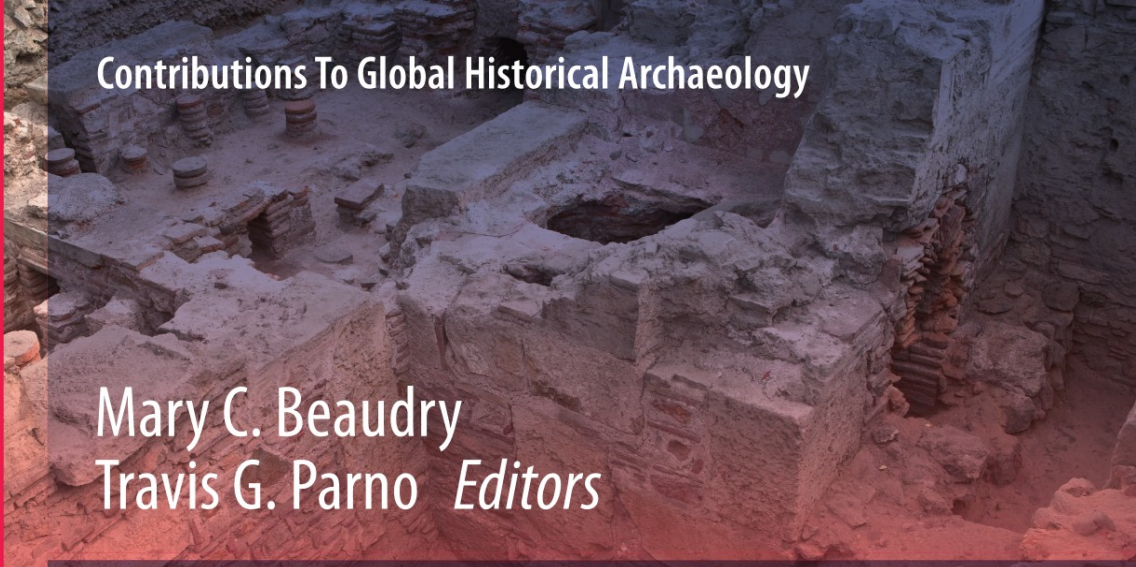

Contributions To Global Historical Archaeology

Mary C. Beaudry
Travis G. Parno *Editors*

Archaeologies of Mobility and Movement

Springer

CONTRIBUTIONS TO GLOBAL HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

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Editors
Mary C. Beaudry
Archaeology
Boston University
Boston, MA, USA

Travis G. Parno
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Boston University
Boston, MA, USA

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In Memory
Chad M.G. DiGregorio (1985–2012)

Preface

In November 2011, the Contemporary and Historical Archaeology in Theory (CHAT) group met in Boston at Boston University. CHAT was conceived as a way, through informal annual meetings, to provide opportunities for dialogue among researchers in later historical archaeology and the archaeology of the contemporary world and to promote interdisciplinary exchanges between archaeologists and other scholars. While the group had ventured to Dublin in 2005, this was the first time since its founding in the UK in 2003 that the group held its annual conference in North America.

In recognition of CHAT's temporary migration across the Atlantic, its organizers selected the theme of "People and Things in Motion" for the 2011 conference; the meeting drew over 100 attendees from across the globe and featured 3 days of papers and a keynote address delivered by University of Chicago Associate Professor of Anthropology and 2010 MacArthur Foundation Fellow, Shannon Dawdy. Papers were presented by speakers from six continents, highlighting the truly global nature of the CHAT organization.

Inspired by the quality of the papers delivered at the conference, we invited several of the speakers to revise their papers for publication in a book that explores ways of addressing movement and mobility from archaeological perspectives. Those who accepted our invitation also agreed to subject their revised chapters to a round-robin review process as well as to changes requested by the editors, and the result is the present volume. Shannon Dawdy agreed to read the revised chapters and to prepare a commentary, which appears here as the Afterword.

We would like to thank the CHAT Steering Committee and its Chair, Rodney Harrison, for supporting the conference and encouraging a publication based on its theme of people and things in motion; we also thank all of the conference participants

and the many Boston University graduate students, in particular Brent Fortenberry, who helped organize the conference and who worked tirelessly to make it a success. We also thank the contributors of this volume who were so prompt in preparing their papers for review and in revising them for publication, as well as in responding quickly to our queries about references, illustrations, and other matters.

Boston, MA, USA

Mary C. Beaudry
Travis G. Parno

Contents

Contributors

Oscar Aldred School of History, Classics and Archaeology, Newcastle University, Newcastle, UK

Scott Joseph Allen Departamento de Arqueologia, Universidade Federal de Pernambuco, Recife, Pernambuco, Brazil

Mary C. Beaudry Department of Archaeology, Boston University, Boston, MA, USA

Mats Burström Department of Archaeology and Classical Studies, Stockholm University, Stockholm, Sweden

Chieh-fu Jeff Cheng Department of Archaeology, Boston University, Boston, MA, USA

John F. Cherry Joukowsky Institute for Archaeology and the Ancient World, Brown University, Providence, RI, USA

Craig N. Cipolla School of Archaeology and Ancient History, University of Leicester, Leicester, UK

Shannon Lee Dawdy Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, Chicago, IL, USA

Christina J. Hodge Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, USA

Ellen Hsieh Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California at Los Angeles, Los Angeles, CA, USA

Karen A. Hutchins Department of Archaeology, Boston University, Philadelphia, PA, USA

Visa Immonen Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies, University of Helsinki, Helsinki, Finland

Alexander Keim Department of Archaeology, Boston University, Boston, MA, USA

Magdalena Naum Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, Lund University, Lund, Sweden

Travis G. Parno Department of Archaeology, Boston University, Boston, MA, USA

Luke J. Pecoraro Department of Archaeology, Boston University, Boston, MA, USA

Krysta Ryzewski Department of Anthropology, Wayne State University, Detroit, MI, USA

Ronald Salzer Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte, Universität Wien, Wien, Austria

Sean Winter Department of Archaeology, School of Social and Cultural Studies, University of Western Australia, Crawley, Australia

Chapter 1
Introduction: Mobilities in Contemporary and Historical Archaeology

Mary C. Beaudry and Travis G. Parno

> …imagine a world of incessant movement and becoming, one that is never complete but continually under construction, woven from the countless lifelines of its manifold human and non-human constituents as they thread their ways through the tangle of relationships in which they are comprehensively enmeshed.
>
> Ingold, 2011: 141

This collection of essays draws inspiration from current archaeological interest in the movement of individuals, things, and ideas in the recent past. Movement is fundamentally concerned with the relationship(s) among time, object, person, and space. Contemporary scholarship has highlighted the enmeshed nature of people and things (Olsen, 2010), with a particular focus on temporality as an expression of overlapping durational flows (Olivier, 2004, 2008). In our globalized world, archaeologists of the recent past are faced with a proliferation of movement episodes that shaped and are shaping the archaeological record (cf. Sheller & Urry, 2006).

We argue that understanding movement in the past requires a shift away from traditional, fieldwork-based archaeological ontologies towards fluid, trajectory-based studies. Archaeology, by its very nature, locates objects frozen in space (literally in their three-dimensional matrices) at sites that are often stripped of people. An archaeology of movement must break away from this stasis and cut new pathways that trace the boundary-crossing contextuality inherent in object/person mobility. This break requires that we embrace the contradictions, ephemeral traces, and fleeting relationships left in the wake of the movement of people and things. Novel approaches to mobility also require a high degree of flexibility and creativity; we echo Sheller and Urry's (2006: 210) caution against forging a rigid "grand narrative of mobility." The chapters contained in this volume represent

M.C. Beaudry (✉) • T.G. Parno
Department of Archaeology, Boston University, 675 Commonwealth Avenue,
Boston, MA 02215-1406, USA
e-mail: beaudry@bu.edu

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a substantive set of "questions, theories, and methodologies" (as called for by Sheller and Urry) implemented in a variety of case studies from across the globe.

The contributions that follow depart from previous archaeological treatments of movement and mobility in four key ways. First and most important, they extend the rapidly growing interest in mobility into the recent past. Second, our case studies are drawn from across the globe and explore movement in the recent past on a geographically comprehensive scale. Third, although some authors incorporate and extend theoretical tools that have been employed previously by archaeologists who study prehistory and the ancient world, all offer techniques and perspectives that break new ground in the archaeological study of mobility. Finally, the contributions to this volume are situated within a contemporary theoretical framework that challenges traditional object/person dichotomies. Holistically, the book is structured around the perspective that the movement of people and things is a complex and mutually affective process.

Movement and Archaeology: A Review

Archaeologists have long looked to movement to answer to some of the discipline's biggest questions. In the early twentieth century, migration and diffusion were the buzzwords evoked to explain cultural change throughout the ancient world: movement as deus ex machina. Many scholars, Petrie (1939) and Reisner (1909), for instance, interpreted cultural shifts as the replacement of one group of people with another. Others, following Montelius (1899), looked to the Near East as the so-called Cradle of Civilization from which all innovation sprang. Referred to as *ex oriente lux* (or "light from the east"), this theory's proponents pointed to the diffusion of populations from the Near East and the subsequent radiating waves of their cultural influence as the mechanism that generated the layers of material cultures encountered in African and European soils (movement as *deus ex oriente lux*?). Perhaps the most highly regarded supporter of the *ex oriente lux* model was V. Gordon Childe. Along migration patterns and trade networks, Childe (1928, 1930) imagined channels through which various distillations of culture, such as agricultural ingenuity and bronze technology, flowed. To each of these early archaeologists, movement was the vehicle that transported culture-saturated people (and to a lesser extent, things) across the globe.

While Childe looked to ceramic vessels and metal tools to trace the migration of archaeological cultures, some who followed him turned to less tangible markers of movement. Renfrew (1988), in his famous study of Indo-European linguistics, linked the transference of language to the spread of agriculture from Anatolia to Europe. Renfrew's (1988: 288) primary goal was to look beyond the movement of people to examine instead the "underlying economic and social processes at work." For Renfrew, movement was complex, executed locally in fits and starts, but

discernible globally in patterns. It was driven not only by migration but also by the distribution of technology and passage of linguistic traits from people to people. Renfrew's hypothesis certainly has not been universally accepted (see e.g., Gimbutas, 1990), but he succeeded in demonstrating that movement is a complicated process involving innumerable factors shifting at different rates.

Other considerations of past movements have focused on narrower questions related to the migration patterns of hunter-gatherer groups and those of later nomadic pastoralists (e.g., Barnard & Wendrich, 2008; Kelly, 1992; Sellet, Greaves, & Yu, 2006). These efforts have made significant contributions to our understanding of the effects of nomadic mobility on subsistence, social relations, and the production, use, and discard of material culture in the deeper past. Some studies in this vein focus on more specific topics, such as the role of roads and paths in shaping movement experiences (e.g., Gibson, 2007), how movement affects the definition of political boundaries (e.g., Colburn & Hughes, 2010), and discerning the material remnants of movement in the archaeological record (e.g., Seymour, 2009a, 2009b). This research shows us that, following Renfrew, movement is a multi-scalar process with broad-reaching socio-material implications.

When faced with a landscape of study, many archaeologists and anthropologists have opted to twist the lens further, revealing the effects of movement on the local scale. Social theories such as phenomenology have influenced Ingold (1993), Tilley (1994), and Thomas (1996) to explore the frictions generated by moving through a landscape (see also Bender, 1993; Branton, 2009; Casella, 2001; De Cunzo, 2001; Johnson, 2007). Scholars who espouse this approach, influenced by Bourdieu (1977) and de Certeau (1984), argue that repeated movement through a given space has transformative effects on individuals' identities. The sensory engagements made while moving, whether those of sight, sound, smell, touch, or taste, have the cumulative effect of molding (or "structuring," to use Bourdieu's terminology) one's experiences in meaningful ways. For example, in her study of the Philadelphia Magdalen Society asylum, De Cunzo (2001, 2006) argues that morally "fallen" women were meant to be reformed through their journey deeper and deeper into the asylum's inner spaces. The movement through purified spaces, with progress marked by new clothing, a new name, and new practices, would ultimately cleanse the corrupt individual and render her socially acceptable—the physical world shaping the mental, moral world. To the phenomenologist, the physicality of surrounding spaces, and by extension movement through them, does as much to habituate cultural practices and memory creation as do the more abstract aspects of cultural influence, such as tradition, values, or laws. Movement, in this case, is transformative because it exposes the individual to new experiences.

Many of the approaches to movement discussed thus far are situated in the deeper and recent pasts. Increasingly, however, archaeologists and anthropologists recognize the extent to which contemporary society is fundamentally shaped by movement. The saying that we live in a "globalized world" is so worn as to be trite, yet upon probing, it still carries weight. Implicit in the idea of a globalized society is an awareness of the movement trajectories of people, materials, and information

that crisscross the earth at head-spinning speeds. It is the awareness that is key: movement is so constant and so pervasive in our world that it often goes unnoticed. We have become accustomed to frenzied comings and goings.

The movements of contemporary society have not been lost on some corners of the social sciences. The ability to move, or not to move, has a strong political bent, one that anthropologists, geographers, sociologists, and others have begun to explore. Sheller and Urry (2006: 208) refer to these works collectively as the "new mobilities paradigm," arguing that the "mobility turn" is

> transforming the social sciences, transcending the dichotomy between transport research and social research, putting social relations into travel and connecting different forms of transport with complex patterns of social experience conducted through communications at-a-distance.

The new mobilities paradigm does not dispute the existence of old mobilities (although Sheller and Urry attribute a somewhat greater speed to contemporary mobility); rather, its practitioners question both the fixity of geographic spaces and the false divide between global and local. Flows of information render almost any space knowable, collapsing the boundaries between traditional scalar divisions.

Geographers concerned with mobility have developed many ways of studying contemporary mobility; in the above-mentioned essay, Sheller and Urry (2006: 208) discuss the properties, characteristics, and implications of the "new mobilities paradigm" they saw as developing within "anthropology, cultural studies, geography, migration studies, science and technology studies, tourism and transport studies, and sociology." The new paradigm focuses on flows and networks of connections, on hybrid geographies of human/nonhuman interactions (cf. Whatmore, 2002), on the dynamics of movement, and on the emergent properties of a technologically sophisticated globalized world of movements of people, goods, animals, disease, and information (Sheller & Urry, 2006: 209, 217).

Notably, Sheller and Urry do not mention archaeology unless perhaps it is subsumed under anthropology, though its seems more likely, given Sheller and Urry's (2006: 208–212) criticism of the social sciences as a whole as static, that they see archaeology, too, as more about stasis and sedentism than about movement—which patently is not the case. Tim Creswell has pointed out in a recent essay that Sheller and Urry offer a decidedly present-day perspective on mobility, a perspective characterized by technophilia and a fixation on the new, ignoring or overlooking the past and histories of movement and mobility (Creswell, 2010: 29). This is perhaps another reason why Sheller and Urry do not consider archaeology as having anything to contribute to the mobilities paradigm.

Creswell defines (2010: 19) mobility as "the entanglement of movement, representation, and practice" such that it is about physically getting from one place to another, the different sorts of meanings that travel and movement take on, and the "experienced and embodied practice of movement." He does not see mobility as unproblematic, free of frictions, or devoid of political implications, and he adduces phenomenology and nonrepresentational theory as ways of making observations

> that can be made about all forms of mobility—they have a physical reality, they are encoded culturally and socially, and they are experienced through practice. Importantly, these forms of mobility (walking, driving, etc.) and these aspects of mobilities (movement, representation, and practice) are political—they are implicated in the production of power and relations of domination. (Creswell, 2010: 20)

Students of movement and mobility, then, need to acknowledge that mobility is implicated in the production and reproduction of power relations; Cresswell (2010: 27) introduces the notion of "constellations of mobility" as a way of comprehending how physical movement, representations, and mobile practices are interrelated and how the nature of such interrelationships vary across time and context. In other words, it is important to look to the past to understand different ways in which mobility has been regulated in different times and places, how this reflects political and social structure, and how differential access to voluntary movement—as well as forced movement through human trafficking, persecution, etc.—takes on symbolic import through the narratives a society develops (e.g., narratives of mobility as liberty, mobility as progress, mobility as what it means to be modern, etc.) (Creswell, 2010: 27).

Historians who have adopted the notion of the Atlantic world as a unit of analysis and organizing theme for their research (see, e.g., Games, 1999, 2006a) are very much aware of the limitations of studying the early modern world in fixed geographical divisions: "for historians of the early modern period, the modern political boundaries that determine regions of study…can be confining because early borders—where they existed or were acknowledged—were porous, contested, and shifting" (Games, 2006b: 675). Alison Games, in particular, has studied the movements of individuals she refers to as globetrotters and cosmopolitans (Games, 2008); her studies underscore the highly peripatetic careers of English adventurers involved in the creation and expansion of England's first empire. Her work and that of other Atlantic historians have infused the field of early modern history with its own powerful "mobilities paradigm" that is especially relevant for historical and contemporary archaeologists.

So what about archaeology and mobility? As discussed above, to some extent mobility, or at least movement, has been a focus of archaeological study since the field began, as archaeologists sought to understand how groups develop and populate regions, from the earliest humans to diasporas of all forms in more recent times. Key topics around movement throughout archaeology's history as a discipline have included, but not been limited to, migration and diffusion; invasion, conquest, and imperial imposition; colonialism; trade and the movement of goods, people, and animals; seafaring and its associated technologies; and nomadism.

What is of interest is that only recently have archaeologists begun to constitute movement itself as an object of inquiry (see Sheller & Urry, 2006: 12). Interest in a more theoretically informed study of past mobility has been manifested chiefly through conference sessions and workshops rather than publications, although Matt Edgeworth's *Fluid Pasts*: *Archaeology of Flow* (2011a) is quite literally about dynamic and fluid forms of analysis arising from conceiving of flowing water as cultural evidence (see also Aldred & Sekedat, 2010; Edgeworth, 2011b). The 2010 meeting of the Theoretical Archaeology Group (TAG) at Brown University in

Providence, Rhode Island, featured a session titled "Archaeological Ambulations: Integrative Approaches to Movement" (TAG at Brown, 2010). The session included papers that explored theoretical considerations of movement in ancient Turkish, Greek, Roman, Minoan, and Native North American societies. Similarly, Nordic TAG in April 2011 at Linnaeus University in Kalmar, Sweden, included a session called "After Gimbutas. Mobility of Culture in 21st-Century Archaeological Studies." Participants discussed the movement of people and objects in Bronze Age contexts throughout Europe (Nordic, 2011). In June 2011, the TOPOI Research Group B-IV held a workshop titled "Computational Approaches to Movement in Archaeology" in Berlin, Germany (TOPOI is an interdisciplinary research network whose members investigate how space and knowledge were formed and transformed in ancient civilization). The workshop brought scholars together who used advanced computational modeling techniques to understand movement through space in the deeper past (TOPOI, 2011). To date (and to our knowledge), none of the papers from these conference sessions and workshops have been published, but the fact that they took place demonstrates the growing interest in advancing new archaeological approaches to mobility. We note that David Peterson and John Dudgeon are coediting a book based on papers delivered in a session titled "Motion Check: Archaeological Insights on the Circulation of People and Objects," held at the 2010 annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association (AAA, 2010). Peterson and Dudgeon's forthcoming book includes no consideration of the archaeology of the recent past, however. Through the present book, we hope to remedy this by bringing historical and contemporary archaeology into the arena to offer fresh insights into the ways archaeologists can contribute to understanding movement and mobility in the past.

The Themes of Mobilities

Essays in this volume build on the approaches developed by their archaeological predecessors as well as by contemporary geographers, historians, and anthropologists, confronting issues of movement from a variety of perspectives. There are several recurrent themes throughout the book—networks, flows, homelands, globalization, multisited archaeology, affordances of place, and space. In the end, however, we elected and divided the book into thematic groupings based on how authors framed the act of moving: through objects, through people, and through spaces.

The opening section, *Movement of Objects*, includes case studies that follow the paths of material culture and its interactions with groups of people. Visa Immonen examines what he refers to as "networks of desire" alongside trade networks in colonial situations; he studies brass kettles as objects of desire among indigenous peoples of Lapland and the colony of New Sweden in the mid-Atlantic region of what is now the United States. At first novel, these objects insinuated themselves into the everyday lives of colonial subjects and became necessary both to their ways of life and to their new identities that emerged in the aftermath of contact. Immonen's

analysis is nuanced and subtle; he interprets the flow of brass kettles from their places of manufacture in Europe to the homes of Laplanders and of Native peoples of the mid-Atlantic not as a mechanism of ideological imposition but as a force that worked upon indigenous subjectivities in their own self-fashioning. Pointing to the many similarities in the ways the two groups adopted brass kettles and how in turn brass kettles changed the local people, he underscores the global mechanisms of European colonialism. What is more, he reveals the ways in which the meaning of brass kettles shifted for the colonizer, when in the colonial context mundane, utilitarian objects became symbolic of domestic life in the homeland—evocative and nostalgic objects of desire and longing with a very different meaning than they had for the colonized as well as for those who remained in the homeland (see also Chaps. 6 and 10).

Scott Allen also look at cultural contact between Europeans and indigenous peoples and suggests a new interpretation of a particular type of artifact, clay pipes, arguing against reductionist categories that encourage overly simplistic assignment of cultural affiliation. He considers the evidence from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Native South American and maroon sites in the Alagoas region of Brazil, characterizing it as a refuge zone for both Natives and escaped slaves (*quilombos*) during the colonial period. This was a time of increased contact among disparate groups as well as a dynamic time of upheaval and movement, rendering it very difficult for archaeologists to distinguish the archaeological signature of runaway slave villages. He sets out a compelling case for reconsideration of decorated clay smoking pipes, which some have used as markers of quilombo occupation; a closer look at contextual data on the occurrence of smoking pipes at archaeological sites reveals that they occur regularly in precontact Native South American sites as well as in Native sites dating to the contact period. Reconsidering the possible cultural associations of the smoking pipes leads Allen to call for a more comprehensively contextual approach to the study of the material culture of the diverse groups who interacted with one another during the contact period in Brazil. The lessons learned in Brazil clearly have broader relevance for studies of the materiality of contact situations elsewhere.

