (Meador 1991a:61). Both sides had machine guns and high-powered rifles, and union officials were buying even more weapons and distributing them (Blizzard 2010:296). The miners had been stockpiling weapons for a number of years, and along the way they broke into company stores to steal weapons and supplies.

On 30 August 1921 President Harding issued a proclamation giving the miners less than two days to disband and issued orders readying two regiments of infantry soldiers (Savage 1990:112–113). The night of 30 August a preacher from Blair named John Wilburn led a group of about 70 men toward the defensive lines, traveling up what is now known as Aleshire Hollow (Savage 1990:123). The next morning they met three Logan deputies who were drunk on moonshine. A firefight erupted and the three deputies were killed along with an African American miner named Eli Kemp (Savage 1990:125). Full-scale combat broke out along the ridgeline that afternoon, 31 August, with a large contingent of miners arriving that day (Savage 1990:125).

Chafin had set the defensive forces at four main locations along the 14 mi. ridgeline at (1) Blair Gap, which was the southernmost position; (2) Beech Creek; (3) Crooked Creek in the center; and (4) Mill Creek at the northernmost point of the line (Savage 1990:119). While there were four main defensive positions, the majority of the fighting seems to have taken place in two main areas: the Crooked Creek area and the Blair area. According to what the archaeological record shows, the miners' overall strategy seems to have been based on a larger pincer movement spread across the full 14 mi. battlefield (Figure 1). The southern arm was at Blair, the northern arm was at Mill Creek, and the middle thrust was at Crooked Creek (Meador 1991a:61). In addition to this large pincer movement, it also seems that the miners employed smaller pincer movements in their strategy for attacking positions such as the Crooked Creek Gap.

Looking at the Blair area first, it seems that rather than the miners attempting to breach the heavily fortified Blair Gap directly, they instead conducted a highly coordinated pincer movement to flank the gap. The southern arm of the pincer was along White Trace Ridge, and the northern arm led up White Trace Branch and then to a hollow that leads to a knoll approximately 200 m north of the Blair Gap. At the knoll at the head of the hollow, the archaeological team found over 200 artifacts from the battle, which are currently being analyzed. These artifacts seem to indicate that the miners were within short distance of the defensive line at this location, due to the inclusion of multiple short-range caliber weapons, including incoming

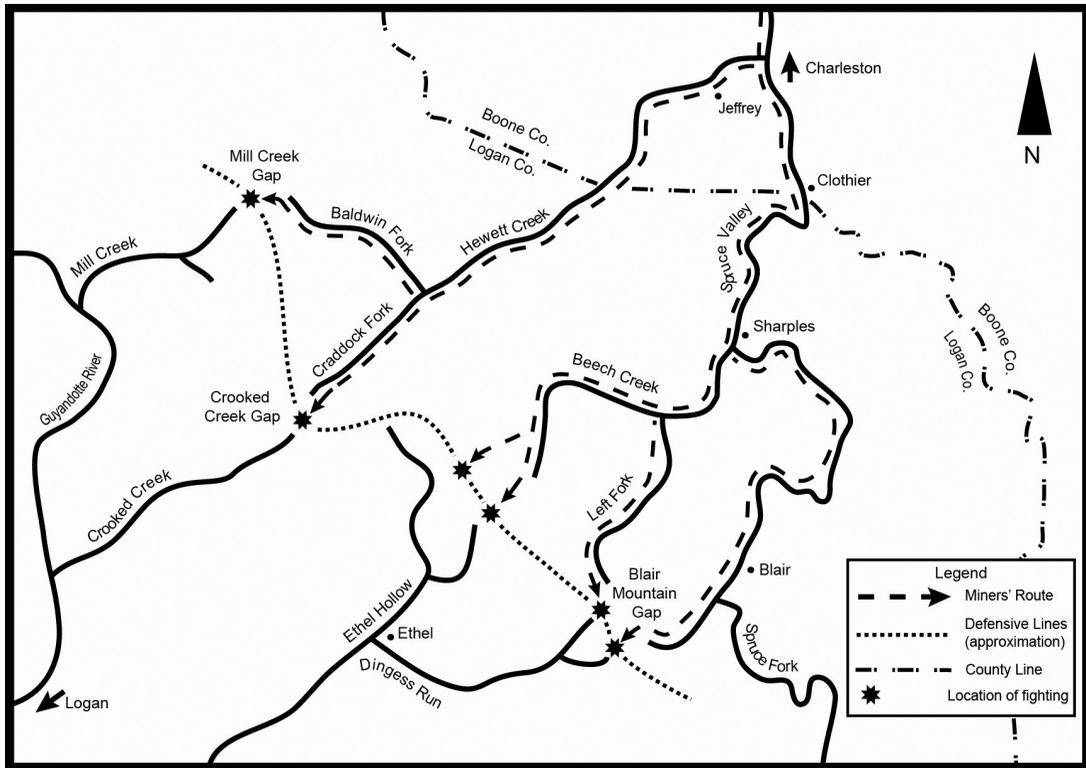


FIGURE 1. The conflict zone, with the route of the marchers and the defensive lines. This illustrates the large pincer movement the miners were employing over the length of the battlefield. (Map by author, 2012.)

rounds from pistols with effective ranges of 25 to 50 ft.

On the morning of 1 September fighting was heaviest in the Blair sector and then shifted to Crooked Creek in the afternoon (Savage 1990:125). At Crooked Creek it also seems that a mini pincer movement was being put into effect (Figure 2). The northern pincer was along the two hollows to the north of Crooked Creek Gap. The head of these two hollows is along the ridgeline north of Crooked Creek, and it seems that sites along this part of the ridge had some of the heaviest fighting. The south pincer movement was at Sycamore Branch, where a schoolhouse that served as the miners' command center for this sector was located at the mouth of this hollow. Traveling up Sycamore Branch, the head of this hollow is on a ridgeline just south of Crooked Creek Gap where two sites, Sycamore Branch 1 (SB1) and Sycamore Branch 2 (SB2), are located.

The Crooked Creek area is important because this area is where historical records and oral testimony state that a breakthrough for the

miners occurred, and so this area deserves a little more in-depth discussion. According to historical records, on Friday 2 September, the militant union leader Ed Reynolds led a group of miners carrying a machine gun to the front under heavy fire and opened a new offensive. In this narrative, the miners were able to punch a mile inward through the defensive lines at Crooked Creek but were driven back after the defenders reset a machine gun that had malfunctioned (Savage 1990:137). A combatant on the miners' side, Early Ball, stated in an oral history:

I had 1,000 men lined up to take the Gap the next day at daylight [before federal troops moved in]. We had a six inch cannon that shot explosive balls, and [machine gunner] 'Davy Crockett' had moved in a knob there and cleared it, had run everything off ... a thousand men could have went through either side of it (Savage 1990:132; Meador 1991b:68).

Currently archaeological analysis is concentrated on the Crooked Creek area to better understand the battle dynamics that occurred in that area. Within the Crooked Creek area there

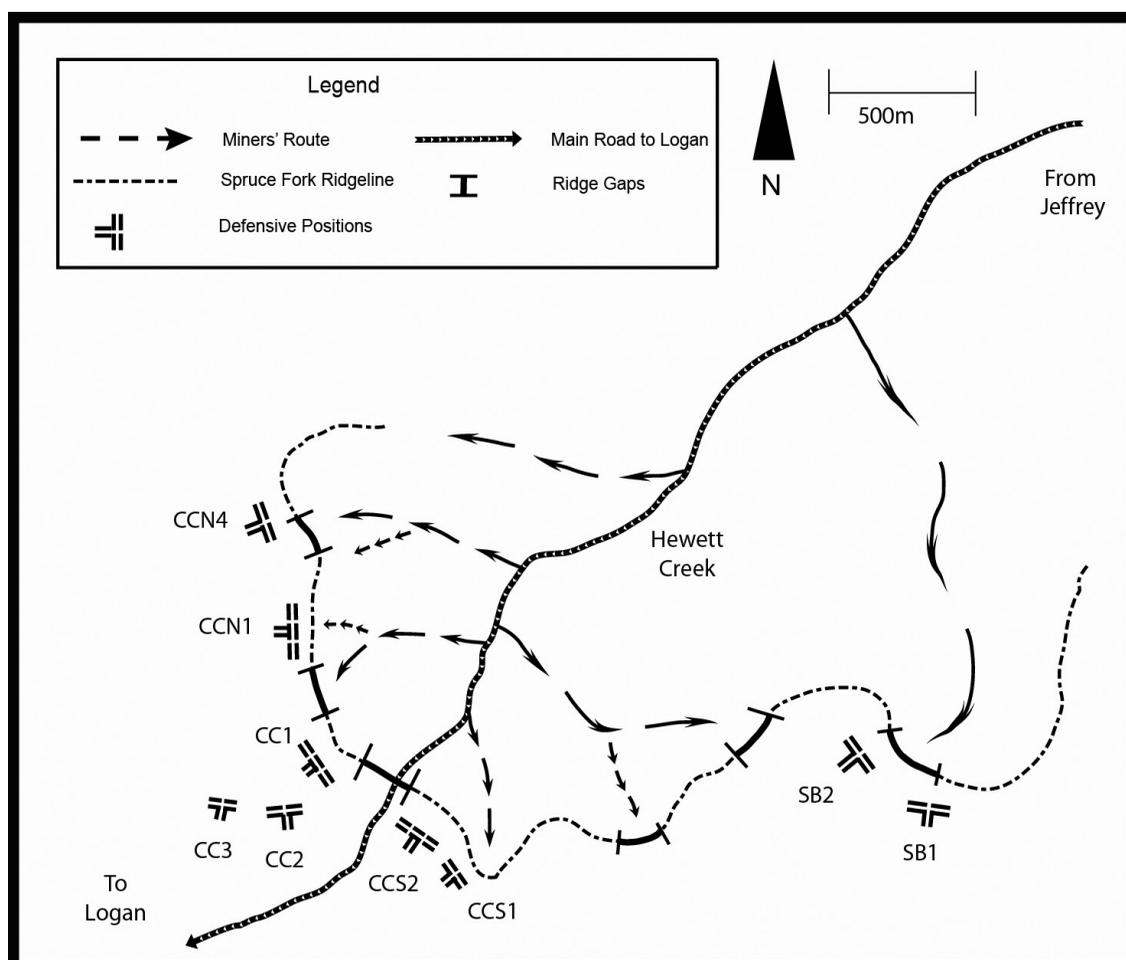


FIGURE 2. The Crooked Creek area with the miners' movements and defensive lines shown. This shows the battle dynamics in the Crooked Creek area and highlights the use of a pincer movement by the miners in this area. (Map by author, 2012.)

are 11 sites with a total of 681 points classified as munitions points. This assemblage includes 28, 5-round clips designed to hold .30-06 cartridges for the Springfield rifle, 33 spent rounds or bullet slugs, 1 point that is completely unidentified, and then a point that is an actual .38-caliber pistol. Another 10 points are live rounds, and 608 are fired cartridges. For analysis I have combined the live rounds and cartridges, which total 619 points. There are a number of attributes that are important in picking out the dynamics of the battle, such as weapon type and caliber.

In regard to weapon type, within the 619 points that compose the cartridge and live-round assemblage there are 28 rounds that can be clearly classified as pistols, 82 rounds that are either machine-gun rounds or pistol rounds (the .45 caliber submachine gun used rounds that could be

fired in both), 11 rounds that were either pistol or rifle, 6 shotgun rounds, 6 unidentified cartridges, and 486 rifle cartridges. These different weapon types, along with their prevalence and distribution patterns, provide insight into both the proximity of combating forces as well as the intensity of the conflict at that location. For example, finding a site with a large percentage of pistol rounds would indicate that fighting was close enough for the use of short-range weaponry, while a site with only rifle cartridges would suggest more ranged combat. Of course the type of weapon does not automatically or directly allow the discernment of the type of fighting, but along with other variables it can be an indirect line of evidence.

Another important attribute is that of the caliber of the cartridges. This allows for the categorization of weapon types as well as providing

information about other factors such as range and rate of fire. One hypothesis in regard to the calibers is that defenders' sites will statistically be composed of "standard" calibers, while miners' sites would show more variability in the number and types of calibers. This is due to numerous historical sources stating that a large portion of the defending forces were armed from centralized sources such as the governments of West Virginia and Kentucky (Hodges 1983:139). The miners, on the other hand, were using weapons and ammunition from far less centralized sources. I am currently analyzing the full assemblage of the Blair Mountain battlefield to see exactly how this hypothesis correlates to the data. While much work needs to be done, initial analysis suggests that the analysis of caliber variability along with other lines of evidence can help indirectly identify a site as a defenders' or miners' site. It should be stated that even with multiple lines of evidence ambiguity still remains in this process.

The overall Crooked Creek assemblage consists of 19 different calibers among the 11 different sites. The most overwhelmingly prevalent caliber was the .30-06, with a count of 302. Next was the .30-30 caliber with 101 rounds, then the .45 automatic Colt pistol (ACP) with 82 rounds, and the .30-40 Krag with 36 rounds. These four calibers compose 511 of the 619 total cartridges and live rounds, and are what I consider "standard" calibers. The rest of the assemblage consists of 108 rounds composed of 15 different calibers.

There are four sites that are composed exclusively of standard rounds: (1) Crooked Creek 1, (2) Crooked Creek 2, (3) Crooked Creek South 1, and (4) Crooked Creek South 2. Because of their strategically defensive locations on the ridgeline, I am inclined to classify them initially as defender sites, with the qualification that if the miners had a machine gun, it was probably a .30 caliber that fired .30-06 rounds, making the reliance on the prevalence or lack of these rounds to categorize a site problematic. This is why more lines of evidence beyond just caliber are needed, but the research team is continually attempting to isolate variables and data that will allow the building of these lines of evidence into a cohesive and logical narrative about battle dynamics.

High rates of variability or patterns that deviate from those of the standard sites are currently being analyzed in more detail to understand the reasoning for their deviation. Because of its

unique importance, I am going to evaluate only one section of the Crooked Creek area, which encompasses the northern flank. This area seems to have signs of intense fighting as well as possibly being the location of a breakthrough by the miners. A primary site is the Crooked Creek North 1 (CCN1) site, which is located just north of Crooked Creek gap. This site has a unique assemblage with a total of 140 munition points, 27 of which are spent (incoming) rounds. No other site assemblage contains this high a proportion of spent rounds. In fact there are only 34 spent rounds in total among the whole Crooked Creek area assemblage.

This indicates that CCN1 was the site of a large amount of incoming fire, and most of these were .45 ACP bullets, most likely fired from a Thompson submachine gun, along with some .30-06 rounds. The tommy gun has a maximum effective range of only about 50 m and is noted in historical records as being used exclusively by the defenders. What is interesting is that the majority of cartridges fired from this position are also .45 ACPs and are within a few meters of some of the incoming .45 ACPs. This presents two possibilities: (1) both sides had submachine guns, which is very unlikely for the miners for a number of reasons; or (2) the position was overrun, and the submachine gun was pushed off and down the hill and then fired on the position from another location. The way the site is laid out is that a large rock outcrop faces south, looking down the hill toward sites CC2 and CC3. At the bottom of this outcrop is where many of the .45 ACP rounds were found, mushroomed from hitting the rock. This meant that the submachine gun had to be down the hill a little ways, firing back at the position on the rock outcrop at some point.

In addition to the 27 spent rounds at CCN1, there are 113 fired cartridges. Within these cartridges, the most represented caliber is the .45 ACP with a total of 57 points. The .30-40 Krag and the .25-20 round are the second most represented rounds with a count of 14 each. There are nine .30-30 rounds and only one .30-06 round. In all, there are 11 different calibers at this location, ranging from pistols to rifles to submachine guns. In regard to its composition, this is an assemblage with a high amount of variability. There is a possibility that this site was overrun, and so the unique assemblage, not

seen elsewhere on the battlefield, is a palimpsest of defenders' and the miners' activities. What is certain is that a close and intense firefight occurred at this location, and that more research is needed at the site. Promisingly, this past year another archaeological survey was conducted. As the data from that survey is analyzed, the understanding of the dynamics around CCN1 should improve.

Crooked Creek North 3 (CCN3) is a nearby site that helps shed light on the battle dynamics in this specific area. It is located about 300 m up the hill from CCN1, and is another site that has a unique assemblage. At CCN3 there are a total of 53 points, with one of those being a spent .30-06 round. Out of the remaining 52 cartridges, there are 11 different calibers. The caliber with the highest representation is the .30-30 caliber at 18 points. The other calibers are distributed throughout the assemblage relatively equitably. These include six .250 Savages, which is a rare round; three .25-20s; one .30-06; one .30-40 Krag; three .32 ACPs; eight .32 Smith & Wessons; three .38 specials; two .38-40 Winchester center fires (WCFs); and five .45-70s. There are a high number of sporting or hunting cartridges, and a rather low number of military cartridges such as the .30-06 or .30-40 Krag.

In addition to a wide range of calibers, there were 14 pistol cartridges out of the 52 cartridges found. None of the rounds are those of machine guns, such as the .30-06 or .45 ACP, and so while CCN3 could have been a miners' site, it is not the one discussed in the oral history, which describes the miners taking a knob with a machine gun. But this location quite possibly fits the definition of a miners' site. This site will be compared with three sites in the Blair area, identified as miners' sites with a high degree of confidence, in order to see how the patterns correspond. But the hypothesis at this point is that this is where the miners gained a high point and were able to assault the position at CCN1, pushing the defenders there down the hill toward CC2 and CC3.

Crooked Creek 2 (CC2) and 3 (CC3) are the next pieces in the puzzle in this northern flank. These sites are located south and down the hill from the CCN1 site with the rock outcrop. These sites were perplexing at first because they are located at the head of a hollow that was behind the defensive line. But they are in the

line of sight of CCN1, and so if the defenders were pushed back from miners overrunning CCN1, these sites would be the most logical fallback points. From here they could gain another highpoint that the miners would have to assault to move forward or from which the defenders could mount a counterattack.

The CC2 site has a rather large assemblage, consisting of 141 total points. Of these, 16 are 5-round clips for .30-06 Springfield rifles, and one is a spent (incoming) round. Of the remaining 124 cartridges, there were 2 pistol or machine rounds, 7 pistol rounds, 114 rifle rounds, and 1 shotgun shell. The rifle rounds are actually somewhat ambiguous, because the .30-06, which I have classified as rifle, was also used in the .30-caliber machine gun popular at the time. The presence of the 16, 5-round clips for the .30-06 shows that there were definitely Springfield rifles there, but there also could have been a machine gun, especially due to the high concentration of this caliber.

In the assemblage, .30-06 rounds accounted for 109 of the 114 total cartridges. There were seven .32 caliber cartridges, four .30-30 cartridges, two .45 ACP cartridges, one .280 Ross (which is rare in the whole battlefield assemblage), and a 12-gauge shotgun shell. The .45 ACP could have been shot from the Thompson submachine gun that was at CCN1; firing-pin forensics could help test this hypothesis. It should also be noted that in addition to the .45 ACP incoming rounds at CCN1 there were also incoming .30-06 rounds found at the site coming from the direction of CC2 and CC3.

The larger analysis of this northern flank is that the miners gained the ridgeline somewhere around CCN3 and were able to have the high ground in relation to the defenders at CCN1 (Figure 3). As the assaulters moved forward, the defenders were pushed south and down the hill to CC2. From here the defenders were able to regroup and established another defensive location facing CCN1. As of now, this is just a model based on a small set of evidence and should be seen as an initial view that may change as research continues.

What is certain in the assemblages of these sites is that there was fierce and close combat in this area. Machine guns, high-powered rifles, and even pistols were used. For the miners to coordinate a breach of the defensive lines with a classic military maneuver, a certain degree of coordination and discipline was needed. But

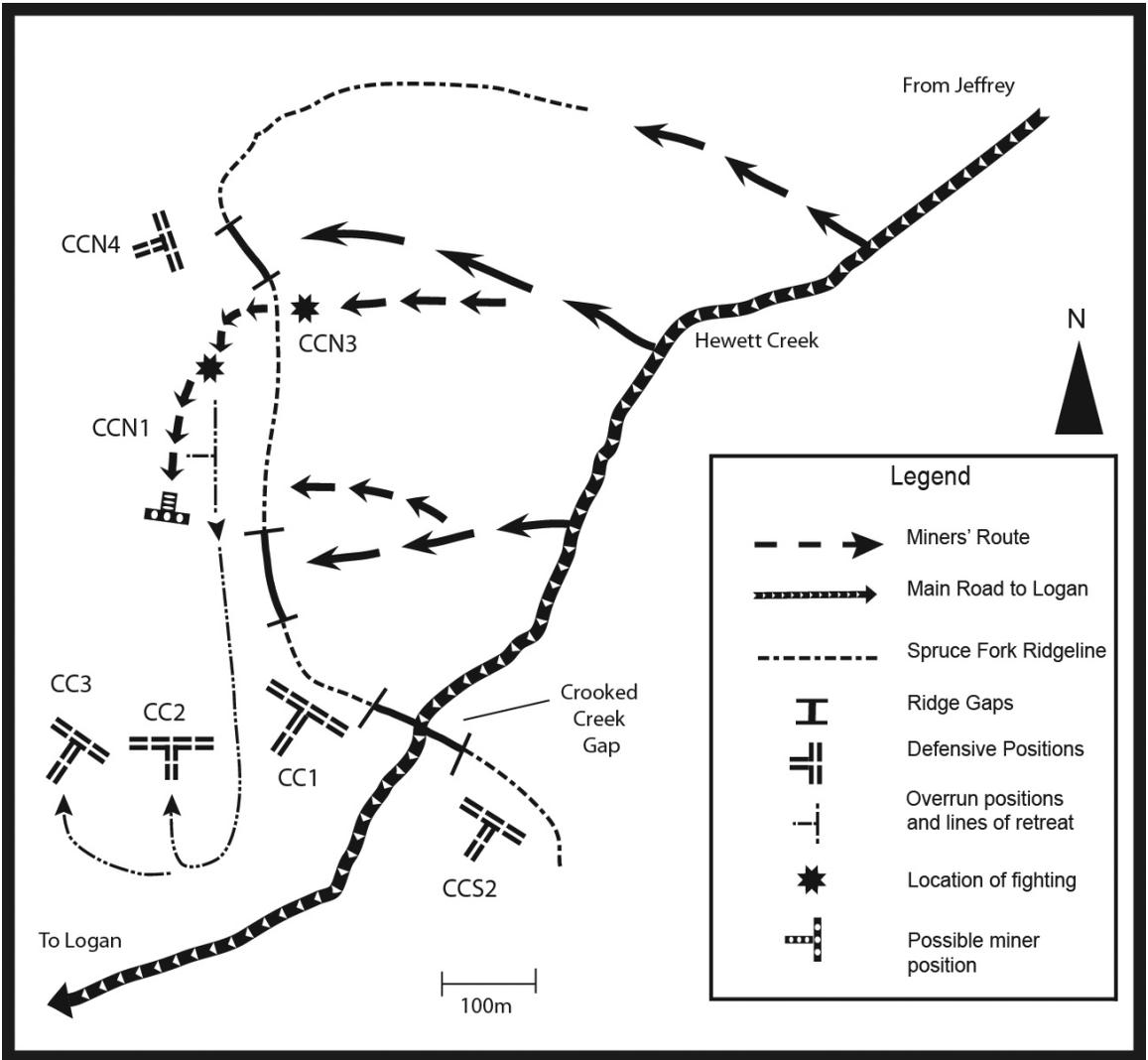


FIGURE 3. The battle dynamics along the northern front at Crooked Creek Gap. It seems the miners assaulted near CCN3, gained the ridge, and attacked CCN1. From here they possibly drove the defenders back to CC2 and CC3 where they reestablished a defensive position. (Map by author, 2012.)

at this point it seems unlikely that the miners pushed the defenders back a mile as some documentary and oral history sources suggest. Being pushed a mile down the ridge would create an almost impossible task for the defenders to retake that steep rugged ground and would give the assaulting miners control over a key point on the ridge. While I do not at this point think the miners had any sort of strategic control over the ridge, it seems they did have the capacity, and with more miners pouring into the conflict zone they possessed the ability to seize strategic positions on the ridge such as the CCN1 site.