Oscar Aldred problematizes the object/person dichotomy by focusing on relationships established during the movement of sheep and shepherds in Iceland. Aldred is interested in copresence, "the juxtaposition and the contemporaneity of material presences which move together as it were along the same paths" (Aldred & Sekedat, 2010); here he considers the entangled relations of farmers and sheep in the elaborate annual dance of movement from pasture, to shearing shed, to slaughter. He attempts to understand the movements not as a series of human interventions but as actions and episodes prompted and partially controlled at some points by sheep and at others by humans. In acknowledging the codependency of humans and their companion species, Aldred embraces recent scholarship in the posthumanities that seeks to expose the incompleteness—and wrongness—of anthropocentric perspectives that fail to account for the agency of animals and other living and nonliving things and their impacts on human actors [e.g., Haraway, 2003, 2008; see also Anderson (2004)]. Donna Haraway would no doubt be quick to point out another

actor in the dance of the sheepfold: the sheepdog. Shepherd, sheepdog, and sheep, as well as air, water, soil, and plants, all play important roles and are inextricably entangled in the choreography of "sheep eating and walking to shearing and slaughter" (Haraway, 2003: 23). Aldred is able to demonstrate convincingly that sheep and farmers are true companion species, dependent upon and benefitting from one another in manifold ways.

For Ronald Salzer, the excavation of a highly portable pocket sundial from the fifteenth-century site of Grafendorf in Austria provides an opportunity to examine the ways in which technologies of mobility are bound up with ways of reckoning time and the importance of accurate timekeeping in planning and executing journeys. Salzer discusses the ways in which an accurate and portable timekeeping device afforded its owner with "portability of time" in journeys such as military expeditions, political missions, educational trips, and pilgrimages. He rightly sees such objects as key to European expansion in the early modern era as well as to the economic prosperity of Europe as it transitioned from medieval to modern.

Our second section, *Movement of People*, features chapters that explore the shifting material traces of human mobility. Chieh-fu Jeff Cheng and Ellen Hsieh discuss the role of largely abandoned Military Dependents' Villages (MDV) in contemporary Taiwan. In the late 1940s and 1950s, the Kuomintang (KMT) government established provisional housing for Nationalist soldiers and their dependents, deliberately segregating these incomers from the rest of Taiwanese society (Kuo, 2005; Manthorpe, 2005). The villagers were able to retain foodways and customs from mainland China, despite the fact that life in the villages was crowded and the houses haphazardly built. Eventually, it became clear that the KMT would not return to rule China, so the military and military families began to move out of the villages and to become more fully integrated into the island's population. Cheng proposes a long-term archaeological study that will investigate everyday life in the most isolated villages. Cheng and Hsieh here examine the role of MDVs as modern ruins and discuss the processes whereby the ruination of the villages through disrespect, neglect, and demolition and their transformation through reuse and rehabilitation have caused some of these sites to be viewed as pertinent to heritage and to post-national identities in Taiwan. It is impossible to overlook "the irony derived from the changing role of military-dependent villages: illegally-built residences, once having a significant impact on the image and urban development of Taiwanese cities, ultimately became special spatial products with historic interests" (Liu, 2012: 6). These very changes in the roles of MDVs have also transformed them into subjects for contemporary archaeology.

The military dependents' villages in Taiwan were shabbily built and lacking in proper infrastructure because the unwilling immigrants from China shared the conviction that they would soon abandon their temporary homes and return to the mainland. This illustrates a reoccurring theme in situations involving migrants who seek refuge from persecution or worse during times of conflict: the intention to return to the homeland. Mats Burström's case study provides another illustration of this theme; he documents the material memories of displaced Estonians who became exiles from their homeland during World War II. Many families buried their

possessions—not necessarily valuables but often household utensils needed to resume normal, everyday life upon their anticipated return. Despite the fact that many could not return, they remained steeped in homesickness and longing for the homeland, along with at times faulty memories of where valuables had been concealed. For Burström the buried caches are symbolic of the emotional ties to homeland that are created by the belief that goods will be safe when placed into the soil of a place where generations of ancestors had lived.

Cipolla examines ethnogenesis through changes in burial and commemoration practices among the Brothertown Indian migrations. In pointing out that mobility was a central fact of life for Native North Americans before the arrival of Europeans, he is also quick to note that it took on new meaning after contact. The Brothertown Indians relocated their community and burying grounds three times in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, leaving material traces of their presence in each place while continuing to conceive of their former settlements as homelands. Cipolla analyzes how this group constructed and reconstructed its identity through various mechanisms, including town layout through what Cipolla refers to as "resituating homeland," communal memory, fictive kinship, traditional practices, language, and material culture and concludes that movement played as important a role as did settling down in the ethnogenesis of the group that became known as the Brothertown Indians.

In his study of convict transportation in Western Australia, Winter discusses movement as a defining characteristic that contributed to a uniquely local enactment of a global penal ideology. Winter's analysis indicates that the British government attempted to apply a standardized convict transportation policy and to employ a template for convict detention, but the diverse nature of its empire, characterized both by differing environments and differing labor needs, led to variability in penal colonies that can only be properly understood through a contextual approach. The global network of penal institutions meant that there was global flow of information (despite the "friction" of slow transport by ship) outwards to the colonies and back to the centralized authority in Whitehall. There was a flow of people outwards—though convicts might be moved about between colonies, unlike administrators, few returned to Britain. The flow of material culture, capital, and goods served to tie the global network to local economies in ways that mean the places of confinement consumed supplies and furnishings not unlike those of the unconfined and do not provide a recognizable archaeological signature; Winter notes that it is the built environment of penal colonies that give the sites their distinction (cf. Moskenska & Myers, 2011) and advocates a balanced approach to understanding the ways in which a global system of flows of people, goods, and information escaped the bounds of uniform centralized policy through local, on-the-ground expressions.

Hutchins questions scholarly traditions in studying African Americans in New England and resituates the conversation within a contextualized, mobility-based framework. In eighteenth-century Massachusetts, the poor were afforded liminal status, and free and enslaved African Americans, who were often poor, bore as well a racially defined status of liminality. Such people were involuntarily on the move from town to town; marginality forced some of the "walking poor" to occupy

marginal land that they would never own (cf. Hutchins & Beaudry, 2013). The place known as Parting Ways, far beyond the town center of Plymouth, Massachusetts, became an attractor for such marginalized people seeking to settle down with their families. Hutchins expands the notion of liminality beyond Turner's (1974) definition of it as a temporal state to reconceptualize liminality as a spatial condition, allowing for an analytical framework that accounts for motion between states and acknowledges that liminality both affords and restricts the sorts of movements or transitions that individuals may undertake. In the end, Hutchins argues that the liminal nature of Parting Ways as a place removed from the population center, crisscrossed by roads that took travelers elsewhere, with poor resources, made it attractive to transients and to newly freed African Americans who had no place else to "go" except to this marginal place.

This section closes with Magdalena Naum's exploration of how Europeans involved in colonial projects in the Americas and elsewhere suffered from the malady of homesickness, characterizing the age of expansion as also one of displacement. Colonists and colonial administrators may have struck out from home with optimism and burgeoning hopes for success and personal enrichment, but upon finding themselves in an unfamiliar setting often found themselves overcome by intense longing for home and the homeland. In the colony of New Sweden, vivid memories of home led to a "performance of memory" in the sense of recreating a private world through familiar objects brought from home. Material culture is used in "homemaking practices" to reassemble memories, practices, and even landscapes in their varied sites of dwelling (Tolia-Kelly, 2006: 344). The so-called traveling objects take on an emotional "stickiness" because they are "saturated with affect" through their memory work in reconstituting the material world of home and homeland (Kuhn, 1995: 11).

The chapters in our third section, *Movement Through Space*, illustrate the effects that particular spaces have on the people and objects who pass through them. John Cherry, Krysta Ryzewski, and Luke Pecoraro transport the reader to the famous AIR Studios on the island of Montserrat and explore the social and material ramifications of the eruptions of the Soufrière Hills volcano that devastated much of the island. AIR Studios is a contemporary ruin subject to accelerated processes of decay through abandonment, neglect, and manifold environmental threats and eminent total destruction. Here, however, many of rock-and-roll's superstars created some of their most-loved and still popular music. The material remains of AIR Studios on Montserrat may disappear, but the authors, harking to Marilyn Strathern's formulation of an ontologically multiple world (see e.g., Strathern, 1991), point out that in many ways the "site" of AIR Studios has always been a "distributed" place, bringing in musicians who occupied the premises for short but intense recording sessions and sending out music to the world. Nowadays one can view some of these sessions in cyberspace through YouTube. Since its abandonment, AIR Studios has had much of its equipment and furnishings removed and put into use elsewhere on the island or in other parts of the world. This does not alter the fact that the seemingly inevitable loss of AIR Studios will force Montserrat to forfeit a poignant and celebrated portion of its heritage.

Travis Parno writes about how the interactions among people, objects, and spaces within historic house museums empower visitors to construct novel images of life in the past. Drawing upon the writings of Walter Benjamin, Parno interprets the seeming hodge-podge of material culture accumulated at small historic house museums as a mosaic of materials and objects that visitors respond to in spontaneous ways that create individual, personalized experiences of tours through the house and back in time. The individualized experience arises in response to the materiality and associations not of all objects in a small, crowded museum such as the Fairbanks House in Dedham, Massachusetts, but through the visitor's selection of and response to particular objects that have meaning for them. Through the embodied experience of moving through the parts of the house open for tours and interacting with the objects on display, independent of any "facts" the guide might recite as part of a prepared tour, each visitor mentally constructs a montage of material symbols that, for all intents and purposes, develop his or her own narrative of the house's history.

Christina Hodge identifies a hybrid educational forum at Harvard University's Indian College in Cambridge, Massachusetts, positioning the space as one in which daily interactions between Puritan and Native American students forged new cultural entanglements. Her focus is on the ways in which the physical structure of the Indian College structured social practice while at the same time it provided unforeseen affordances to both Native and English students. One of Hodge's basic premises is that placemaking involves situated behaviors that activate space, making a given space into a place that holds different meanings for all those who experience it. She is interested in practices of movement through the academic built environment, both those regulated by Harvard's rigid schedule for each student and those less orchestrated and sees the construction and demolition of the Indian College as having had a profound effect on Harvard as well as on the Native young men it was intended to educate and civilize.

For some contemporary archaeologists, a focus on mobility involves consideration of the issue of how people move, involving a focus on the journey as well as the destination. Using city plans and archaeological data from a number of sites, Alex Keim explores the multisensory impact of traversing the North End neighborhood of Boston, Massachusetts and its implications for studying movement in urban spaces. Grounded in practice theory, Keim's approach attempts to account both for movement through urban spaces as acts of the presentation of self and for the frictions encountered by nineteenth-century city dwellers. It is not just the network of streets, walkways, and transport that structured movement through the city; rather, embodied experience affected the itinerary, the actual routes people took (e.g., to avoid noxious smells, drunks in the street, etc.), and the way in which they traversed them (strolling, walking quickly in a guarded and self-protective manner, etc.). Perception and meaning are intertwined; the practice, the self, and the contexts of urban spaces combine to influence the ways in which people understand both themselves and the urban landscape.

In her closing remarks on this volume, Shannon Dawdy picks out one of the prominent threads that weave throughout the essays—longing and desire: desire for

new trade goods, longing for home and homeland, desire among archaeologists and others to aestheticize the ruins of modernity. Such longing and desire foster movement and at the same time transform travel and "moving" into unsettling experiences. Rather than follow traditional archaeological approaches to the ways in which people settle upon the landscape, Dawdy remarks that the contributors explore an archaeology of "*un*settlement patterns."

Towards Archaeologies of Movement

At the heart of each case study included in this volume is a concern with the hybridity of people and things, affordances of objects and spaces, contemporary heritage issues, and the effects of movement on archaeological subjects in the recent and contemporary past. Creswell (2010: 29) remarks that "as proponents of the mobility turn have shown, mobilities need moorings"; our contributors have recognized the need to attend to fixity, stasis, and immobility as important counter-aspects of mobility. Movement always contrasts with immobility, and the inability to move, or being forced to move against one's will, has much to do with the ways in which Cresswell's "constellations of mobility" have been assembled and perceived in different places and in different times. Harking back to Ingold's words with which we opened, we acknowledge that the project of developing archaeologies of movement, like human life itself, is constantly under construction, revision, and reconsideration. The essays included here move us along that journey and offer some useful building blocks for an iteration of a new mobilities paradigm for contemporary and historical archaeology.

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Part I
Objects in Motion

Chapter 2
Intercontinental Flows of Desire: Brass Kettles in Lapland and in the Colony of New Sweden

Visa Immonen

Colonialism establishes particular and sometimes surprising networks of desire between territories, things, and people. Their basis is in materials, material cultures, and their movements across regions and continents. One such a network connected the native populations of Lapland in the northernmost region of Europe and the Swedish colony in North America. The colony of New Sweden was founded in 1638 in the Delaware Valley, which encompassed the area of northern Delaware, southwestern New Jersey, and southeastern Pennsylvania. Here I analyze the establishment and effects of this network through the seventeenth-century trade in brass kettles in the two distant areas.

I will begin by articulating the relationship between colonialism, desire, and material culture. The archaeology of colonial identity can be defined, following Lucas (2004: 186), as the study of how subjectivities are constituted in the context of colonialism in terms of everyday material culture. Desire, in turn, glues together everyday life with macroscale politics and global networks of exchange. The concept of desire therefore helps us to understand how colonialism functions as a force that establishes new ways of life and interaction. The differing conceptions of desire, however, provide for this field of research very dissimilar ways of tracing the emergence of identities. After specifying these differences, I will present the distribution and consumption of brass kettles in North America, North Scandinavia, and Finland as a case study. Lastly, I will discuss how brass kettles constituted an element in the colonial and intercontinental movements of desire.

The concepts of desire and colonialism surface, though obliquely, as the main theme in two recent historical studies on the relations between the settlers and the Native Americans in the Swedish colony. The first is Gunlög Fur's book *Colonialism in the Margins* (2006). The earlier historical tradition argued that the relations

V. Immonen (✉)
Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies, University of Helsinki,
P.O. Box 4, FI-00014 University of Helsinki, Finland
e-mail: visa.immonen@helsinki.fi

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between the Nordic colonizers and the native populations of the region, mainly the Lenni Lenape, were unusually friendly and peaceful. This was a symptom of the civilized attitudes of the Swedes. Fur argues, however, that peacefulness was more a consequence of the settlers having no options. The survival of the colony depended on the goodwill of the natives and their readiness to participate in trade. In a similarly critical vein, Amy Schutt examines interaction between the native populations of Delaware and European colonists in her book *Peoples of the River Valleys* (2007). Schutt's focus is on the native side of the colonial encounter, but she also emphasizes the Indian–Indian relations. These relations were heterogeneous and affected also the native attitudes and policies towards the Europeans.

These two studies try to create accounts that operate outside of the paradigm of Western universalizing history. They do this by approaching the colonized as an active force, emphasizing, for example, the role of the Lenape in defining the conditions in which the early trade with the Swedes was conducted and later in adopting the strategy of building alliances with an array of peoples. This enabled their survival as a people during the advancement of the European settlers. Both works have been criticized, however. First, Fur is accused of failing to concretize her claims by explicitly comparing American and Nordic colonialisms (Smolenski, 2007). Schutt's work, in turn, has been criticized as implying that the natives were merely reacting to European prompts, not defining various situations of encounter in their own terms (Snyder, 2007).

These minor criticisms directed at Fur and Schutt arise in reaction to a particular conception of colonialism and desire present in both works. The authors appear to approach colonialism as an ideological device, a particular way in which colonial social practices produce various subjects and define their relations. In this way, the colonial system of power carves out the contours of colonizers and the colonized and their experiences. Desire is understood through the concept of acquisition: colonial desire seeks to acquire something that it lacks. In the case of brass kettles, the natives craved European things, reacting to their presence as material signifiers of colonial power and European values, and wanted to satisfy their desire by engaging in trade. In this framework, the traded items as actual material objects are secondary to the workings of colonial economies and power.

Desire as an Active Force

The relation between colonialism, the emergence of colonial subjects, and the profusion of European products introduced into the Native American cultures can be seen in a different light. This perspective rests on another kind of conception of desire that, rather than confining analysis to the rigidly predefined dualism between the colonizer and the colonized, shifts the emphasis to the materiality and performative force of the products. In this view, desire is not a representation of colonial politics or ideologies, but a productive force that allows the emergence of the colonial setting and the flows of people and objects. Such an inquiry into material culture

requires the analysis of artifacts in relation to fundamental networks of desire. The exploration of relations between bodies and objects, their microscale movements and transformations, is given priority. The goal is to reveal the complex dependences between objects and humans, in which the former are not simply vehicles for meanings given by the latter. Things and material processes should not be considered in isolation from the performative emergence of both subjectivity and colonialism.

Gosden (2004) favors such an alternative view on the relations between desire, material culture, and colonialism. He argues that colonialism is a particular effect that material culture has on bodies and minds, and concludes that "colonialism is a relationship of desire, which creates a network of people and things, but the exact shape of desire and the ensuing network will vary" (Gosden, 2004: 153). Colonialism is thus established as an elementary relationship to material culture. Gosden's definition of colonialism is based on the conception of desire as a positive production of reality (Deleuze & Guattari, 1985). Desire is a machine, and the object of desire is another machine connected to it. Consequently all social production is desiring-production, not something that precedes desire.

This framework does not bring about the easy amalgamation of the colonizer and the colonized into some uniform coherence. Instead, desire is established and based on differences, differences between the two and within the two. Desire in this sense is not a desire for an object, for a traded product as such, but it is desire to be drawn into another world expressed by that object. At the same time, as a difference, desire establishes moments in which the authoritarian discourses lose their grip on meaning and become open to the trace of the language of the other: objects can express various worlds and their values, and as objects, brass kettles participate in these fluctuations of meaning.

Kettles in the History of the Swedish Colony

The flow of kettles from Europe into colonial setting gave a rise to various formations of desire and subsequent experiences that I set to trace. These new experiences were highly differing, but at the same time, part of the same colonial process. First, the outlines of this process and the role of copper kettles are sketched focusing on the Swedish colony and its history. Although in terms of archaeology New Sweden remains poorly studied (Fig. 2.1) (Immonen, 2011), written documents related to it are known relatively well and published (Waldron, 1995). Consequently, the outline of the colony's history is soundly established. After that, I will continue to the microscale movements of kettles in the everyday colonial life, giving new insight into the global mechanisms.

An important motivation for the Kingdom of Sweden to become engaged in the colonial venture was its economy which in the seventeenth century was weak—in stark contrast to the nation's increased political importance in Europe (Johnson, 1911). At the same time, with the rapid expansion of military industry

Fig. 2.1 Among the few thoroughly excavated sites of New Sweden are the remains of the governor's residence or Printzhof at present Governor Printz Park in Essington, Pennsylvania (Becker, 2011). The residence was built by the third colonial governor Johan Björnsson Printz (1592–1663) in 1643 (Photo by Visa Immonen)

and the constant need for muskets and cannons, the European copper markets were developing at a quick pace. Accordingly, copper mining became one of the most important industries for the kingdom and a major source of income for the government. The Great Copper Mountain in Falun functioned as the nation's treasury and funded the heavy war efforts in Central Europe.

Although copper was a relatively valuable metal in Europe, it was not used for making social distinctions, but rather manufactured into weapons and domestic objects and distributed to a wide and varied consumer base (Turgeon, 1997: 5). In their continuous search for new markets for these products, Swedish statesmen merged their interests with the commercial aims of Dutch merchants and set to establish an overseas colony (Johnson, 1911: 87–92, 95, 102). The developing markets of America and Africa had a huge potential, but despite the great financial and political ambitions, after its founding in 1638, New Sweden had a short history. The Dutch seized the colony in 1655, and finally, in 1664, it was taken over by the English (Dahlgren & Norman, 1988: 9, 64–65). The colony's autonomous position ended in 1682.

Because of the pathetic fate of the colony, the number of colonists who had come from Europe to New Sweden by the mid-seventeenth century remained less than 700. They did not, however, come to an uninhabited terrain, but a region settled mostly by the Lenape, whose number in the region approached 5,000 (Becker, 1976: 25). The Lenape were not purely hunter-gatherers, but also engaged in small-scale horticulture during the Late Woodland Period (cf. AD 1000–1600). A slash-and-burn technique was used to grow corn, beans, and a variety of squash (Kraft, 1986: 115–118), and in fact two-thirds or even more of their caloric intake was obtained through corn cultivation (Fur, 2006: 106).

New Sweden never became a major market for Swedish copper, but artifacts made of the metal nevertheless appear among the imported products. When the first voyage to North America was planned, the products to be traded with the aboriginals included "adzes, hatchets, kettles, duffels and other merchandise" (Johnson, 1911; 97; cf. 112). Upon his arrival at Delaware Bay in 1638, the first governor Peter Minuit (1580–1638) presented a *sachem*, or as the colonizers conceived, chief of the Lenape, with a kettle and other trifles in exchange for land (Johnson, 1911: 437; Weslager, 1972: 125).

After the first voyage, brass kettles appear frequently in cargo lists and documents related to trade. The seventh expedition brought 302 kettles (Johnson, 1911: 255–256). The preparations for the eighth voyage also mention kettles (Johnson, 1911: 258–259), while the ninth expedition bought 224 brass kettles from Holland to bring them to New Sweden (Johnson, 1911: 268). When there was a shortage of trade goods in 1643, Governor Printz had to buy cloth and other merchandise from the English and the Dutch. John Willcox of Virginia sold him a variety of products including three kettles (Johnson, 1911: 310). In 1644, the ship *Fama* arrived along with 250 kettles (Johnson, 1911: 316–317), and in 1646 the *Haj* came also with kettles in its hold (Johnson, 1911: 329). In 1647, Printz discussed with the Minquas the sale of land for which he paid, among other items, four kettles (Johnson, 1911: 332). In 1654, the last Governor Johan Risingh (1617–1672) gathered 12 sachems and gave each of them "one yard of frieze, one kettle [?], one axe, one hoe, one knife, one pound of powder, one stick of lead and six awl-points" (Johnson, 1911: 563–565).

Brass Kettles in Native Lives

The transportation of kettles from Sweden to New Sweden appears as a macroscale manifestation of the colonial effort, but the much more subtle movements of the objects in the colony are of equal importance. These smaller flows and accumulations of kettles did not remain unnoticed by the contemporary Swedes. In the mid-seventeenth century, military engineer Peter Lindeström (1632–1691) (1923: 173) observed how local Indian households were full of brass and brass kettles small and large, which they had bought from the colonists. Indeed, in addition to various tools and cloths, brass kettles were among the things that the Indians asked for most often when trading with the Swedes or other Europeans [Fur, 2006: 164; Johnson, 1911: 191; Schutt, 2007: 2; Weslager, 1972: 125–126, 148, 149, 162, 170, 185, 216, 346; see also Martin (1975: 133)]. Eventually brass kettles and imported ceramics replaced local pottery, and the Lenape pot-making skills declined. By the time of the Swedish explorer and botanist Pehr Kalm's (1716–1779) voyage in the mid-eighteenth century, the Lenape skills of making ceramics had almost vanished (Fur, 2006: 204–205; Kalm, 1970: 240; Nassaney, 2004: 346).

In spite of the references to objects made from copper or brass being relatively frequent, as actual objects they are quite rarely found in early colonial Lenape sites.

Besides various copper objects, like bangles, bracelets, buckles, buttons, crosses, earrings, finger rings, hawk's bells, Jew's harps, religious medals, spoons, thimbles, and tubular beads (Veit & Bello, 2001), only a few brass kettles are known. They were discovered at the Bell-Browning-Blair and Minisink burial sites in the Upper Delaware River Valley (Heye & Pepper, 1915; Marchiando, 1972: 143).

The adoption of kettles by the Lenape is usually explained in functional terms (e.g., Fitzgerald, Turgeon, Whitehead, & Bradley, 1993: 54; Kraft, 1986: 207–208; Weslager, 1972: 107). For populations living mainly on hunting, gathering, and semi-agrarian activities, they had significant advantages compared with the local pottery. Kettles were more portable and more durable than ceramics, they were easy to hang over a fire by the handles, and a hole in a kettle was relatively easy to mend. Moreover, kettles were also turned into various other objects, such as ornaments and arrowheads (Mounier, 2003: 121). All these features greatly enhanced aboriginal ways of living.

Turgeon (1997: 2) criticizes technological determinism implicit in the comparisons between native ceramics and imported kettles. Kettles materialized more than merely utilitarian values. The use of kettles, he suggests, was an act of appropriation and transformation of the meanings that adhered to the objects. Unlike functional explanations, interpretations of these meanings emphasize more the temporal change and fluctuations in the uses the kettles were put to.

Witthoft (1966) divides the Indian–European trade into phases, the first of which covers the era from the first contact to the 1590s. During this early period, brass kettles were already among the products exchanged, but they seem to have been cut up into ornaments and knives rather than used as cooking utensils. It was not until the second phase and increased European contacts in the seventeenth century that brass kettles started to appear in graves as whole objects (Kraft, 1986: 206–209, 214; Witthoft, 1966: 204–207). The change in the use of kettles can be associated with the meaning of copper in the network of native social relations. Prior to the European contact, rare native copper objects are primarily known from burial contexts, and the earliest contact period artifacts were primarily of copper, because Native Americans appreciated the metal for its scarcity and religious significance (Galke, 2004). Hence, values of native objects were extended to the European imports, and Europeans were assimilated to the local social networks through these objects—materiality was the basis for certain forms of social behavior (Miller & Hamell, 1986: 318). When the availability of copper products increased as a result of intensified European contacts, copper objects became "a kind of currency, available to and used by the elite and common people alike" (Galke, 2004: 94–95). European brass kettles, or their fragments, appeared throughout the native sites of the northeast seaboard once the fur trade began in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, and they had a more or less similar impact on all native populations as well (Fitzgerald et al., 1993: 44).

When the objects appear in written sources related to New Sweden, they are usually among the payments or gifts given to the natives. In that way, kettles participated in the ongoing gift-giving process and were a means of building and maintaining social relations. They were used in a similar manner, when, for instance, land

agreements were settled among the native residents themselves (Schutt, 2007: 34–36). As kettles gradually became part of the everyday gear (Weslager, 1972: 377, 483), they were incorporated into other social rituals as well. According to Weslager (1972: 490), a Lenape bride was given a kettle for cooking in her wedding ceremonies, and after death, she could be buried with such an implement (Nassaney, 2004: 335, 343; Weslager, 1972: 100, 133–134, 174, 488). The movement of kettles from use and exchange into the immobile grave context might seem minor, but it in fact implies a fundamental change. The network of desire set by colonialism had become part of the native way of life and was integrated into the burial rites.

Eventually kettles were adapted to the prevailing ways of gendering material culture and social practices, but at the same time, their flow from Europe transformed the objects and their micro-movements. As such these Lenape practices and contexts of using brass kettles do not seem to differ significantly from what occurred in other colonies in North America. Nevertheless, New Sweden is of particular interest, because similar developments occurred in the material culture of the Sámi in Fennoscandia.

Brass Kettles and the Sámi

As in North America, the Swedish administration faced seminomadic indigenous populations, the Sámi, in the northern parts of the kingdom. With the progressing centralization and tightening of the state control from the seventeenth century onwards, the Sámi people experienced increased pressures to integrate with the Swedish state. The colonialist framework in which brass kettles were imported and consumed was thus more or less similar on the two continents, but the timescale was very different.

The contact between the Sámi and the southern farmer communities had a much longer history than the relationship between the colonizers and the colonized in the New World. In Lapland, the cessation of the Sámi pottery tradition is, as in New Sweden, associated with the adoption of brass kettles. The use of ceramics among the native populations, however, seems to have ended already by around AD 400 (Bergman, 2007). Not surprisingly, the subsequent archaeological material reflects the popularity of kettles among the Sámi.

In Finland, the majority of medieval and early modern kettles, numbering several dozens, are stray finds from the wilderness areas of central, east, and north Finland (Fig. 2.2) (Anttila, 2002: 25). On the basis of their distribution, Taavitsainen (1986: 38–39) suggests that the stray finds should be associated with the utilization of the inland wilderness, and moreover, instead of seeing them as hoards deposited by western and southern farmer–merchants, they might just as well have been deposited by the "the Lapp" population, or nomadic hunter-gatherers, who later became the ethnic group of "the Sámi" (cf. Anttila, 2002: 16–36; Siiropää & Luoto, 1999).

In addition to surviving intact kettles, however, sheets from brass kettles, some with rivets or holes for rivets, have been found in various sacrificial and settlement

Fig. 2.2 Two brass kettles from a hoard of four kettles found in a peatland meadow at Käärmelahti, Maaninka, Northern Savonia. The kettles were made in the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries. They have been interpreted as a hoard for depositing capital, or a sacrificial deposition (Kivikoski, 1934; Taavitsainen, 1986). The diameter of the first one is 39 cm and the second 28 cm (National Museum of Finland, inv. no. 9769:1, 4) (Photo by Visa Immonen)

sites throughout Lapland in Finland, Norway, and Sweden. Their dating covers a period from the eleventh to the seventeenth century (Carpelan, 1987, 1991, 1992, 2003; Hedman, 2003: 186; Odner, 1992: 131; Okkonen, 2007: 35–37; Serning, 1956: 91–93; Zachrisson, 1976: 47–50, 62). For instance, in Finnish Lapland, the excavations of the Juikenttä settlement site in Sodankylä, dated from the twelfth to the seventeenth century, revealed fragments of several brass kettles (Carpelan, 1966: 68–69, 74). Further pieces of kettles were discovered at the Nukkumajoki 2 site in Inari, which was settled from the fifteenth to the late seventeenth century (Carpelan, 1992: 41–42, 2003: 73).

References to kettles in connection with the Sámi are equally common in written sources. The oldest one is a document of the Piteå court dated to as early as 1424. The text states that any coastal farmer who had the right to trade with the Sámi and who provided items that the Sámi required for their survival, among others a kettle or a pot, was given the right to trade with and claim taxes from that particular Sámi for three years without interference (*Handlingar rörande Skandinaviens historia*, 1848: 27; Voionmaa, 1912: 61). In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when southern burghers arrived at the Sámi markets of Normark in Norway, they brought brass kettles along as sales items (Fur, 1992: 45; Itkonen, 1948b: 206). In eighteenth-century Finland, the burghers of the town of Tornio transported kettles to Lapland in order to sell them to the Sámi (Itkonen, 1948b: 198). Moreover, the brass kettles are common items in the probate inventories of Sámi families in the nineteenth century with the wealthiest ones owning as many as six or seven (Itkonen, 1948b: 307–308).

In many cases, fragments of brass kettles appear to have been purposefully severed. For this reason, Christian Carpelan (1992: 41–42, 2003: 73) associates the finds with Sámi sacrifices. When copper fragments are known from farm settlements not inhabited by the Sámi, they are, in contrast, interpreted as residue from mending. For instance, fragments of brass sheets were found in the fourteenth-century site of Kello

in Haukipudas, North Ostrobothnia, Finland. The settlement belonged to Finnish farmers, and accordingly the finds are seen as leftovers from repairs (Koivunen & Sarkkinen, 1994: 18–19, 21). The Kello site is not an exception. Although larger objects of copper alloys are absent in the archaeological assemblages of northern towns, pieces of scrap metal are relatively common (Nurmi, 2011: 64, 145). The explanation for this situation appears simple: brass kettles were valuable items also for European colonizers, and they were not lightheartedly discarded (Soop, 1963). Following this reasoning, however, Zachrisson (1976: 47) poses the question of whether the fragments found in indigenous sites are raw material just like the scatter from non-Sámi settlements. At least some of the sheets have clearly been cut into pendants and ornaments.

Kettles in Colonial Networks of Desire

Similarities in the adoption of brass kettles and the ways in which they changed the local material cultures in North America and Lapland are notable and denote the global mechanisms of European colonialism. On a macroscale, the copper created a geographical and cultural tie between the two continents and between the worlds of the colonist and the native. Various networks of desire partly clashed, but partly they also amplified and transformed each other. As in North America, the decline of the local pottery tradition in Lapland is associated with the substantive adoption of imported ceramics and brass kettles. Another striking commonality is the cutting of kettles into smaller pieces and making them into other artifacts found in both indigenous sites and sites belonging to the Swedish colonizers.

Having said that, however, in flows of desire, there are no hierarchies between macro and micro, or global and local. Desire is independent of the mobility of people and things, but constantly establishing their transformations and relations. Hence, it is also important to trace small shifts and consider their impact on larger trends. With undeniable force, colonialism drew two worlds and continents together, concretized by brass kettles, but this apparent uniformity was full of differences: differences between the administrative strata and the other settlers, between European and native customs, and between a range of native populations with their respective histories and ways of life. The social and economic trajectories of the Lenape and the Sámi groups were quite distinct.

During the seventeenth century, both the Sámi and the Lenape were able to some extent control the European colonizing power and the flows of trade goods (Fig. 2.3). The Sámi communities experienced increasing pressures from the Swedish state that constantly enhanced its control over its subjects and regions, and as a consequence, their subsistence strategies took drastically new shapes. Many communities experienced a transition from hunter-gatherer subsistence to reindeer pastoralism (Bergman, 2007; Itkonen, 1948a: 302). Unlike the Lenape, however, the Sámi were more aware of their possibilities as part of the kingdom and were able to employ their position as royal subjects and appeal directly to the sovereign (Fur, 1992).

Fig. 2.3 The frontispiece of Thomas Campanius Holm's book *Description of the Province of New Sweden* (1702) depicts a friendly encounter between the local Indians and Swedish traders in New Sweden. Holm never visited the colony and based the image on stories told by his grandfather, who lived in New Sweden in the 1640s

Under colonial pressure, Lenape social organization also readjusted from subsistence economy to hunting for skins, as furs were the currency of European trade. In contrast to the Sámi, the Lenape initially had an upper hand in terms of subsistence and could set the availability of the European goods as the condition for the colonizers' survival (see Fig. 2.3). Lenape participation in European trade, however, never reached the extent of neighboring groups like the Susquehannock (Custer, 1996: 314). The situation changed fatally around 1675, when the European taste for furs plummeted and the fur trade stagnated. The basis of the native wealth and indigenous means for control crumpled (Fur, 1992; Newcomb, 1956: 83).

In the trade networks established by colonialism, brass kettles were commodities in the fullest meaning of the term. Partly alienated from their prior context of the colonizer, but still having their beneficial material qualities, they became part of the desiring machine of the indigenous life, extending its possibilities. The meaning of brass kettles shifted and their movements differed from those in the homeland, and this affected even the lives of the colonizer. In Lindeström's description of the

accumulation of kettles in native houses, one can sense a surprise or amusement. In Europe, a kettle of brass was an everyday object of no particular interest beyond its material and utilitarian value, but in the New World, it became more articulately a trace of homeland, of the familiar domestic sphere and comfort. Lindeström saw how these ordinary objects, kettles, appeared in excessive numbers, creating a disturbing colonial experience in which a familiar object strangely metamorphosed.

In Lindeström's observation, potential feeling of nostalgic everydayness has been severed, and this surprise continues in the contemporary scholarly need to provide explanations for the strange movements of kettles in native lives. Why was a European object not used in the same way by the Lenape as it was by colonists? What was the function of kettle fragments in indigenous sites?

In North America, the fragments of brass have mainly been conceived as a sign of the high social esteem given to copper instead of utilitarian concerns. The appreciation of copper as raw material declined, however, as objects made of the metal became common through intensifying European contact. In Lapland, the phenomenon of brass sheets is often interpreted as cultic behavior, although also more functional views, related to using brass as raw material, have been presented. The two interpretative traditions seem to imply that discovering kettle fragments excludes the possibility that they had other uses prior to breaking them, or simultaneously, when used in sacrificial or cultic contexts. Objects and their fragments are mobile, taking new shapes and meanings, and taking into account these miniscule histories is crucial when the range of possible interpretations is considered. Therefore, if brass objects were so popular and scrap metal could be used to mend broken kettles, one might ask, why should brass fragments be considered as signs of exotic and cultic behavior? Might it have been also an efficient way of utilizing materials?

Brass kettles, their use, and raw material were already familiar to the indigenous groups. As Marshall Sahlins (1993: 17) concludes: "The first commercial impulse of the people is not to become just like us but more like themselves." Brass kettles were adapted to the native material culture and attached to different environments, practices, and values through the process of commodification (Galke, 2004: 94; cf. Herva & Ylimaunu, 2006). Their colonial and European macro-movements were met with conflicting micro-movements in the native lives. Kettles were invested with distinct social values and employed as currency, but they were also used in cooking and buried with certain members of the Lenape community. These various ways in which kettles circulated among the native groups show how the colonial desire instituted shifting formations of value. In effect, brass kettles gave form to the desires of hunter-gathering cultures, made their subsistence strategies more efficient, and contributed to their social change (Fitzgerald et al., 1993: 54), and thus, as artifacts, they bore transformative possibilities not actualized in European contexts (Rubertone, 2000: 431–432). The expanding colonial desire produced new differences and created novel affective attachments and investments involving time and labor.

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Chapter 3
The Movement of People and Things in the Capitania de Pernambuco: Challenges for Archaeological Interpretation

Scott Joseph Allen

The archaeological interpretation of contact situations is an area of great potential to understand the complexity of cultural entanglements among diverse groups brought together in varied circumstances. Archaeological narratives concerning these tumultuous episodes are relevant on a number of levels, ranging from methodological issues and advances in a variety of historical and environmental contexts to the engagement and inclusion of descendent communities upon whom the production of knowledge has the most direct impact. While this field of research has been promising and has produced an extensive literature, many conceptual and methodological challenges remain unresolved. Of interest for the present discussion are the reductionist categories often employed to "sort out" and simplify extremely complex and rapidly changing social environments, topics broached by a number of historical archaeologists [cf. contributions to Cusick (1998)].

As in most regions during European expansion and colonization, the Brazilian northeast experienced upheavals that touched upon every aspect of life. Nonetheless, historical archaeological research in this region has focused principally on colonial endeavors and associated sites, such as forts (Albuquerque, Lucena, & Walmsley, 1999; Allen, Moraes, Leite Neto, & Miranda Pinto, 2009), urban sites (Albuquerque & Cazetta, 2009), sugar plantations (Barbosa, 2012; Forest, 2006), religious centers (Albuquerque & Lucena, 2003), and the like. While the location and identification of diverse colonial archaeological sites such as these is a rather easy endeavor, owing to their visibility in the archaeological record and heritage politics favorable to the study of these places, historic-period Native American villages and maroon communities permit no such facility. As such, these types of sites have received very little attention by historical archaeologists working in the northeast.

S.J. Allen (✉)
Departamento de Arqueologia, Universidade Federal de Pernambuco,
Av. da Arquitetura, S/N – CFCH, 10º andar, Cidade Universitária,
Recife, Pernambuco 50740-550, Brazil
e-mail: scott.allen@ufpe.br

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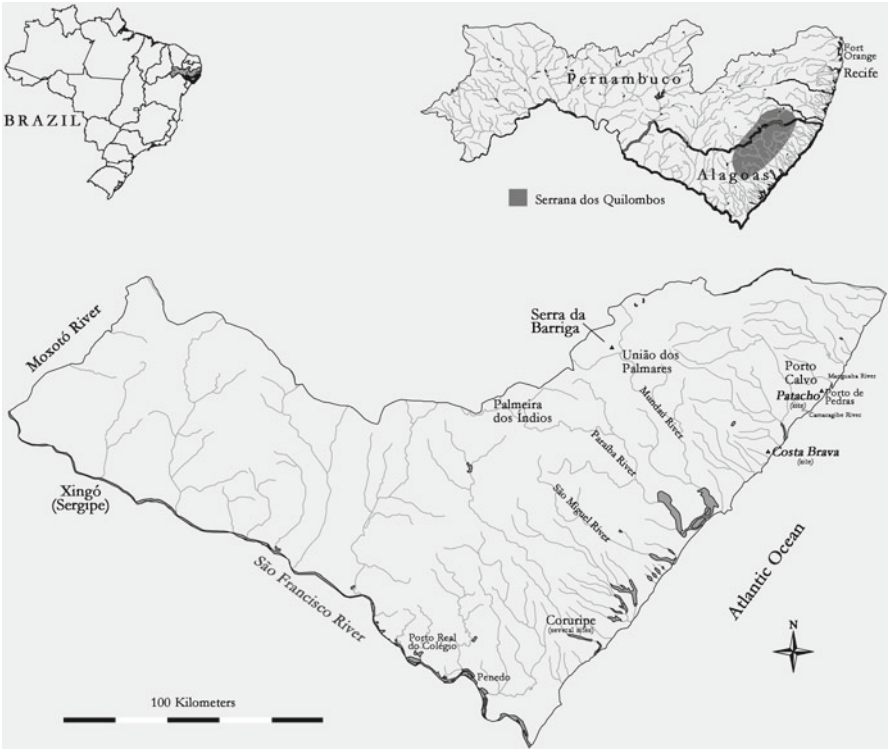

Fig. 3.1 Map showing places and archaeological sites mentioned in the text (figure by S.J. Allen)

Interpretive difficulties in the archaeology of contact in the region came to light after several field seasons conducted on the Serra da Barriga, in the town of União dos Palmares in the state of Alagoas (Fig. 3.1). The colonial Captaincy of Pernambuco included the entirety of the present-day state of Alagoas, which is delimited in the south by the São Francisco River, in the west by the Moxotó River, and on the east by the Atlantic Ocean. The state's northern border is shared by the present-day state of Pernambuco.

Archaeological studies in this region have provided ample data on prehistoric occupation and material culture, a situation that is at once exciting and frustrating. Exciting because archaeological research in Alagoas up to approximately 15 years ago was limited to scattered salvage work that provided little benefit for advancing knowledge beyond description, with the notable exception of a large Cultural Resource Management (CRM) project owing to a hydroelectric dam at the far western edge of the state (Xingó). The accelerated pace of studies over the past decade, particularly those headed by the Núcleo de Ensino e Pesquisa Arqueológico (NEPA) of the Universidade Federal de Alagoas (UFAL), has enabled the development of a general picture of settlement patterns and artifact diversity as well as honing

excavation techniques on open-air sites in a variety of postdepositional contexts. Aside from these advances, the situation is also frustrating as the Serra da Barriga was chosen, obviously, for its role as an important place for the *Palmarinos*, Africans and African-Brazilians who escaped the sugar plantations, eventually building a complex of communities, called *quilombos*, *mocambos*, *palenques, cimarrones*, or maroon societies that endured from the end of the sixteenth century to 1694. Indeed, the continued existence of these maroon societies into the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is still an unexplored area of research. Irrespective of persistent speculative interpretations (e.g., Funari & Carvalho, 2011), the material evidence at the Serra da Barriga points to pre-Palmares occupation by Native South American groups, and the quilombo seems as elusive today as it was in the seventeenth century [Allen, 2001; see Allen (2010) for a review of research in the region].