There are other sites in both the Crooked Creek area and the Blair area that seem to indicate breakthroughs or intense fighting that we archaeologists are still analyzing. We are seeing overall that the miners were very effective in battle strategy. They had a large group of experienced soldiers straight from the trenches of World War I. With the miners still gathering forces and with the multiple gaps across the ridge, it seems unlikely that the defensive line would have held much longer.

On 31 August, a prominent coal operator in Logan sent a congressman the following

communication: “I wish you could see President Harding personally quick and say to him unless he sends soldiers from Camp Sherman to Logan by midnight that the town of Logan will be attacked. ... Fighting on ridge all day and casualties on both sides reported” (Hodges 1983:138). This narrative raises speculative but important questions for the historical imagination: What would have happened if the U.S. Army had not been called in to stop the fighting and bring labor back under control? What if the miners had overrun the privatized defensive army? This should lead to the larger questions regarding the various forms of local, state, and federal intervention into economic markets that benefit management and capitalists over workers.

### *After the Storm*

With the arrival of the federal troops, the miners peaceably put down their arms and started the return home. There was a lengthy set of trials involving the miners, with the majority tried for treason against the State of West Virginia. No one was convicted of treason, but in separate trials Rev. Wilburn and his sons were found guilty of murdering the three deputies. The 1920s were a difficult time for labor across the nation, and it was especially difficult for the UMWA in West Virginia. Union membership across the country plummeted as a presidential administration unfavorable to labor took office, and economic conditions created a difficult environment for labor organizing. But the ramifications from the battle were still rippling outward.

One reason that this battle is central to American and world history is the very centrality that coal has played in industrial development. This episode of class war occurred at the root of the American system and had ramifications that impacted many other spheres. The West Virginia Mine Wars initiated a still-ongoing struggle between the two giants of American industrialism—the UMWA and the U.S. Steel Corporation—that has significantly structured the course of the 20th century (Bailey 2008:229; Blizzard 2010:42,252). In 1933 when the National Industrial Relations Act provided labor unions the legal right to exist, the cadre of leaders from the battle, including the colorful Bill Blizzard, swept through the West Virginia coalfields and organized them in less than six

months (Finley 1972:77–85; Blizzard and Harris 2010:396). Once organized, the coalfields of central Appalachia were a source of hardened union solidarity for generations.

The injustices that the miners were struggling against in 1921 did not disappear; certainly some of the harshness has been mediated over the years. But the overall system of coal-operator hegemony in the region has continued, albeit in more subtle ways. The region still struggles with severely corrupt politicians, entrenched impoverishment, a mono-economy based on an industry known for its volatile boom-and-bust cycles, severe gender inequality, lack of access to basic social infrastructure, and many other issues. It is important to realize that these problems are not issues that can be explained through a cultural deficiency or a narrative of geographic isolation. They instead must be examined as part of a larger system that at its core relies on intentional actions and choices that result in exploitation, coercion, and the degradation of quality of life for many people.

### **The Hidden Hand and Disciplining of Labor**

Throughout history the ubiquitous phrases “the hidden hand of the market” and the “silent compulsion of the market” have masked a dark reality at the center of the capitalist system. A growing body of multidisciplinary research is building evidence to show that emergence and maintenance of capital is, has been, and continues to be inherently tied to the nation state. In starker words, the hidden hand has been and continues to be the iron fist of the state (Perelman 2000:31; Federici 2004; Blizzard 2010:289). The “silent compulsion” has been the crafting of laws that impoverished millions and made them into wage laborers. It is the compulsion of restrictive labor laws, of rulings that define corporations as flesh-and-blood human beings, or that restrict reproductive rights of women. When all else fails, the hidden hand of the state may be employed in the times where other subtler means do not work.

The heritage of Blair Mountain certainly has many aspects that may not be comfortable for most normative discourse, but it is important heritage nonetheless. With the miners effectively battling the privatized army, federal troops were the only force able to halt the miners’ army.

Although Appalachia has long been marginalized, this episode of class war was central to American hegemony in the 20th century. Furthermore, the contest over preserving the battlefield from mountaintop removal operations is central in many current social struggles. Situated in larger world history, the Battle of Blair Mountain is one example out of many that shows how capitalism and state power are inextricably bound together.

Through much of this essay I talked of issues such as brutality and repression of institutions and systems. Discussing the merger of state and capitalism it is easy to see the institutional boundaries and the systemic blockages to equality. The state can be discussed in terms of an abstract entity, as in the institutional boundary of liberating theory. But the “building blocks” of institutions are, at the end of the day, people fulfilling roles that have social values and duties associated with them. When we archaeologists want to see how to stop injustice, brutality, and exploitation, we should first look to ourselves, the human agents at the center of this system. Archaeology is a potent tool with which to do this.

### **Archaeology and Speculative Thinking on a New World**

If you travel to Blair Mountain today, the only sign marking where the battle occurred is at the foot of the mountain. The marker sits across from an old service station in the town of Blair. Right next to the service station are the foundations of the old railroad depot where thousands of miners arrived at the front during the battle. In the 1920s, Blair was a bustling town with a theater, hotel, a two-story schoolhouse, and rows of company houses. During the early 1990s roughly 700 people lived in the town, but currently there are only about 50 people that remain.

The precipitous drop in population was due to the intentional depopulation of the town by Arch Coal in the late 1990s (Loeb 2007:122–123). This was done in preparation for a mountaintop removal (MTR) operation on the ridge behind the community (Burns 2005:71,94). MTR is an extremely destructive form of surface mining conducted primarily in the central Appalachian coalfields and is linked to severe environmental damage and health impacts (Hendrix et al. 2010; Palmer et al. 2010; Ahern et al. 2011; Ahern

and Hendryx 2012; Hendryx et al. 2012). Communities such as Blair that have MTR operations around them often experience a multitude of degradations in their quality of life. Blasts rattle houses and crack foundations, aquifers are broken and peoples’ wells are lost, the air is filled with highly carcinogenic dust and flying rock overshot from the sites (Burns 2005:71). As with many other communities in the area, public water does not run to the remaining people in Blair, and the well water is highly contaminated by heavy metals associated with mining, such as selenium.

Currently, there are six different MTR mines, in various stages of operation, that threaten the Blair Mountain battlefield and the town of Blair. One of these permits, the Spruce No. 1 Surface Mine, is at the center of an intense political contest between the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) and coal-industry advocates who are attempting to limit the EPA’s regulatory authority (EPA 2011; Ward 2011, 2012; Broder 2012). The campaign to preserve Blair Mountain is itself an important part of both the regional and national environmental movement. In this process, the history and the archaeology have assumed a potent role for a multiplicity of stakeholders: a town that understands that its community is being destroyed, a regional movement attempting to stop MTR, labor activists, and social advocacy groups (Nida and Adkins 2011).

In 1921, the dividing line between nonunion and union territory was the ridgeline along Blair Mountain, known as the Spruce Fork Ridge. Blair was the first town on the union side and was known as a militantly union town. Today a spirit of resistance and intuitive class awareness still can be found in many of the remaining people. During the 1990s, when the anti-MTR movement in central Appalachia was first gaining traction, Blair was one of the first places in which residents publicly spoke out against MTR, something that is very difficult to do in a region where criticism of the coal industry brings harsh social sanctions (Burns 2005:92).

Currently, the town of Blair faces a host of problems that will take a multiplicity of methods and focuses to address. In addition to my work as an archaeologist, I am also involved in a grassroots-organizing project based in Blair. The purposes of the project efforts are to preserve the battlefield against encroaching MTR

permits, help revitalize the local economy in Blair based on heritage tourism, and to facilitate community-directed projects to improve the quality of life in Blair and the surrounding area. We as project members monitor surface-mine permits and challenge them through various means. We have set up a water-testing program to gather water-quality data and advocate for clean drinking water in the area. Our organizers conduct educational outreach for local and regional schools and groups. We research multiple aspects of the history of Blair and Blair Mountain with community members and other interested stakeholders. In the evenings we can sometimes be found playing bluegrass at the old service station in front of the Blair Mountain sign in town.

These efforts entail multidisciplinary efforts by scholars, activists, community organizers, mining families, and others working together to explore, preserve, and educate each other about our common history. Archaeological work serves as a vital and interlocking piece of our multifaceted campaign, specifically because our archaeological research has resulted in concrete impediments to surface mining the battlefield. Archaeology has become a central rallying point around which preservation efforts coalesce, and stakeholders who are normally marginalized from the interpretation of archaeological knowledge are involved. Archaeology is one of many powerful tools that can be used to demystify and unmask the narratives and justifications that allow injustices to continue.

### **Conclusion**

The story of Blair Mountain is an ongoing one that is being reimagined and asserted in the struggles of today. It is a potent history in that it shows brutalities and injustices at the center of the American system as well as the efforts of common people to address those conditions. The miners who fought at Blair Mountain were not a rabble or mob that decided spontaneously to take up arms in violent opposition. Neither can their actions be explained by a culture of poverty and violence. Instead, they were responding to system that has national reach and which subjected them and their families to subhuman working and living conditions. Even with the passage of over 90 years, the system those people struggled against is still present

in many ways. Blair Mountain and the town of Blair are imminently threatened by the same industry whose objective to maximize profit above any other consideration resulted in the largest class war in U.S. history. What is occurring in Blair and countless other towns across central Appalachia cannot be overlooked by the rest of the country and world, as this process is central even today in supplying the majority of energy to the United States, along with massive international exports.

When presented with this immense and interconnected social and economic system, it can seem that the application of historical archaeology to these problems is tilting at windmills. Certainly, isolated and by itself that is the case. But the richness of the material culture, the depth of the historical records, the color of oral histories, and the perceptions of descendants and stakeholders today, combined with the narratives from a multiplicity of other disciplines, can create an extremely insightful analysis of society. This can then be used to formulate multispectrum strategies to address injustices and build just and sustainable social spheres.

The use of historical archaeology in examining the Battle of Blair Mountain reveals a number of things. First, that the miners were more effective and coordinated than usually described. Second, that there is a strong possibility the miners were nearing a breakthrough, and the call for federal troops was in response to an understanding that defensive lines would eventually fail. This then brings up the question of federal intercession in labor conflicts and helps to highlight the concept that the merger of the political and economic spheres is a problematic dynamic that has helped create and maintain many of the injustices within the current system. Moving on from this, archaeological research has played a powerful role in engaging in critical action to preserve the battlefield as well as oppose central injustices within present society.

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## Camp Nelson and Kentucky's Civil War Memory

### ABSTRACT

It has often been said that Kentucky joined the Confederacy after the Civil War. While this statement might seem absurd, it has had powerful ramifications for how the Civil War is interpreted. After the Civil War, Kentucky promoted the “Lost Cause” narrative of the war, which denied the central place of slavery and emancipation, and further denied that African American soldiers and civilians made significant contributions to the Union victory. As a large U.S. Army supply depot and Kentucky’s largest U.S. Army African American military and refugee camp, Camp Nelson is a contradiction to this traditional Kentucky Civil War narrative as it illustrates both the state’s pro-Union stance and the contributions made by its African American population. Through the use of historical documents and archaeology, Camp Nelson Civil War Heritage Park is attempting to create a new Kentucky Civil War narrative, one that includes the experiences and contributions of African American soldiers and refugees.

### Introduction

In a 2011 article entitled “Why Do So Few Blacks Study the Civil War,” African American writer Ta-Nehisi Coates (2011:142) answers this question as follows:

The belief that the Civil War wasn’t for us was the result of the country’s long search for a narrative that could reconcile white people with each other, one that avoided what professional historians now know to be true: that one group of Americans attempted to raise a country wholly premised on property in Negroes, and that the other group of Americans, including many Negroes, stopped them. In the popular mind, that demonstrable truth has been evaded in favor of a more comfortable story of tragedy, failed compromise, and individual gallantry. For that more ennobling narrative, as for so much of American history, *the fact of black people is a problem* [emphasis added].

This “ennobling narrative” evolved out of the “Lost Cause” narrative of the Civil War, which had its origins in the postwar South and promoted “states’ rights” rather than slavery as the main cause of the war, insisted that slavery was a necessary and benevolent institution, and

focused on the valor and loyalty of Southern (and later Northern) soldiers as the primary theme of the war. By the 1890s and early 1900s this narrative had become the dominant interpretation and public memory of the war across the entire country (Horton 1998; Blight 2001, 2002; Shackel 2001, 2003). To ensure reconciliation of the sections, the North accepted much of this narrative and excised the idea of slavery as the central cause, emancipation as a positive result, and African American contributions (particularly military) from the Civil War story. Historian David Blight goes farther to add that, besides sectional reconciliation, “another process was at work—the denigration of black humanity and dignity, and the attempted erasure of emancipation from the national narrative of what the war had been about” (Blight 2002:173–174). This national memory of the war was much more palatable to whites in racist turn-of-the-century America than one emphasizing emancipation and African American contributions (Blight 2001; Shackel 2001, 2003).

The victory of the Lost Cause narrative over its competitors, including Union victory and emancipation, as the dominant public memory of the Civil War is a classic example of reinterpreting, rationalizing, and, in some cases, forgetting the past to meet the needs of the present (Halbwachs 1980; Schwartz 1982; Lowenthal 1985; Kammen 1991; Blight 2001, 2002; Shackel 2001, 2003). As Shackel (2001:656) states: “[P]ublic memory is more a reflection of present political and social relations than a true reconstruction of the past. ... Individuals and groups often struggle over the meaning of memory and the official memory is imposed by the power elite.” The “needs of the present” in the late 19th century, particularly after Reconstruction, included reunion and reconciliation of the North and South, and the continued repression and exploitation of African Americans. The acceptance of the Lost Cause narrative as the dominant memory of the war met these “needs” well.

The creation and acceptance of an official public memory is essential for group cohesion

(Kammen 1991:4; Shackel 2001:657), and the “group” needing cohesion, integration, or reconciliation at this time was Northern and Southern whites; African Americans were seen by most whites as naturally inferior, as the “Other,” and not really part of American society. As Blight (2002:173) states: “Race was so deeply at the root of the war’s causes and consequences, and so powerful a source of division in American social psychology, that it served as the antithesis of a culture of reconciliation.” A racially integrated public memory, such as one focused on emancipation and African American military accomplishments and later citizenship, was not acceptable to most white Americans at this time (Shackel 2003:33).

The Lost Cause narrative and public memory became so powerful and accepted that it still had an overwhelming effect on the historiography of the war that characterized the Civil War Centennial of 1961–1965 (Cook 2007; Frye 2009). Neither slavery nor emancipation are mentioned in the official historical handbook of the centennial (Price 1961) or in President Eisenhower’s Civil War Centennial Proclamation. In the latter, the only cause and result of the war Eisenhower mentioned are “principle” and reunification, respectively. According to this proclamation Eisenhower (in 1957), as quoted in Price (1961) said:

That war was America’s most tragic experience. But like all truly great tragedies, it carries with it an enduring lesson and a profound inspiration. It was a demonstration of heroism and sacrifice by men and women on both sides, who valued principle above life itself and whose devotion to duty is a proud part of our national inheritance. Both sections of our magnificently reunited country sent into their armies men who became soldiers as good as any who fought under any flag.

Again, the themes of tragedy, heroism, and white reconciliation and reunification overshadowed Union victory and the destruction of slavery as the meaning of the war. While the above themes are of great importance, they were and in some cases continue to be promoted at the expense of emancipation and African American civil rights as the main legacy and memory of the Civil War.

The effects of this dominant narrative and memory extend beyond the war’s historiography to the cultural landscapes that memorialize the

war, its battlefields, and associated historical sites (Blight 2001, 2002; Shackel 2001, 2003). The history of Camp Nelson, Kentucky, one of the largest African American army-enlistment camps and emancipation centers in the nation, exemplifies how this narrative successfully reordered the landscape of memory to erase sites of slave emancipation and African American civil rights. Until recently, the connection of Camp Nelson to African American history and emancipation was forgotten or suppressed, and the only reminders of the camp’s existence were the Camp Nelson National Cemetery and a 1970s highway historical marker that memorialized Gen. William Nelson, for whom the camp was named. The historical marker made no mention of African American soldiers or escaped-slave refugees.

### **Kentucky’s Civil War Memory**

In order to understand how Camp Nelson’s significance was “forgotten” or erased until recently, one has to examine Kentucky’s peculiar status both during and immediately after the Civil War. When the war began, Kentucky’s Confederate-leaning governor Beriah Magoffin declared that the state was neutral and would help neither side. Although this “neutrality” held, at most, until September 1861 (a decidedly pro-Union legislature was elected in June 1861), many Kentuckians today still believe that Kentucky was neutral throughout the entire war or even believe that it was a Confederate state. It has also often been stated that Kentucky, which was a Union state but also a slave state, joined the Confederacy after the Civil War (Coulter 1926; Marshall 2010). These populist observations illustrate the extent to which Civil War memory has been mystified over the years. Over time, remaining neutral or being a Confederate state became more comfortable than the narrative that Kentucky assisted Union efforts to invade Southern territory and destroy its “institutions.” By “joining the Confederacy after the war,” commentators mean that Kentucky joined with the former Confederate states in supporting the correctness of these Southern institutions, particularly slavery, and in repressing, often violently, the newly freed African Americans and, finally, in promoting the Lost Cause narrative of the Civil War. Although a Union state, Kentucky’s white leadership was only supportive of preserving the Union, and

therefore rejected the post-1862 emancipation goal of the war, as well as the enlistment of African American men into the military, and felt betrayed by the Lincoln administration for supporting these latter positions (Marshall 2010:27). Kentucky made its position on this clear in 1865 when it failed to ratify the Thirteenth Amendment abolishing slavery. Interestingly, Kentucky finally did ratify this amendment in 1976.

After the war, the destruction of slavery and the extension of civil rights to African Americans through the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments made it difficult for many white Kentuckians, particularly its state political leaders, but also many white former Union soldiers, to celebrate Union victory. Anne Marshall (2010:93) lends support to Coates's assertion that "the fact of black people is a problem" when she states in her recent book, *Creating a Confederate Kentucky*, that "[a]s long as Union victory was so strongly equated with black emancipation and Republican politics, there remained little ... which conservative white Unionists could celebrate. This fact is evidenced by the relative lack of white Unionists monuments ... in Kentucky."

As time passed, more and more Confederate monuments were erected in the state. Even once-hated Confederate leaders, such as the raider General John Hunt Morgan, became venerated and memorialized as heroes (Marshall 2010:84,156). Confederate monuments were even erected in heavily pro-Union cities such as Louisville and Frankfort, as well as in Jessamine County, the home of the U.S. Army's Camp Nelson.

By the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the themes of reconciliation (really white reconciliation) and reunification had swept through the country, including Kentucky. The contributions of African Americans, particularly African American soldiers, to the Union war effort had no place in this reconciliation narrative and therefore had to be excised or suppressed. Even the Grand Army of the Republic, a U.S. Army veteran organization, erased the memory of African American soldiers and their role in the Civil War. As David Blight states: "[P]lanners had allowed no space for surviving black veterans" at the 50th anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg in 1913 (Blight 2001:9). Regarding African American soldiers, pioneering historian Dudley Cornish (1956:xv) stated that "[s]ome scholars have charged that

there has been a conspiracy of silence designed to hide the Negroes military accomplishments." In two state histories of Kentucky during the Civil War, the works of Coulter (1926) and Harrison (1976), which are separated by 50 years, only briefly mentioned African American soldiers and only then in the context of white opposition to their enlistment. Little or no mention is made of their military experiences or contributions, or of the effect of their enlistment on the destruction of the institution of slavery in Kentucky. Detailed book-length discussions of these issues had to await later studies that focused on Kentucky African American history, such as Howard (1983) and Lucas (1992), although some article-length studies appeared earlier (Blassingame 1967; Smith 1974). The effect of this dominant narrative and public memory is still powerful, as many Kentuckians today still believe that Kentucky was either neutral or a Confederate state. The fact that Kentucky contributed over 23,000 United States Colored Troops (USCT), the second largest of any state, and that Camp Nelson, Kentucky, was one of the largest USCT recruitment and training centers in the entire nation, has, until recently, also been forgotten.

### **Camp Nelson and a New Narrative for Kentucky**

Camp Nelson was Kentucky's largest and one of the nation's largest recruitment and training centers for African American troops, and a major refugee camp for those soldiers' wives and children. Camp Nelson offers an opportunity to examine how regional and national social and ideological forces related to slavery, emancipation, and civil rights came into play during this crucial era. A large part of its story describes the African American military experience and the emancipation from slavery. To Kentucky's Lost Cause revisionists, Camp Nelson's story was too dangerous and therefore needed to be erased from the local landscape and from the state and national narrative. Dismantled after the war almost entirely and excised from local and state memory, Camp Nelson's reinsertion into the physical landscape as a nationally significant site and park (known as Camp Nelson Civil War Heritage Park), directly challenges the Lost Cause narrative and forces a new and competing narrative into the local, state, and perhaps national conscience. David Blight (2001) has called this

new narrative the “emancipationist narrative,” since it emphasizes emancipation as a major goal (at least after 1 January 1863) and result of the Civil War.

Historical and archaeological research at Camp Nelson reveals this new narrative by illuminating the escape from slavery; the adaptations, survival, or death of newly liberated people; and the contributions made by individual African Americans toward the success of the Union cause. The landscape of the camp during and following the war reveals the diverse forces operating there, as African American soldiers and their families sought to establish the meaning of their newfound freedom, while whites, including soldiers, officers, missionaries, and doctors, also attempted to understand the meaning and significance of this emancipation. Archaeological sites within the former camp reveal the diversity of responses to these shifting forces as different groups sought to accommodate the changes brought by emancipation.

Camp Nelson was established in June 1863 as an important U.S. Army supply depot, recruitment camp for white soldiers, and hospital (Figure 1). It began its journey toward becoming Kentucky’s largest USCT recruitment and training center in May 1864, when over 400 escaped slaves entered the camp to enlist and be emancipated (Sears 2002:61). Since Kentucky, as a Union state, was unaffected by the Emancipation Proclamation, slavery was still legal, but enlistment into the military offered enslaved men the opportunity to attain freedom. Before this May event army officers and provost marshals in Kentucky, which was the last state to enlist USCT, were usually only enlisting free blacks and slaves with their owners’ permission (Berlin et al. 1982:193; Howard 1983:63; Lucas 1992:153). The appearance of so many potential recruits without permission forced the army to reconsider its policy, which was officially changed in June 1864. Eventually, over 5,700 USCT enlisted and were emancipated at Camp Nelson, and over 10,000 passed through its gates (Figure 2). Eight USCT regiments were founded at Camp Nelson, and five others were trained or stationed there. Also hundreds and later thousands of these U.S. Colored Troops’ wives and children also entered the camp looking for freedom and a new life (Sears 2002; McBride 2010; McBride and McBride 2010).

The beginnings of the need to erase African American military accomplishments can be seen in

the widely held 19th-century perspective (among whites) of military service as a civilized man’s most honorable calling, and thus one that could not be performed by slaves. Slaves becoming soldiers directly challenged both the honored place of military service and the central tenet of slavery as an institution: that African Americans were inferior beings who were incapable of ever being truly civilized. As Confederate general and former U.S. secretary of the treasury Howell Cobb stated:

You cannot make soldiers out of slaves or slaves of soldiers. The day you make soldiers of them is the beginning of the end of the revolution. If slaves will make good soldiers, then our whole theory of slavery is wrong (Keegan 2009:292).

The idea that slaves could become good soldiers—a special, honorable, and manly status—was unimaginable to most Southern whites, including white Kentuckians. The level of feeling on this issue was demonstrated by pro-Union Kentucky senator John J. Crittenden when he asked his constituents, during a speech, how they would feel if black soldiers saved the lives of their sons, a question he himself answered: “I would rather see our young men brought home corpses than see them saved by such unsoldier-like means” (Smith 1974:366).