The archaeology of contact sites in northeastern Brazil has suffered from undertheorizing and particularly faulty methodologies. In light of this situation, the present text does not aim to offer an innovative conceptual framework or analytical technique for the archaeology of contact, but rather to contextualize these challenges regionally and to suggest a direction for future and, one hopes, more productive research. Here, I present the issues and problems facing the archaeological interpretation of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Native South American and maroon sites in Alagoas. I first present a brief portrayal of the region from initial occupation by Native South American groups to European settlement. Next, I suggest that the first two centuries of European colonization created a social and cultural milieu that (should) inhibits the employment of reductionist categories and associated methodologies for studying the period. The third section examines smoking pipes to illustrate the current difficulties in advancing convincing interpretations on the archaeology of contact in the region. Finally, I identify, based on Rogers (2005), some points that should be considered in the approach to the archaeological study of contact in the Brazilian northeast.

Native South Americans in the Serrana dos Quilombos

A convincing account of culture contact and change requires an understanding of precontact social and cultural processes, themselves dynamic and changing. As mentioned above, archaeological research in Alagoas is scant, but sufficient to draw a general picture of prehistoric occupation. Sites excavated in Xingó, on the margins of the São Francisco River, have yielded C^{14} dates of 9,000 BP, continuing through approximately 1,000 BP (Martin, 1997), to date the oldest sites in the immediate region of Alagoas perhaps also representing initial occupation. The period between this initial occupation and the emergence of semisedentary villages has not been studied in Alagoas. Nonetheless, the presence of many rock art sites and the occasional discovery of lithic processing sites with no apparent association to larger sedentary communities suggest a generalized hunting-gathering subsistence economy by mobile populations.

Archaeological excavations in the towns of Palmeira dos Índios (Hoffnagel, de Lima, & Martins, 1990) and União dos Palmares (Allen, 2010) demonstrate that peoples of the Macro-Jê or isolated linguistic groups, or more specifically non-Tupinambá, occupied large open-air spaces on elevated terrain from approximately 1500 years BP to shortly before and up to contact with Europeans. The archaeological record indicates that these groups, often referred to archaeologically as the Aratu archaeological tradition (Prous, 1993), lived in large villages constructed around central plazas where they practiced swidden horticulture and primary and secondary burial practices in large and small pottery urns. Currently, these sites are easily detected by highly visible and dense concentrations of pottery and black earth.

While no convincing systematic research has been conducted on coastal precolonial sites in Alagoas, studies in the state of Pernambuco to the north, and Sergipe to the south, together with ethnohistorical sources suggest that the coastal region was occupied by diverse groups related to the Tupi-Guarani linguistic group, including Caeté and Potiguar, among others (Marchant, 1942; Martin, 1997; Prous, 1993). These sites are rather easily identified by the distinctive pottery painted in elaborate geometric motifs (Prous & Lima, 2008), while subsistence economy and intra-village patterning appear quite similar to other groups throughout northeastern Brazil.

Previous to European contact in 1500, and certainly after, the hills and valleys of the Mundaú, Paraíba, and São Miguel Rivers appear to have been contested territory. Evidence in the northeast generally points to prehistoric contact among diverse Tupi-Guarani and other Native South American groups (historically referred to collectively as *Tapuia)*, suggesting a complex social and political landscape prior to the arrival of Europeans, and it is commonly held that they battled constantly. The archaeological sites Rosa and Tetos, located on the far eastern portion of the Serra da Barriga, are Tupinambá. Although still in analysis, the data suggest that the sites were occupied concomitantly and perhaps served different purposes, the latter being for ritual practices. The relation between these two sites and the Serra da Barriga site (SB1, exhibiting non-Tupi material culture) remains unclear. Less obscure, however, is that while contact with Europeans might have differed in character and scope to previous encounters, the native peoples of the northeast were well accustomed to cultural contact, change, and certainly adaptation.

First Portuguese Settlements and the First Quilombos

Very little is known about the contact between Europeans and Native South Americans during the sixteenth century in Alagoas. Some sources suggest the existence of settlement in the region during the early sixteenth century (Calado, 2004[1648]; Salvador, 1982[1627]; Souza, 2001[1587]). But it was not until around 1580 that the region became a target of a concerted effort to establish sugar plantations. Cristóvão Lins received a sizeable land grant and was tasked by the Crown with clearing the region of foreign traders, particularly the French, and "pacifying" Native Americans, which led most frequently to extermination, enslavement, and

forced relocation (Calado, 2004[1648]; Marchant, 1942). The region chosen for installation of the first sugar plantations and mills (*engenhos*) was Porto Calvo, accessible by the navigable Manguaba River. Five to seven engenhos were built (the number depends on the source consulted), at least four in the present-day municipality of Porto Calvo and one between the Camaragibe River and the town (Allen, Miranda, Silva, & Tenório, 2007; Mello Neto, 1977). Given this concerted effort to pacify or remove native peoples, it is easy to imagine a sizable influx of coastal Native Americans to the hinterland.

It was during this period that the first mention of quilombos was noted as a problem for economic development, and it is reasonable to suggest that the establishment of these communities predated by some years the efforts of the Portuguese to abolish them (Allen, 2010). Although some historians prefer to fix a date for the origin of Palmares—1605 is often cited (Freitas, 1984)—it is reasonable to date their emergence to the second half of the sixteenth century if we accept that prior to becoming a concern for authorities, the runaways already had the time to organize into viable and sustainable communities.

Similar to the case of Native South Americans, who had been either enslaved or displaced by colonists, many African and Afro-Brazilian enslaved workers took to the hinterland as soon as opportunity allowed. If these new arrivals to the hinterland were indeed on a bad footing with all native peoples in the region, as is commonly held, it is doubtful they would have been able to survive given the presence of cultural groups more familiar with the physical and social environment. Added to this is also the fact that the historical records are quite silent on hostilities between the two groups (in the broad sense); in fact, many documents seem to paint a rather vague and fluid notion of ethnic or racial distinctions [see documents appended to Gomes (2010)]. Only when accompanied by Europeans are South American Indians mentioned in the context of hostilities with Palmarinos. Caution should be exercised in assuming that Native South Americans fighting alongside the Portuguese necessarily meant that they were against the runaways, as individuals of African descent were also employed in the hunting of fugitives. Indeed, the social and political disruption wrought by European settlement opened the door for numerous factions and alliances on all sides, a situation documented throughout the world in contact situations (see Cusick, 1998; Trigger, 1985; Axtell, 1985; Marchant, 1942).

The brief historical context offered above has real implications for the archaeological study of quilombos and historic-period Native South American villages. Excluding precolonial population dynamics for the moment, the early colonial period was marked by the reoccupation of prehistoric sites by colonists and displaced Native South American individuals and groups as well as by maroons, and new communities were certainly established by these same peoples. Additionally, some sites, such as those on the Serra da Barriga, were possibly occupied during colonization of the coast and were marked by contact between displaced groups, whether bellicose or cooperative. In addition to the movements of individuals, the transfer, modification, and creation of traditions, both material and nonmaterial, served to mediate relations. The configurations are many and lead to a rather bewildering problem: just what will a seventeenth-century runaway slave or Native

South American village look like archaeologically? Furthermore, is the question itself valid given that Palmarino villages might have been neither but rather something altogether new (Allen, 2000a, 2000b, 2001)?

Tentatively, I argue that the region was a refuge zone in the sense employed by many researchers who study contact and colonization [cf. contributions to Cusick (1998), Stein (2005) and Murray (2004)]. This characterization arises from historical factors and the archaeological record. Religious missions were established to the west in Palmeira dos Índios (late seventeenth century), south in Porto Real do Colégio (early seventeenth century), and east in Porto de Pedras (late sixteenth century) (Souza, 2001[1587]), leaving the Serrana region unsettled by Europeans for more than 200 years after the first reconnoiters on the coast by explorers and traders. Not until the eighteenth century is there some evidence of Portuguese settlement, though documents from the early nineteenth century indicate clearly the existence of colonial towns and *aldeias* (loosely, missions and reservations) (Antunes, 1984). Archaeological research will be the only way to discover the social and cultural dynamics that took place in this region, and, for compelling interpretations to be constructed, the materiality of contact must be addressed critically.

Smoking Pipes

The study of quilombos conceived as the study of contact brings with it the related issue of ethnic identification and affiliation of site—a relation that I feel has hindered development in this area and perhaps produced distortions of the social and cultural dynamics during this period. What we know, or thought we knew, from the early work on the Serra da Barriga site brings me to consider smoking pipes and the challenges to the archaeology of contact in northeastern Brazil. Though the discussion is centered on this site and others in the region, the issues raised apply to a much broader geographical area, as well as, I suspect, to similar historical and cultural circumstances in the Americas and beyond generally (for instance, debates on Colonoware in North American archaeology).

Six archaeological sites have been located on the Serra da Barriga, a small mountain in the geographic micro-region called Serrana dos Quilombos comprising principally the Atlantic Forest in the northeastern highlands (Allen, 2010). The sites range in date from approximately 900 BP to the nineteenth century. Although the Serra is currently populated, with about a dozen households, locales with no evidence of pre-twentieth century occupation were not considered archaeological sites. Initiated in 1992, archaeological research on the Serra da Barriga sought to uncover the Palmarino past, though interpretation of the record was subsequently set aside in lieu of discourse on the social and political importance and ramifications of the process of doing archaeology of Palmares (see Allen, 2001, 2006, 2010). Because of the exploratory nature of the Palmares Archaeological Project (see Allen, 2008; Orser, 1992, 1993), some artifacts were erroneously identified and attributed to the

Fig. 3.2 Pipes from the Museu Maria Mariá, União dos Palmares, discussed in Orser, 1996, and currently housed in the Centro Arqueológico Palmarino (Photo by S.J. Allen)

quilombo, and subsequent data have forced us to reevaluate previous assumptions and interpretations.

Smoking pipes provide an excellent example of the difficulties in recognizing the archaeological record of seventeenth-century sites in the Brazilian northeast. Archaeological excavations on most sites in the northeast reveal at least fragments of smoking pipes if not complete examples, which provide, in general terms, a view of these artifacts from late prehistoric to modern times. Orser (1996: 123–129) employed a small sample of pipes as part of his argument in weaving the web of global connections of quilombos to the wider colonial world, attributing them to Palmarino manufacture (Fig. 3.2). The pipes were discovered by locals and kept in a museum called Museu Maria Mariá, named after an illustrious figure of the Sarmento family of União dos Palmares. The pipes were reportedly found *on* the Serra da Barriga (Paulo Sarmento, personal communication), although experience in working in this area has shown that the Serra da Barriga refers not only to the hill itself but to the surrounding area.

The pipes are manufactured of clay with a very fine-grained temper, and most are formed in molds. They are short stemmed and require reeds or other such tubes for smoking. Many pipes of this type, like the two on the left in Fig. 3.2, have perforations (fractured on the bottom example) probably allowing for hanging the pipe by a cord around the neck.

The lack of an archaeological context for the pipes obviously makes difficult their affiliation to Palmarino manufacture and/or use, though comparison to similar pipes discovered in Burial 72 on the Newton Plantation is certainly compelling (Orser, 1996: 126). Additionally, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century iconography depicting enslaved and free Africans and African-Brazilians smoking, together with the reification by the National Heritage Institute (IPHAN) of these types of pipes as "African," leads to this largely uncritical affiliation. When excavated or studied in museum collections, the attribution is more often than not asserted but not demonstrated.

Though I had earlier dismissed Orser's designation of these pipes as the "mystical pipes of Palmares" because they were not excavated (Allen, 2001), I have since returned to them to determine whether they could provide temporal and perhaps stylistic elements that might prove useful in the study of the region. The eventual utility of affirming the association to Palmarino manufacture is apparent. As described in the historical record, Palmarino villages should appear quite similar spatially to Native South American settlements, with dwellings arranged around a central plaza. Subsistence economy was equally similar, relying on beans, corn, and manioc; one might expect similar preparation methods and associated pottery vessels. While other groups of artifacts, such as ferrous items, could easily separate precolonial villages from historic-period quilombos, such an affiliation becomes extremely difficult after 1500. *If* the pipes could be attributed convincingly to Palmarino manufacture, they would provide at minimum evidence for identifying a site as a quilombo or a site involved in trade with the quilombos.

Dozens of smoking pipes, most fragmented but with several complete or near complete examples, have been recovered archaeologically from the site Serra da Barriga (Fig. 3.3). With the exception of one (pipe "d"), all exhibit forms known in the archaeology of prehistoric villages in the northeast. Although the zoomorphic pipe appears unusual if not unique at present, it is securely dated as pre (European) contact. No smoking pipes similar to those in Fig. 3.2 were recovered archaeologically on the Serra da Barriga, complicating the case made by Orser for a Palmarino origin; the situation is even more complex, however.

Relative and absolute dating of diverse contexts on the Serra da Barriga site (SB1) confirms that the most visible and dense component is prehistoric, occupied at least 900 years ago. In no closed context have we found diagnostic and chronologically informative historical objects. The situation leads us to question of whether the Serra da Barriga was indeed the location of the principal village of Palmares, at least as regards daily life as might be revealed through excavation of dwellings and other activity areas. Nonetheless, as the pipes were found in unknown areas, perhaps around the Serra da Barriga, it remained a possibility that the principal sites pertaining to the Palmares quilombos were not *on* the Serra but rather scattered around the valley. Given this possibility, it seemed necessary to determine, if possible, relative dates for the smoking pipes found in União dos Palmares by comparison with specimens uncovered regionally and from known historical contexts (Fig. 3.4).

Pipes from sites in Alagoas used for comparison include a seventeenth-century Dutch fortification (Costa Brava); a nineteenth-century coastal community called Patacho, located in Porto de Pedras; and the municipality of Coruripe, specifically

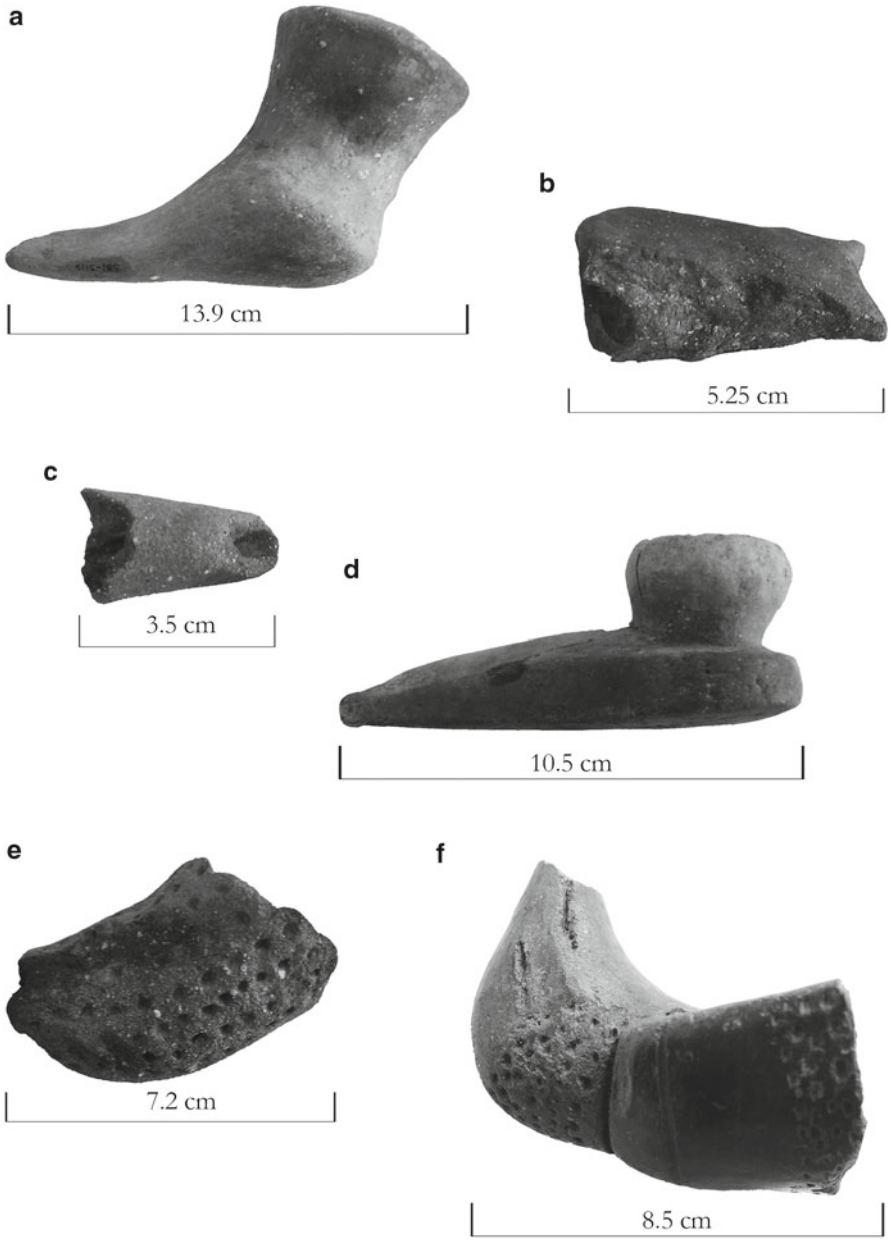

Fig. 3.3 Clay smoking pipes recovered from the site *Serra da Barriga* (AL–UDP–SB1). Complete (**a**) and fragmented (**f**) pipes excavated from living surface of a Native American dwelling (VG1), dated to 900 ± 67 BP. Note that (**f**) is in form of an armadillo. Complete (**b**), though worn, tubular pipe with fishtail lip, excavated from Area *D*. Mouthpiece (**c**) and bowl (**e**) recovered from surface collection. An unusual form (**d**) unfortunately recovered in bioturbation (probable tree root) (Photo by S.J. Allen)

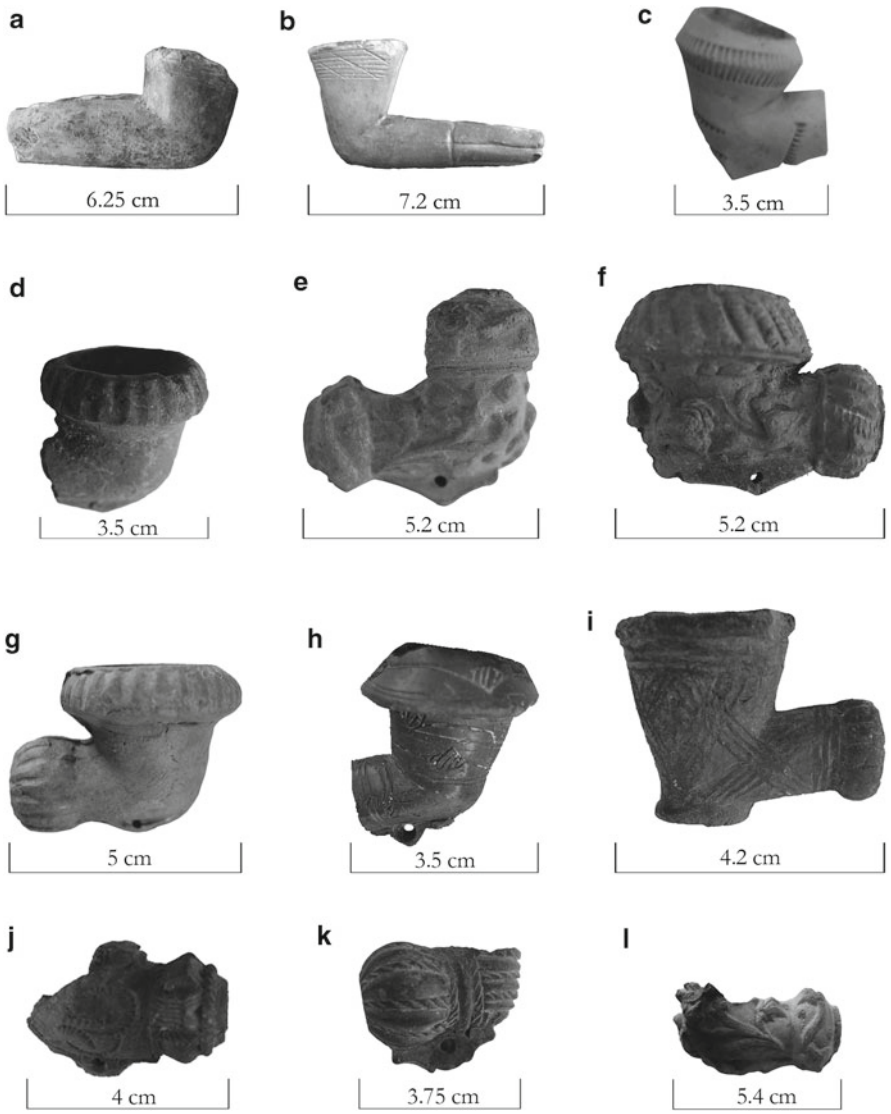

Fig. 3.4 Clay smoking pipes recovered from the sites in Alagoas and Pernambuco. Pipes (**a**) and (**b**) from Dutch fortification, (**c**) from *engenhoca* in Coruripe, (**d**) from Patacho site, (**e**) through (**l**) from sites in Recife and Fort Orange, Pernambuco (Photo by S.J. Allen)

an area marked by numerous small sugar mills (*engenhocas*) established during the nineteenth century. The Dutch fortification was constructed in 1635 and destroyed in 1636 (Coelho, 2003[1654]; Wätjen, 2004[1921]), providing tight chronological control as the site appears to be single component. Excavated in its entirety by archaeologists in 1992, all of the materials collected are housed currently at the local university (UFAL). As expected, the assemblage includes a large number of

white ball clay pipe stems and bowls but only two red clay examples ("a" and "b"). The latter are angular, with square bowls and short stems, though it appears that reeds or tubes were not necessary for smoking. The pipes are decorated with incised geometric motifs.

The vast sugarcane fields of the southern coastal region of Alagoas, in the municipality of Coruripe, have been the target of archaeological reconnaissance and subsurface testing over the past several years (Allen, 2008; Allen & Moraes, 2008, 2010a, 2010b; Allen, Surya, Miranda, Tenório & Carrera, 2007). Most of the sites are nineteenth- to early twentieth-century *engenhocas*, small sugar mills engaged in the fabrication of sweets and *cachaça* (cane alcohol). While the depositional context of pipe "c" was superficial, it was found among a surface scatter that places it in the nineteenth century, although the presence of some painted Tupinambá earthenware is curious, perhaps owing to the plowzone. Surface treatment and paste characteristics of the pipe, however, support a later date.

Finally, a single red clay pipe ("d") was excavated from the site Patacho, an important commercial center during the nineteenth and early twentieth century located in the town of Porto de Pedras (Allen, Fidelis, Lima, & Tenório, 2007; Barbosa, 2012). This small port was used principally for the importation of manufactured goods for distribution in the region and for export of coconut-derived products and sugar (cane or processed), among other produce. While tradition maintains and some documentary evidence suggests that the site may have been occupied in the seventeenth century, associated archaeological material was clearly no older than the nineteenth century.

Although some of the smoking pipes uncovered in Alagoas are similar in manufacture (molded) and morphology (requiring reeds or tubes to smoke) to those housed in the Museu Maria Mariá discussed by Orser, the design motifs are different. As relatively little archaeological work has been done in Alagoas, I turned to collections at the Universidade Federal de Pernambuco. The assemblages studied come from urban archaeological sites in Recife, the target of ongoing salvage archaeology over the past several years, as well as Fort Orange, a military installation built by the Dutch in 1631 and used until the nineteenth century (see Albuquerque et al., 1999).

A great number of pipes have been uncovered from the historical district known as *Recife Antigo* (Old Recife). It is interesting to note that preliminary analysis of the area indicates that a structure thought to be a Dutch merchant's house produced only white ball clay pipes, while an area considered to have been a stretch of later workers' houses includes a much larger proportion of red clay pipes, including many examples similar to those found in União dos Palmares (pipes "g," "h," and "l"). It remains to be studied what meaning(s) these pipes might have had for the people who lived in these houses, whether reflections of economic status or preference based on some underlying symbolic importance.

Excavations at Fort Orange do not provide tight chronological control for the pipe assemblage, as most were recovered from mixed contexts and thus could fall within a range of over 200 years. Nonetheless, the examples shown ("e," "f," "i," "j," and "k"), representing just a very small handful of the total, are too similar to ignore. If the pipes from União dos Palmares are indeed of Palmarino manufacture, they were a commodity distributed widely, as their abundance on sites in Recife reveals. The morphology of these smoking pipes on sites post-Palmares, however,

appears to indicate that they were not related intrinsically to quilombos, perhaps being fabricated by artisans and sold at local markets, a position advanced by Mello Neto (1977).

Although it is too early to make affirmations, it would appear that the clay pipes in question were a later addition to the colonial material world. Interestingly, none of the sites excavated in Alagoas can be placed firmly within the eighteenth century; indeed, even traditional historical sources are unsettlingly quiet for this century. Could it be that the pipes were in circulation during this period? If we consider that the region of Palmares was subsequently occupied by government-administered Native American communities (*aldeias*) and settlers' homesteads, as well as mercenaries and soldiers in exchange for services rendered in the destruction of Palmares [cf. documents appended to Gomes (2010)], it could be that the redware pipes might have been simply of local manufacture, sold at local markets, and distributed widely within the colonial economy. In fact, similar clay pipes, though not normally decorated, are still sold at local markets in the northeast.

As to the archaeological visibility of quilombos and historic-period Native American villages, it appears that these smoking pipes do not provide information that can aid in the identification of these communities. The jury is still out regarding their proper placement into chronological and cultural contexts, steps necessary prior to any in-depth interpretation of their role in social organization.

The point of employing these artifacts is to underscore the difficulties in identifying not only quilombos but also in differentiating sites occupied by South American Indian groups and nonurban colonial settlements dating from the sixteenth to the early eighteenth century. The lack of refined understanding of locally made material goods in circulation during the contact period seriously inhibits our interpretive power. While research continues on this group of artifacts, other categories, such as locally made redware pottery, also suffer from similar problems, and, at present, research is underway to aid in building a solid comparative material baseline for utilitarian pottery. Sikes' statement about star-motif pipes in the Chesapeake region as "made and used by all the actors involved in the complex social encounters that took place in Tsenacommacah" (2008: 76) is certainly relevant to the study of pipes and local production in northeastern Brazil.

Conclusion: Towards an Archaeology of Contact in Northeastern Brazil

As the discussion on smoking pipes illustrates, the archaeological record is often oversimplified, and too much weight is given to "cultural traits" supposedly imbued in material goods. These two factors deny the complexity of social-cultural processes ensuing as diverse social groups came into proximity, opening the path for cooperation and conflict, adaptation, accommodation, and disruption. Accordingly, these processes have material components just as complex to "read" as the symbolic systems in which they operated.

Rogers (2005: 349–350) advances five propositions to consider in developing an archaeological methodology for a historical archaeology of contact and colonial situations in the area currently under study. These propositions are being used to inform and direct the development of a research program aimed at building a better understanding of the period. First, responses to the meeting and interaction between cultures are "meaningfully constructed"—a situation that also involves the materials (and structures) bound up in this process. This is a particularly important, if deceptively simple, affirmation as contact archaeology is often couched in terms of identity and ethnicity, and artifacts are often assumed to be bearers of culture, simplifying and distorting the context(s) of dynamic historical and cultural processes. In the context of northeastern Brazil, adhering to this constructivist view should remind researchers that there are no "black," "Indian," and "white" artifacts, but material goods to be understood in the complexity in which they were manufactured, traded, and used.

Second, social groups caught up in contact situations will understand, process, and respond in forms familiar to each. As discussed earlier, the Serrana dos Quilombos became the refuge of individuals and groups possessing a vast range of cultural traditions and speaking many languages. Similarly, the plantations and emerging urban centers also exhibited considerable diversity. The interaction between these many groups, material and nonmaterial, provided the milieu for adaptations and cultural inventions.

Third, historical sources reflect the understanding and rationalization of the "disjuncture in cultural logic." Closely related to the above, this observation is generally applicable to written documents, sources most often used in ethnohistorical studies and historical archaeological research on contact situations, particularly the cultural "distance" of observer and observed. Additionally, the temporal-cultural separation of the researcher to subject warrants the same observation (cf. Cleland, 2001). Challenges in reading the extant contemporary texts on Palmares, for example, include mentions of "pagan" religious practices, terminology in identifying the cultural and racial affiliation of individuals, as well as discerning social and political organization.

Fourth, historical and physical contexts are undeniable factors in giving meaning to the archaeological record and thus to understanding contact situations. The implication here is that artifacts cannot be used to gauge the degree of change, such as occurs commonly in acculturation models. For example, a glass bead on a Native American archaeological site, or a funnel-shaped smoking pipe on a plantation, tell us nothing of the role these materials had (if any) in creating, fostering, or challenging social structures. Time is also important as the meanings in given historical contexts change and thus need to be understood alongside both broad and small-scale social and cultural processes (Silliman, 2009).

Finally, a guarded objectivity and perhaps pragmatic perspective seems coherent in approaching and interpreting material culture as, irrespective of meaning, the physical properties of artifacts are "not arbitrary." This may lead to the acceptance, for example, that an iron knife is "manifestly stronger and more durable than a stone knife" (Rogers, 2005: 350). The implication of this position is that one can infer,

based at least in part of the assumed function of some objects, that some type of change must have taken place in some sphere of the society under study. Nonetheless, the rationalization and interpretation of these deceptively "obvious" choices need to be understood in context.

While these five points are not too controversial, the problem lies in how to operationalize them in archaeological contexts. Current research in the region of the Serrana dos Quilombos is geared to constructing a viable research plan for understanding the lives of the many diverse peoples who inhabited the hinterlands of the Capitania de Pernambuco. The location and study of diverse types of archaeological sites together with a better understanding of colonial-period material culture will provide a sounder base from which to pose questions and build interpretations.

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Chapter 4
Farmers, Sorting Folds, Earmarks, and Sheep in Iceland

Oscar Aldred

> It feels a bit odd for an archaeologist to consider objects that are still in motion as part of their material culture database, since the image we have of archaeological research centers upon the careful excavation of objects that have been fixed within the soil or rock of Earth, oftentimes for millions of years. Whole new categories of archaeological methodology seem to be called for…(Capelotti, 2010: 61)

> Just as humans have a history of their relations with animals, so also animals have a history of their relations with humans. Only humans, however, construct *narratives* of this history. (Ingold, 1994: 1)

It may be seem odd, out of place even, to use an opening quote that comes from a book about the archaeology of the modern space era in a chapter about sheep farming. Yet, there is certain relevance if we consider the way in which archaeology studies past movement. There are few "tools" that archaeologists can use to examine objects that moved, whether in outer space or in a landscape. The repertoires of tools that are currently used are framing devices that reduce the facets of actual mobility to a kind of stasis. Examples include studies of material objects between one site and another or of systems, which generate a series of types that the researcher attempts to relate to mobile agents, or methodologies for examining placemaking or the embodiment of past movement that focus only on human movement, ignoring environmental change as well as nonhuman occupants of the landscape.

These tools and methods partly articulate our understanding of the archaeological record by suggesting how archaeology deals with the relations among things (Patrik, 1985; Lucas, 2012). For example, contemporary archaeology divides the archaeological record into a static record and a series of parts that have been derived from active formation processes. Distinctions among formation processes and the way in which they are considered separately, however, only reinforce the difference

O. Aldred (✉)
School of History, Classics and Archaeology, Newcastle University, Newcastle-Upon-Tyne NE1 7RU, UK
e-mail: oscar.aldred@ncl.ac.uk

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between activeness and stasis. Arguably, although these facets of process and evidence can be "recorded" separately, in reality they were and are entirely entangled. The underlying proposition that this chapter addresses is how we might transcend the study of things that were mobile in the past but are to all extents and purposes no longer moving today. Thus, the aim is to emphasize the significance of thinking about the past through movement and to examine the relational entanglements among objects, highlighting their mobilities. Taking an archaeology of movement seriously creates accounts about past movement that place greater emphasis on the entanglements between human and nonhuman mobilities.

An Archaeology of Movement

An archaeology of movement is usually thought about in two related but separate ways. On the one hand, it considers the moving bodies involved, and on the other, it considers the material systems that facilitated and enabled movement. What I want to do in this chapter is to combine these two related but often separated archaeologies and situate them in an approach that does more than deploy moving bodies to add "body" to an existing narrative, structured by the parts of movement's material systems, such as roads or tracks (e.g., Earle, 1991). I also seek to go beyond the notion that moving bodies add an inhabited discourse to a series of generalized objects in a landscape by delineating the experiences of being through which the material world is disclosed (e.g., Tilley, 1994). There are three components to my approach.

First, I focus on the entanglement among material systems like waymarkers and roads in relation to moving bodies, such as those of farmers and sheep, by following them as they may have *moved* in the past. I study seasonal grazing, gathering, and sorting of sheep by farmers associated with the community of Skutústaðahreppur, in northeast Iceland (Fig. 4.1). Through this case study I hope to formulate a history of entanglements that reaches beyond a solid material syndrome (Edgeworth, 2011: 88). Instead, I show that there was a relational entanglement, or assemblage, of objects of different materials, forces, flows, and energies that were interdependent (Edgeworth, 2011: 87; Bennett, 2010: 23–28). What this inevitably leads to is a reconsideration of the connections between human and nonhuman objects, establishing a fuller, "thicker" narrative (Geertz, 1973) of past movement.

Second, I employ the concepts that underlie the concept of *chaîne opératoire* or operational chain (Lemonnier, 1986, 1992, 1993; Leroi-Gourhan, 1993; Schlanger, 1994, 2005) to situate the grazing, gathering, and sorting of sheep by farmers. This leads to considering the practice of movement as a *materializing* process along an interconnected chain, emphasizing *making* while *using* objects (Coupaye, 2009; Dobres, 2000; Naji & Douny, 2009; Warnier, 2001, 2009). I do not use the notion of operational chains in the conventional manner of Lemonnier's understanding of Leroi-Gourhan, which focuses on assessing technological change or on production of hand axes or other stone tools (cf. Bradley & Edmonds, 1993; Conneller, 2008). Instead I conceive of operational chains as a way to follow things as they may have moved,

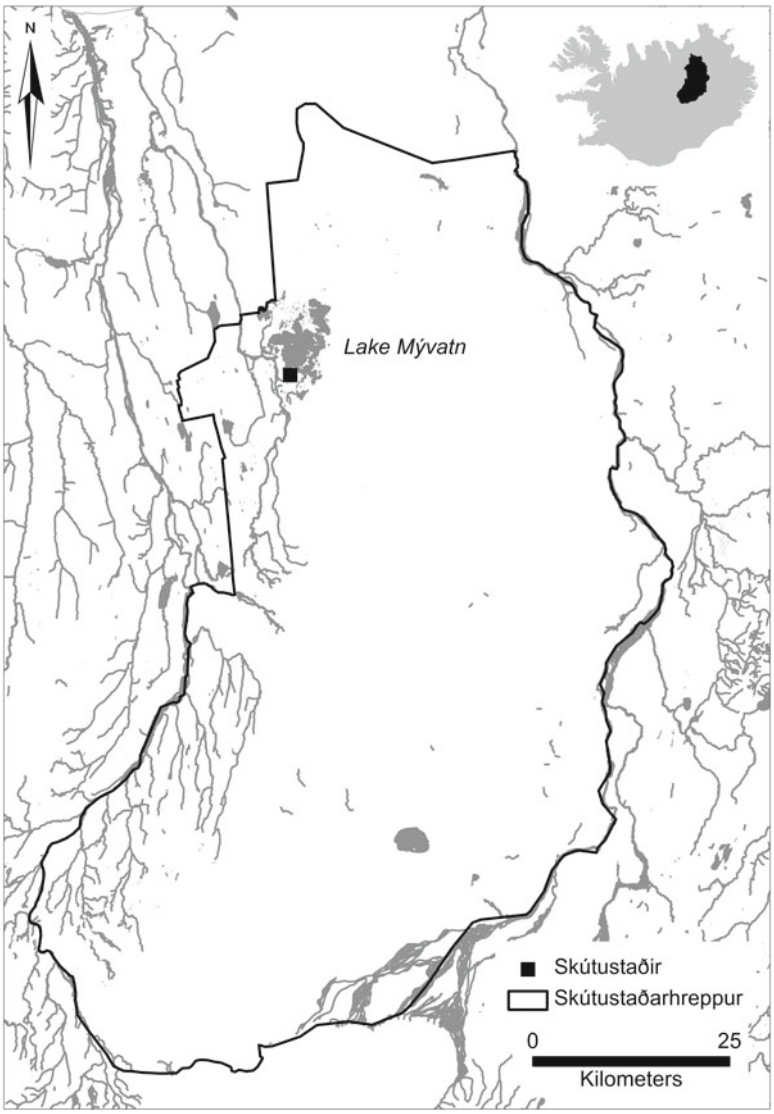

Fig. 4.1 *Location of Skútustaðahreppur in northeast Iceland* (Base map data from LMÍ) (figure by Oscar Aldred)

using an argument based on empirical data about past practices to examine the history of entanglements that connected the different parts of the chain's objects, both human and nonhuman. Arguably this is closer to Leroi-Gourhan's initial enlargement on Mauss' notion of "techniques of the body" (Mauss, 1973). As a result, my case study examines an operational chain that joins two types of objects—earmarks and sorting folds—that are conventionally seen as occupying opposing ends of a *virtual line*.

Third, in drawing a "virtual line" between the earmarks cut into sheep's ears, denoting them as property, and the sorting folds where the earmarks were used to identify sheep from different farms and to divide them from the overall flock accordingly, I introduce the idea that these two objects were not immobile and fixed, but were mobile, in at least two ways. Initially, we can see this as a line, or trajectory, defined by the positional relationship that archaeology's objects have along a virtual line. In this sense, the objects and the line that connects them are or were actualized only when they were used in the past or when they become *archaeological* objects—the subjects of study. This approach reveals what is usually hidden or obscured when we consider the archaeological record as existing only in two states, one active and one passive, instead of as a continuum, particularly in terms of movement. Once we grasp that our line is in fact a continuum, earmarks and sorting folds become highly mobile objects of two different kinds: earmarks were portable, literally carried on the bodies of sheep, and sorting folds were constituted by the flows that occurred inside and through them as well as being susceptible to changes in location.

What happens when we take all three aspects into account is that we are able to perceive the flows and forces that have shaped the connections among objects, both in the past and in the present, and how these connections allow the differing elements to influence one another in ways that emphasize movement as a key connector. In this respect, movement is not something to be reduced to the background. Furthermore, the examination of movement in this way becomes in itself a "tool" that can be used to understand, and arguably represent, a visceral past. This is not just because the so-called solid material syndrome perspective is reevaluated but also because something about the history of entanglements from the perspectives of movement are revealed that might involve understanding the rhythms, operations, and tactics associated with moving sheep back and from the summer grazing areas.

A Case Study: Skútustaðahreppur

The case study is focused on the mid-nineteenth- to early twentieth-century practice of grazing, gathering, and sorting sheep, which continues today in the community of Skútustaðahreppur. Its boundaries extend from the south at the glacier Vatnajökull, to the mountain Elifur in the north, and to two rivers on the east and west (see Fig. 4.1). Skútustaðahreppur is a geographic area belonging to a single community, comprising several farms, and having a variety of different topographic features. Much of the area is located within an active volcanic zone that has large areas of lava fields and ash deserts. The area is also rich in wild resources, however: a lake teeming with fish and flies, and there are large expanses of wet meadow areas and fertile river valleys. Here, as elsewhere in Iceland, the settlement pattern consists of single dispersed farms. Many of these settlements date to the Viking period (ninth to eleventh century) when Iceland was first settled, dated by the *landnám* or settlement tephra, a layer of volcanic ash that fell in AD871 +/− 2 (Smith, 1995: 326). During the period under discussion, however, many of Iceland's rural communities

were rapidly changing in their structure because of depopulation and economic shifts from localized production in small communities such as Skútustaðahreppur to a more centralized, urban industry. Entire communities moved to urban coastal market towns such as Húsavík and Reykjavík.

Because of Skútustaðahreppur's rich environment, even though it lies in an active volcanic zone at an altitude of 400 m above sea level, there have been, and still are, dynamic interrelationships among various human and nonhuman communities. For example, there is an ecological interconnection among fish and flies, farmers, sheep, and vegetation. There are incentives to modernize production of omnipresent resources and concerns for the damage that this might have for other aspects of the human and nonhuman community. There is a dynamic but fragile ecosystem that has in the past responded to a continuum of and fluctuations and eddies and troughs of change. Sheep farming, as its primary economy in the nineteenth century, was integral to the stability of this extended community, although it was under increasing pressure from external forces. Furthermore, the manner in which farms were dispersed in and made use of the landscape, especially as far as cattle and sheep were concerned, was integral to many other activities.

Farming activities were not localized but were integrated into a series of other interrelated tasks (cf. Ingold, 1994), making it possible to identify possible reasons behind the intentionality in cutting of grass, or the maintenance of buildings, and to link these to food production and the cutting and collection of wool as well as to local textile production. Thus, any change in one of these tasks in turn had an effect on other tasks and connections or in the relations among them. This potentially resulted in a whole series of subsequent changes because of the ways in which the links in the chain of practices were connected to one another. Thus, the practice or operation of sheep farming is a living system that has inbuilt antecedents which are of interest to archaeology. A conventional approach to the study of sheep-farming practices is to place them into a historical narrative that outlines major events. Too often such accounts relegate archaeology and, more importantly, movement, to peripheral roles.

The Operational Chain

A way to avoid this is to examine the network of connected practices and to reconstruct an ecology of practices focused on "value" and "what counts" in a practice (Stengers, 2010: 37). There is, however, a danger of obfuscating the meaning in the network of practices, because of the tendency to overextend the network of connections. Strathern (1996) asks "where does one cut the network?" Here I define the network as an operational network, or chain. Thus, the network follows but is not limited to an operational chain of the seasonal paths along which farmers and sheep moved back and forth from the grazing areas in the company of other animals, in synchrony with the landscape. While slaughter represents an ending for sheep, it also generates other farming-related and connected activities. For the purposes of

Farm – Grazing area – Sorting fold – Farm – (Slaughter house)

Spatial chain

13th century – 14th – 15th – 16th – 17th – 18th – 19th – 20th

Temporal chain

Marking – Releasing – Grazing – Gathering – Sorting – Slaughter

Chain of practices

Fig. 4.2 Three different types of operational chains (figure by Oscar Aldred)

this chapter, it (slaughter) represents a transformational stage in the lives of *both* sheep and farmers.

The entanglements associated with sheep farming work along the several kinds of operational chain (Fig. 4.2). The operational chain was defined by the reciprocal relationships between moving bodies and material systems, which were also encapsulated and mediated by a discursive intertwining of seasonal cycles and the state of the landscape's surfaces. Rather than an unending spiral, the chain of practices constitutes a series of junctures within the operation. What is more, the chain actualizes the operation as a narrative device within which the conventional chains, spatial and/or temporal, can be situated. Emphasis on practice and attention to episodes of materialization through the operation are important for an understanding of interconnected rather than isolated instances. The portrayal of practices in this way combines the spatial and temporal through the sense of mobility, which is central to the expression of each link in the chain, linking earmarks and the sorting fold.

Earmarks

An earmark was a conventional way of assigning identities to sheep as property, which turned them into commodities. Yet this is perhaps a modern way of looking at them, drawing on the values of our own society, and using them to express what we feel about the use value of sheep. An earmark's symbolic meaning also tells us about genealogies between generations of farmers, as well as between the sheep themselves. Furthermore, earmarks actualized the potential movement of sheep to the grazing areas in the upland pastures by allowing them to graze intercommunally. Earmarks thus shaped the identities of both sheep and farmers and perhaps of the region itself. At different points along the operational chain, however, the *meaning* of the earmark changed (Fig. 4.3).