Even after African American recruitment began, many whites, including Union officers, did not think that these former slaves had the intelligence and fighting ability to become good soldiers and initially employed them exclusively as laborers. However, they fought well when finally given the chance in southwestern and eastern Virginia. As Colonel James Brisbin (1892) of Camp Nelson’s Fifth U.S. Colored Cavalry stated after the October 1864 Battle of Saltville, Virginia: “Of this fight I can only say that the men could not have behaved more bravely. I have seen white troops fight in 27 battles and I never saw any fight better.”

Regarding battles in eastern Virginia, including Petersburg, African American Sergeant Major Thomas Boswell of Camp Nelson’s 116th USCI agreed when he stated: “We are Kentucky boys, and there is no regiment in the field that ever fought better. We can boast of being the heroes of eight hard fought battles” (Redkey 1992:203). The truth that Kentucky’s African Americans did make good soldiers and perhaps future good citizens, and joined in large numbers, had to be erased and forgotten after the war in order to

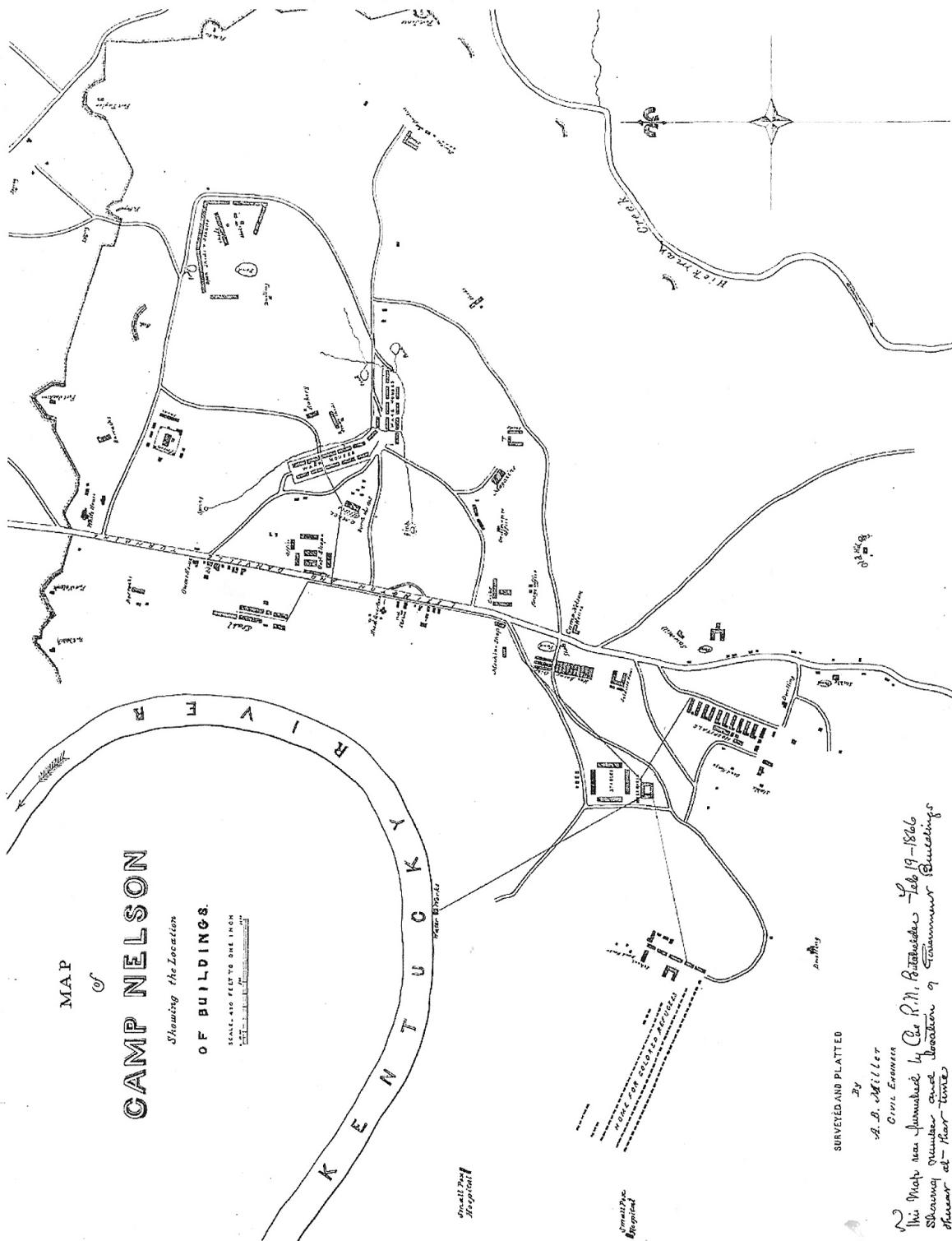


FIGURE 1. U.S. Army map of Camp Nelson by A. B. Miller, 1866. (Courtesy, National Archives Records Administration, Cartographic Section, College Park, Maryland.)

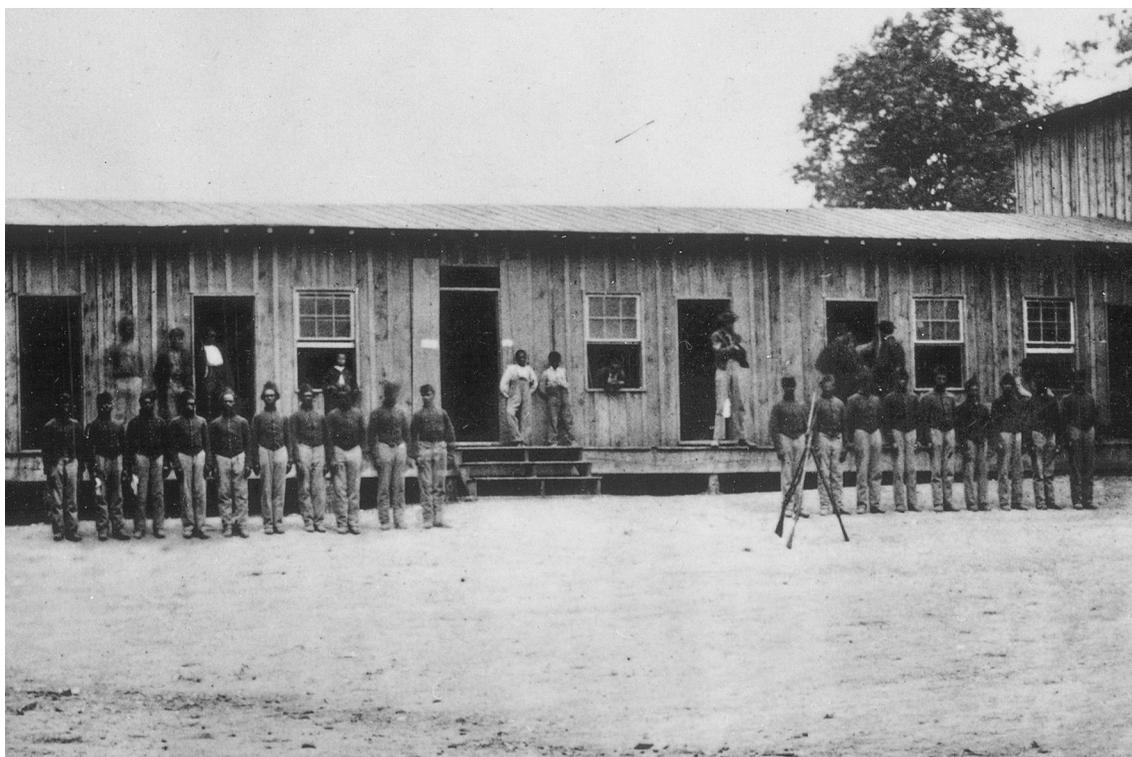


FIGURE 2. USCT training in front of barracks at Camp Nelson (G. W. Foster & Co. 1864). (Courtesy, National Archives Records Administration, Still Pictures Branch, Washington, D.C.)

maintain white supremacy and later promote the Lost Cause ideology.

African American soldiers offered their own commentary on the newly learned life of a soldier. Being a soldier, and as a consequence free, had powerful meaning to Camp Nelson's African American soldiers. For example, while on his journey from slavery to U.S. Army lines, Sergeant Elijah Marrs (1885:18) of Camp Nelson's 12th U.S. Colored Heavy Artillery stated: "I said to [the other men] that we might as well go; ... that if we staid at home we would be murdered; that if we joined the army and were slain in battle, we would at least die fighting for principle and freedom." Commenting on army life Marrs (1885:22) also writes:

I can stand this, and like a man. ... This is better than slavery, though I do march in line at the tap of a drum. I felt freedom in my bones. ... Then all fear banished. I had quit thinking as a child and had commenced to think as a man.

Another soldier, Corporal George Thomas, also of the 12th, noted:

I enlisted in the 12th U.S. Colored Heavy Artillery in the fall of 1864, and my only sorrow is that I did not enlist sooner. ... I see, as it were a nation born in a day—men and women coming forth from slavery's dark dungeons to the noonday sunshine of the greatest of God's gifts—Liberty ... we feel like men, and are determined to be men, and do our duty to our government honestly and faithfully, as good soldiers ought to do (Redkey 1992:189).

Like Howell Cobb, quoted above, Thomas recognized the significance of former slaves becoming and being soldiers when he wrote: "We have a dress parade downtown in the public square, and we are drilled very well, the former slaveholders open their eyes, astonished that their former Kentucky working stock *are capable of being on an equal footing with them at last* [emphasis added]" (Redkey 1992:190).

### Historical Archaeology of Camp Nelson

Recent historical, archaeological, preservation, and interpretation efforts have brought Camp Nelson and its significance back to local, state, and even national attention. Archaeological

discoveries have given previously unavailable perspectives on the lives of these USCT as well as their families at Camp Nelson (McBride et al. 2003; McBride 2010; McBride and McBride 2010). Recovery of this history challenges the Lost Cause narrative and instead reveals a more-complete picture of the Civil War in Kentucky. For instance, historical archaeology at three sites (a USCT encampment, 15Js96; an African American refugee encampment, 15Js164; and the “Home for Colored Refugees,” 15Js163) have provided insights into the beliefs, conditions, adaptations, and efforts to gain independence of these people.

Excavations at one USCT encampment (15Js96) within Camp Nelson, that included both USCT tents and former civilian mess houses later used as USCT barracks, suggests that most material culture and foodways were very much like those of white soldiers—with the same standard equipment and clothing, and the same military diet based primarily on beef and beans as opposed to the standard antebellum Southern protein diet focused on pork (Hilliard 1972; McBride et al. 2003; McBride

and McBride 2006). These discoveries suggest some level of standardization that was meant to equalize at least some material conditions of the soldiers.

Despite these similarities, some differences do appear in the archaeological record that attest to differential conditions or treatment of black and white soldiers. These differences include USCT housing in former civilian structures, as well as in tents (Figure 3), and evidence of cohabitation with their wives and children, even though this was against army regulations. The unique housing arrangement of African American soldiers at Camp Nelson was likely related to three factors: (1) the initial employment of USCT as laborers doing civilian-type work, (2) the shortage of military tents, and (3) the changing function of Camp Nelson that led to a lower demand for supply-related structures, so that these became available for other uses, including military housing. The family living arrangement at the USCT encampment was evidenced by the discovery of porcelain doll fragments, glass beads, a hair barrette, a broach, and women's clothing buttons from both the USCT tent area and near former



FIGURE 3. Chimney at Civilian Mess Houses/USCT Barracks. (Photo by author, 1994.)

civilian mess houses that had become USCT housing. While some of these women's and children's artifacts could have originated with the machine-shop employees who initially utilized the mess houses, this seems unlikely since all the employees were adult males. Also, the vast majority of these women's and children's items (13 artifacts) came from the clearly military tent area, rather than the former civilian mess house area (4 artifacts) (McBride et al. 2003). The archaeological discoveries within this USCT army encampment indicate that once a family made it to Camp Nelson family members sought to stay together for protection and survival, even though it was against military regulations.

When these women (mostly wives) and children first entered camp, the army was completely unprepared to accept and house them. They were not emancipated like the USCT enlistees, and the army did not want them in camp. However, they were initially allowed to stay within Camp Nelson and live in homemade refugee encampments that were separate from other housing. As noted above, archaeology indicates that they also cohabited with their husbands in tents or barracks. Family members did not receive rations and were constantly

threatened with removal from the camp (Sears 2002). Archaeology at one of these refugee encampments (15Js164) produced evidence of the presence of women and children (necklace beads, seed beads, and porcelain dolls), but also of some men (probably husbands and fathers), as is evidenced by military accoutrements, military-weapon parts and ammunition, and straight razors (McBride 2010). Again, the families were trying to stay together as much as possible, even in obvious violation of military policies.

Excavation of this refugee encampment also revealed efforts of family members, in particular women, to secure their spiritual and material lives. The presence of a pierced silver half dime and an X-engraved button indicate that the residents of this encampment retained some African or African American animistic spiritual beliefs that probably helped them cope with these uncertain conditions (Figure 4) (Wilkie 1995; Young 1996; Davidson 2004). One important archaeological discovery about these women revealed aspects of their working lives, as they tried to cope with the lack of official employment or rations. The discovery of a large quantity and variety of buttons and seed beads, but a lack of pins and needles, suggests that these



FIGURE 4. X-inscribed rubber button. (Photo by author, 2006.)

women established themselves as laundresses, rather than seamstresses, as a means of making money or acquiring food and goods. Documents also suggest that the women may have cooked for the soldiers. Both of these occupations allowed the women, who were technically still slaves, to work at home and stay close to their children. Their work provided an important service to the army that may have increased their chances of remaining in camp despite later army policy and orders in opposition to their presence.

Food remains also suggest that the women were at least temporarily successful at establishing themselves as entrepreneurs, adapting to the demands and uncertainties of a life within the circumscribed limits of the camp. Animal bone indicates that they subsisted on a very nonmilitary and more-diverse diet of pork, chicken, and wild game, which they likely acquired through trade or purchase (McBride 2010). This strategy showed the independence, ingenuity, and entrepreneurial skill of the women and certainly contradicts stereotypes of slaves' intelligence and individual initiative.

Unfortunately this adaptation by the women did not work in the long term, for in late November 1864 the army expelled all 400 women and children from Camp Nelson (Sears 2002:134–157). This tragedy led to a national uproar when it was learned that 102 of the refugees died of disease and exposure. A final positive result did come from this tragedy, however, as the refugees were allowed back into camp, and the “Home for Colored Refugees” was constructed for them. Finally, after national attention to the plight of the Camp Nelson refugees, the wives and children of the USCT were emancipated by an act of Congress on 3 March 1865. Following this act, Sergeant Marrs (1885:65) stated:

Thousands of people are coming in [to Camp Nelson] from all directions, seeking their freedom. It was equal to the forum of Rome. All they had to do was get there and they were free.

The rush of newly emancipated women and children into the home forced the military to adapt rather quickly. They initially followed a model of institutionalization with the families (called inmates) living in dormitories

(called wards) and eating in a communal mess house (McBride and McBride 2010). This plan revealed the biases of the home's superintendent, a Massachusetts abolitionist, Captain Theron E. Hall, who insisted that the “inmates” not cook at home and who stated that

most of these people are field hands and know comparatively nothing of cooking and sewing. ... It is not sufficient that these people be taught to read. They must be taught to care for themselves (Hall 1865).

This statement certainly suggests that Hall had a very paternalistic view of the refugees as dependent, childlike people, a view that became part of the Lost Cause narrative, and a view that was contradicted by the independence and success of the pre-expulsion refugee-encampment dwellers. Rev. John G. Fee, missionary and teacher to the refugees, however, saw them as much more skilled and self-sufficient, and emphasized the importance of family when he stated:

Let the government give title and protection and then hands off. The habits of these people must be considered. They have been accustomed to the fireplace and cabin [and] ... basic foodstuffs [should] be distributed to each family to cook themselves (Fee 1865).

Fee fought for and won family-based housing, as 97 cottages were built (Figure 5), but he lost the battle for family-based cooking, as cottage dwellers were required to eat in the mess hall (Sears 2002; McBride and McBride 2010).

Interestingly, as the home grew to over 3,000 people, and the dormitories and cottages were filled, new refugee families were again required to build their own huts and cabins in ravines north of the cottages and perhaps cook for themselves (Andrew 1865; Fee 1891). Remarkably (or perhaps not), a medical inspection of the home showed that the people in the home-made huts, who were more independent, were much healthier than those in the government cottages where the death rate was very high (Sears 2002). Dr. George Andrew explained the better health of the huts' occupants as follows: “In the one case [the cottages] the community system has supplanted that of the family; in the other [the huts] the family arrangement has been preserved” (Andrew 1865).

Archaeology at the home (15Js163) supports this pattern of household cooking and eating



FIGURE 5. Cottages at the Home for Colored Refugees (G. W. Foster & Co. 1864). (Courtesy, University of Kentucky Special Collections, Lexington.)

### Conclusion

at the northern huts and lack of household cooking/eating at the cottages, whose residents were required to eat at the mess hall. Faunal remains and ceramics from the huts suggest that family-level meals were prepared at these sites, with the meat being primarily beef, including much tongue (evidenced by a large number of hyoid bones). Very few ceramics and no faunal material were recovered during excavations at the cottage sites. The focus on beef at the home's northern huts area, which contrasts with the pork-focused pre-expulsion refugee encampment (15Js164) and Upland South slave-quarter sites, probably indicates that meat was acquired from the army, either as rations or through barter. Other interesting discoveries from the northern huts include evidence of writing/education (slate board); hut security (door- and padlock); and less evidence of occupations, such as laundry, or crafts than at the pre-expulsion refugee encampment. This lack of "occupational" material culture at the huts and at the cottages may relate to more organized work, other than cooking, taking place away from the residences, such as sewing above the communal mess house and the cultivation of broom corn in nearby fields (Sears 2002; McBride and McBride 2010).

At Camp Nelson Civil War Heritage Park, African American people, particularly soldiers and those women and children who entered camp, are a critical part of the story. The investigation of a series of archaeological sites occupied by African American soldiers and family members has allowed a greater understanding of the experiences of these people while at Camp Nelson, as well as their broader significance and impact on the institution of slavery and on the course of the Civil War and its aftermath. At the park, documents, oral histories, and archaeology are being used to tell this story of escape from slavery, survival or death, independence, emancipation, and contributions toward Union victory and the destruction of slavery. And we archaeologists at the park are also attempting, along with many others, to ultimately change Kentucky and the nation's Civil War narrative and public memory from one created in support of sectional (white) reconciliation and racism, to one of Union victory and emancipation. A change in public memory is critical, for as Barbara Fields stated in Ken Burns's *The Civil War*: "What we need to remember is that the Civil War is still going on, it's still to be fought and regrettably it can still be lost" (Slotkin 1991:121).

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## From Nuisance to Nostalgia: The Historical Archaeology of Nature Tourism in Southern California, 1890–1940

### ABSTRACT

Between the comparatively brief period of 1890 to 1940, Southern California tourism resorts and tourists visiting the region exhibited conflicting feelings toward the region's wildlife and natural resources. On the one hand, from 1910 to 1930, nature was seen by some Americans as a popular attraction, yet, on the other, some capitalists perceived it as an impediment to the industrialization and imperial expansion efforts underway in the western United States. Drawing upon historical and archaeological data from railway workers employed at one of the most popular tourist attractions in turn-of-the-century Southern California, this article shows the changing meanings and uses of the tourist landscape. At the same time I develop a case for the development of an historical archaeology of tourism.

### Introduction

*It appears then that the universal disposition of Americans to emigrate to the western wilderness, in order to enlarge their dominion over inanimate nature, is the actual result of an expansive power which is inherent in them.*

—Frederick Jackson Turner

Rummaging through long-forgotten tourists' souvenir and photo albums of held at Southern California's Pasadena Museum of History, a striking, unusual photograph caught my eye, an image so uncanny that it demanded explanation and interpretation. Dated 1901, the photograph depicts two young children riding two large, presumably taxidermied, dead fish as if they were horses. The children were holding the reins in their seemingly indifferent and reluctant hands (Figure 1). The image was taken at the regionally renowned tourist destination, California's Santa Catalina Island. The picture was placed in a souvenir photo album that was eventually curated at the Pasadena Museum of History for me to discover over 100 years later.

Some may find it easy to cast aside the image of the fish and the children, or write it off as an eccentricity devoid of significant cultural meaning. But when considered within the context of late-19th- and early-20th-century imperial desires of the United States, the image can take on new meaning and become less exotic and carnivalesque. At this time, some capitalists seeking to develop the West felt that nature stood in the way of the expansion of the frontier and thus depicted nature as vile and elusive, a danger and hindrance to the human species. Such sentiments are visible in promotional literature sent out by Western boosters to encourage Easterners to travel to and settle in Southern California. Touring Western sites, such as visiting Santa Catalina Island, became one way capitalists encouraged Americans to support the destruction of nature in the name of progress and Western expansionism. Mounting these fish, these children were therefore partaking in what was marketed as a transformative touristic experience that allowed tourists to reenact and even take part in the conquering of the Western frontier's wildlife and native peoples (Elder et al. 1998:72).

Ten years after the unusual photograph was taken, a slightly different form of tourism rhetoric begins to emerge at tourist sites. Popular Southern California tourist sites now depict nature as something worth nostalgically gazing upon and preserving; not something to destroy. This phenomenon is evidenced in marketing materials, photographs, and historical maps from Los Angeles's Mount Lowe Resort and Railway, a tourist destination that attracted over three million tourists from 1895 to 1936 and was on the same railway line as Santa Catalina Island. A Mount Lowe Resort and Railway brochure dating to 1913 (Figure 2) shows tourists longingly observing deer that frolic in the forefront of the image and engaging in nature hikes in the forest that embraces the resort. The resort's hotel, Ye Alpine Tavern, is relegated to the background of the scene in the brochure. These nature scenes are much more prominent at the turn of the century than they were a decade



FIGURE 1. Children "riding" fish at Santa Catalina in 1901. (W. W. Nash Photo Album, courtesy, Archives at the Pasadena Museum of History, Pasadena, California.)

or so earlier. Subsequent tourist literature shows similar scenes in which nature dominates.

The noted transformation in rhetoric regarding nature was material and can be witnessed by closely examining the materiality of tourist sites in the West; these materials include tourist landscapes, souvenirs, attractions, and ephemera. This article takes a close look at the archival remnants of Southern California's tourism industry to better understand how material culture facilitated this transformation in tourism rhetoric. It emphasizes the importance of an historical archaeology of tourism while building upon a body of scholarship that explicitly links the practice of tourism with the growth of capitalism, American nationalism, and Western expansionism (Smith 1977; Kasson 1978; Graburn 1983; Rydell 1984; Kihlstedt 1986; Zukin 1991; Rojek and Urry 1997; Rothman 1998; Chambers 2000; Shaffer 2001; Bruner 2005).

Particularly crucial to this article's thesis is Shaffer's (2001) work that links tourists' touring

of the West in the late 19th and early 20th centuries to the expression of patriotism and affirmation of one's American citizenship. Shaffer argues that Americans living on the East Coast headed West on the transcontinental railway to tour in order to enact physically the widely held belief that Anglo-Americans had been granted the western United States by the grace of God (Shaffer 2001:20). This article contributes to interdisciplinary tourism scholarship by noting the role objects and landscapes can play in changing tourist attitudes regarding nature and American nationality.

### The Historical Archaeology of Tourism

By its very nature, tourism involves a remarkable amount of material culture used to appeal to and entice tourists. This material record can involve but is not limited to brochures, newspaper advertisements, conceptual drawings and maps, promotional literature, tourist souvenirs, books and guides about resorts, work orders,



FIGURE 2. A 1913 Mount Lowe Resort and Railway brochure, with deer in the foreground. The Incline Railway and Lowe Observatory are missing from the image. (Courtesy, Archives at the Pasadena Museum of History, Pasadena, California.)

memos, correspondence, letters, postcards, photographs, and other ephemera. Tourist attractions that experienced high volumes of visitors tended to accumulate an impressive number of buildings and features; buildings were often constructed and renovated very frequently (and in some cases every month), and other desirable features to the landscape (gardens, playgrounds, pools,

tennis courts, etc.) were added as well. Such extensive alterations to the landscape also generally involved installing necessary utilities and infrastructure (Camp 2009; Graff 2011b).

While not entirely proposing an interpretive framework for such sites, Casella (2004) was one of the first historical archaeologists to examine the social import of tourism sites. In

her study of San Francisco's Sutro Gardens and Baths, a late-19th- and early-20th-century tourist attraction, she argues that the attraction's layout, landscaping, and decorum can be read as a "geographic performance of social identity" (Casella 2004:171). Turn-of-the-century thought espoused leisure as a remedy to illnesses of both the mind and body, as well as a civilizing mechanism that imparted middle-class values and sensibilities to the lower classes. Constructed within this historical context, the landscape of Sutro Gardens and Baths featured ornate, expansive gardens, curio and museum collections, bathing facilities, and classical statues, sculptures, and artwork that were designed to uplift San Francisco's urban working-class visitors. According to Casella (2004), the materiality and landscape of leisure in this particular geographical and historical context thus functioned to evoke class aspirations and the work ethic needed to attain the affluence on display at Sutro Gardens and Baths.

Graff's (2011a, 2011b) study of American tourism at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, Illinois, similarly frames tourism as a capitalist venture designed to encourage productivity and attentiveness amongst fairgoers. Graff finds that the "short-term" event of the World's Columbian Exposition, which involved the installation of buildings, a "sewage and water system, electrical supply," and a "transportation network," led to a "long-term modification of the landscape" (Graff 2011b:199). Like Sutro Gardens and Baths, the 1893 Chicago World's Fair aimed to teach fairgoers behavior befitting American citizens, such as proper household cleaning, child rearing, and hygiene.

Although the 20th-century Western world increasingly defined its identity through leisure and consumption, the study of tourism has largely been ignored by archaeologists (Corbin and Russell 2010:ix; O'Donovan and Carroll 2011:192). Corbin and Russell's (2010) edited volume is an impressive survey of aboveground, belowground, and underwater cultural resources associated with Yellowstone's formation as the first national park in the world. As Hunt (2010:6) admits, the theme of tourism was initially selected because nearly all of the park's resources are connected to the development of the tourism industry in the western United States. As Hunt (2010:63–66) discovered, the study of tourism reveals issues of class, ethnicity, and economics.

Corbin et al. (2010), for example, found that Yellowstone hotel operators purchased glassware that appealed to Anglo-American tourists who "anticipated east coast luxury in the wild" (Corbin et al. 2010:199). Corbin et al. (2010) suggested a wealth of potential research questions and outlined the documentary and archaeological resources that should be collected before researching historical tourism sites.

More recently, O'Donovan and Carroll (2011) provided a variety of case studies that show how historical archaeology can contribute to the study of tourism. For instance, Pope et al. (2011) showed the impact of heritage tourism at archaeological sites. Lovata (2011) describes the creation of fake archaeological sites for the purpose of generating tourism. Others document race, class, ethnicity, and gender issues evident in leisure attractions and travel (Baram 2011; Camp 2011b; Graff 2011a; O'Donovan 2011; Wurst 2011). Though disparate, these publications document the emergence of tourism as a "consumer practice within capitalism" (O'Donovan and Carroll 2011:191) and as a recent phenomenon that has grown exponentially in more-recent times, making tourism all the more timely to investigate. Together, these formative works provide ample justification for an historical archaeology of tourism. Many of the potential research topics align well with the discipline's interest in inequality, colonialism, and the growth of capitalism in the modern world (Leone 1995; Orser 2004, 2007).

### **Theorizing Nature Tourism in the Western United States**

Despite its apparent resonance with thousands of Anglo-American travelers during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, as noted by early historians of the West (McWilliams 1946; Pomeroy 1957), touring "nature" has yet to be the subject of intense scholarly analysis. Even Kropp, who has interrogated representations of race and gender at California's missions, fairs, and scenic routes during the same time period has remarked, "If asked, most tourists would have said they had come to Southern California for the climate rather than the history—to see exotic plants, not people" (Kropp 2006:49). In the same vein, McClung has commented that the "selling of the region to newcomers (both settlers and tourists)" relied upon

a “preponderance of natural over manufactured attractions” (McClung 2000:109).

Previous scholarship has deconstructed the racialized, nationalist narratives embedded in California and the West’s historical tourist sites; they address the display of Native Americans and Mexican Americans at tourist sites (Dilworth 2001; Shaffer 2001; Kropp 2006) and the commodification and reinscription of California’s Spanish colonial and Mexican periods at Southern California parades, fairs, plays, expositions, celebrations, and tourist sites (McWilliams 1946; Pomeroy 1957; Davis 1990; Deverell 1997, 2004; McClung 2000; Wrobel 2002; Kropp 2006). An explicit study of Anglo-Americans’ exuberant fascination with nature in Southern California and how and why it was used as a marketing tool at tourist sites, however, is missing from academic literature. One exception to the rule is Davis’s *Ecology of Fear: Los Angeles and the Imagination of Disaster* (1998). According to Davis, “class or ethnic conflict” in Los Angeles has been and is currently “refracted through the symbolic role of wildlife. ... Los Angeles’ wild edge, in other words, is the place where natural history and social history can sometimes be read as inverted images of each other” (Davis 1998:208). Nature hence becomes a mirror through which society’s cultural values can be gleaned.

Additional research, though geographically distant from Southern California, provides useful comparisons and shows how cultural beliefs undergird nature tourism. For example, Jasen (1995) documents how representations of nature at tourist sites legitimized government-ordered colonial expansion in Canada. Select native peoples were presented at tourist sites, theme parks, and world’s fairs as relics of the past and bearers of all that is “wild,” while at the same time they were systematically removed by the government from their homelands in the name of so-called “wilderness preservation” initiatives. Desmond’s (1999) study of Hawaiian culture and island wildlife similarly provides a model for understanding how nature tourism can be employed to support racist discourses. She examines the side-by-side display of both human (hula dancers) and animal (orcas and other marine life) bodies in Hawaiian tourism, arguing that this brand of “primitive” tourism—a form of tourism that claims to give tourists

unprecedented access to cultures/ecosystems supposedly untouched by the Western world—see Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1994) for an example of this type of tourism in East Africa—is dangerous because it “replaces talk of race with talk of culture but retains the earlier notions of particular races giving rise to particular cultures” (Desmond 1999:xxiii).

The origins, desires, and motivations behind tourism enterprises have likewise been probed on a number of interdisciplinary fronts too expansive to cover in this article (MacCannell 1976; Smith 1977; Graburn 1983; Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 1998; Löfgren 1999; Chambers 2000). Urry’s (1990) approach to tourism is particularly relevant to historical archaeologists as he commands that scholars examine the sociohistorical factors involved in constructing different types and forms of tourism, what he terms “gazes.” He urges scholars to anchor and interpret tourism practices within their proper temporal and geographical contexts, and to acknowledge that tourism practices vary across time and cultures, arguing: “There is no single tourist gaze. ... It varies by society, by social group and by historical period” (Urry 1990:1). Urry’s insistence on historicizing tourist practices informs the following interpretation of changes taking place within Southern California’s tourism industry and tourist landscapes from the 1870s to the late 1930s.

### **Taming the Frontier and Its Peoples: Nature Tourism from 1870 to 1910**

Many Americans perceived the late-19th-century Western frontier as a uniquely “American” landscape. It stood as an emblem of the nation, a point frontier-historian Frederick Jackson Turner alluded to in 1893, explaining: “The true point of view in the history of this nation is not the Atlantic coast, it is the Great West” (Turner 1893). The West was thus construed as the epicenter of a new, distinctly Anglo-American culture imbued with an infinite amount of possibilities. Rothman (1998) elaborates on this ideology: “When Americans paid homage to their national and nationalistic roots, they did not look to Independence Hall; they went West, like their forefathers, to find self and to create society, to build anew from the detritus of the old” (Rothman 1998:15). California was “the ultimate frontier,” both “geographically and psychologically” (Starr 1973:46). This social

imagination of the West failed to include the diverse groups of people who previously and concurrently inhabited it. This iconic, “mythic West” was envisioned as one absent of class, race, and gender conflict, where all settlers had a chance to make names for themselves (McGuire and Reckner 2002:44–45). Travel in this era therefore served to “validate” Anglo-Americans’ “beliefs in America’s (white) future” (Aron 1999:132).

To aid the nation's imperialist objectives, some tourist attractions rewrote and downplayed the racial diversity of Southern California's landscapes. In traveling to the West, an expensive luxury affordable to few, tourists were enacting an identity that equated whiteness with nationality and American citizenship. As Horsman (1981) summarizes, Anglo-Americans saw themselves “as a separate, innately superior people who were destined to bring good government, commercial prosperity, and Christianity to the American continents and to the world. This was a superior race, and inferior races were doomed to subordinate status or extinction” (Horsman 1981:1–2). Americans feared that which pioneers and adventurers had spent decades trying to conquer: the frontier and its native groups. Pioneers envisioned the West as “a moral vacuum, a cursed and chaotic wasteland” that was in need of ordering and taming (Nash 1967:24). As Nash elaborates: “[I]n the morality play of westward expansion, wilderness was the villain, and the pioneer, as hero, relished its destruction” (Nash 1967:24). This vision of the West dramatically departed from the romanticized, picturesque images of American landscapes made popular by the Hudson River School of painting in the mid-1800s and famous literary figures such as Washington Irving and James Fenimore Cooper, all of whom recognized that appealing to American tourists was financially advantageous (Gassan 2008). As Gassan details, Cooper and Irving “wrote some of their most famous works specifically for the tourist market,” while many of the painters who “would go on to found the country’s first significant art movement, the Hudson River School,” also “created works that appealed to the gentry, the key tourist class” (Gassan 2008:3).

Because of these changing attitudes towards nature, Southern California boosters knew that certain aspects of the city’s wildlife would not be popular among tourists, especially species that had been eliminated to allow colonists occupy the

frontier safely. Some tourism promoters actively hunted down animals that posed a threat to visitors in the San Gabriels, a mountain range surrounding Mount Lowe Resort and Railway, and to pave the way for tourism in Los Angeles. In the 1860s and 1870s, “one group of local cowboys killed half a dozen bears in a single two-week trip to Prairie Fork in the San Gabriels” (Davis 1998:218). Grizzly bears, whose image adorns the California State flag, were pursued and trapped in Angeles National Forest and the San Bernardino National Forest. This hunting was so extensive that in the summer of 1922 “the final member of the distinctive California subspecies was killed in the southern Sierra” (Davis 1998:218). Other species were plundered from the San Gabriels, including deer, lizards, and tarantulas (which were sold to tourists as souvenirs) (Davis 1998:220–221). Commercial fishermen, eager to feed the influx of tourists frequenting Los Angeles's restaurants and resorts, dynamited trout by the ton in the San Gabriel Canyon’s rivers (Davis 1998:220–221). This rampant exploitation of game also displaced the few remaining native Californians still living in the San Gabriel Mountains, depriving them of the resources and nutrients their ancestors had relied upon for thousands of years.

Some Southern California tourist sites encouraged visitors to partake in and reenact animal removal campaigns, as well as reenact the “taming” of the frontier by extracting precious resources from it. As historian Vernon (1952:116) describes: “[T]he San Gabriels were regarded as a local frontier” in which such fantasies could be acted out. Santa Catalina Island, while touting its “dozens of beautiful canyons abounding with wild goats, doves, and quail” (*Pasadena Daily Evening Star* 1895d), advertised sport fishing (*Pasadena Daily Evening Star* 1895b) and “wild goat shooting” (*Pasadena Daily Evening Star* 1895c) for tourists. These activities allowed tourists to role play and enact the mythical heroism of the frontier’s earliest settlers in a safe, leisurely setting.

A few miles away from Santa Catalina Island, Mount Lowe Resort and Railway’s owners captured and caged animals that might compromise their visitors’ well being. Mount Lowe’s famed “Menagerie of Native Animals” (James 1894), which included a bear, civet cats, raccoons, and other “animals typically found in the San Gabriel Mountains” (Seims 1992:7), reassured tourists

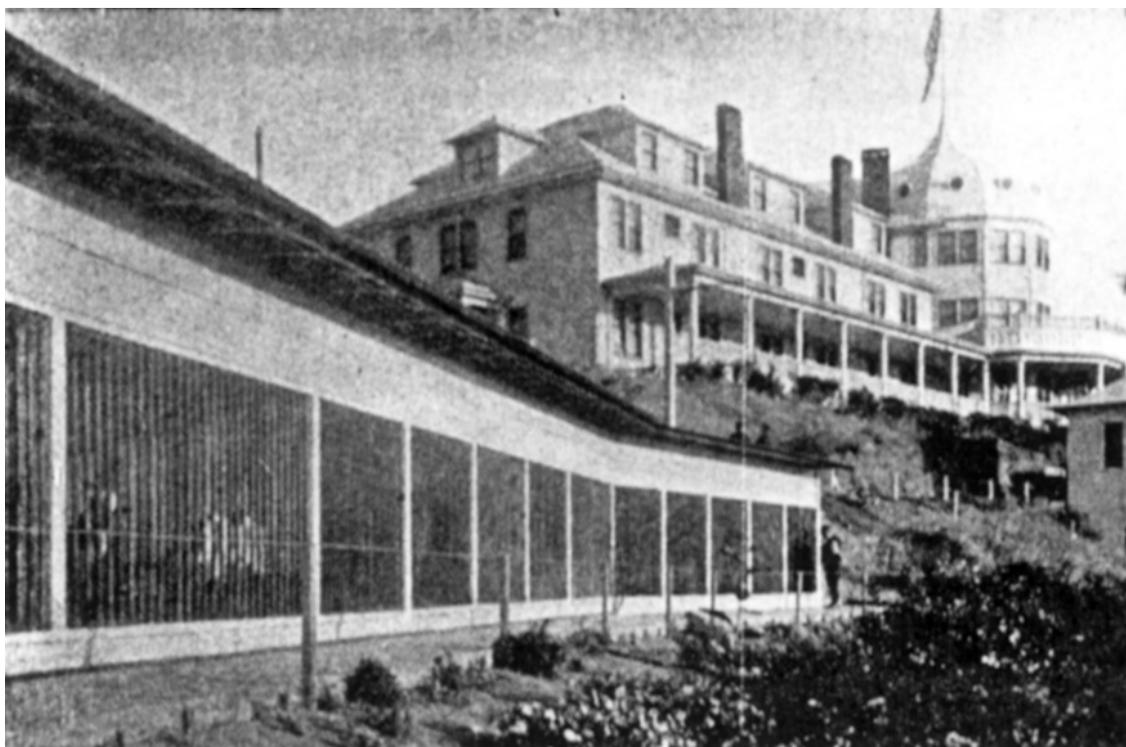


FIGURE 3. Mount Lowe's menagerie of animals (James 1904:99). (Photo courtesy, Brian Marcroft.)

that the forest was no longer “wild” but instead captive to human desires and scientific interests (Figure 3). The human capacity to harness and manipulate nature for entertainment and consumption, themes that would be denounced in later forms of nature tourism, remained the resort's key selling point through the early 20th century. Two additional attractions at Mount Lowe Resort and Railway promoted this ideology: the resort's bear pit and a fox farm built next to one of the resort's four hotels, the latter of which was owned independently of the resort but still catered solely to the resort's clientele.

At Mount Lowe, visitors could peruse 200 foxes (*Los Angeles Times* 1891; *Pasadena Daily Evening Star* 1895a; Owen 1961). Once they made their selection, the fox would be skinned and turned into a fur coat or boa, popular fashion statements of wealthy women. Inside the nearby bear pit, Mount Lowe's employees, including public-relations manager George Wharton James, play wrestled a bear captured by the resort's owners, a display that reenacted humanity's victory over and ownership of the Western frontier. Enclosing the bear in a pit, an animal that “had long been

associated with fear, the woods, and aristocratic hunting privileges” acted as a visual symbol of human command over nature (Rothfels 2002:22).

### Praising Technology

While Southern California's wilderness was actively being destroyed, the technologies that took its place or eradicated it were simultaneously praised. For many Americans, technology symbolized progress and America's succession as a nation superior to other superpowers. Mirroring this ideology, Mount Lowe Resort and Railway, the premier “mountain resort” of Los Angeles, was first made famous not by its location in the forest but by its technological demonstrations that conquered nature (Camp 2009). To get to one of the resort's four hotels in the San Gabriel Mountains, tourists boarded Mount Lowe's “Incline Railway” at the base of Echo Mountain in Altadena, California, or at one of the many nodes along the Pacific Electric Railway's interurban line (Figure 4). The Incline Railway's steep 59% grade set a world record, and its supporting cable, which was “one and one-half inches thick,” weighed “more



FIGURE 4. Map of Pacific Electric Railway Corporation stops in Southern California, with notations showing the location of Mount Lowe Resort and Railway and the pier to Santa Catalina Island, 1910. (Courtesy, Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.)

than six tons” and was powered by electricity (Huntington Library [1873–1962]). This railway line could be boarded at nearly all of the Pacific Electric Railway’s stops in Los Angeles.

Up until the early 20th century, the Incline Railway and its seeming mastery over the laws of physics and gravity were a focal point in the resort’s marketing materials, postcards, weekly newsletters (Figure 5) (Pacific Electric Railway 1903a, 1903b, 1910a, 1910b; Owen 1961), and on maps and landscapes associated the resort. Brochures, postcards, advertisements, and other literature never failed to mention the resort’s

elevation, “3500 feet above sea level,” a height made attainable by the world-renowned Incline Railway. Brochures praised the Incline Railway as one of the most powerful displays of man’s triumph over the natural world; as a 1903 brochure exclaimed: “This [Incline Railway] great product of science and genius, seems at first an impossible fact, but as we ascend and seemingly leave the earth a broader and better view of the valley, the cities, and the achievements of science and the glorious scenes [are] about us” (Pacific Electric Railway 1903b). Some tourists readily adopted this language, describing the railway in the same terms on the backs of postcards. For instance, on a 1909 postcard illustrating Mount Lowe’s Circular Bridge, “Mother” writes: “I am up here in the clouds. We came up this afternoon going back at 4:30. It is 3,000 ft high ... I wasn’t scared” (Patris 1909).

Of similar prominence was Mount Lowe’s World’s Fair Searchlight purchased by the resort’s first owner, Thaddeus Lowe, after he saw it on exhibit at the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago (*Pasadena Star News* 1935; Seims 1976:80). Made famous for its “3,000,000 candle power” that made its “beam of light ... so powerful that a newspaper” could be read from 35 mi. away (James 1904:47), the World’s Fair Searchlight was used by tourists and resort workers to spy on the community below Mount Lowe as well as on the activities of Santa Catalina Island’s guests (*Pasadena Star News* 1935).

As if having the “greatest mountain railway enterprise in existence” (James 1904:29) and the “largest searchlight in the world” were not enough (James 1894), Mount Lowe Resort and Railway was also home to the “Lowe Observatory” and noted astronomers Dr. Lewis Swift (James 1894) and Dr. Edgar Larkin (James 1904:35). Costing over \$50,000, the Lowe Observatory was used by tourists and scientists alike to see stars and nebulae invisible at other observatories that did not have Lowe’s unique “16-inch refractor” lens and access to a clear, calm sky and temperate climate (James 1904:35). In helping visitors gaze upon the urbanizing valley below the resort rather than the mountains’ “natural” scenery, the World’s Fair Searchlight, the Lowe Observatory, and the Incline Railway advanced the idea it was only by humanity’s hand that the world could



FIGURE 5. Photograph of the top of Mount Lowe’s Incline Railway. Note the signage that states the elevations of Ye Alpine Tavern and Mount Lowe. (Anonymous photograph album, 1905; courtesy, Archives at the Pasadena Museum of History, Pasadena, California.)

be known and properly interpreted. The directing and framing of vision through the use of new ocular technologies (film, telescopes, photography, stereoscopes, searchlights, etc.) in the 19th century required Anglo-American users to “effectively cancel out or exclude from consciousness much of” their “immediate environment” (Crary 1999:1). To Americans, ownership of these technologies was proof that they were at the “apex of an evolutionary framework,” since “only the most advanced societies had electrified machines and lighting” (Nye 1990:35–36).

Santa Catalina Island also promoted its technological feats, such as the “glass bottom boats” that were used to view the island’s underwater resources (Pacific Electric Railway 1909). These attractions included a small mountain railway and sailboats, but the glass-bottom vessels “proved to be among the most popular attractions on the island and perhaps the best-known beyond Southern California” (Culver 2004:112). Taken together, these surveillance and industrial technologies aimed to order what earlier Anglo-American settlers perceived as disorderly, “natural” spaces. Tourist landscapes were hence choreographed to tell a story of national progress and ascendancy through the lenses of ocular and scientific devices.

### **Conservation and Improvisation: Nature Tourism from 1910 to 1940**

By the late 1910s, some Americans were losing interest in older forms of nature tourism. Experiencing nature via a horse, mule, or railway was replaced with a new development in transportation: the automobile, a faster method of getting around in Southern California. The automobile changed the way in which Americans encountered nature (Bottles 1987; Louter 2006). Now, they could drive to sights that once took hours or even days to reach by foot, rail, or horse.

The nature conservation movement, which started roughly around the 1910s, makes sense when linked to larger national projects already at work. The codification and inventorying of Western landscapes intensified after 1900. Places that were once mountain resorts, such as Mount Lowe Resort and Railway, were suddenly reevaluated and deemed national “resources.” This came at a time when the West was rapidly losing that

which had been so dear to the Anglo-American imagination and the philosophy of Manifest Destiny: the Western frontier’s abundance of open space and “unsettled” land. The Western frontier remained a powerful and resonating icon of the nation’s ability to endure and overcome adversity (in this case, the wilderness and its Native American inhabitants) in the early 20th century, as evidenced by the innumerable ways it materialized in American media—films, novels, travelogues, and comic books.

In Southern California, a nostalgia for wide-open spaces absent of human presence began when a large portion of the San Gabriel mountain range was declared a “Reserve” in July of 1892 (W. Robinson 1946:24), a time when technology was overtaking “natural” landscapes. As a close reading of documents discussing the “Reserve” demonstrates, the motivations behind this action were not so much about preserving nature for nature’s sake or to prevent the extinction of wildlife, but instead concerned saving the urbanizing valley below the San Gabriel Mountains from nature. Cordoning off the San Gabriel Mountains would rescue “the valleys below ... from drought in the irrigation season” and prevent “disastrous floods” in the winter months, argued Los Angeles residents in 1891 (W. Robinson 1946:24). The reserve underwent a number of name changes, from the “San Gabriel Timberland Reserve” to “San Gabriel National Forest” in 1907, and finally to “Angeles National Forest” on 1 July 1908 (W. Robinson 1946:25).

What was previously designated a “Reserve” to protect outlying communities from fires and floods became a “national” resource and cultural treasure. In this role, Angeles National Forest set the standard for how other wilderness areas were to be handled in the United States. The history of Angeles National Forest was part of a broader national movement to regulate Western landscapes and antiquities by transferring them to the government’s hands. California’s first national parks—Sequoia, Yosemite, and General Grant—were inaugurated in 1890, the same year Congress declared that the frontier was closed. The logistics of operating and maintaining national parks were not hammered out in any definitive manner until government bodies stepped in and formed the National Park Service in 1916. Each park presented its own challenges and issues, but in general the guidelines

were the same: keep unwanted peoples out and protect the nature within. At Yellowstone National Park, for instance, the United States Army tired of chasing poachers and the park's former Native American inhabitants off the now government-owned property. From 1900 to 1903, the army dispatched "surveyors from the Corps of Engineers, who mapped the park's borders and erected stone boundary markers every half mile along Yellowstone's perimeter" (Jacoby 2001:107). After 1900, Yosemite's Native American residents were also seen as nuisances. Their presence, park officials argued, undermined and comprised the image of Yosemite as a nature preserve (Spence 1999). These issues came to a head as the government created more and more reserves. In 1902, "there were fifty-four forest reserves in all," and by 1911, this number "more than tripled, reaching 190 million acres" (Jacoby 2001:166).