The earmark allowed the duality of incarceration and freedom to operate in synchrony. As Netz (2004: 230) puts it, "a species that incarcerates another forges its own chains." Sheep were incarcerated by farmers through a violent act that bound the

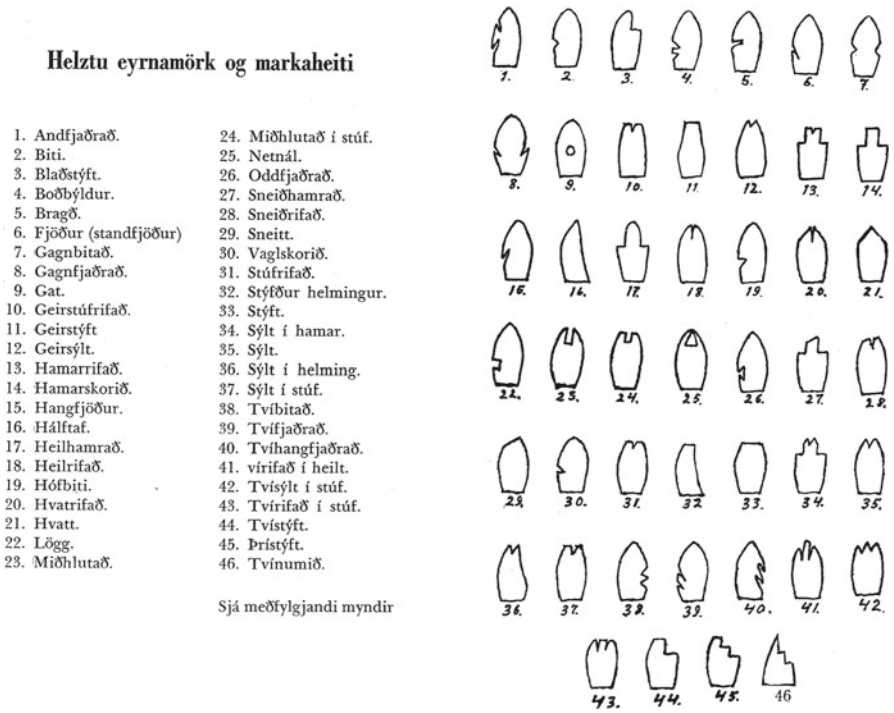

Fig. 4.3 Earmarks used in *Suður-Þingeyjarsýslu*, *Húsavíkurkaupstaðir*, and *Kelduneshrepps* found in the *Markaskrá* (Earmark Survey) for 1965

farmer to the sheep and their activities. Furthermore, as movement varied seasonally in Iceland, quite literally by following the earmark, the researcher can follow the relation between seasonality and the role of the earmark across a continuum of connected stages. For example, the earmark facilitated different movement practices for sheep and farmers during the summer months, which tended to be much more extensive than in winter. In one sense, both sheep and farmers were free of one another for a period of time during the summer. Movement during the winter was much more locally situated, but the earmark was a constant reminder—a mnemonic device maintaining the relational ties between sheep and farmers. Sheep were generally sheltered in the sheep house or in nearby areas that were free of winter snow, so-called winter grazing areas.

Seasonally variable movement and the degree of proximal relation between farmers and sheep are also illustrated by the old names of the months in Icelandic: e.g., the third month in summer was called *selmánudur* (shieling or upland grazing time), the first month of winter was called *gormánuður* (slaughtering time), and the third month of winter was called *hrútmánuður* (ram time, the mating period for livestock) (Björnsson, 1995: 6–8; Hastrup, 1985: 29). The names of the months which were derived from the tasks relating to sheep materialized these activities and

relations in another way. As Hastrup suggests, "productive practices in Iceland are closely tied to time or season" (1998: 152). Even when farmers were not tending to their sheep, they were carrying out tasks that were associated with them, such as cutting fodder, consolidating old buildings, and collecting ewe's milk daily from the shieling. Thus, the positive benefits to sheep in this relationship based on a violent act of incarceration related to husbandry, which included a consistent food supply, a herded safety, and shelter. The reciprocal relationship between sheep and farmers was dictated by the needs of sheep rather than the other way around; although obviously there were benefits to farmers for this hard work—sustenance and potential income. It is through the things that farmers did and the way in which task time was structured, however, that there is a glimpse of the sheep's history predicated on the seasonal ordering of work for the farmers and by the care given over to sheep. In truth the relation was a negotiated one rather than a hegemonic one, as Ingold and others have suggested, in which there was a "social" contract between people and animals (Ingold, 1974, 1994).

The earmark also set in motion a series of other activities. For example, the earmark created bonds between farmers and sheep that made them in a very real way companions that inhabited the same community "space." Viewing sheep as commodities with our analytical gaze and turning them into economic agents belies the subtlety of the relation between sheep and farmers. Many farmers knew their individual sheep so well that they gave them names, and their lineages were known within a community (e.g., on the farms at Skalárvík in Breiðrafjörður and Háls in Reykholtdalur, west Iceland). The relationship between farmers and sheep was a reciprocal one that swung like a pendulum at different points along the operational chain. The earmark was an essential feature as it not only forged a "social" contract but also allowed other types of relations to develop that have become a part of a structured way of inhabiting and moving through the landscape. This is not the kind of separation that Braudel (1995) offers as scales of temporal and spatial processes—the everyday, seasonal, and *longue durée*—but rather an interdigitated entanglement, flattening the relations between farmers and sheep. As a result, earmarks can be thought about not as fixed and determined objects that had only economic functions, but as multiple meanings that altered along the operational chain, shifting along with the flows of alliances and collectivities of things.

Organization

The practice of sheep farming had to constantly adapt to new circumstances. Even though sheep grazing was occurring as early as the thirteenth century, many of its features continued in nineteenth-century practices. The major difference at either end of this temporal chain was an earlier emphasis on discrete land ownership in which only a few farmers grazed their sheep on the best pastures, versus a later communal approach to grazing. The switch was perhaps a gradual response to changing conditions in the constitution of the community, but it also stemmed from environmental

change that was occurring to the land as vegetation became increasingly stressed (e.g., Simpson, Guðmundsson, Thomson, & Cluett, 2004). Arguably, the community-wide system of sheep farming that was used from at least the eighteenth century onwards was probably an environmental response, but it may equally have had come about for social reasons, or through economic and geographical changes in wool production. The nineteenth century was also a time of gradual increase in sheep numbers alongside increased industrial practices associated with textile production in the urbanized townships of Iceland, such as Reykjavík. In any case, in the nineteenth century, farms shared the grazing pastures, and as a result the workflow in the practice needed to be managed collectively. Committees of community elders or respected farmers were set up, and minutes of committee meetings were recorded.

One of the results of this organization was a pre-calculated sheep tax that was based on a strict sheep-to-farmer ratio during the gathering process. In Skútustaðahreppur the tax can be estimated to have been 1 sheep to 0.15 Ikr (Icelandic *Krónur*) or approximately 50 sheep to 1 gatherer, derived from looking at a neighboring community called Helgastaðahreppur and calculating an estimated cost of one sheep as a tax value for gathering (Sigurjónsson, 1950). Therefore, the consequences of establishing a committee that put into effect an increased organization of sheep-farming practice was the production of a highly regulated system of grazing, gathering, and sorting. Therefore, *the terms of the relation* that the environment afforded and the sociality between farmers and sheep were radically different at opposite ends of the temporal chain. Furthermore, it is likely that movements were different. In later periods the sheep farming involved larger "collectives" of humans and nonhumans. It is likely, however, that knowledge of the landscape in relation to previous gathering operations was retained through the continuity of specific aspects of much earlier, traditional forms of practice. This knowledge would have been reproduced and passed between generations of farmers, so that judgments about where to graze sheep changed alongside the actual movements involved.

One particular problem in Skútustaðahreppur was the increasing rate of land degradation and a loss of vegetation from both over grazing in the past and worsening environmental conditions during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These landscape environments were subject not only to dramatic changes between seasons that resulted in the gradual limited grazing of sheep in the southern grazing area but also to much longer-term changes across generations. Alterations in practice were not simply a response to recognized changes but rather part of a more gradual and emergent series of responses that were small at first but which had a long-term effect on the shape and direction of practices. For example, in nineteenth-century Skútustaðahreppur, there were two grazing areas divided into a further nine zones. And in each area there was a sorting fold. Historical practices such as gathering along paths and selecting the areas within which sheep grazed and were gathered were cumulative. There would have been some resilience because of their operational "value" that derived from previous operations, but they would have been creative and innovative solutions that were worked out in the field as the gathering took place. For example, locating sheep in the grazing areas was dependent on where they had been released and where there was sufficient vegetation for grazing.

In this way, responses to specific problems can be seen as either *quick* or *slow*, in the field or between generations; for instance, recognizing environmental markers in a landscape was a *quick* response. On the other hand, *slow* responses accumulated such that an earlier practice and another, separated by several generations, may have been largely unrecognizable. It may very well be the case today that earlier practices have only a few, resilient vestiges left in the modern practice; earmarks were one of these, as were generalized routes, and to some degree, the sorting fold. In this respect, earmarks, paths, and sorting folds were outcomes of the relational entanglement between the resilient forms of the practices used at different times and the creative mediation of new forms, such as those influenced by the landscape at given moments of the gathering operation.

Gathering Paths

There were a total of five gathering paths, divided into a number of routes, in Skútustaðahreppur (Fig. 4.4). The timing during a single operation was carefully choreographed so that the multiple parties involved met together at the sorting fold. Each path into the main grazing areas took variable amounts of time (between 2 and 5 days) to traverse, and different numbers of gatherers traveled along each path. Archaeologically, the paths can only be generally reconstructed because the movements of sheep within the grazing area during each gathering would be different, and consequently each path taken had to accommodate changes in grazing patterns. In some respect, there was a sense of going along and remembering the way, but at the same time there was real sense of negotiating the path on the hoof. Like the quick and slow responses, there was a *potential* path, predicated as a virtual path *before* the gathering, while the *actualized* path took into account the structure provided by the virtual one alongside the conditions and settings during the moment of moving. What was predetermined was the eventual destination, and this had an effect on the dispatch and division of gatherers. But how the gathering was operationalized was dependent on the comingling and entanglement of multiple forces, such as the state of vegetation cover, where the sheep were grazing, how many gatherers there were, and the location of the sorting fold.

Characteristic of all gatherings is the series of staggered movements. While there would have been long-term differences, many of the same places within the grazing areas served as structural anchors with respect to movement. Such paths and places were also places of knowledge and wisdom (after Basso, 1996) within the group, where specific acts were performed during the gathering process. Mountains, rivers, vegetation areas, and other topographic features guided directionality as well as hinted at changes that needed to be made in the gathering practices the following year as a result of differential vegetation cover, glacial melting, and snow pockets. The environmental markers were a form of observational knowledge learned not just by being in the landscape but by moving through it, a process that helped shape collective memory (Connerton, 1998). In this way, it was feasible to predict where

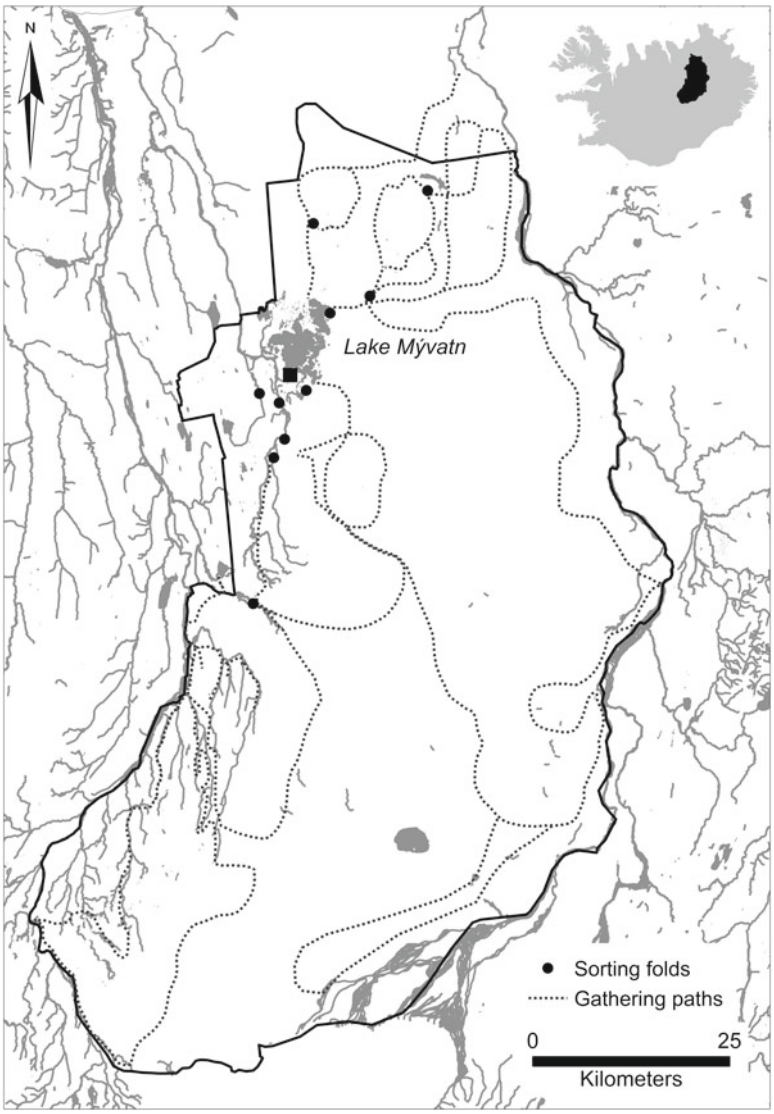

Fig. 4.4 Gathering routes in the study area (Base map data from LMÍ) (figure by Oscar Aldred)

sheep could be grazing, and in this way a virtual line became a kind of mental map. But the environments, as I have already said, were susceptible to fluctuation that was difficult to observe year by year. In the nineteenth century, grazing areas that were once rich were depleted, so sheep were grazed in other locations. Thus, what an environment offered was liable to change, and farmers needed to be flexible in light of these constantly materializing contexts. Not only were paths liable to change their routes through the landscape but also the eventual destinations at the sorting folds.

At the Sorting Fold

Alongside the complexity of these intersecting moving elements, the sorting fold also needs to be considered. Throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the sorting folds for each grazing area changed location several times. For example, four different sorting folds were used in the southern grazing area called Suðurafrétt. The earliest sorting folds (pre-nineteenth-century ones) were located in the grazing area itself. From the late nineteenth century onwards, the sorting fold moved either to the margins of the settlement zone or into it (e.g., close to Lake Mývatn). Thus, a gradual movement in the location of the sorting fold from grazing areas to farm zone seems to have been taking place in Skútustaðahreppur. Driving this change were several interrelated forces, from inside the community as well as outside of it—population numbers of humans and sheep, climatic and environmental effects on vegetation, relations between the sorting fold and the location and use of the grazing areas, and the historical ties that particular farms and communities had to grazing areas.

The sorting folds were not only places where the gathered sheep were divided into their respective farms on the basis of their earmarks, but they were also events in themselves. Each farm had its mark involving a combination of different features. Furthermore, each farm, or a group of farms, had its own chambers within the sorting fold (Fig. 4.5). But like the earmark, the sorting fold had multiple meanings attached to it, with a number of different flows operating within it. In many ways, sorting folds (*réttir*) were constituted by their flows not by the solidity of their materiality (cf. Aldred, 2006; Edgeworth, 2011). In many ways, it was the flow of movements by sheep and farmers that constituted the sorting fold not just the spatial arrangement of its architecture. This temporalization of space—in giving a location its set of events—is reminiscent of Tuan's "space is movement and place is pause" (1977). The sorting fold was also a locale that was full of action in events that can be understood from multiple perspectives, much like Latour and Yaneva's skyscraper (2008) or Tschumi's buildings (1996). Seen in this way the sorting fold is reminiscent of Augé's non-place (1995): while having a solid, material basis, there were also numerous flows. And it is the flows of people and animals moving that I want to focus on as constituting the site, alongside its material structure.

The sorting fold was a flow of both materials and moving bodies each with a relational force that altered depending on the locale within. Furthermore, the terms of the relation were also constantly challenged; ties and bonds between farmers and sheep were reforged as well as broken. As a consequence, the relation between earmarks and the sorting fold, farmers and sheep, and operational chain combine in making sense of the grazing, gathering, and sorting. At different stages, the flow through the site writ small can be seen as its own operational chain, and in the same way, sorting folds were nested into the operational chain of the larger practice. Sorting folds were transitional places. From the perspective of the history of sheep, contra Ingold's opening statement at the beginning of this chapter (as provocative as it is), it is possible to give voice to sheep in a more symmetrical way to human

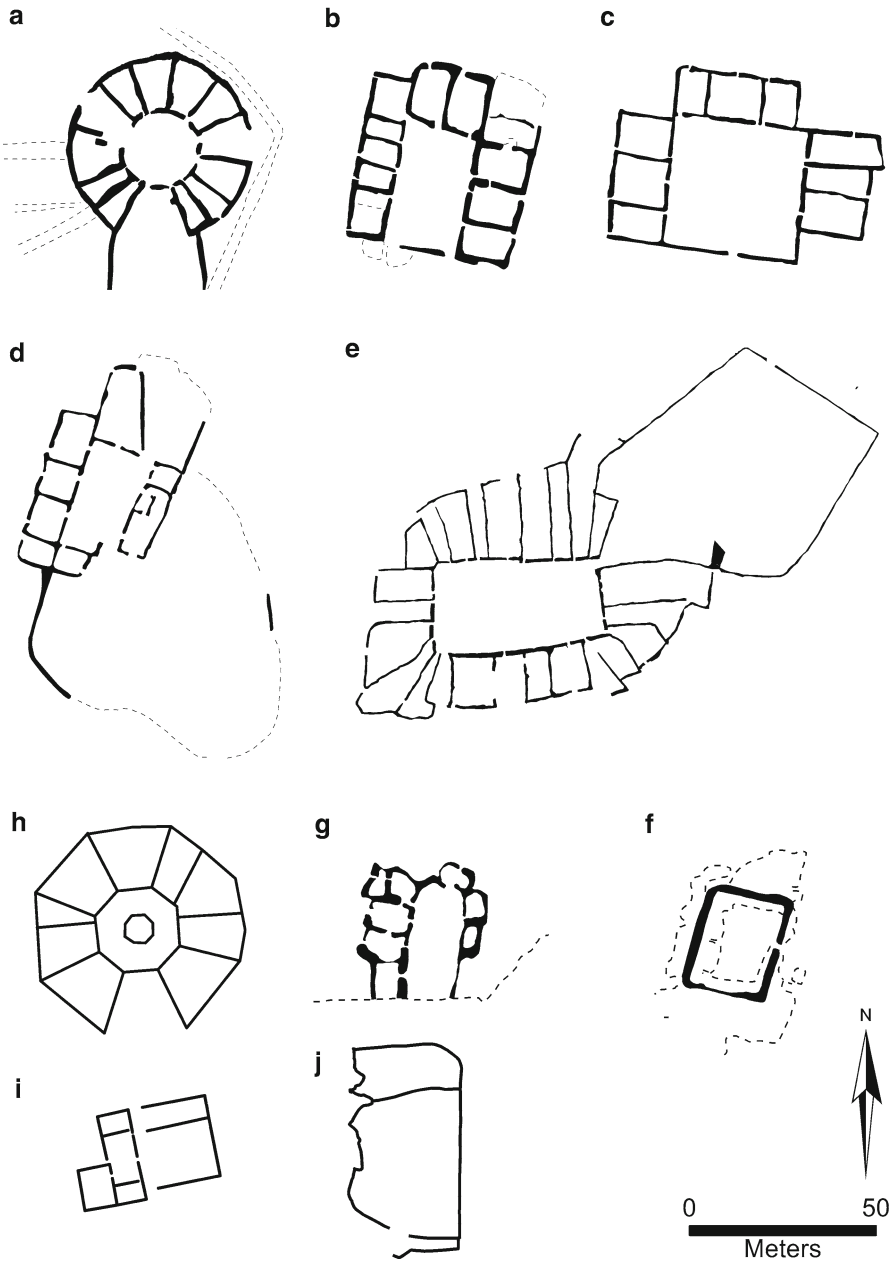

Fig. 4.5 Sorting folds in the study area (all periods). (**a**) *Gautlandaréttir*, (**b**) *Sellandarétt*, (**c**) *Strengjarétt*, (**d**) *Dalsrétt*, (**e**) *Hliðarétt*, (**f**) *Réttartorf*, (**g**) *Réttargrund*, (**h**) *Baldursheimarétt*, (**i**) *Stöng*, (**j**) *Péturskirkja* (figure by Oscar Aldred)

narratives because earmarks and sorting folds become folded, quite literally, into the relationship between farmers and sheep. Thus, places such as sorting folds enacted a kind of filtering process in at least three ways, altering the state of this relation:

1. In the grazing area sheep were free, unbounded, and full of potential; their capacity to move was great. But as the sheep came closer to the sorting fold and as the party of the gathering increased in size, limitations set in. Furthermore, at the sorting fold itself, farmers waited eagerly around the edges and in the central area.
2. In the outer chamber of the sorting fold, sheep were even less free but were not grouped artificially; they had the capacity to move as they liked, with whom they wanted to. There were no socialities present other than the ones that they wanted to create themselves.
3. In the main chamber of sorting fold, everything changed. No longer were sheep free, but they were in a process of becoming incarcerated again, enchained to farmers in a more deliberate way as they moved through the gates of the central chamber. Their capacity to move shifted because of the relational entanglement they found themselves in: to the sorting fold, its materiality, and the farmers with their intentionalities.