Mount Lowe immediately diminished in appeal during this phase of nature tourism. As a symbol of humanity's ability to tame the frontier and manipulate nature, Mount Lowe Resort and Railway lost most of its business. It is apparent from the site's archival and archaeological remains that Mount Lowe Resort and Railway scrambled to come up with new marketing strategies to sustain tourist interest. Once a modern marvel, Mount Lowe's Incline Railway started to disappear from the covers of the resort's brochures and weekly newspaper. Now, humanity's involvement with technology was either ignored or downplayed. In a 1913 brochure, tourists curiously observe frolicking native deer, animals that had once been hunted down and served for dinner at the resort (Figure 1). A brochure entitled, "Mt. Lowe Trail Trips—Mountain Trail Trips," details dozens of hiking trails where tourists could see "magnificent views of rugged" landscapes and witness the untouched "grandeur" of nature. The phrase: "To the Portals of Hiker's-Land via Pacific Electric Railway," plastered on a 5 March 1922 edition of the *Mount Lowe Daily News* alongside an image of a woman hiking near Mount Lowe similarly minimized the railway's importance. Now, the railway was merely a vehicle used to access nature, not conquer it. Horse and burro rides, which had been a favorite among tourists, were now seen as inhumane and were discontinued on 1 March 1935. Trash that visitors and employees had once casually thrown off the sides of the railway cars appears to have

been systematically collected (Pacific Electric Railway 1926b). Some tourists, familiar with the environmentalist movement sweeping the nation, were quick to point out rubbish that had somehow missed the regular pick up. Trash appears to have been burned offsite in incinerators on a neighboring mountain where the resort's railroad workers lived, rather than in locations visible to tourists—an additional attempt to shield tourists from the reality and result of human interactions with natural landscapes (Camp 2009:170, 2013).

Exact details of the railway's grade and resort's elevation were generally replaced by minute details of the many concessions visitors would find at the resort. As one brochure from 1919 stated: "These cottages have private piazzas, electric lights, comfortable beds, dressers, rocking chairs, air-tight heaters, blue flame oil stoves, dishes, cooking utensils, silverware, etc." (Pacific Electric Railway 1919a). Advertisements in local newspapers now used the moniker "Mount Lowe Resort: Ye Alpine Tavern and Cottages," highlighting everything ("Hiking—Dancing—Tennis—Riding") but the resort's mechanical feats (the World's Fair Searchlight, Lowe Observatory, and Incline Railway). Work-order requests placed during Mount Lowe's later years reveal a copious amount of completed and uncompleted proposals and construction blueprints. Such extensive documentation potentially illustrates the resort owners' desire to keep up with changing tourist expectations that were shaped by nature-conservation discourses.

By the late 1910s, Mount Lowe Resort and Railway was no longer considered a "nature" resort but rather an extension of urban Los Angeles. In this new era of tourist sensibilities, visitors expected to find the luxury and comfort they experienced in the city. This shift demanded material alterations visible in the archives and archaeological record of Mount Lowe. To keep up with tourists' latest expectations, trails around "Ye Alpine Tavern," the only hotel remaining at the resort by 1905, were oiled for guests wishing to avoid dirt and dust (Pacific Electric Railway 1926b). A billiard room and dance hall was built in August 1916 (Pacific Electric Railway 1916), and tennis courts were constructed in September 1917 (Pacific Electric Railway 1917). A shelter and picnic area were placed at Inspiration Point in March 1925 (Pacific Electric Railway 1925a), and the children's playground at Ye Alpine Tavern was

extended in July 1925 (Pacific Electric Railway 1925b) and completely remodeled in May 1926 (Pacific Electric Railway 1926a). A phonograph was purchased in October 1926 (Pacific Electric Railway 1926c), and a miniature golf course was installed in December 1930 (Pacific Electric Railway 1930). New tablewares were also purchased as part of this makeover; green and pink annular or banded wares that featured flowers and colors found in nature were now replaced with sleek yellow and red ironstone wares that bore the mark of the resort's owners, the Pacific Electric Railway Corporation. Employees celebrated this transformation and were seen taking the older ceramics and "sailing the hotel's dinner plates" into a canyon below the resort (Seims 1999:12).

In what appears to be a last-ditch attempt to attract visitors and recoup years of operating in the red, the owners sought to modernize the resort. Brochures and work orders from this time period document the addition of long-distance telephones, electric lighting, an Edison Diamond Disc talking machine and piano player, ventilation systems, hot-and-cold running water, and a grocery store (Pacific Electric Railway 1919b, 1919c). All the modern conveniences of the city, brochures declared, could be found at the resort. These technological additions, however, proved to be an awkward juxtaposition against the forest that engulfed the resort. Tourists expected wildlife to remain (or at least be presented as) "wild," and the resort sat as an uncomfortable reminder of a time long gone when tourist sites represented humankind's mastery over nature.

Environmentalist campaigns also put Santa Catalina Island in a precarious situation. Gone were the "energetic outdoor adventures such as sport fishing" and in their place activities that emphasized "pastoral Southern California and its natural resources" (Culver 2004:143). A 1922 Santa Catalina Island full-page advertisement, for instance, only mentions one familiar aspect of the island's amenities: its "Glass-Bottom Boats" that allowed tourists to see "strange under-sea life in all the charm of its natural state" (Pacific Electric Railway 1922). Later, an "Aviary" featuring 7.5 ac. of "hundreds of rare birds" became a fixture in Santa Catalina Island advertisements (Pacific Electric Railway 1934). Yet by the late 1930s and early 1940s,

the forms of tourism that once drew millions of tourists to both Santa Catalina Island and Mount Lowe Resort and Railway were no longer fashionable or desirable.

The resort and its Incline Railway were no longer images of national prowess and, as such, were abandoned by the late 1930s. A fire in 1936 devastated most of Mount Lowe Resort and Railway's Ye Alpine Tavern hotel and guest cabins, while Santa Catalina Island lost the majority of its tourism with the 1956 opening of another, even newer form of tourism: Disneyland. Presenting an array of simulated, hyperreal "natural" settings—such as "Frontierland" or "Adventureland"—Disneyland promoted yet another strain of idealized colonial landscapes that claims to be "authentic," depoliticized replications of the expansion of the Western frontier (Findlay 1992; Avila 2006).

### **Connecting Past to Present: An Historical Archaeology of Tourism**

The case study of changing tourist rhetoric and its connection to the fluctuating needs of capitalist ventures and urbanization efforts in the West must include an examination of the legacy of the tourism industry. During this time period, tourism was heralded as a way of enacting American citizenship (Shaffer 2001); Americans who toured saw themselves as fulfilling a civic duty by investing in the United States economy through touring and visiting sites unique to America. The examination of colonialism implicit in historical tourist experiences can be productive in that it forces people to examine how their own leisure practices implicate them in a web of labor inequality involved in contemporary forms of tourism (Camp 2011a, 2011b). It is crucial to consider the evolution of American tourist desires, as they are rooted in and continue to be connected with capitalism. Western tourists are not only often complacent in or ignorant of labor issues at the sites they visit but also frequently seek out encounters that are the direct result of colonialism or the imposition of Western capitalism, such as touring third-world slums (Rolfes 2010; Frenzel and Koens 2012). This type of "dark tourism" reifies and magnifies imagined differences between wealthy tourists and the poor or downtrodden people being voyeuristically observed and photographed.

Rosaldo (1989:107–108), as well as scholars interested in the social history of emotions (Lewis

and Stearns 1998), provide a theoretical framework for understanding the innocence, ignorance, and nostalgia expressed by modern and historical tourists. Rosaldo, in particular, argues that these emotions function to negate and minimize the terror, violence, and fear involved in the process and aftermath of colonization. Seeking to conceptualize why Westerners exterminate nature and then, in an ironic turn of events, seek to preserve it, Rosaldo coined the term "imperialist nostalgia." Imperialist nostalgia emerges when "people destroy their environment and then worship nature" (Rosaldo 1989:107). Though the individuals who are culpable appear to express "innocent yearning" for nature, this innocence involves "brutal domination" over and destruction of nature and native groups (Rosaldo 1989:107).

Nostalgia therefore masquerades as a guise to detract from the violence. In turn-of-the-century Southern California, for instance, a longing for the wildlife and nature destroyed in the process of the urbanization and settling of the frontier was expressed with no reference to the processes that led to its destruction. Rosaldo's theory helps explain both historical and modern tourist actions, attractions, and motivations, as well as clarifies why so many first-world tourists engage in travel despite the inequality and environmental degradation it spawns. Whether temporally brief moments such as world's fairs or tourist attractions that stood the test of time like Niagara Falls, tourist sites created a lexicon of experiences and words that forged a shared sense of national identity and heritage rooted in inequality, exploitation of others, and capitalism. As the "largest industry on earth" (Adler and Adler 2004:4), it is critical that we historical archaeologists link past tourist experiences to the present. In the process, we can hope to expose how tourism's colonial heritage continues to influence and mask the inequality embedded in modern-day forms of tourism.

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## Beyond the Battle: New Narratives at Monocacy National Battlefield

### ABSTRACT

Long recognized as the site of an important Civil War battle, considerable energy has been invested in educating the public about Monocacy National Battlefield. In the past decade, archaeologists have pursued multiple research projects at Monocacy in order to expand interpretation of the site and provide broader context for the battle. Most recently, excavations were undertaken to explore the slave village associated with an 18th- and 19th-century plantation, L'Hermitage. Though the data have not yet been fully incorporated into Monocacy's interpretive materials, they form the basis of an alternative to the traditional battlefield narrative.

### Introduction

Visitors to Monocacy National Battlefield (MNB) in Frederick, Maryland (Figure 1), are often surprised to learn that the landscape contains a history beyond the 1864 Civil War battle that inspired the creation of the park. They are even more surprised to learn that a plantation with a large enslaved population existed on the park's lands in the late 18th and early 19th centuries; the perception is that slavery was not practiced so far north, less than an hour from the Pennsylvania border. Over the past decade, the National Park Service (NPS) has conducted archaeological and historical research to expand the interpretation of the park and investigate multiple histories. Archaeological excavations carried out in 2010–2012 revealed new details about the history of slavery at MNB and, more specifically, about the attempts of slaveholders to exert control over their enslaved workers.

MNB comprises 1,647 ac. of land, including farm, forest, and river areas. Components of the park include the Baker, Best, Lewis, Thomas, and Worthington farms, and the Gambrill Mill and House, as well as five monuments on the battlefield that commemorate the Battle of Monocacy and recognize the soldiers who

fought there. The Battle of Monocacy took place on 9 July 1864. Union troops had been defeated at Lynchburg, Virginia, which left the Shenandoah Valley and Washington, D.C., vulnerable to the Confederates (Reed and Wallace 2004:49). Union and Confederate forces fought for the capital along the Monocacy River, covering ground on many of the surrounding farms. Although the Confederates won the Battle of Monocacy (the only Confederate victory on Northern soil), their advance on Washington, D.C., was delayed by Union troops long enough for Union reinforcements to come to the defense of the capital. Thus this event became known as the “Battle that Saved Washington, D.C.” (Reed and Wallace 2004:54).

Soon after the Civil War ended, the commemorative process began. Growing patriotism, nationalism, and a devotion to reconciliation and memorialization of the post-Civil War nation supported the movement to add more markers and monuments, and preserve the battlefield (Linenthal 1993). In the 1870s and 1880s, commemorative groups arose and began organizing the creation of monuments honoring those who had fought in the Battle of Monocacy. Monuments were erected at the site by New Jersey, Pennsylvania, United Daughters of the Confederacy, Vermont, and Maryland in 1907, 1908, 1914, 1915, and 1964, respectively. Glen Worthington, a local farm owner, was one of the first to call for the creation of a national battlefield. His campaign in the 1920s coincided with a government-sponsored systematic study of all battlefields, including Monocacy (MNB et al. 2009). Based on the findings of this study, legislation was introduced in Congress to commemorate the battle.

In 1934, Congress authorized the establishment of Monocacy National Military Park but did not appropriate any funds for land acquisition (United States 1934; Reed and Wallace 2004:58). It was not until the centennial of the Civil War approached that people became interested again in the battlefield and wanted to organize for more federal support. Part of the motivation for this movement was the

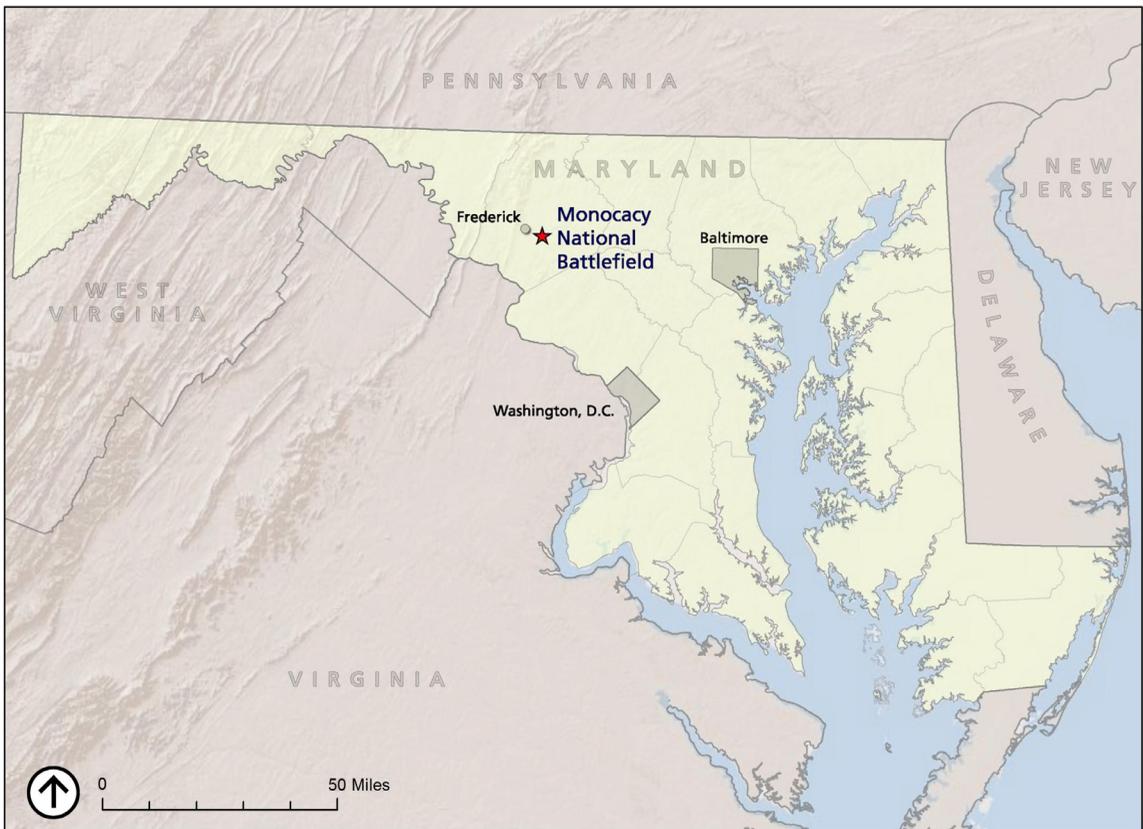


FIGURE 1. Map of Maryland indicating the location of Frederick and Monocacy National Battlefield. (Map by Tom Gwaltney, Monocacy National Battlefield, Frederick, Maryland, 2010.)

rapid urbanization that occurred in Frederick, especially following the 1950–1952 construction of Interstate 270, which cut through the battlefield (MNB 2012a). Local community members realized that such development could have a negative impact on Monocacy National Military Park and subsequently organized a grassroots movement to authorize the NPS to establish boundaries and begin land acquisition.

In the 1970s, MNB was placed on the National Register of Historic Places and designated a National Historic Landmark; funds were also appropriated for the purchase of land (United States 1976). Between 1976 and 2001, the NPS acquired six properties with most of the funds coming from the federal government (particularly the Clinton administration), though the Civil War Preservation Trust contributed \$36,000 for the purchase of the Araby Farm. In 1991, the battlefield was opened to the public, though there was little interpretive material. Visitation has rapidly increased since then, due

in part to the construction of a new visitors' center in 2007.

Monocacy's interpretive materials—including brochures, web content, exhibits, and waysides—stress the importance of this battle and highlight battle monuments and sites of combat. Visitors are encouraged to take a self-guided driving tour around the grounds or solicit the expertise of interpretive staff to learn more about the battle. On the anniversary of the battle, visitors are invited to watch demonstrations of weapons and soldier life. In addition, NPS employees deliver educational lectures to Civil War interest groups, avocational archaeologists, and other interested parties. The visitors' center, located on a hill overlooking the battlefield, contains exhibits devoted to the Battle of Monocacy and, to a slightly lesser extent, the Civil War in general. The contents of the exhibit are largely devoted to the soldiers' experiences. Artifacts in glass cases include weaponry, military pins, saddles, canteens, artillery, and uniforms. Around the

perimeter of the room is a timeline detailing the political events leading up to the Civil War, and the first panels detail the spread of Civil War battles to the Shenandoah Valley. Most of the exhibit panels are devoted to taking the visitor through each event of the daylong battle and its aftereffects.

While the strategic military actions of the battle are clearly the center of attention in this exhibit, other themes are overtly or subtly on display. In very large letters, the words “Honor,” “Remembrance,” and “Dedication” headline three panels around the exhibit. These words succinctly capture the purpose of creating a national battlefield: to honor those who fought in the Battle of Monocacy, to remember those who died in battle, and to dedicate monuments to the efforts of everyone involved.

This interpretation of Civil War history is not unique to Monocacy. Many of the national battlefield parks resulted from a common commemoration movement, thus this battle-focused approach is endemic across the country. During the postwar reconciliation movement of the 1890s, preservationists focused on militaristic honor and glory rather than the racial and social advancements made during the Civil War and Reconstruction (Boge and Boge 1993:21; Smith 2008:xvii). These preservationists portrayed battlefields as sites of military, rather than social or racial, conflict (Blight 2001; Grant 2005; Smith 2008:xvii). The cultural conflicts of the 19th century were a dividing force, so military parks functioned to “limit controversy over the war and forget what had separated the country in the 1860s” (Smith 2004:129) by avoiding the issue of race and slavery, preferring to focus on what everyone could agree on: the valor, courage, and heroism of the Civil War soldiers (Mayo 1988; Smith 2008:xv).

John Latschar (2003:3), former superintendent of Gettysburg National Military Park, observed that, traditionally, programs “emphasized (safe) reconciliationist topics. We discussed [the] battle and tactics, the decisions of generals, the moving of regiments and batteries, the engagement of opposing units, and tales of heroism and valor.” Thus, as Gatewood and Cameron (2004:208) argued, a battle like Gettysburg “came to be recast not as a place of fratricidal struggle or conflict over the racist imperative of slavery, but as a battle over heartfelt principles

by two determined sides.” Promoting patriotism, nationalism, and memorialization of American military history became more important than delving into the messier, more sensitive topics of American cultural history (Pettegrew 1996; O’Leary 1999; Sellars 2005; Smith 2008:xvi). That is, historical interpreters prefer to focus on the aspects that are pleasing and uncomplicated rather than those that challenge beliefs about the past and encourage consideration of the legacy of the Civil War in the present (Blight 2000).

As Patterson (1989) points out, battlefields serve a particular purpose on the American landscape. They provide a place to “combine patriotism and pleasure, to enjoy a vacation that would also provide a reassuring sense of social order, a strong feeling of comradeship, and a renewed pride in past accomplishment” (Patterson 1989:136). Battlefields have come to be seen as holy places and “sacred patriotic space, where memories of the transformative power of war and the sacrificial heroism of the warrior are preserved.” (Linenthal 1993:3). The dead are regarded as brave, heroic martyrs who lost their lives on the “altar of the nation” (Neff 2005:2) in the course of a battle over “heartfelt principles” (Gatewood and Cameron 2004:207). In contrast to these depictions of sacred battlefields, Bodnar (1992) regards these landscapes as purely utilitarian sites for professionals to promote national unity, middle-class values, and an official history. Those in positions of power embrace depictions of a timeless past; portrayals of the past as unchanging, abstract, and sacred are important in maintaining the status quo (Bodnar 1992). It is clear that regardless of the interpretation, battlefields serve an important ideological purpose for our public memory.

As a reflection of these national values, battlefield parks tended to focus on battle events and the experiences of soldiers in combat. Promotion of these stories sometimes comes at the expense of a community’s local and regional heritage (Martin et al. 1997:157). This issue was addressed at a 1998 conference, “Holding the High Ground,” for which managers of NPS battlefield sites gathered to discuss “principles and strategies for managing and interpreting Civil War battlefield landscapes” (NPS 1998:2). The NPS acknowledged that its traditional approach to the interpretation of battlefield sites has stressed “the military tactics and strategy [the

veterans] so loved. Like the returning veterans, we focus our interpretation on the experience of soldiers; we view the resource primarily through military eyes” (NPS 1998:2). The participants in “Holding the High Ground” note that the NPS portrays a skewed view of the past at battlefield sites, one that is biased racially and socioeconomically, and only tells the story of “the literate, the enfranchised, or the landed—those whose thoughts and actions are generally recorded in the historical record” (NPS 1998:2). Though this type of interpretation was “easiest and most convenient” (NPS 1998:9), it ignored significant aspects of American history.

This is problematic because, as the MNB website points out: “The landscape has many other stories to tell ... a rich and diverse history that spans over 10,000 years” (MNB 2012b). In the case of Monocacy, people have inhabited the present-day battlefield park since the Paleo-Indian period. This landscape hosted indigenous peoples 10,000 years ago (MNB 2012c), a plantation with a large enslaved workforce in the 18th and 19th centuries (MNB 2012d), and tenant farmers in the 19th and 20th centuries (Temkin 2000:26; Reed and Wallace 2004:108). Each of these periods are important components of a comprehensive depiction of Monocacy National Battlefield’s history and require a place in the interpretive narrative. Furthermore, placing the focus on battles and the sacrifices of soldiers ensures a male-centric view of the wartime history of Monocacy, largely excluding women from the construction of the narrative.

Understanding the need for broader context and more-diverse narratives, Monocacy’s staff has been working to develop new stories about the park’s history. For example, research on slavery in Maryland was incorporated into the visitors’ center exhibit in order to provide context for the development of the Civil War. These panels focus on the legal and political ramifications of slavery and abolition movements, particularly in Maryland, which was a border state and as such subject to greater political maneuverings. A discussion of slavery also has a presence on the website, which has been enhanced in recent years (MNB 2012e).

Still, Monocacy’s staff recognizes the need to give more attention to slavery and the African American presence on the landscape, not only as it pertains to the battlefield but also to the

region. These topics are especially salient given that Frederick served as a point of sale for the local slave trade (Grivno 2007:93), that Monocacy is a member of the National Underground Railroad Network to Freedom (MNB et al. 2009:32), that enslaved individuals accounted for one-third of Maryland’s population in 1790 (Fields 1985:1), and that Maryland had the largest free black population in the United States in the mid-1800s (Reed and Wallace 2004:27). These changes would have the benefit of including more stories in the broader context of Civil War history and representing aspects of history that are often marginalized.

Under its relatively liberal enabling legislation, Monocacy’s managers may preserve and interpret anything at the park that existed at the time of the Civil War. This opens up a broad range of possibilities for expanding the interpretation of the battlefield’s history. While historical documents are a valuable asset in this process, archaeology is one of the best ways to recover information when such evidence is lacking. Monocacy has relied on archaeology to confirm, correct, or produce new information about the battlefield’s past. For example, in the past decade, 11 prehistoric sites have been identified and recorded on Monocacy National Battlefield property.

The most recent archaeological work at MNB took place at the Best Farm, which occupies 274 ac. of park land. The Best Farm forms the southern portion of the L’Hermitage estate, which existed on park property between 1793 and 1827. L’Hermitage was a 748 ac. plantation owned and operated by the Vincendières, a family of French origin who arrived in Maryland around 1794 from Saint Domingue (present-day Haiti) following slave rebellions that threatened the operation of their sugar plantation. By 1800, the household included 6 men, 8 women, and 90 enslaved individuals, at least 12 of whom had been brought from Saint Domingue by the Vincendières. Theirs was one of the largest slaveholdings in Frederick County, and even in Maryland, and was unusually large for the relatively small size of their property and the type of low-intensity agriculture they practiced: growing clover and possibly grain (Rivers Cofield 2006:277). It is possible that the Vincendières originally intended to grow a more labor-intensive crop such as tobacco,

or undertake a secondary enterprise of renting enslaved workers to nearby mills, farms, furnaces, or glass factories (Beasley 2005:2.11). Rivers Cofield (2006:277) also suggests that the Vincendières maintained a large quantity of enslaved laborers because this had been a symbol of status and wealth in Saint Domingue.

Today, visitors to the Best Farm have some sense of the historical landscape, as there are a few extant buildings—the main house, a secondary house, and a barn—that date to the L'Hermitage period. However, where the associated slave quarters once stood is now a grassy hill surrounded by cornfields. The location of the slave village might have gone undetected if not for the discovery of a journal entry written by Polish visitor Julian Niemcewicz (1965:111), who passed by L'Hermitage in 1798 and observed “a row of wooden houses” located between the secondary dwelling and the main road. There is limited recorded information about the enslaved workers who occupied L'Hermitage, though historical accounts document instances of the brutal mistreatment they suffered at the hands of the Vincendières. Niemcewicz's eyewitness account noted that the Vincendières used instruments of torture on their enslaved laborers (Niemcewicz 1965:111–112), although evidence of these practices has not been identified archaeologically. In addition, nine state court cases were brought against daughter Victoire Vincendière and her uncle, Jean Payen Boisneuf, who were charged with excessive cruelty (Frederick County Court Docket 1797). These charges include insufficiently clothing and feeding, as well as “cruelly and unmercifully beating and whipping,” their enslaved workers. In addition to suffering physical violence, some enslaved laborers from L'Hermitage were forcibly separated from their families and sold to slave traders in Baltimore and Louisiana. Also documented are instances of resistance: one enslaved worker, Pierre Louis, successfully petitioned for freedom (Catterall 1968:55–56), and at least three others escaped from slavery (*Maryland Gazette* 1795; *Federal Gazette* 1810, 1811).

Between 2001 and 2003, archaeological testing of the 18th- and 19th-century occupations of Best Farm uncovered features that confirmed the location of the slave quarters. In the course of this study, NPS archaeologists discovered concentrated domestic deposits, a long trench (later

interpreted as an enclosure), several anomalies, and domestic and architectural artifacts dating from the late 18th and 19th centuries that were interpreted as belonging to the slave quarters associated with L'Hermitage (Beasley 2005). The 2003 and 2004 surveys allowed the NPS to roughly define the boundaries of the area to be tested archaeologically, an area whose location matched the description given in Niemecewicz's account. In the summers of 2010 and 2011, cultural resource manager Joy Beasley directed a team of undergraduate and graduate students in an archaeological investigation exploring the slave quarters in greater detail. The purpose of this excavation was to determine the precise location and dimensions of the slave dwellings and expose evidence of associated activity (Birmingham et al. 2012).

In 2010, the team excavated nearly 200 shovel test pits (STPs) at 20 ft. intervals in this vicinity, although some areas were targeted with more concentrated testing. While many were sterile, some STPs held a great deal of potential, such as one from which was recovered over 180 pieces of animal bone. Others indicated the presence of structural remains, as evidenced by large pieces of stone and mortar. The investigation of these areas was rewarded by the discovery of six stone-and-mortar chimney bases, five of which were partially excavated. Each of these represents a separate house in the slave village (Figure 2). One in particular, designated as Structure B, was more fully exposed to reveal some of the interior, which was characterized by large amounts of charcoal and heated clay. In addition, the team discovered stone piers and postholes forming the corners of the structure, which was likely constructed of log or wood framing. Considering these findings, the team determined the stone hearths would have been located on the southern elevation of each of the structures, which would have measured approximately 20 × 34 ft. The distance between each hearth is evenly spaced at 66 ft, and the structures are arranged in a linear fashion oriented north–west and are aligned, almost exactly, with the main houses on the property. This displays a degree of planning and symmetry that was unexpected (Bailey 2012:89).

Although the stone hearths and piers proved to be the most substantial features uncovered, the team also exposed a trash midden and recovered hundreds of artifacts. The assemblage

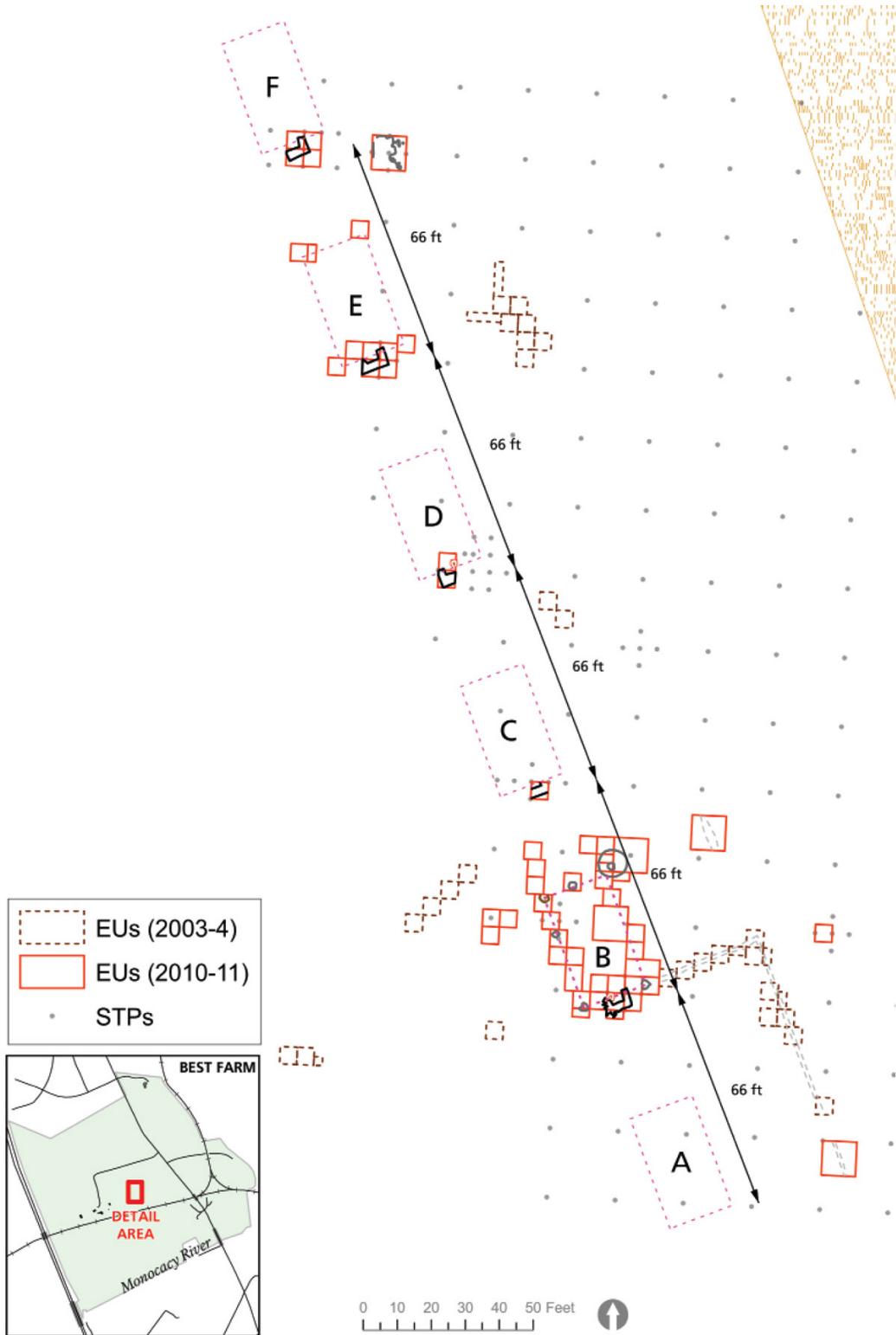


FIGURE 2. Projected location of slave dwellings (A–F) based on placement and spacing of hearths. (Map by Tom Gwaltney, Monocacy National Battlefield, Frederick, Maryland, 2010.)

included architectural materials such as brick, mortar, stone, and nails; ceramic objects such as pipe stems and bowls, English-made tablewares, and locally produced utilitarian redwares; and personal items such as coins, metal buttons, and a glass bead. Based on the tools and animal bones recovered from the site, it seems the enslaved workers were tending livestock and consuming beef and pork, usually the inferior cuts (Birmingham et al. 2012:80).

In 2011, the team further explored the Structure B area and the enclosure feature, exposing several features, including a potential outdoor-activity or kitchen area. In addition, a lime kiln associated with the plantation was partially excavated. These features, as well as the 16,500 artifacts recovered from the two field seasons, are being analyzed, and the final report is being written (Birmingham et al. 2012).

The Best Farm Archaeological Project provided the raw data to commemorate a different history and develop an alternative to Monocacy's current narrative about the battlefield's past. It is too soon to say precisely how these data will be incorporated into Monocacy's interpretive materials, though it will require a cautious approach to avoid perpetuating harmful and marginalizing narratives.

Manassas National Battlefield Park (MNBP), 60 mi. southwest of Monocacy, offers an example of the potential and limitations of archaeology. Traditionally, MNBP only interpreted material relating to the Civil War, due to restrictive enabling legislation that gave the park very narrow guidelines for interpretation and preservation, only allowing for exclusive focus on the First and Second Battles of Manassas (Martin et al. 1997:158). More recently, Manassas staff participated in projects that would incorporate more diverse material and approaches. In particular, the emphasis has been on domestic and African American lifeways (Martin-Seibert 2001; Heard 2005). Particular attention has been given to the Stuart's Hill Tract, a 542.7 ac. section of the park that was investigated archaeologically from 1990 until 1992 (Galke 1992). Archaeologists excavated in five discrete locations and were able to contribute promising evidence of domestic 18th-, 19th-, and 20th-century life, with a particular emphasis on structures and artifacts associated with African American contexts. To date, at least six 19th-century Manassas domestic

sites have been identified and associated with African American use (Galke 1992; Martin et al. 1997).

While interpretive features at Manassas are beginning to change, the subject of slavery or African American communities is still sparsely dealt with (Martin-Seibert 2001:71; Reeves 2003; Shackel 2003). Although Manassas has well-documented evidence of plantation slavery, tenant farming, and occupation by European Americans and enslaved and free African Americans, the park has not fully incorporated this information into its interpretive materials. Clearly, archaeology is an important means of revealing that which goes unacknowledged or suppressed, but the significance of the data must be conveyed to audiences through a critical lens that disrupts dominant, harmful, and erasing narratives.

### Creating a New Narrative

Ultimately, the National Park Service is charged with determining how to interpret historic battlefields in a neutral and objective fashion that will appeal to a broad audience with diverse interests. This is a challenging task, especially because visitors bring their own memories and associations to battlefields. Not all of these individual interpretations are incorporated into the commemorative narrative though; some are privileged, while others are ignored. Commemoration is a selective process that memorializes certain aspects of lived experiences, particularly those elements that a community finds value in retaining and will make the past congenial rather than comprehensible (Lowenthal 1996:148). Consequently, when it comes to a painful history, interpreters might find it easier to avoid negative elements or aim for a simplistic approach that caters to the dominant groups and perpetuates hegemonic ideologies.

What is needed for monuments, exhibits, and other commemorative displays is a critical interpretation of the past, one that would attack the status quo (Benson et al. 1986). To be uncritical is dangerous, as it allows the unchecked perpetuation of traditional (and often harmful) ideologies. Of particular use to the reconceptualization of L'Hermitage is Sandercock's (1998) notion of an "insurgent historiography" that counters "official" history, which is usually uncritical, conservative, and fails to recognize structural inequality. Sandercock suggests that insurgency demystifies that

which is controlled by a privileged elite and makes the invisible visible. This is especially relevant to MNB because its management by the NPS means that its interpretation must be government sanctioned, which in turn results in an interpretation that fits comfortably with the official narrative of traditional American history. To create an insurgent narrative, one does not just “add [marginalized group] and stir.” As Sandercock (1998:53) points out: “There is a difference between rewriting history by adding the forgotten or repressed contributions of (for example) women and retheorizing history by using gender or race as categories of analysis.”

Another key piece of being critical is recentering the discussion and using this new perspective to look for gaps and silences in the narrative, questioning why certain events, ideas, people, sites, and memories have been excluded. Trouillot (1995) suggests that silences are equally important to that which is written, taught, presented, or otherwise articulated. As Bunch (2007:2) points out: one can “tell a great deal about a country or a people by what they deem important enough to remember; what they build monuments to celebrate.” On the other hand, that which a country chooses to forget—“disappointments, moments of evil, and great missteps” (Bunch 2007:2)—is even more telling. These silences are intrinsically political, with those in positions of authority molding peoples’ “understanding of the past, causing them to forget those events that do not accord with a righteous image, while keeping alive those memories that do” (Sandercock 1998:1). The process of addressing and articulating these silences can be a difficult one but ultimately rewarding in the form of reconciliation and restorative justice (Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2007:28).

Though archaeology, like any other type of research, can be manipulated in order to promote the status quo and maintain silences, it can also expose and break silences. Archaeology provides tangible evidence of behaviors, events, and systems that were literally and figuratively buried. Furthermore, by virtue of excavating in public where visitors can watch and ask questions, archaeologists can contribute something meaningful. In the course of the L’Hermitage Project, we archaeologists attracted visitors almost every day while we were excavating. This provided many opportunities to engage

with visitors about the archaeological process, the goals of our research, and the reasons why we thought the slave village was worth pursuing. While our discussions touched on relatively benign topics, such as architecture and agricultural practices, visitors were usually open to discussing more politicized subjects such as racism, immigration, and religion. Changing a dominant narrative does not only happen through static materials such as exhibits and brochures; it requires a certain degree of interaction as well. However, excavation alone, while powerful in some contexts, is usually not sufficient to transform narratives. Additional research, discussions, interpretation, and communication are required to make the archaeology a usable product.

Historical documents are an important part of creating a multivocal narrative. In the case of L’Hermitage, researchers recovered a number of primary documents, including court records, census data, handwritten letters, journals, and guidebooks. Information recorded by government officials, visitors, and family members represents a few of the voices articulated through the historical record. Highlighting multiple perspectives “does not devalue the truth, but ... often gets us closer to understanding people, events, processes, and structures” (Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2007:28). Conflicting accounts reflect conflicting views, adding nuance and complexity to the reconstruction of the past.

Currently, the second floor of the visitors’ center is entirely devoted to the Battle of Monocacy and, to a slightly lesser extent, the Civil War in general. There is no mention of the indigenous occupiers of the land, nor do the Vincendières or any other early European families appear on the display panels. Slavery is addressed in a very broad fashion on a few of the panels, but enslaved populations are rarely tied to a specific property on the battlefield. Furthermore, civilians in general are all but ignored, unless portions of the battle were fought on their property. Instead, the focus is clearly on military strategies, combat, and soldiers. Ideally, the historical documents, artifacts, and excavation data would be used for a discussion of the lifeways of enslaved workers and their relationship to each other, the plantation’s other inhabitants, and the people and places outside the plantation. The information, analyses, and interpretations produced by

this project can contribute to the knowledge of Monocacy's history and be incorporated into a future exhibit that explores topics such as agriculture, transportation, slavery, and racism in the late 18th and early 19th centuries—an exhibit that may attract a larger audience to Monocacy National Battlefield. The broad themes that arise when discussing L'Hermitage—power, inequality, resistance, migration, and adaptation to new environments—have the potential to resonate with people of all backgrounds. This quality links the past and present, demonstrating the relevance of the L'Hermitage landscape to the contemporary world.

### Conclusion

Monocacy National Battlefield is more than a piece of land; it is a landscape of memory, commemoration, and conflict. As the L'Hermitage Project demonstrates, public memory is produced and constructed, undergoing constant invention and reinvention. There is no single objective truth about the past, or if it exists, it is never passed down without many alterations. As Lalone (2003:72) points out: "Historical representations vary depending on time period, political climate, intended audience, circumstances of presentation, and producer's background and intent." Malleable, manipulable, and self-serving, the past can be used as something that perpetuates traditional perspectives.

While the National Park Service is charged with "establishing and reinforcing a public memory that supports American values and ideals" (Shackel 2004:3), the agency must also "link varied publics to their sites and stories" (Linenthal 2000:125). Through these negotiations, the NPS can create a richer interpretation and presentation of the past and manage the landscape in a more democratic fashion. The L'Hermitage Project is one means by which the NPS is creating this type of interpretation. It provides an opportunity to discuss a variety of subjects, including agriculture, industry, plantations, slavery, immigration, nationality, race, and discrimination. Traditionally, battlefield sites have paid more attention to battle formations, uniforms, and victories and losses, rather than the circumstances in which the battles arose. Monocacy is currently working toward becoming an institution that tackles marginalized histories for the benefit of its constituents.

Challenging the status quo will not come without detractors, though. In the course of fieldwork, we archaeologists sometimes received comments or complaints that our work was irrelevant and a waste of time and money. Similar statements were made after the *Washington Post* published an article on the L'Hermitage Project (Ruane 2010). Out of nearly 200 online comments, by turns curious, supportive, and introspective, some grumbled that we were wasting time and money on an irrelevant, unnecessary project, arguing that we should "move on" and stop focusing on slavery so much. However, these critics were in the minority; we generally received overwhelming support and enthusiasm for this project. This speaks to the degree to which people are ready and willing to engage with alternative narratives—are perhaps even hungry for them. Perhaps, as Linenthal (1993:217) suggests: "[T]he wider public has come to accept the fact that there is more than one story to be told, and that these stories convey diverse, often conflicting interpretations of patriotic orthodoxies." Scholars must work to provide a platform on which these stories can be told.

All people are linked to memory and history through narrative structures and stories about the past. These stories are central to their well-being as individuals and as members of a group (Chambers 2006). For this reason, it is important for narratives to reflect the realities of the experiences of people who inhabited a landscape. Archaeology projects can help disrupt these conventional or official narratives, and create something that resonates with a larger audience on a personal level. The L'Hermitage Project provides a springboard for historical interpretations that are critical of and break silences about the past, and encourage multivocal narratives in the present.

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- 1976 *An Act to Provide for Increases in Appropriation Ceilings and Boundary Changes in Certain Units of the National Park System*. H.R. 13713, Public Law 94-578. 94th Congress, 2nd session (21 October), *U.S. Statutes at Large*, Vol. 90, pt. 2, pp. 2,732–2742. U.S. Congress, Washington, DC.

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## Rewriting Narratives of Labor Violence: A Transnational Perspective of the Lattimer Massacre

### ABSTRACT

The Lattimer Massacre transpired over the course of five minutes in September of 1897. Following the event, the public has contested its meaning for more than a century. Two major narratives have framed the importance of the event in academic and popular discourse. Within labor history, the significance of the event lies in its role in inspiring a coalition between new immigrants and native-born miners. Within the narrative of immigrant social history, it is about the assertion of ethnic identity within American pluralism. From contemporary perspective, there is a risk of overlooking important lessons in this history in disarticulating these processes. In their infancy at the time of the massacre, ideologies of racialization and national belonging are central to many contemporary debates about border control, government entitlement, and globalized economy. The Lattimer Massacre Project, begun in 2009, is a multidisciplinary exploration of the event and the uses of its memory.

### Introduction

It was not a battle because they were not aggressive, nor were they defensive because they had no weapons of any kind and were simply shot down like so many worthless objects, each of the licensed life-takers trying to outdo the others in butchery.

These words are inscribed on the monument to the Lattimer Massacre, erected in Pennsylvania in 1972 by the United Labor Council, the American Federation of Labor—Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL—CIO), and the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) to commemorate this event. The massacre transpired in about five minutes in September of 1897 in the northeast Pennsylvania coal town of Lattimer. It was not a battle, but a massacre, as the inscription suggests. While the loss of life in these five minutes is unambiguously tragic, academics, politicians, and the public have contested the meaning of the event. This process began as soon as the smoke cleared and the funerals began.

Social theorist Slavoj Žižek warns that by foregrounding moments of physical violence between individuals or groups, what he terms *subjective violence*, there is the risk of detracting needed attention from *objective violence*, the broader context of social, political, and symbolic violence that frequently underlies these eruptions (Žižek 2008). Contra Žižek, archaeologists working at places such as Ludlow, Colorado, and Blair Mountain, West Virginia, have used the study of moments of confrontation and violence as reference points for revisiting difficult and forgotten histories (Ludlow Collective 2001; Wood 2002; Larkin and McGuire 2009; Reckner 2009; Nida and Adkins 2011). The Lattimer Massacre Project, begun by Paul Shackel, Kristin Sullivan, and Michael Roller in 2009, is a multidisciplinary exploration of the event and the uses of its memory in present day Hazleton, Pennsylvania. Hazleton, located in the northeastern portion of the state, is the once-booming metropolis at the center of a landscape of small coal-company towns, including Lattimer. The project includes ethnographic, archival, and archaeological work on the massacre site and domestic settings associated with the region's rich history of immigration and labor.

Two major narratives frame the importance of the Lattimer Massacre in academic and popular discourse. In each it serves a discrete didactic function (Beik 2002). Within labor history, the significance of the event lies in its role in inspiring a coalition between new immigrants and native-born working-class laborers (V. Greene 1968; Fox 1990; UMWA 2013). Within the narrative of ethnic identity and immigrant social history, the massacre is about the assertion of new immigrant identity within American pluralism (Pinkowski 1950; Turner 1984; Novak 1996; Dubofsky 2002; Stolarik 2002).

From today's perspective, there is the risk of overlooking the important lessons of this history by disarticulating these processes. In their infancy at the time of the massacre, ideologies of racialization, class, and national belonging are now central to many contemporary debates about border control, government entitlements, and the

globalized economy. Recent historical scholarship is “centering” peripheral moments of conflict and violence throughout history by “refusals of spatial distinctions between border and nation, margin and center” (Guidotti-Hernandez 2010; Seigel and Sartorius 2010:2). Importantly, these scholars cite the dislocation and deterritorialization of contemporary phenomena, such as the expansion of American Empire, the global war on terror, the mobility of populations displaced by warfare, border disputes, rising nationalism, and anti-immigrant fervor, as inspiring a scholarship that pursues these neglected moments across space and time.

Importantly, today in Hazleton and the surrounding settings associated with the coal industry, these very processes instigate tensions that ironically echo this history. Archaeology can play a central role in uncovering a richer narrative of the massacre. It can materialize lost or suppressed memories of difficult history for the public (Buchli and Lucas 2001). Most importantly, it offers alternative avenues of analysis and discourse to histories that continue to have implications for present communities (Little 1994; Shackel and Chambers 2004; Mayne 2008; Shackel and Gadsby 2011).

### **The Lattimer Massacre**

In September of 1897, in a small coal-company town in northeast Pennsylvania, a company-hired posse killed 25 striking laborers and wounded scores more in an event known as the Lattimer Massacre (Figure 1). About 150 men armed with pistols and rifles fired upon unarmed strikers, recent immigrants of Eastern European descent. They were marching for fair wages, and working and living conditions equal to that of native-born miners (Pinkowski 1950; Novak 1996). Tension and violence characterize more than a century of the region’s industrial history. The complex relationship among race, class, and national identity is at the center of this history.

Deeply buried and geographically isolated by mountains, the geology of the anthracite coal beds underlies the industry’s economic struggles. Three separate coal beds, each with its own distinct geological properties, stretch across the mountains of northeastern Pennsylvania. Because of the depth and position of the coal beds, operators in the region were forced to provide highly

capitalized investment costs to extract the product profitably (Aurand 2003). Infrastructure was needed to ventilate and drain the mines, provide for onsite processing, and mediate dependence upon transportation networks to deliver the product to markets outside the region. Furthermore, the value of anthracite coal, tied to the vicissitudes of an unstable world market, rose and fell with regularity (Rose 1981).