A Lone Sheep, an Empty Sorting Fold, and a Host of Gatherers, or an Assemblage of Operations?

By way of a conclusion, but not an ending, the consequences of considering past movement practices as more than "the obscure background of social activity" (de Certeau, 1984: xi) allow a series of emergent and relational objects, such as earmarks and sorting folds, to be connected to one another. The virtual line that I have represented in this discussion is kept active through this relational process, connecting parts but also *pulling together* the objects associated with it, as if it were a kind of gravity. This gravitational force shapes and is shaped by objects and their relations. In this respect, Harman's take on Latour is useful to consider here: an actant is nothing without its allies (Harman, 2009). Similarly, along the operational chain there were no privileged objects, although some wielded more power at various times. Sheep influenced the ordering of work carried out by farmers, but farmers held the knife for earmarking and slaughtering. An agent's power depended on the allies that it could muster at particular positions along the operational chain. Thus, in further support of my argument about the relevance of understanding past movement, an object's meaning is derived not just by what a thing is—its inherent properties—nor by the relations it has with other objects, but how mobile it was and to what extent this was a stable, concrete feature of its persistence (cf. Olsen, 2010).

This is a matter of orientation, but an important one that brings out the significance of employing movement as a "tool" to examine the past. What this does is to play into the consideration of how things were connected in the past, often in terms of their entanglements and their imminence to our own contemporary situations.

As a consequence, it is possible to study the relations and the practices in other archaeological examples, such as the long-term occupation of a domestic setting, or in the reuse of a burial mound. Focusing on the operational chain as a means of studying archaeology, in considering the spatial and temporal as movement, is significant for several reasons, as I have demonstrated here. Such an approach reveals aspects of the past that to a large extent have remained silent in more conventional accounts. Furthermore, the emphasis on the encounters along the operational chain serves also as a structural force for our narratives, as it is in time geography that spatializes past events (Hägerstrand, 1970; Thomas, 1994). Perhaps most important, no longer is the study of movement understood merely as an examination of a material system or of the moving bodies associated with subject-centered narratives: movement provides the mechanism by which to understand the observed empirical and imagined past through archaeological tools as object, subject, and as the narrative with which to relate past materialized practices with those that constitute and define an archaeological understanding of the materials and practices in the present.

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Chapter 5
Mobility Ahead of Its Time: A Fifteenth-Century Austrian Pocket Sundial as a Trailblazing Instrument for Time Measurement on Travels

Ronald Salzer

Introduction

The sundial in question was found during excavations conducted in 2002 and 2003 at the site of the former Castle Grafendorf in the city of Stockerau, which is situated 30 km from the Austrian capital Vienna. The late medieval castle was built in the lowland and in its youngest stage was clearly adapted to the dawning age of firearms since it was protected on three sides by a mound, 6 m high, equipped with bastions (Fig. 5.1). One side was open but probably lay along a branch of the near Danube and could be approached only by boat. Although there is some evidence hinting at earlier settlement periods, the majority of the archaeological finds dates from the fifteenth to the early sixteenth century.

The first written record of a castle in Grafendorf appears 1312. The last explicit reference to a castle in Grafendorf comes from the year 1529, and there are no records indicating when the fortress was destroyed or abandoned. Yet the property itself remained part of the estate of a series of noble families until well into the twentieth century. Undoubtedly thanks to the secondary usage of the building stones, no visible walls survived, and the meaning of this site vanished in the collective memory of the local population; even scientists struggled to comprehend the importance of this atypical castle: initially, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, it was interpreted as a prehistoric site. Grafendorf castle shared the fate of many mottes and other medieval fortifications with predominant earthworks that were long regarded as "non-castles" and neglected in favor of "typical castles" with stone walls and towers (Gebuhr, 2007). So when local authorities decided to build a retirement home on these grounds in 1975, large portions of the former castle of Grafendorf

R. Salzer (✉)
Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte, Universität Wien,
Franz-Klein-Gasse 1, A-1190 Wien, Austria
e-mail: ronald.salzer@a1.net

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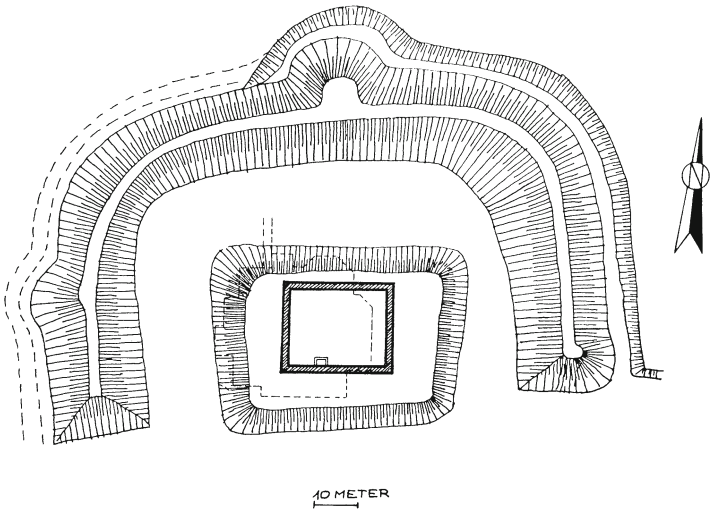

Fig. 5.1 Sketch of Grafendorf castle depicting its trenches, mounds, and the central platform where the sundial was found. The *rectangular ground plan* shows the foundations of the rectangular curtain wall. The ground plan of the retirement home erected on it in 1975 is marked in *dotted lines* (G. Schattauer)

were destroyed—unfortunately without professional archaeological documentation. Only when new construction necessitated further destruction in 2003 were the two archaeological campaigns mentioned above performed (Salzer, 2012b).

The undocumented loss of the main part of the castle seems all the more regrettable in light of the exceptional finds made during the excavations. Among these are a ceramic mold for creating festive confectionary of marzipan or the like, decorated with the coats of arms of Habsburgian countries (Salzer, 2011); a little castle model of ceramic, probably used in an altar or nativity scene (Salzer, 2012a); fragments of Gothic plate armor; and a pocket sundial (Fig. 5.2). In this chapter, I explore the chronological and technological classification as well as the cultural and historical meanings of this special find.

The Grafendorf Sundial

The Grafendorf sundial was a stray find in one of the multiple filling strata that formed the central platform over the foundations of the razed rectangular curtain wall of the castle (Fig. 5.1). Because the excavations were constrained to a small area that had not been built on since the 1970s, the complex sequence of the various building phases of the castle could not be fully reconstructed. The homogenous dating of the ceramic finds from the oldest building phase as well as of those from later filling strata, however, militates in favor of only a minor chronological hiatus between these phases.

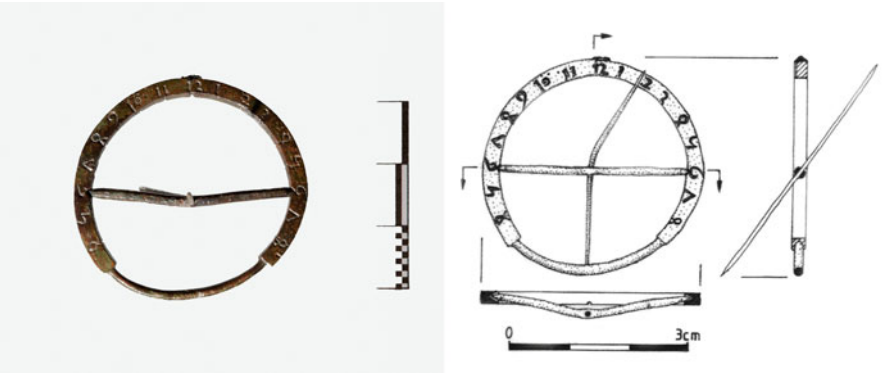

Fig. 5.2 *Left*: Photograph of the Grafendorf sundial in action, showing the time 2:30 p.m. (G. Gattinger, Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte, Wien). *Right*: Drawing of the Grafendorf sundial (F. Drost)

A sundial is an instrument for telling the time according to the position of the sun. For a sundial two things are indispensable: first, a gnomon that casts the shadow (hence *gnomonics*—the science of sundialling) and, second, a dial plate, the physical plate that features the hour lines where the course of the shadow can be observed (Bassermann-Jordan, 1961). The Grafendorf sundial consists of a brass hour ring of 36 mm in diameter with engraved Arabic numerals (4–12 and 1–8) and carved hour lines on its inner circumference. While the main part of the hour ring is rectangular in cross section, approximately one third of the circumference has a distinctly thinner, round cross section, possibly to save weight or material costs. The outer edge possesses a crack next to the number 12, indicating the spot where the ring was fixed. The double-ended gnomon, one side of which is slightly twisted, is attached to a pivoted crossbar mounted into the inner edge of the hour ring (Fig. 5.2).

The Grafendorf find belongs to the type of sundial known as an *equatorial*—also sometimes referred to as *equinoctial*. Here the dial plate is set parallel to the equatorial plane, and the polar-pointing gnomon is perpendicular to it. To fulfill these requirements demands/necessitates a compass to direct the dial to the North, as well as a quadrant to account for the specific geographical latitude (Bassermann-Jordan, 1961). Neither of these devices was found in the castle.

The remarkable construction had two advantages. From the autumnal equinox until the vernal equinox, sunlight falls on the underside of the hour ring; in this period the gnomon has to project below the dial plate (British Sundial Society, 2012). The bipolar gnomon in connection with the carved hour lines on the inside of the hour ring thus allowed the scale to be read throughout the year. Moreover the gnomon was collapsible and—as evidenced by a channel on the backside of the hour ring—could be stored in a space-saving manner. In sum, this particular sundial not only worked 365 days a year but also, when folded, was flat, light, and therefore easily portable.

Contextualization and Dating of the Sundial

The equatorial sundial was described for the first time in a manuscript dated 1431 and attributed by Zinner (1956) to the astronomer Nikolaus von Heybach [Heybech/Heybeck] from Erfurt, Germany. While in recent years the authorship of this work has been questioned, it undisputedly mentions a pocket sundial equipped with a compass, equatorial ring, and a polar-aligned gnomon (Zinner, 1956). Hence this historical source provides a terminus post quem of 1431 for the dating of the Austrian sundial.

A further clue for a chronological placement is afforded through epigraphic analysis by focusing on the numbers engraved on the hour ring (see Fig. 5.2). In general, the use of Arabic numerals in Eastern Austria manifested itself epigraphically not long before the middle of the fifteenth century. The loop-form of 4 and the lambda-form of 7 appear as a conservative variant until the mid-sixteenth century, to some extent even beyond that date. The left-faced form of 5, which is sometimes mistaken for a 7, was much more short-lived, however, as it had disappeared in the second half of the fifteenth century. The variation of 8, whose lower arc seems to be open, is rather unusual in Austria. The correct use of the cipher 0 in the number 10 is quite remarkable as well since in year specifications, for instance, the zero was causing problems for writers well into the first quarter of the sixteenth century. In summary, these epigraphic facts hint at a dating not long after the middle of the fifteenth century—provided that the dial was inscribed in Central Europe (Salzer, 2012b). This dating is supported by the similarity of the numbers on a portable folding sundial constructed by the Austrian astronomer Georg von Peuerbach (1423–1461) in 1451 for the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III (1415–1493) (Samhaber, 2000). In particular the crucial ciphers 4, 5, 7, and 10 of this instrument, now kept at the Zeughaus Museum in Innsbruck, all correspond with its counterparts on the hour ring of the Grafendorf sundial.

Another approach is to look for analogies in iconography, since portable sundials of various kinds are frequently displayed in Renaissance art, in early sixteenth-century portraits painted by Hans Holbein the Younger (1497/1498–1543), for example (Ward, 1979). A pen drawing dated around 1505/1508 by the lesser-known contemporary Swiss mercenary and artist Urs Graf (1485–1527/1528) shows a man holding a pocket sundial of striking resemblance to the Austrian one (Fig. 5.3). The hour ring Graf illustrates is surprisingly akin to the find in Grafendorf, possessing a similar thin profile on the part free of what most likely are Roman numerals. Also the revolvable double-ended gnomon works with the same mechanism. The dial is attached to a little box, whereas the instrument situated in a rather odd position on top can be identified as a primitive type of a nocturnal, a device for determining the time at night based on the apparent revolution of the stars on the celestial sphere.

The first iconographical trace of a sundial comparable to the one from Grafendorf appeared about half a century earlier in a Northern French illuminated manuscript of the book *Horologium Sapientiae* (*Clockwork of Wisdom*), ca. 1450, by the preaching friar Henry Suso (Fig. 5.4). Inspired by the title of this book of hours, the illuminist took the opportunity to demonstrate the technical progress in the field of timekeeping by portraying the personification of Divine Wisdom and Suso in front

Fig. 5.3 Urs Graf, Bildnis eines Mannes mit Taschensonnenuhr, around 1505/1508 (Kunstmuseum Basel, Kupferstichkabinett, Inv. 1978.91. Photo: M.P. Bühler, Kunstmuseum Basel)

Fig. 5.4 Detail of folio 13v. from *Horologium Sapientiae*, ca. 1450 (Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, IV 111, f. 13v.)

Fig. 5.5 Sundial from Isleworth, Middlesex (British Museum, 1853,0618.1)

of a potpourri of contemporary time-measuring devices. On the left stands a big clockwork with an attached astrolabe, right of the center there is a large bell-striking mechanism, and finally the table in the right corner—with a cylinder sundial and a quadrant hung on it—features the three newest innovations of mobile time measurement: a mechanical table clock in front, a horizontal sundial on the far left, and last but not least an equatorial pocket sundial on the far right side (Dohrn-van Rossum, 1989). Although very small, the illustration gives enough details of the latter instrument to identify the hour ring with the gnomon on a pivoted crosspiece, already familiar through the Austrian archaeological find and the drawing by Graf, fixed in a box with a closable lid. The French manuscript again points at a date around 1450, while Graf's drawing proves that a sundial of a comparable design was still in use at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

A comparative study of objects preserved in museums not only shows that both artists were actually pretty accurate in their portrayal of this special timekeeping device but also gives a better understanding of the functionality of sundials of the type to which the Grafendorf example belongs. Ward (1979) previously had pointed out the resemblance between the sundial depicted by Graf and four instruments kept in English museums. The first one, treasured in the British Museum, was found in the River Crane in Isleworth (Middlesex) and is dated into the late fifteenth century (Fig. 5.5). It comprises a compass box (now empty) of 40 mm in diameter, with lid and hour ring fixed to the same hinge. The bottom of the compass box has engraved initials of the cardinal points "S," "O," "M," and "O," and the hour ring is incised with Latin numbers. The user plugs the gnomon into a small hole projecting into the

compass box from a circular brass band. The lid simultaneously functions as a nocturnal, as evidenced by a central hole, the exterior surface of the lid being engraved with letters—possibly the initials of the names of the months in Italian or Latin—and divided into 12 sections and further subdivisions, as well as a pivoted rule (alidade) on top of it (British, 2012).

The Museum of the History of Science in Oxford boasts three additional instruments of the same type, all made of brass: a Spanish one dated to the fifteenth century, with a diameter of 51 mm and an intact compass (Epact. IN 46855, 2012); one dial of possible French origin dated ca. 1500, with a diameter of 60 mm, whose hour ring consists of only a half circle (Epact. IN 48304, 2012); and another example of unknown provenance from the fifteenth century, whose hour ring again is just a half circle lacking inscribed numerals but instead suffices with 18 carved hour lines (Epact. IN 50896, 2012).

The most complete and elaborate instrument of this kind is the sundial E 232 in the Landesmuseum Württemberg in Stuttgart, Germany. The brass box of this "Gothic sundial," as Zinner (1956) called it, measures 55 mm in diameter with a height of 17 mm. As is the case with the English devices, the compass does not show the magnetic declination, that is, the angle between the true North (British Sundial Society, 2012) and the magnetic North pole. Moreover, in operation the gnomon has to be plugged in the arm of a brass ring that is placed upon the compass glass. Since the same solution can also be observed on the dial in the British Museum, this means that the sundial was designed for a single latitude only. The Stuttgart sundial furthermore exemplifies a sophisticated locking mechanism: the lid of the box is closed with the rule of the nocturnal snapping into a hook—as depicted in the Graf drawing (see Fig. 5.3)—on the edge of the box. Therefore this device could be stored easily in any pocket. The Gothic numerals and letters led Zinner (1956) to assume a manufacturing date for the Stuttgart sundial between 1430 and 1450, whereas the museum itself provides a fifteenth-century attribution.

In addition to this, a number of objects have appeared in England in recent years that in all likelihood are portions of sundials of the type described above. For example, *Epact*, the electronic catalog of medieval and renaissance scientific instruments from four European museums, hosted on the website of the Museum of the History of Science at Oxford University, lists a brass box of 32 mm in diameter, found without a lid in Suffolk (Epact. IN 34224, 2012). But first and foremost the Portable Antiquities Scheme, which records archaeological finds made by the public in England and Wales, is a rich source for this material. The database has several relevant entries: an empty gilded copper alloy box with an intact nocturnal dated between the early and mid-sixteenth century found in East Sussex (Williams, 2006); five nocturnal lids from Suffolk (Brown, 2009), Lincolnshire (Staves, 2004), Hampshire (Puls, 2004; Worrell, 2002), and Norfolk (the latter listed under "astrolabe"; Bales, 2007); as well as, from Dorset, a compass plate that served as the base of a sundial box (Webley, 2010). Not recorded yet is another nocturnal found in Hertfordshire in 2011.

All in all, the iconographical sources and especially the parallels among museum pieces demonstrate that the Grafendorf sundial was without a doubt part of a

composite instrument of the following makeup: a closable box containing a compass and a retractable equatorial sundial with a nocturnal on its lid. Chronologically this compendium of instruments was made and used from the middle of the fifteenth until the early half of the sixteenth century. Iconographical evidence and material objects suggest a widespread geographical distribution of a homogenous sundial type, with a remarkable number found in England. So far we know of the Austrian archaeological find from the castle Grafendorf, one sundial in a German museum, and iconographical documents from France and Switzerland, compared to at least ten objects retrieved from English soil (six nocturnals, two compass boxes, one compass plate, and one complete set in the British Museum) and three more complete sets in the museum in Oxford, although two of them with attributed French and Spanish origin, respectively.

How can this pattern be interpreted? Was England the heart of European sundial manufacture or the main sales market of these instruments? Or does this rather reflect the current state of research? Even though it may seem to be a premature conclusion, the latter proposition is to be preferred. As has been the case with many other archaeological objects in the past, a better knowledge and a higher awareness caters to a better chance of formerly obscure finds being identified and their importance acknowledged and published. It is thus reasonable to assume that more finds of this sundial type can be expected in the future, especially in Continental Europe. For definite answers to some of the questions raised above, archaeometallurgical analyses of all found objects of this instrument type are an important desideratum. Recent XRF analyses already performed on the Grafendorf sundial as well as on the Hertfordshire and Norfolk nocturnal yielded different metallurgical compositions of the dials and with all due caution seem to show that the dials were manufactured in miscellaneous workshops that used a uniform international design.

Another interesting point is that apart from the find in the castle of Grafendorf, most of the sundials were discovered on open agricultural land, sometimes near pathways, and in one case in a river. On the one hand, it should be considered that these finds were usually made by metal detectorists and that such areas correspond with the typical fields of their activity. On the other hand, it is surprising that none have been excavated in the context of a settlement so far. It is also difficult to decide whether this distribution of finds is a consequence of the pocket sundial being lost on the road or rather the result of a planned act of waste disposal on the fields.

A further puzzle is why the nocturnal part survived far more often than the other pieces of the composite instrument. But the sample size is admittedly pretty small, and if the trend in England continues, which seems to bring up new sundial finds every year, this picture could change in the future.

Functionality of the Instrument on Travels

From our present point of view, the composite timekeeping instrument represented by the sundial from Grafendorf has two major shortcomings: first, its confinement to a single latitude and, second, its failure to consider the magnetic declination.

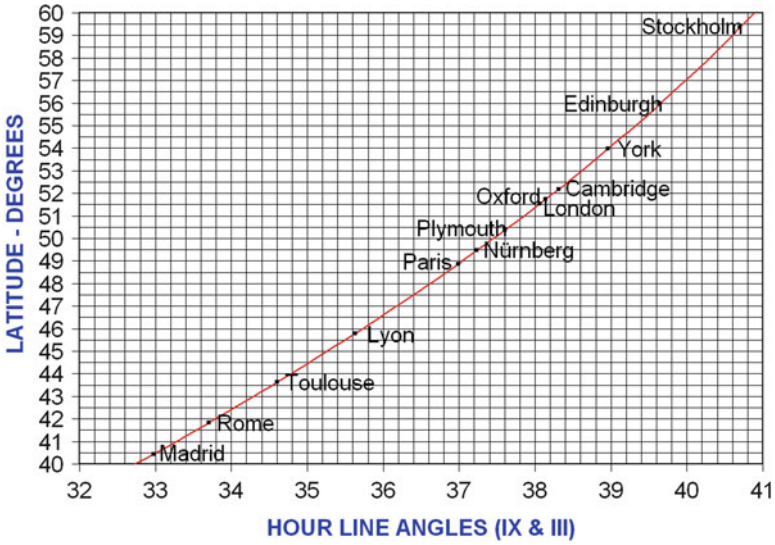

Fig. 5.6 Graph illustrating the effects of latitudinal shift on the hour lines of IX/III (Mike Cowham)

As evidenced by the dials in Stuttgart and in the British Museum, the gnomon could only be fixed in one specific position. Consequently this instrument was constructed for a specific latitude, leading to the obvious assumption that its accuracy was therefore too imprecise for far travels.