In times of profit and scarcity, companies overcame this economic instability by maintaining a large, highly stratified, and expendable force of both skilled and unskilled labor. Coal operators exercised tremendous control over the daily lives of miners and their families. In many instances laborers lived in company towns, or “patches.” Living in these material environments constructed and administered entirely by the company, they were trapped in slavery-like debt conditions (Mulrooney 1991; Aurand 2003:7,122–124; Dublin and Licht 2005:20–21).

Labor came from the waves of immigration to the country that started in the mid-19th century. As ethnic groups rose in the social hierarchy, successive waves of new immigrants took their place at the bottom. The extent to which companies controlled the character and flow of immigration to the region is debated, but employers undoubtedly benefited from the destabilizing competition created between new and previously established generations of laborers (Brooks 1897; Greene 1968:60–61,114; Barndse 1981:7–8,24–28). The first laborers came from Western Europe, including Scotch Irish, Welsh, English, and Germans. Irish immigrants entered the region between about 1840 and 1870 (Berthoff 1965; Dubofsky 1996). These groups brought with them the ethnic and religious divisions of their homelands, interweaving them with regional work-related tensions. Compounding this, nativist patriotism integrating anti-Catholicism, craft unionism, and anti-immigration sentiment spread throughout the region during the period of the Civil War (Keil and Usui 1992; Palladino 2006). In the 1860s and 1870s the region erupted in violence when laboring Irish miners began killing their Welsh and English superiors under the auspices of a secret society known as the Molly Maguires (Dubofsky 1996:40–45; Miller and Sharpless 1998:136–170). Immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe, following a wave of international migration, filtered into

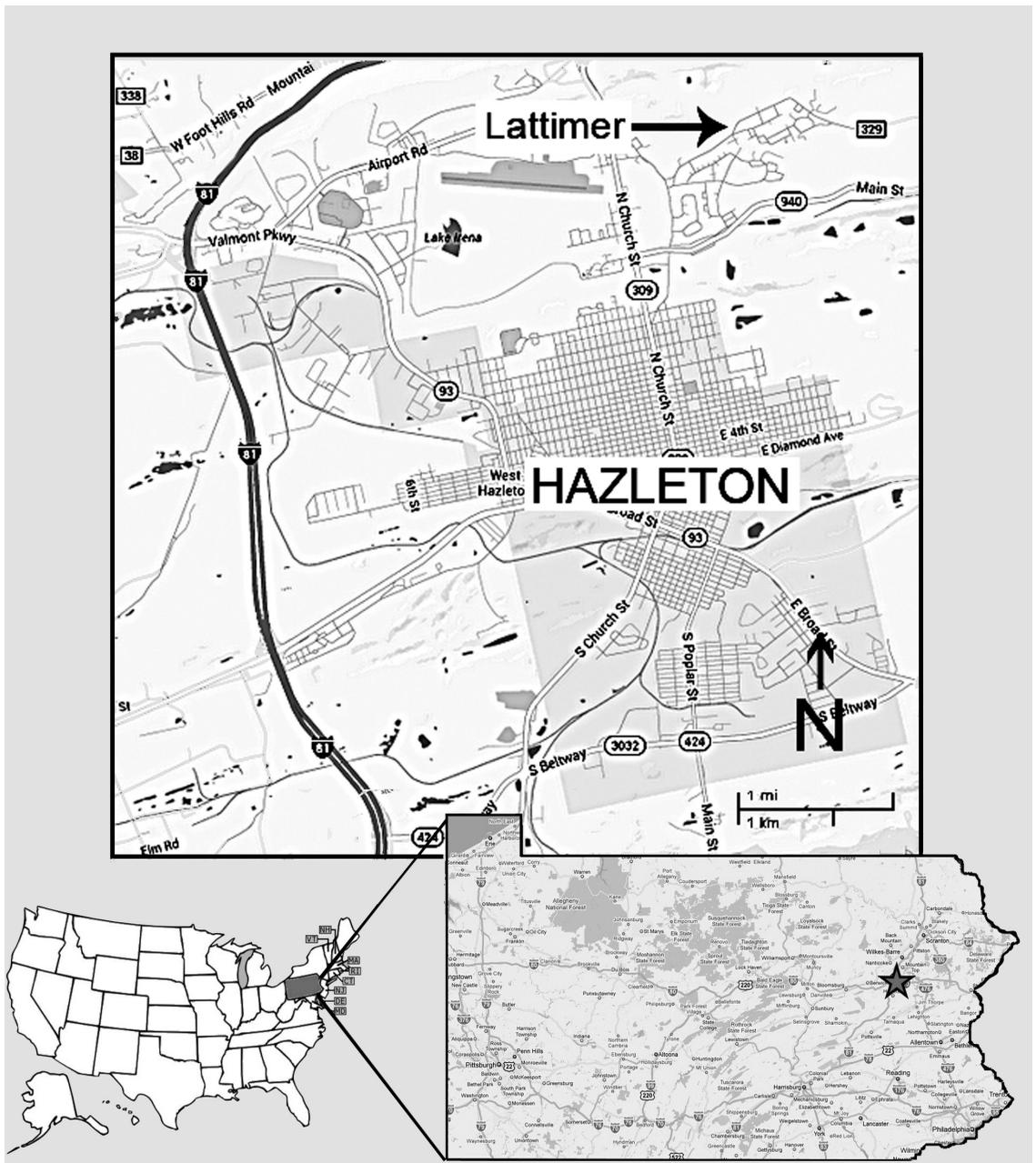


FIGURE 1. Location of Lattimer, Pennsylvania. (Map by Kristin Sullivan, 2009.)

the region between the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Early efforts at a region-wide labor organization, such as the formation of the Workingmen's Benevolent Association (WBA), failed. Factors related to the geographical landscape of the region, compounded with social factors, made these attempts difficult (V. Greene 1968; Aurdand

1991; Dubofsky 1996:45). The division of the region into three distinct coalfields, each with its own labor pool, ownership, and managerial procedures, made efforts to forge unified resistance or demands nearly impossible. In addition, the steadfast refusal of employers to concede is considered to be a major factor (V. Greene 1968:59–77). Finally, racism, ethnocentrism, and

language barriers were also major factors in barring group cooperation (Aurand 1991).

The area suffered a series of economic crises leading up to the massacre. During the “Great Depression” of 1893 to 1897, the price of coal dropped to the lowest it had been since its peak in about 1865 (Rose 1981:64). During the summer of 1897, a cartel of companies attempted to recoup losses through the imposition of cost-saving measures and taxation on the wages of new immigrants. In response to these measures Slavic laborers began a strike. When a Welsh foreman by the name of Gomer Jones struck a young Slavic worker in a picket line, the unrest spread across the region, shutting down collieries. At the time, the newly created UMWA ambivalently supported the strike. In contradiction to this support, they endorsed the 3¢ taxation on foreign-born workers’ wages to retain the membership of their nativized labor constituents. Nonetheless, the UMWA recognized the importance of courting the new immigrants who now made up a major proportion of the labor force in the region (V. Greene 1968; Asher 1982; Blatz 2002).

Determined to keep the Lattimer colliery in operation, the coal-company operators called on the local sheriff, James Martin, to protect their business. The sheriff quickly deputized a posse of local businessmen, arming them with Winchester repeating rifles, and shotguns or pistols provided by the coal companies (Pinkowski 1950:9–10; Turner 1977:28–29; Novak 1996:90–92). By 10 September, the striking laborers managed to shut down all of the collieries south of Hazleton. At a request from the workers in Lattimer, about 400 striking miners, mostly of Eastern European descent, agreed to walk the 6 mi. from Harwood in the south of Hazleton to shut down the Lattimer colliery in the north. John Fahey of the UMWA advised them to remain unarmed and to carry an American flag. Originally, the march was to run through the center of Hazleton. At the behest of the mayor, the sheriff and his posse confronted the strikers, asking them to change course. The sheriff read the riot act to the marchers in English, not understood by most of the new immigrants. Following this confrontation, the marchers decided to avoid the center of Hazleton, instead taking a circuitous route around the town (Pinkowski 1950:11–13; Novak 1996:115–123).

Following this initial confrontation, the sheriff and his posse took the trolley to Lattimer

to set up defensive positions. About 75 more deputies joined Martin and his posse. These included Lattimer company men and members of the Coal and Iron Police. Some were deputized and armed on the spot. They were likely given model 1895 Winchester repeating rifles chambered for either the .44-40 or .30-03 caliber (Pinkowski 1950; Novak 1996). The exact nature of events is obscured by time and conflicting accounts. It is known that the posse instantly killed 19 of the miners marching into the town. Within a few days others died from their wounds, and the death toll rose to 25. Nearly 40 were injured (Figure 2). Edward Pinkowski’s 1950 text on the event describes the confusion and horror of the five minutes in agonizing detail:

[M]ost victims were shot in the back and the bullets went right through their bodies. ... Men froze momentarily as their comrades fell about them. Three bodies, face downward, lay along the trolley bank, and three others a short distance away. The blood of the dead and dying soaked the dusty road and stained the water which flowed past (Pinkowski 1950:14).

Following the massacre, days of striking broke out in the region. As in many similar events in recent history, the national guard was brought into town to suppress the resistance. The sheriff and other members of the posse were taken into protective custody at the national guard camp. Many of these events were led by Slavic women who courageously stood up to national guard cavalry battalions. Within a week, however, the strike lost its energy (Novak 1996:172–178).

In the wake of the massacre, national and international sources condemned the event. The Austro-Hungarian government recognized the massacre as an assault on subject citizens of the Crown. Partially at its behest, the posse was put on trial by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania for the “willful and malicious killing of twenty-four strikers” (Pinkowski 1950; Schooley 1977:71; Turner 2002:23–26). The trial went on for five weeks. Discourse surrounding the subsequent trial and the media surrounding it suggests that the violence was clearly associated with racial tension. The lawyer that ultimately swung the jury coached his final address in fear-mongering tones that played upon anti-foreigner and anti-anarchist sentiments of the time. He described the strikers as “that lawless



FIGURE 2. Image of the Lattimer Massacre, from the *New York Evening Journal*, 11 September 1897.

horde that came from the steppes of Asia [that] has found its way here.” He continued: “[T]he history of the Hun and Slav in the old country is that of mischief and destruction. And they marched under Attila ruthlessly over Europe” (Palmer 1913:117–119). Ultimately, the jury

acquitted Sherriff Martin and his posse of any crime.

#### **Narratives of the Massacre**

Despite being the bloodiest labor massacre of the 19th century, the memory of Lattimer

has been largely forgotten by history books (Novak 1996:x; Beik 2002:58,59). In the years following the event, it was remembered by the local community within a vernacular memory as family stories, plays, poetry, and local religious ceremonies. Starting in the early 1970s groups representing the labor movement, Pennsylvania historic preservation, and local ethnic societies placed several monuments and markers at the location of the massacre and gravesite of the victims. Subsequently, disputes erupted between those championing divergent interpretations of the event.

Controversy focused on the language used in the memorializations (Gloman 1989; Pinkowski 1993; Aurand 2002). Those who felt the significance of the event lay in the sacrifice of new immigrant groups in pursuit of liberty took offense at the unqualified use of the blanket term “miners” for the slain rather than specific ethnic designations for the Poles, Lithuanians, and Slovaks involved. An editorial in the local paper reads: “The names of the Lattimer martyrs would serve as reminders to everybody not to kill but to give everybody a chance to breath the air of freedom without fears, without bigotry, and without violations of their human rights. They were martyrs to freedom” (Pinkowski 1993:2). Carlo DeMarco, a labor leader supporting the memorialization of the event, defended his group’s intentions to not “ethnicize” the event. DeMarco suggested that the victims’ “nationality is of no significance. Their purpose and goal are what count” (Gloman 1989). As the centennial of the event arrived in 1997, this controversy remained unresolved until a third marker noting ethnicity was placed near the town of Harwood, where the march originated.

Scholarship concerning the massacre reflects this disagreement in the event’s significance. Though the massacre is missing from many major works of American history, authors began to reference the Lattimer Massacre in publications beginning in the late 1960s. Bolstered by the academic focus of the “New Social History” on ethnic and community studies, scholarly references to the event proliferated in the following three decades (V. Greene 1968; Čulen 1977; Schooley 1977; Turner 1977, 1984, 2002; Fox 1990; Novak 1996; Aurand 2002; Beik 2002; Stolarik 2002; Wolensky 2008; UMWA 2013). Scholars focusing on the ethnic aspects of the

event suggest the key to understanding the goal of, response to, and ultimate importance of the event lies in the particular needs and desires of the Polish, Slavic, and Lithuanian communities. In this narrative the significance of the massacre coalesces around the assertion of resistance to nativist sentiment (Turner 1977; Novak 1996), the solidarity within ethnic communities (Čulen 1977; Stolarik 2002), or the fight for the benefits and protections of citizenship (Dubofsky 2002).

Labor scholars point toward positive developments in labor organization following the massacre and subsequent strike. In the months following the trial, the local UMWA office gained 15,000 members, making the anthracite district the second largest in the country (V. Greene 1968:147–148; Fox 1990:85). Labor historian Victor Greene concludes that the massacre resulted in a unification of labor organization in the region. Most importantly, he asserts, the English-speaking rank and file were stimulated to action by witnessing the proven determination and sacrifice of the new immigrants (V. Greene 1968:149–151). The event marks the beginning of a transformative movement in the American labor organization. On a national scale, it was only in the 1920s that nativist resistance to immigrant incorporation into trade unions reversed in many cases. In fact, by 1900 the UMWA was the only major union to put significant efforts into organizing the new immigrants (Asher 1982:326–327,337).

The massacre’s absence in major works of history, coupled with the inability of scholars and preservationists to agree on the significance of the event, suggest something more than healthy debate or ambivalence. A cultural blindness or inability to come to terms with fundamental processes in American history may be to blame. For lack of an appropriate narrative context to frame the event, its memory is being forgotten by the regional and national public.

Researchers in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Maryland designed the Lattimer Massacre Project to examine the material and social contexts of the event. Through these efforts, the project seeks to reinscribe the narrative of the massacre, informed by a rich understanding of the intersection of its past and present contexts. This effort includes components of archaeology, ethnography, and archival research.

### Archaeology of the Lattimer Massacre

In the fall of 2010 the author, along with Paul Shackel of the University of Maryland, began an archaeological investigation of the Lattimer Massacre site, assisted by the crew of Battlefield Restoration and Archaeological Volunteer Organization (BRAVO), led by Dan Sivilich of Monmouth, New Jersey (Shackel et al. 2011; Shackel and Roller 2012). The broad goals of this initial survey were to determine the site's integrity, collect new evidence to illuminate the nature of events, and stimulate public discussion.

Our team's specific objectives for the 2010 survey were to determine the spatial arrangement of the remains of the event including identifying the firing line and establishing the location of the initial engagement. Pending evaluation of the integrity of the site, other goals included reconstructing the size of the posse, assessing the variety of munitions employed, and tracing the munitions or posse movements throughout the site area. We identified the general location of the site using archival sources and the advice of local historians and community members. The roughly 10 ac. parcel is near the entrance to the town of Lattimer. The approximate location of the "massacre tree" was plotted using this information. The project area reflects typical mining landscapes of the area, consisting of low scrubby trees rooted in a matrix of coal-processing waste, including slate and other rock. Our study of aerial photographs revealed the presence of a waste pile, or culm bank, overlaying the site area by 1938.

Standard battlefield surveying techniques were employed. We laid 10 ft. interval transect lines through the underbrush. The BRAVO team followed this with a systematic and semi-systematic metal-detector survey (Sivilich 2011). Artifacts were piece plotted by total data station and added to a GIS map of the study area. Archaeologists identified a total of 43 artifacts during the survey, including 7 bullets of various calibers, 22 shell casings, 6 copper jackets, and many artifacts unrelated to the massacre. These items likely reflect domestic discard from the adjacent houses (Sivilich 2011).

Battlefield archaeologist Doug Scott conducted analysis of the munitions, employing the techniques of firearm identification to examine tool marks, such as those left by firing pins, extractor

and ejector marks, and barrel rifling. He carefully documented striations, flaws, scratches, and other unusual wear patterns to match munitions to a particular weapon or class of weapons (Scott 2011). Scott determined that the 16 shell casings identified in the survey postdate the massacre. Four bullets are potentially related to the massacre, including two .38 caliber long or short rounds, a .32, and one .22 round (Figure 3).

The .38 round was initially introduced in 1875 for the Colt revolver. Markings on these bullets suggest they were fired from one or more Smith & Wesson revolvers (Barnes 2006:298; Scott 2011:4). The .22 round was heavily impacted. Developed in the 1860s, the .22 remains the most popular small-bore round today. As a result, making a definitive case for its authenticity is difficult. However, the position of these three rounds, in a cluster adjacent to the "massacre tree," suggests that they represent the initial confrontation.

The interpretation of the fourth round is complicated by its location. The .32 caliber round was introduced in 1875. Land and groove marks on the bullet suggest it was fired from a Smith & Wesson revolver. BRAVO members identified this round in the middle of the field, approximately 170 ft. from the massacre tree. The presence of the fourth bullet can be interpreted in multiple ways. It may originate in an unrelated event, such as hunting or target shooting. The bullet may represent a misfire or shot fired into the ground by a reluctant or anxious member of the posse. A third possibility interprets its origin as return fire from a striker with a pistol. Though trial transcripts contain accounts of weapons among the strikers, these accounts are controversial. In several instances, witnesses later admitted they were paid to relate this falsity in court (Novak 1996:211–212,215).

The six copper jackets were recovered in a line running parallel with the road. Though written accounts of the massacre suggest this as a likely spot for these items, the morphology of these munitions suggested they may have postdated the event. An x-ray fluorescence trace-elements analysis of the jackets conducted by Robert Speakman of the Smithsonian Museum Conservation Institute detected zinc alloy in the artifacts. The presence of this alloy suggests that they postdate the massacre (Hatcher 1962:341–344). The absence of shell casings dating to the



FIGURE 3. Image of bullets recovered from the Lattimer Massacre site survey. (Photo by Paul Shackel, 2012.)

event can be explained in several ways. They may have been collected from the field after the event by local children. The processes of building up and removing culm may have covered over or otherwise disturbed the cartridges from their locations. An additional possibility is that the massacre location was not in the area surveyed.

At the conclusion of the survey, some of the initial goals were satisfactorily fulfilled, while others remained elusive. Though our team did not find cartridges dating to the massacre, the location of the initial engagement was identified by a cluster of bullets. We also positively identified the location of an important community landmark, the “massacre tree,” reportedly removed in the 1990s. Through these findings, we established the rough location of the massacre site and have insight into the integrity of the site.

The archaeological examination of the Lattimer Massacre renewed local attention to the tragic event. The archaeology also inspired new efforts at scholarship, heritage, and memorialization. Importantly, the archaeological survey generated new research initiatives, community connections, and insight into the present social issues the local community faces.

### **The Relationships between Memory and Politics Today**

The Lattimer Massacre Project includes an ethnographic component designed to explore

public memory of the event and gauge local community interest. Kristin Sullivan and Paul Shackel of the University of Maryland designed a project website, <<http://lattimermassacre.wordpress.com>>, in late 2009. The website’s purpose is to provide the public with information about the massacre, draw attention to project events, solicit family memories, and make community connections. Through this and other public efforts, project members were able to conduct ethnographic interviews and oral histories. Interviews were conducted with retired miners and their descendants, local historians, and other members of the interested public. Memories of the Lattimer Massacre are intimately tied to the regional, national, and global political economy. They reflect the present in complex ways. The themes of labor, immigration, citizenship, and globalized economy all effect the way the massacre is remembered by the public. In this sense, its memory endures, though its significance is reconfigured for each age.

Today, the anthracite region is only partially haunted by the suppressed trauma of the massacre. In some ways, the distant past has become a point of pride and a golden age of stability and hard work for long-term residents (Abrams 1994; Goin and Raymond 2001). The anthracite region of northeast Pennsylvania still identifies itself with coal mining, remembered through heritage industries and in forms of vernacular memory

(Abrams 1994). This is the case, even though the peak of employment occurred just before World War I, at which time the industry employed about 181,000 workers (Dublin and Licht 2005:4). By 2001, mining employed less than 1,000 (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2001). The collapse of the mining industry yielded to nearly half a century of economic decline in the region. Efforts have been made to rejuvenate the local economy through new sources of revenue, including warehousing and light industry (Rose 1981; Dublin and Licht 2005). Brought on by global changes in labor and capital flow, these efforts have inevitably led to drastic changes in the region's demographics. These changes, once again, have led to conflicts in the social landscape.

At times in this research, the present comes together with historical narrative in poignant ways. In Hazleton, an ironic situation presides as the descendants of the first immigrants to the area echo the persecution of the past. As in past history, the local effects of globalized political economy are central to shaping this context. When the state began offering large incentives to attract new businesses to the region, a great deal of low-paying but stable work flooded the region. Central American and Caribbean immigrants have migrated to Pennsylvania since the 1990s, attracted by the low cost of living and stable work climate. The newest immigrants to Hazleton experience forms of discrimination similar to those faced a century before by previous generations (Rumbaut 2006; McKanders 2007).

Racial tension is manifested in different ways. Sometimes conflict breaks out in racially motivated violence, as in the fatal beating of an undocumented Mexican man in 2009 (Lenz 2011). The city government received national press attention for its attempts to pass anti-immigrant ordinances in 2006 and 2007. The ordinances would have included a law making English the official language and a law barring employers and landlords from hiring or housing undocumented immigrants (McKanders 2007; Frantz 2012). Municipalities across the country have subsequently used these laws as a model for their own attempts to police and regulate their population demographics (Preston 2010). Though the legislation was ruled unconstitutional by the Third U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, in public media and in informal ethnographic interviews, long-term residents largely support these

efforts. They often justify these views by citing the comparative historical example of previous generations of immigrants.

The project has recorded local responses to immigration through social media and ethnographic interviews. In one example, a commenter responded to a blog posting about the role of religion in coalminers' capacities to endure difficult living conditions. She suggested:

[T]he reason these miners endured the harsh conditions is relatively simple. There wasn't any 'safety net social programs'. They came here seeking better but obviously many were duped into working for the mines (Latimer Massacre Project [LMP] 2012).

In this, as in other documented cases, community members draw explicit comparisons between past and present immigration. The author's in-quote citation of "safety net social programs" is likely a coded reference to widely held political beliefs in the region that new immigrants are a drain on the dwindling public resources. In an interview conducted by Kristin Sullivan, an informant was literal in drawing this connection:

There were a lot of immigrants coming then; there're a lot of immigrants coming now. But I think the trouble is a good number of the immigrants that came off of Ellis Island were coming because they were hard workers, [and] wherever they were coming from wasn't the best, and they knew that America was the promised land, and they could make a new start. Whereas today I think a lot of people come here because they know how easy it is to live off of the government (LMP 2010–2012).

In these examples, pride in past heritage is dialectically joined with political outrage (Abrams 1994).

Ethnographic work by members of the Latimer Massacre Project suggests that, despite the overwhelming significance of the event to the narratives of ethnic and labor history, these contexts have limited resonance with younger residents of the region. The coal industry is no longer the main source of employment in the region, though it remains a major part of local heritage. Furthermore, the absence of a cohesive and appropriate narrative contributes to a renewed neglect of this unpleasant but important event.

Ethnographic work by members of the Latimer Massacre Project reveals an ironic lacuna in social memory, both regional and national. As

members of each generation of migrants pursues protection and entitlement within the nation's economic, political, and social boundaries, they negotiate variations of the same racialized boundaries experienced by their predecessors. In this process, narratives drawn from scholarly, popular, and political discourse about historical migration serve a didactic ideological purpose in defining, constructing, or reconfiguring the social boundaries of the nation state. These boundaries form a coherent locus central to the definition of national identity (Schiller et al. 1992; Schneider 1998; Levitt and Schiller 2004). For this reason, the narratives framing historical events such as the massacre play an important role. Residents' current anxieties over new immigrants to the region signal the need for a narrative of the event that places it in the context of the reception and treatment of historical immigration to the country.

### **Rewriting Narratives of Racialization, Violence, and Empire**

Labor historian Melvyn Dubofsky suggests that in the mid-19th century, striking workers often benefited from the support of their local communities. This support often included locally elected law enforcement. This was the case even when industrialists aggressively suppressed worker resistance, often with the support of the state (Dubofsky 1996:47). By the late 19th century, however, this support reversed, as workers were increasingly isolated by local merchants and professionals. According to Dubofsky, employers succeeded in courting broad support by instituting legal principles that defined certain behaviors and types of people as threats to civility. Through these means, industrial powers courted the "ideological sympathy of community merchants and professionals" (Dubofsky 1996:59).

Dubofsky appropriately frames the massacre in a national narrative of increasingly rationalized and legalistic organization. However, he does not address the issues of nativism and racialization at the center of the experiences of both immigrants and the deputized posse. A narrative focusing on nativism pursues the deeper questions that arise from a contextualized analysis of the encounter itself. Specifically, it asks: How could the agents responsible commit these acts?

The Lattimer Massacre can be understood within a transnational narrative of social, political, and economic changes that occurred

between about 1880 and 1920. The intertwining process of industrial capitalism, mass migration, rising nationalisms, and expanding empire define this period on a global scale. Through the consolidation of racialized classifications in immigration law and political discourse by the state, racial and national identities came to be mutually constitutive for its citizens (Omi and Winant 1994; Ngai 2004; Stoler 2006; Orser 2007; Seigal 2009).

Between about 1880 and 1920, the American state began the audacious policing of racial identities and relationships. The passing of the Chinese Exclusion Act (1882), Foran Act (1885), Scott Act (1888), Geary Act (1892), Anarchist Exclusion Act (1902), the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision (1896), and the formation of the Dillingham Commission in 1911 reflect a flurry of legal efforts by the state to control the racial makeup and social behavior of the nation's populace. At the same time, administrative strategies employed in the Spanish-American War, the occupation of the Philippines, and the seizure and construction of the Panama Canal reveal parallel developments in colonial policy (Kramer 2006; J. Greene 2009). At a regional scale, these processes altered the character and outcome of encounters between actors. In the case of the Lattimer Massacre and other similar encounters, it requires shifting the analysis to examine those behind the guns.

These transformations in American identity traveled along with frontier expansion on the contested edges of national boundaries. An analysis of an early encounter demonstrates an instance in which the sovereign right to violence claimed by the state became intimately bound up in middle-class identity, effectively blurring the line between private and state power. During the Camp Grant Massacre of April 1871, Anglos and Mexican American vigilantes sexually violated, then massacred, unarmed Apaches. The many women that took part have, until now, been ignored in the historical narrative (Guidotti-Hernandez 2010). Ideologies based at the nation-state level regarding class and racialization empowered perpetrators to this violence. Nicole Guidotti-Hernández (2010:91–92) argues that "[l]ocal families embodied state power, which was part of the U.S. rhetoric of extending empire. These notions of state power as personal power were reinforced through gendered familial rhetoric of civility." Through this ideological inversion,

Mexican American women that took part were able to disavow their role in the violence as well as their own indigenous backgrounds. Instead, they interpreted their actions as “pride and civic-duty” performed to maintain the protection of their property and the stability of capitalist enterprises (Guidotti-Hernández 2010:95).

By the late 19th century, American beliefs in the roles of citizenship for men frequently accommodated gendered beliefs in paternalism and martial spirit. The expansion of the administrative roles white middle-class men took within industrialized work cultures prompted fears of masculine degeneracy. This, coupled with the possibility of competition and external threat from immigration, engendered a belief in men’s paternal responsibility to protect the nation (Hoganson 1998:12). During the American conquest and occupation of the Philippines, Hoganson reports that these anxieties of race competition fueled national support for an expensive and unexpectedly brutal war (Hoganson 1998; Kramer 2006). White soldiers deployed racist language used against American blacks to dehumanize the Filipinos. This discourse, imported directly from Jim Crow America, enabled them to be brutal in both combat and civilian suppression (Kramer 2006:137–145).

Like the examples above, the members of the deputized posse in Lattimer performed their roles as embodiments of the state. In this role, they justified their actions as part of a mandate to protect the stability of their capitalist enterprises and the social order that supports it. Drawn from the nativized middle-class occupants of Hazleton, many members of the posse had a business interest in maintaining the stability of local industry (Novak 1996:118–119). Witnesses recalled hearing a member of the posse state: “We ought to get so much a head for shooting down these strikers. I would do it for a cent a head to make money” (Novak 1996:118). Lawyers’ statements during the trial, spoken in language that would have been understood by the jury, affirm this role. They describe the posse as “men brave enough” to “stand up for honor, for homes” (Novak 1996:233). On the other hand, the Slavic strikers were dehumanized as a “rampaging foreign mob” for whom “no home was too sacred or virgin too pure for their assault” (Palmer 1913:119). Thus, lawyers for the defense recognized jurors’ susceptibility

to masculine fears of inadequacy prevalent at the time.

Historian Robert Asher (1982:327) has stated that “while the results of nativistic feeling may be evident, the sources of nativism are difficult to pin down.” At the time of the massacre, industrialists and a nativist community maintained an underclass of expendable and inexpensive labor by racializing new immigrants. When they attempted to better their conditions, industrialists drew on this community to maintain the stability of their social order.

In the decades after the massacre, nativist ideas were codified into the neutral language of legalistic procedures and identities, culminating in the passing of the Immigration Restriction Act of 1924 (Ngai 2004:4–14). This codification of racialized space occurred within a global context that increasingly considered rigid border controls, passports, and visas as the norm (Ngai 2004, McKeown 2006). The bureaucratic procedures of citizenship produced a neutral language that replaced overtly racist identifications. However, it is through their establishment today that some migrants can be labeled as “illegal.” These designations serve to differentiate their value as a cheap and expendable workforce but otherwise unwelcome as citizens.

## Conclusion

Researchers at the University of Maryland designed the Lattimer Massacre Project to examine the history and memory surrounding the event using archaeology, ethnography, and archival sources. An archaeological survey of the massacre site, along with ethnographic study of its contemporary memory and social context, has given researchers an opportunity to reexamine narratives of the event and make connections to contemporary local politics. The tragic event known as the Lattimer Massacre resulted in positive developments in two major narratives in American history. Within labor history, it is significant for inspiring a coalition between new immigrants and native-born laborers (V. Greene 1968; Fox 1990; UMWA 2013). Within the narrative of ethnic identity and immigrant social history, the massacre is about the assertion of new immigrant identity within American pluralism (Pinkowski 1950; Turner 1984; Novak 1996; Dubofsky 2002; Stolarik

2002). However, disarticulating these narratives prohibits an understanding of the deeper significance of this event to present American society and to present anxieties on the regional level. Based on these insights, a new narrative of the event that resonates with anxieties of the present is proposed.

This recontextualization of the event has led to an archaeological examination of a shantytown occupied by new immigrants at the time of the massacre. In juxtaposing the narrative of the massacre with this project, the project hopes to emphasize the way this complex history shaped everyday encounters in the region and reflected politics of the era on a national level.

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## Reversing the Narrative from Violence to Peace: Some Thoughts from an Archaeologist<sup>1</sup>

### ABSTRACT

Archaeologists with ambitions to be relevant, ethical, and useful can decide to confront difficult, deeply embedded current problems. We archaeologists have the power of narrative. Narratives are what drive us; they are what we teach each other. They reinforce what we believe, repeat, cite, and fund—both within the discipline and in the stories we return to the public sphere. In *Life and Death Matters*, Barbara Rose Johnston raises the crucial question: “Can we build environmentally sound and socially just solutions to our problems in ways that minimize or prevent the incidence of violent conflict?” How will archaeologists employ narrative tactics to respond?

### Introduction

I believe that one of the ways we as archaeologists can “reverse the narrative” is to recognize the morals of the stories in the narratives we offer and to turn our attention to narratives to support a sustainable and wide-reaching public good. That is, one way we change the game is to start playing a new game. Our work will contribute to changing the game as we highlight the morals of our stories that can lead wider social dialogue toward sustainable peace.

Although I write from the vantage point of an archaeologist, I am ever hopeful that the walls of archaeology are truly down and that we participate in a heritage field that is turning toward fulfilling its potential to be a powerfully engaging practice with broad and self-reflexive applicability. I see us merging perspectives and expertise from the sciences, humanities, and intentional public scholarship. Individually and collectively, we have a role to play in the search for a more just and sustainable society.

### Stable Peace and the Ambitions of an Expanded Archaeological Practice

As individual practitioners and as members of a profession, we archaeologists have the power

to imagine and to co-create our heritage work as work that is conducive to a stable peace. More than a generation ago, Kenneth Boulding (1978:13) defined stable peace as “a situation in which the probability of war is so small that it does not really enter into the calculations of any of the people involved.” Stable peace is defined not simply by the absence of conflict or the presence of deterrence but is a state of being where differences are expected to be resolved through dialogue and diplomacy, and violent resolutions are actually unthinkable. Boulding focused mainly on nations, but he included all kinds of social groups, which is a useful and worthy approach, as there is plenty of thinkable, actual violence within any nation, between groups, and between individuals identifying strongly with particular groups. “Stable peace” cannot be counted as the kind of truce that is enforced by mutual fear of violence, whether that violence is physical and immediate, or structural and relentlessly corrosive.

As a discipline, archaeology has come a long way toward the realization of our social and political context, and that realization has opened up our ambitions. As a discipline, we now talk about archaeologists’ roles in creating justice, building peace, promoting human rights and global justice, and even mitigating the human suffering we anticipate will accompany massive ecological change. Such ambitions are grand and speak to a vision of integrating our practice with our common problems.

Larry Zimmerman and I propose that this trend reflects a quest for wisdom (Little and Zimmerman 2010). Some archaeologists have been helped in seeing the value of such a quest through working with native peoples and the cultural values curated by many indigenous societies. In his book, *Learning Native Wisdom*, Gary Holthaus (2008) characterizes the rift between sustainability and the modern worldview as a series of disconnections in a way that speaks clearly to our habits of narrative. He observes:

For the longest-surviving cultures, the sciences, the humanities, and the arts were shot through with the

sacred. Nature and the sacred, wisdom and the sacred, were inseparably linked. ... In our time the sacred has come uncoupled from wisdom; wisdom uncoupled from knowledge; knowledge unhooked from information; information unhooked from facts; facts disconnected from data; data disassociated from firsthand observation and experience. Our culture seems to have forsaken wisdom in favor of all the latter—at a time when wisdom is our greatest need and would be its greatest asset (Holthaus 2008:29).

Indeed, wisdom appears to be our greatest need. Can we archaeologists be wise enough to give equal consideration to the needs of future generations as we do to our own? Can we be wise enough to work toward the kind of societies that future generations might appreciate inheriting? Indeed, can we even be wise enough to contribute to the kind of society that supports stable peace in the present?

I think of this article as part of an ongoing dialogue about potential and actual benefits of archaeology in our expanded ambitions. I want to recall some of the issues that I and several colleagues raised in a forum published a few years ago in *Historical Archaeology* (Funari 2009; Little 2009a, 2009b; Musteata 2009; Pikirayi 2009). Our forum grew out of both the “Public Benefits of Archaeology” plenary session at the 2008 Society for Historical Archaeology (SHA) meeting and one of two sessions on archaeology and the global-justice movement that were held at the 2007 American Anthropological Association (AAA) meetings in Washington, D.C. (McDavid and Jeppson 2007). Global-justice movements offer some examples of high-minded and integrating principles, such as “Global Justice for All,” “Respect for the Earth,” and “Economic Democracy.” A somewhat less-abstract and more-programmatic set of global goals come from the United Nations (UN); but they are no less daunting. The UN has identified and defined eight “Millennium Development Goals”—for extensive background and information about these goals see, for example, the United Nations Millennium Project (2005) and, online, <<http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/>>. In our forum discussion, Innocent Pikirayi raised the question of how archaeology might serve these goals. They are to (1) end poverty and hunger; (2) achieve universal education; (3) achieve gender equity; (4) improve child health; (5) improve maternal health; (6) combat HIV/AIDS, malaria, and other diseases;

(7) achieve environmental sustainability; and (8) develop a global partnership.

Calling archeologists to tackle such issues leaves no doubt about the expanded ambitions of archaeology and heritage. Increasing our ambitions comes with the potential cost of hubris and highlights the need for appropriate humbleness about what we think we can achieve and how right we think we might be. Our search for wisdom becomes all the more important. It is important for us to remember that lack of certainty is not an excuse for inaction; neither is silence neutral. Heritage is and heritage workers have significant roles to play.

There is no shortage of big ideas and overwhelming needs. They are not abstract problems, particularly on the local level. And they are not problems we as a society have the luxury of facing when we are ready. When we take a look around—even with the briefest of glances—it is apparent that this giant Ponzi scheme we have got going cannot last. It is, in fact, already collapsing, as we see when we look around the globe. Our reliance on incessant growth and environmental destruction cannot continue, at least not for as long as we might like, which is into the foreseeable future. We are not supporting a global society in which humans and nature exist in productive harmony. We can see that we are not fulfilling social, economic, and other requirements for much of the earth’s present population, let alone for future generations.

In light of some of those big ideas and big problems, Barbara Johnston’s 2011 edited volume, *Life and Death Matters: Human Rights, Environment, and Social Justice*, provides powerful detailed examples of some of the world’s severe biocultural problems, such as agricultural conflicts, war, the long-term effects of radiation, climate change, and the dire circumstances surrounding water and water rights. There are many lessons to be learned if we care to learn them. And while chaos might be a necessary ingredient in crisis, we learn that it is not necessarily the endpoint for human environmental emergencies.

Johnston (2011:15) asks what she calls the crucial question of our time: “Can we build environmentally sound and socially just solutions to our problems in ways that minimize or prevent the incidence of violent conflict?” Now that is a very good question. How indeed

do we attain the positive peace of justice and social stability without violence, and how do we sustain it?

What does heritage have to do with these overwhelming needs, threats, and the alternative potential for a positive future? Part of what we archaeologists offer is our contribution to—our creation of—cultural narrative. We are memory workers; we remember what has been possible, and from our remembered pasts we imagine how we ought to live and who we ought to be. The problems are big, but we are not helpless because we have tools. And we have experience upon which to draw and whole communities where there is wisdom pooling up, collecting, and informing action.

### Narrative Tools

A specific definition of “narrative” is offered by the U. S. Institute of Peace (Snodderly 2011): “a people’s most strongly held beliefs about the way history has unfolded” as a “separate view of reality.” The institute elaborates that in

divided societies—where there has been protracted conflict—there are often parallel narratives. The differing peoples do not agree on what occurred in the distant past and this core disagreement often causes them to dispute what has happened in recent times (Snodderly 2011).

In this context, I would call the U.S. a divided society with a long way to go toward an imagined more-perfect union. U.S. ideas about accurate and meaningful narratives about history display deep divisions in society (Linenthal and Engelhardt 1996).

The Institute of Peace recognizes that both the distant and recent past are in dispute in divided societies. Heritage practitioners know this and have come to understand the depth to which heritage can be disputed and the deeply rooted power it can have. Interestingly, though, as vital and as deeply embedded heritage is, heritage work is not often granted a seat at the big table, at least not in the U.S. However, recent work by an influential scholar of conflict and peace suggests that there may be a bit of a turn. In his 2010 book, *How Enemies Become Friends: The Sources of Stable Peace*, Charles Kupchan draws commonalities from a number of case studies where stable peace broke out and endured for variable periods of time. As a result of his research, he is far more interested

in the power of culture, narrative, and identity than the authors of many earlier influential studies. Kupchan identifies one of the key phases in developing stable peace as the generation of new narratives and identities. He emphasizes that cultural commonality is a condition for stable peace but recognizes that culture is malleable and constructed, and that seemingly intractable cultural differences can become culturally irrelevant depending on the narrative. Kupchan observes and recognizes that the unraveling of zones of peace starts with social and cultural tensions (Kupchan 2010). This kind of thinking is all very familiar to archaeologists from the anthropological tradition.

This scholarship from the international diplomacy realm strikes me as potentially helpful, as it is something upon which heritage workers might build and use to intersect with the policy and decision makers who may be in positions to influence how big goals—like the UN’s Millennium Development Goals—might be achieved. As heritage workers, we create and perpetuate narratives that support imagined communities and imagined nations. We create grand narratives and mythologies about the past to sustain our faith in our current ways of life. For examples that helped to raise the consciousness of archaeologists about our social and political context, consider Conkey and Spector’s (1984) analysis of archaeology’s role in supporting and creating the gender bias embedded throughout our intellectual traditions, and Kohl and Fawcett’s (1995) volume on archaeology’s deep involvement in the creation of nationalist narratives.

When heritage is implicated in supporting unsustainable and unjust culture, we have to be vigilant about deconstructing our complicity. Because the grounding of cultural narratives in the past is one of the key places where heritage fits into the creation of those imaginaries in our society, we need to continually ask: What stories are we telling? Where are they coming from? For whom are we perpetuating them?

We in U.S. society like to say we want peace, but we commemorate and celebrate war endlessly. Parks and memorials to peacemakers are rare and remarkable; those dedicated to war are legion. In the rare times when we are not at war, we are preparing for war and using the language of war and violence to frame our approaches to social challenges.

As archaeologists, our experience and our work show us that heritage can change the game. Consider this advice from Kupchan (2010:404) concerning the increasing immigrant population of Europe, also applicable in the U.S.: “Leaders,” he says, “may want to compensate for greater demographic diversity by focusing discourse on shared values and interests rather than common ancestry and history,” and he adds: “If left unattended, discourses of opposition and rivalry have the potential to become a self-fulfilling prophecy.” To avoid creating simple propaganda, it is necessary to keep our eyes wide open, to be aware of the power of our work, and to be very intentional and vigilant about our credibility.

We public archaeologists and those who do heritage education can actively counter the kinds of narratives that justify inequality and violence within our society. Such work is notoriously difficult, as it insists that we confront the embedded cultural biases in our language, from word choice to the conceptual frameworks supported by our common ways of thinking and talking.

A generation ago, Janet Spector and Mary Whelan (1989) identified steps necessary to develop a gendered archaeology. Similar steps are needed for any archaeology that is called to challenge embedded bias. These are (1) exposing biases, (2) defining appropriate concepts and methods, and (3) creating new interpretations. Taking these steps requires refining our narrative tools.

Social-justice activist Paul Kivel (2002:54) reminds us that “[t]hose with power have many resources for ensuring their view of reality prevails, and they have a lot at stake in maintaining the status quo.” He analyzes some narrative tactics and admonishes those involved in antiracism work to challenge and counter those tactics that are used to justify violence:

If we keep our eyes clearly on the power and the violence, we can see that these tactics are transparent attempts to prevent placing responsibility on those who commit and benefit from acts of injustice. Our strongest tools are a critical analysis of who has power and an understanding of the patterns and consequences of present actions and policies (Kivel 2002:54).

The tactics Kivel (2002:50–55) identifies are denial, minimization, blame, redefinition, “un-intentionality,” “it’s over now,” “it’s only a few men,” and the combined tactics of counterattack

and competing victimization. He credits the battered-women’s movement for identifying these tactics and expands understanding of the ways in which they are used in power dynamics surrounding gender, race, class, and sexual orientation. Archaeologists who seek to build narrative tools in support of a just and stable peace can be aware of such tactics and expose them, as in the first step identified by Spector and Whelan (1989). Examples of such tactics follow, adopted from Kivel’s examples:

*Denial:* Discrimination is a thing of the past.

*Minimization:* There were kind slave owners.

*Blame:* Indians had not developed the technology to compete against Europeans.

*Redefinition:* It was mutual combat.

*Un-intentionality:* Things got out of hand

*It’s over now:* Slavery was over a long time ago.

*It’s only a few men:* Most people do the right thing.

*Counterattack and competing victimization:* Multiculturalism is an attack on white people.

Identifying and countering such tactics are difficult. As part of our ethical stance we archaeologists acknowledge our political context. We want to decolonize archaeology, and we make slow progress—when we make progress—because we remain unaware of the extent of our influence. Sometimes we need an impetus from outside the field’s traditions to make us see how our contributions are understood and used, or misused. Analysis of Jared Diamond’s work provides an example of the tactic of blame.

Diamond’s intentionally far-ranging books—*Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (Diamond 1999) and his even more influential and provocative *Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Succeed* (Diamond 2005)—have been influential bestsellers, and both draw on archaeological studies. While we cannot be responsible for the use of our work by others once we have launched it into the intellectual marketplace, we are responsible for our work, including the deeply embedded narrative constructs that structure our understanding.

Patricia McAnany and Norm Yoffee’s edited volume, *Questioning Collapse: Human Resilience, Ecological Vulnerability, and the*

*Aftermath of Empire*, takes issue with Diamond's work. None of the contributing authors disbelieve Diamond's core *inspiration* for his work, that is, the understanding that society's current ecological behavior is untenable. They do not believe that Diamond is misguided in raising the alarm, but they object, rightly and with strong scholarship, to his assumptions, interpretations, and examples (McAnany and Yoffee 2009).

In his contribution to McAnany and Yoffee's book, Michael Wilcox confronts archaeologists' complicity in telling stories about native peoples that have not served their subject well. He writes:

While few would agree totally with Diamond's work, North American archaeologists bear significant responsibility for many of his conclusions. Archaeological interpretations of abandonments, and a failure to integrate indigenous histories, have helped support a national mythology in which conquests are accidents and Indigenous peoples are to blame for their own problems (Wilcox 2009:122).

How do we as archaeologists move forward with new concepts and new interpretations once the tactics of bias are revealed? If we recognize and fully embrace the concept that our social science is embedded in our political and social context, then we need to recognize that our scholarship cannot stand alone or offer a disconnected authority. Archaeological expertise is unique and important, and it is a valid and valuable part of the collaboration necessary to make sense of our historical trajectories. Collaboration with other epistemologies and experiences is essential.

Applied anthropology helps to provide a way forward. Erve Chambers (2009) describes practicing anthropology as necessarily being both art and science to be both credible and useful. The same is true for any applied heritage work. He sees the science portion as a process that requires distance—the scholarly distance of observation and analysis—and the art portion as a process that requires engagement—to collaborate outside of the academic model. There is more emphasis now on our ability, as Chambers says, “to achieve a common goal out of various experiences” (Chambers 2009).

Collaboration changes what we are capable of, and it changes the narratives. If we have the ability “to achieve a common goal out of various experiences,” then we have the ability to create the relationships necessary for stable peace, peace that is founded in environmental

and social justice. We see good examples of how historic places are drawing people into dialogues about difficult issues. My perpetual favorite example is the Tenement Museum, <<http://www.tenement.org/>>, on the Lower East Side of Manhattan, with its kitchen-table dialogues about such topics as immigration and labor. The model of “dialogues for democracy” is used by member sites of the International Coalition of Sites of Conscience (2013).

As heritage workers, we have the power of narrative. Narratives are what drive us; they are what we teach each other. They reinforce what we believe, repeat, cite, and fund—both within the discipline and in the stories we return to the public sphere.

The ability to change our narratives is also a source of hope. Consider these words by Salman Rushdie (1991), as he was reflecting on living under a death sentence for the act of, one could say, committing powerful narrative: “Those who do not have the power over the story that dominates their lives, power to retell it, rethink it, deconstruct it, joke about it, and change it as times change, truly are powerless, because they cannot think new thoughts.” One way that archaeologists as heritage workers can be of service is to learn to think new thoughts.

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### Endnotes

<sup>1</sup>This article draws on several earlier works, including the Patty Jo Watson Distinguished Lecture in Archaeology, entitled “Reintegrating Archaeology in the Service of Sustainable Culture,” which I delivered 4 December 2009 at the American Anthropological Association annual meetings in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and a plenary address, “Heritage, Resilience, and Peace,” at the conference, “Why Does the Past Matter? Changing Visions, Media, and Rationales in the 21st Century,” organized by the UMass Amherst Center for Heritage and Society, 6 March 2011. Readers will recognize many of my intellectual debts, including Benedict Anderson (1991), *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. I presented a shorter version as a paper at the 2012 SHA conference in the session from which this issue is drawn. I thank the organizers and issue editors—Paul Shackel and Mike Roller—for inviting me to participate, and I thank Randy McGuire and an anonymous reviewer for their thoughtful, helpful comments on this article.

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