But according to calculations made by Mike Cowham from the British Sundial Society, a small shift in latitude with this type of pocket sundial will make very little difference to timekeeping. In fact, the times of VI a.m., XII noon, and VI p.m. will still remain the same, so certifiable errors will only be noticed at IX a.m. and III p.m. For example, as the following graph (Fig. 5.6) demonstrates, for a shift in latitude of 5.5°, the lines at IX/III would be just about 2° different or equivalent to 8 min of time. In the fifteenth century, however, such an error was negligible. For comparison, in this age the pendulum clock still had not been invented, and any mechanical device would barely be accurate to perhaps 1 hour a day. So sun time continued to be the most important and was used to calibrate and control mechanical instruments such as church clocks until well into the nineteenth century. As the civil sense of time refrained from minute scales until the sixteenth and early seventeenth century—especially with tower clocks not receiving minute hands before the middle of the seventeenth century—it is thus hardly imaginable that anyone would have been interested in a timing better than a quarter of an hour (Syndram, 1989). The graph also shows that one could travel quite widely in Europe in this latitudinal range, for instance, from Nuremberg to York or from Madrid to Lyon.

By contrast, the question of magnetic declination had a potentially greater effect on timekeeping. If, for instance, the declination was more than 15°, this could represent almost an hour. Although Peuerbach already considered the magnetic declination in one of his sundials in 1451 (Zinner, 1956), the knowledge of declination

was not very widespread for long afterwards. In late medieval and early modern times, everyone used local times, set from a compass locally, so all sundials would be set similarly. Only with the change of declination with time could any errors be noticed on a fixed dial.

In a nutshell, the pocket sundial was a highly useful timekeeper for its owners, even if they traveled quite widely. Trips as far North as Britain or into Southern Italy would have probably shown some little errors, but if the Grafendorf sundial was, for example, used in Austria, Southern Germany, or Hungary, there would have been no difference to local time at all. This alone was an incredible feat for a time measurement device of the latter half of the fifteenth century, when the majority of people still relied on modestly exact church clocks.

The Sociological Background of the Owners of Grafendorf Castle

As mentioned before, the first indubitable historical evidence of a nobleman resident in Grafendorf stems from the year 1312. From then on, the fortress was the seat of landed gentry, with many changing families throughout the following decades. These families were members of the Austrian knighthood and had a rather local focus, concentrating on one or several castles and properties in proximity. But a distinctive shift happened around 1500: the castle of Grafendorf came into the hands of wealthy social climbers of trans-regional and even international dimensions with close connections to the Habsburgian rulers of Austria.

Around the turn of the century, Grafendorf castle belonged to Andrew Krabat of Lapitz (1435–1504/1506). As his German sobriquet "Krabat" (the Croatian) indicates, he was born into an aristocratic family in Croatia. At the age of ten, he was sent by his father to the Holy Roman Empire, where he became the squire of a Styrian nobleman. As such he was part of an imperial mission that received Emperor Frederick III's bride Eleanor of Portugal (1434/1436–1467) in Siena, and in 1452 he accompanied Frederick on his travel to Rome, where he was knighted after Frederick's coronation. From then on he served under many important men, e.g., the Counts of Cilli, King Ladislaus the Posthumous (1440–1457), and Frederick III, with whom he participated in military campaigns in Carinthia, Hungary, Croatia, and Serbia. During the Austrian-Hungarian War (1477–1490), Andrew of Lapitz excelled as a military leader and rose to the position of imperial counselor. Krabat also enjoyed the favor of Frederick's son and successor, Emperor Maximilian I (1459–1519), who in 1501 appointed him marshal of his newly created Aulic Council. Andrew Krabat of Lapitz certainly was one of the most colorful noblemen of the second half of the fifteenth century, establishing himself in the Austrian nobility and amassing considerable wealth and properties in Austria, Grafendorf castle included (Salzer, 2012b).

In 1513 the fortress was sold to the brothers William II (1482–1542) and Wolfgang (†1518) of Zelking. According to their father's will, his two youngest

sons were designated for 2 years of study at the university in Bologna and afterwards for careers at court or in the clergy. Yet both preferred to engage in warfare in their early years; in 1509 they participated in Emperor Maximilian I's war against Venice. While little is known about Wolfgang, his brother William's stellar career in Habsburg service is well documented. In 1511 he married a court lady of Empress Bianca Maria of Sforza (1472–1510), Maximilian's second wife; was knighted by Emperor Charles V (1500–1558) at his coronation in Aachen in 1521; and became Lord Chamberlain (*Obersthofmeister*) of the widowed Queen Mary of Hungary (1505–1558). William also left a mark in the history of art that reflects his impressive biography: in 1516 he commissioned life-sized bust portraits of himself and his wife for the choir loft of the castle chapel in Sierndorf (8 km away from Stockerau). These are clearly influenced by the reliefs of Emperor Maximilian and his wives on the balcony of the Golden Roof in Innsbruck, Tyrol—Maximilian's preferred residence and the city where William must have met his own bride (Bixa, 2008). The Zelking family, already one of the most important noble families of Austria, was raised into barony in 1526 and remained in possession of Grafendorf until 1604 (Salzer, 2012b).

The Deeper Meaning of the Sundial

The Grafendorf pocket sundial is the only one of its type and date found in the course of an archaeological excavation. It is hence also the only example providing information on the sociological context of its former owners. This instrument can be associated with aristocratic residents of the fortress of Grafendorf in the second half of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century. While gnomonic objects are a rarity in archaeology, some sundial finds from castles in relative geographical proximity are known: for example, a horizontal pocket sundial with the incised date of 1570 was found near the Austrian castle Wildenstein next to Bad Ischl (Kaltenberger, 2003), and a ring sundial survived at the castle "Hexenturm" near Leibertingen in Germany (Bizer, 2006). This demonstrates the interest of medieval and early modern noblemen in individual timekeeping and refutes Syndram's (1989) claim that pocket sundials were a bourgeois phenomenon from the beginning.

The advent of such a cleverly devised compendium like the one from Grafendorf exemplifies prowess in both astronomy and engineering, as well as the changing sense of time and the increasing need for precise individual timekeeping in the fifteenth century. Throughout the Middle Ages, the day with its working and idle periods was structured by the sound of church clocks. The growth of economic prosperity through commerce and crafts and parallel developments like the expansion of trade routes on land and at sea enhanced mobility, increasing money supply, and the growing need for an exact calculation of the duration of handicraft activities brought a dramatic change in attitude (Kühnel, 1984; Syndram, 1989). Because they satisfied the desire for exact time measurement at home, at work, and even on travels, pocket sundials became quite popular in the fifteenth century.

In the light of this general historical background, the find of a pocket sundial in a castle is not astonishing. The history of the ownership of this specific castle helps explain this special find in Grafendorf of all places, as two of its prominent owners, Andrew Krabat of Lapitz and William II of Zelking, could have made good use of the instrument for a number of reasons. Their military service, education, societal responsibilities, and their elite political positions meant that both traveled through major parts of Europe, with Krabat traveling as far as Rome in Italy or Belgrade in the Balkans and William having documented stays in Bologna as well as in many other important cities of the Empire, including Aachen and Brussels as his northernmost stations. On such journeys, a precise timekeeping device for day and night would have come in handy. It afforded a kind of independence in chronological orientation—especially in "timeless" areas where church clocks were not available—and made punctual arrivals for delicate political missions possible despite the numerous hardships and logistical problems of long voyages at that times, such as frequent changes of horses, carriages and ships, proper accommodation, and dangerous roads.

Andrew of Lapitz and William of Zelking were avid warriors, so perhaps the dial was important in the course of military activities, for example, to make certain meeting points in time or to coordinate attacks. The latter tactic would have been even more effective, of course, if the comrades in arms had comparably accurate instruments.

A noteworthy point is the education of William of Zelking, especially the fact that at the end of the fifteenth century, academic studies were still quite unusual for noblemen who did not aspire to careers in church (Niederstätter, 2004). It could very well be that young William developed a certain interest in astronomy during his studies at the University of Bologna and was consequently fascinated by modern timekeeping devices. It is also possible that ownership of such a timekeeping device was merely a fashionable accessory or gadget catering to the aristocratic propensity to display status, wealth, and *savoir vivre*.

Although the sundial dates to around 1450, the apparently belated entry of two of its potential owners into the history of Grafendorf castle at the turn of the century is not necessarily a contradiction. On the contrary, it seems very probable that this valuable object was used for several centuries before it found its way into the earth.

Outside of these person-centered speculations, further possibilities for the employment of the sundial are conceivable. One interpretation lies in the correlation with another special find discovered during the excavations at Grafendorf: a pilgrim badge of copper alloy. The shell of St. James was a badge worn by pilgrims who had successfully completed the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, next to Rome and Jerusalem, one of the main centers of medieval pilgrimage. Because of the scarcity of metal shell finds, it is impossible to date the Grafendorf scallop typologically. Although the Compostela pilgrimage had already reached its peak between the twelfth and thirteenth century, it continued to attract masses throughout the Middle Ages and essentially until the present (Spencer, 1990). Provided that the shell was indeed acquired in Santiago, it is not only a sign of religiosity but also a symbol of mobility of the inhabitants of Grafendorf castle. Hence pilgrimage can be added to the list of possible fields of application for this pocket sundial.

Finally, one should also bear in mind the geographical position of Grafendorf castle on the northern bank of an erstwhile arm of the Danube. Throughout the ages, this river has always been one of the principal European trade routes and a highway for the exchange of ideas and people. Thus, finding along this route an early modern timekeeping compendium that was ideal for travels should not surprise.

Conclusion

Parallels in iconography and among museum pieces in particular make clear that the sundial found in the Austrian castle of Grafendorf was part of a composite instrument of the following makeup: a closable box containing a compass, a retractable equatorial sundial, and a nocturnal. This equaled a highly functional, portable three-in-one device that offered precise timekeeping not only throughout the whole year but also even on wide travels.

Epigraphic analogies suggest a dating of the Grafendorf find around 1450, which is very early considering that the equatorial sundial was described for the first time in 1431. Comparable devices all date from the second half of the fifteenth to the middle of the sixteenth century. While iconographical evidence as well as objects from England, Germany, and Austria and others with assigned origins in France and Spain allude to a wide dissemination of this astronomical instrument, the distribution of finds reveals significantly more examples on English sites than elsewhere. This likely reflects the current state of research, leaving open the possibility of major adjustments to this picture by future finds. What makes the Grafendorf special among its type is not only its early date but also the fact that it is the only representative secured in an archaeological excavation and with a sociological context, namely, the seat of noble families. Whereas Grafendorf castle was founded and inhabited by members of landed gentry during most of its history, at the dawn of the Early Modern era, the fortress came into the possession of two very important aristocrats with a truly international scope, who were probably greatly interested in a device that allowed them the portability of time, be it in military expeditions abroad, political missions, or educational trips. But thanks to the find of a pilgrim badge in the form of a scallop shell, it is likewise possible that the sundial could have served its owners well during the long pilgrimage to faraway Santiago de Compostela.

As a whole, this composite instrument of sundial, compass, and nocturnal not only stands as an amazing chapter in the history of technology but is an epitome for the fifteenth century as a bridging era, during which the technological and societal foundations were laid for European expansion in the Early Modern period and the conquest of the New World. It symbolizes the changing sense of time, the increasingly efficient economy, and the growing need for precise individual timekeeping among the more and more mobile classes in commerce, crafts, and the military on the eve of the Late Middle Ages. Whenever and wherever the motto “time is money” was already applied, this pocket sundial secured an advantage—even when abroad.

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Part II
People in Motion

Chapter 6
The Archaeological Study of the Military Dependents Villages of Taiwan

Chieh-fu Jeff Cheng and Ellen Hsieh

Introduction

In this research, we consider military dependents' villages (MDVs), or *Juancun* (眷村), of Taiwan as an example of the archaeological study of modern ruins (cf. Dawdy, 2010). We examine MDV social life and the aftermath in the years since MDVs were built in Taiwan after the retreat of the Nationalist Government from Mainland China to Taiwan at the end of the Chinese Civil War (1945–1949). In order to settle a large number of military personnel and their dependents from Mainland China, the government of Taiwan erected more than 800 MDVs as temporary settlements throughout Taiwan beginning in the 1950s. Since the retreat was supposed to be temporary, these MDVs were built simply. The plan to invade Mainland China was never realized, however, because of the changing political situation. As a result, MDVs became long-term settlements for the diaspora group. Beginning in the 1970s, the government initiated programs to rehabilitate the MDVs. Since then, many MDVs have been reconstructed to serve as public housing or other public buildings. Some of the MDVs had already been torn down, but no new construction has been done yet. A small number of MDVs have remained intact and are awaiting reconstruction, the villagers now moved elsewhere. In short, MDVs were not considered beneficial for the Taiwanese society. In recent years, however, attitudes have changed, and some of the MDVs are being preserved for their social value.

In this research, we illustrate the dynamic of these numerous changes. We further argue that by observing the construction, destruction, ruination, and reuse of MDVs

C.J. Cheng (✉)
Department of Archaeology, Boston University, 675 Commonwealth Avenue,
Boston, MA 02215-1406, USA
e-mail: chiehfu.c@gmail.com

E. Hsieh
Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, University of California at Los Angeles,
Los Angeles, CA, USA
email: ellenhsieh9999@gmail.com

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over the past 60 years, fruitful information on the social life of modern ruins will come to light. Such an observation links to the theme of this edited volume—shifting people, shifting things: archaeologies of movement. It demonstrates the role of material culture in acts of remembering the movement of people. Our study of MDV as a contemporary archaeological project will not only provide new perspectives for MDV research but also benefit archaeological theory more broadly.

Waishengren Emigration from China to Taiwan in 1945–1949

The Chinese Civil War ended in 1949 with the Nationalist Government's retreat to Taiwan. At that time, Taiwan had just been taken over by the Chinese after Japanese colonial rule (1895 and 1945). The population in Taiwan then was largely Chinese and Chinese descendants who had emigrated from southeast China to Taiwan in the beginning of the seventeenth century. Hundreds of thousands of government officials, military personnel, and their families followed the Nationalist Government to Taiwan in the years 1949–1952, a large-scale political migration that had a significant impact on Taiwanese society.

In that era, two terms were used to refer to the early and later Chinese immigrants. The first, Benshengren (本省人) refers to Chinese settlers who had lived in Taiwan for generations. The literal meaning of Benshengren is "people of the Taiwan province." Because the Benshengren had been ruled by the Japanese for 50 years, their lifestyle evolved to become considerably different than that of the Mainland Chinese. Moreover, in addition to the Mandarin language that was spoken in Mainland China, the Benshengren spoke Japanese and Taiwanese. The second term, Waishengren (外省人), refers to those Mainland Chinese and their descendants who migrated to Taiwan in the 1940s and 1950s with the Nationalist Government. The term means "people from outside Taiwan provinces." Given the fact that the Waishengren originated from many provinces of China, the distinction essentially emphasizes the Waishengren's identity as non-Benshengren (i.e., non-Taiwanese). Today, although the Waishengren have developed Taiwanese identity, the two categories are still used within Taiwan. The fact that even the Waishengren continue to refer to themselves as Waishengren suggests that these more recent arrivals from different regions of China continue to adhere to their own identity as a unique social group within the Taiwanese society.

The Construction of MDVs

The majority of the Waishengren who retreated to Taiwan were military personnel. For the Nationalist Government, settling these personnel and their dependents was a serious problem in the early 1950s. In addition to practical logistics, at that time the Nationalist Government was also struggling for political legitimacy. To secure

the future of the regime, it was necessary to provide certain benefits to military personnel. Moreover, in building military communities, the government established codependency between military personnel and the government (Luo, 1991). Hence, in 1950, the government initiated the MDV construction program, beginning with the "MDV Treatment Law" legislation. Each MDV was to be allied with a military unit. Military personnel and their families would live in one unit. The locations of the MDV were often at the edge of the city or near the allied military unit. Since the 1950s, more than 800 MDVs were built (Fig. 6.1).

In order to separate the MDV residents from the outside world (mostly from Benshengren and the rest of the Taiwanese society), the MDVs were often fenced in. Some MDVs with larger populations had their own schools, shops, restaurants, and marketplaces. In the early years, the younger generation of Waishengren who lived permanently in a dependents' village sometimes had no contact with the outside world until they went to college, where they at last became acquainted with Benshengren. Each of the villages had its own political organization, involving both the military command structure and a local administrative system incorporated by the Nationalist Party. Each village had representatives from the Nationalist Party. MDVs therefore also functioned as political communities under the control of the government (Lee, 2007).

Although some of the MDVs simply used existing buildings previously owned by the Japanese colonial government, most were constructed by the Nationalist Government. MDVs were conceived as temporary residences, so they were built to fulfill minimum requirements. According to the regulations, the size of the government-built MDV house unit depended on the number of members in the household. Households were divided into three categories, depending on a family's size. For a household with more than six members, the size of each house unit was 29.2 m^2. For a household with five members, the size of each house unit was 22.9 m^2. For a household with four members or fewer, the size of each unit was 16.6 m^2.

In addition to MDVs built with government monies, some of the villages were funded by donations raised by the National Council of Women of Taiwan, R.O.C., a foundation composed of the wives of high-ranking officials of government and led by Taiwan's First Lady, Soong May-ling. Between 1956 and 1967, the National Council of Women assisted in the construction of 53,838 housing units. Finally, some MDVs were built by the village members themselves. Houses in these villages were made with wood and bricks.

The Destruction of the MDVs

As noted, the MDVs were first built as a temporary measure, intended to serve their purpose until the Nationalist Government invaded Mainland China. MDVs were therefore often small and crudely built. When the political situation changed, however, and it seemed unlikely that the Nationalist Government would take over Mainland China anytime soon, these temporary settlements became long-term ones.

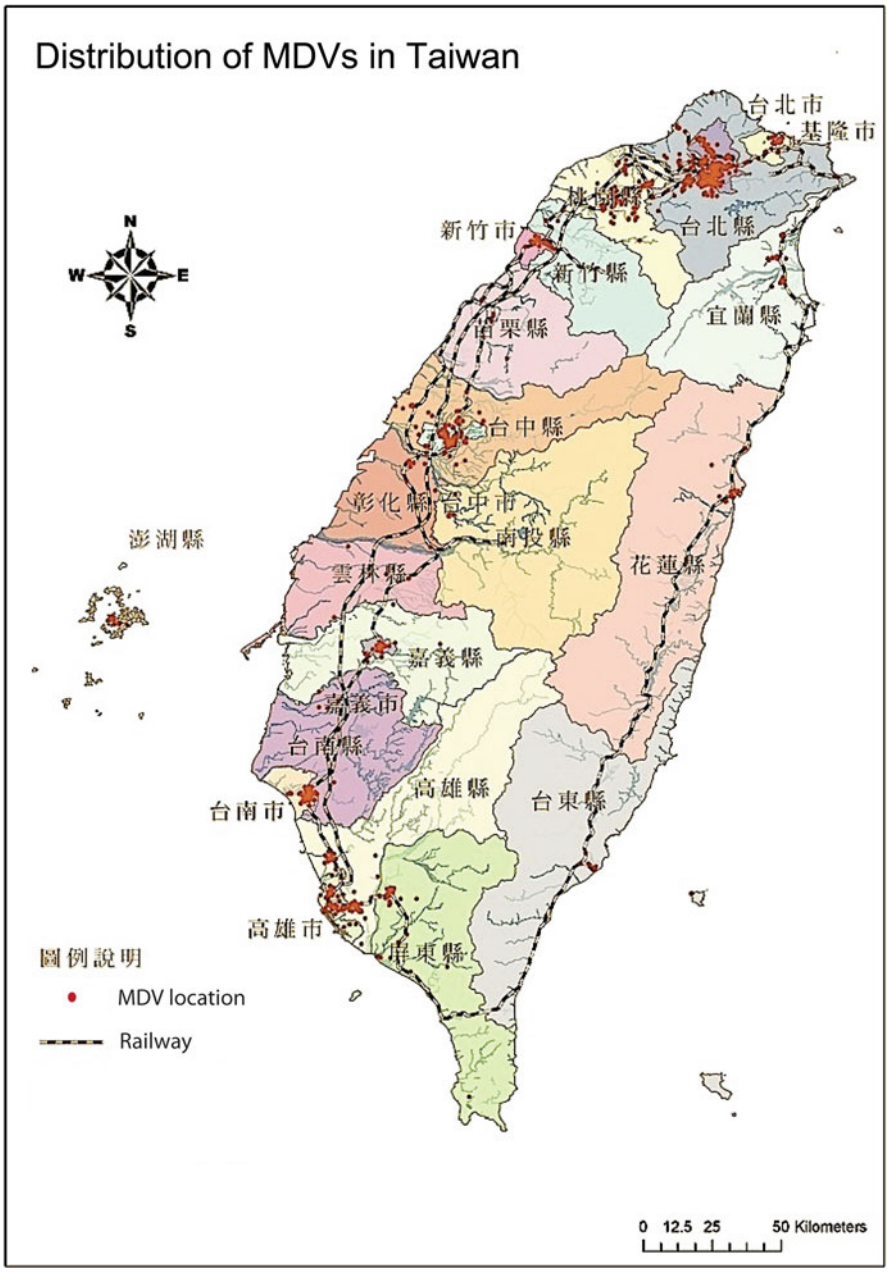

Fig. 6.1 Distribution of MDVs in Taiwan (figure courtesy of Prof. Kuang-chun Li of the Institute of Law and Government, National Central University of Taiwan)

The number of people living in households units increased, making the living space insufficient. And the primitive construction eventually made these settlements intolerable for long-term use. Public health and other problems emerged, causing some MDVs to be remodeled by their own residents. In addition, with the passage of time, second-generation villagers began to increasingly involve themselves with Taiwanese society, making the function of MDVs to separate the Waishengren from the Benshengren less significant. Also, the existence of MDVs represented, symbolically, the failure of the Taiwanese government to counterattack the Communist government of Mainland China. Finally, when areas in cities where some MDVs were located became scheduled for new development, the decaying MDVs became an obstacle to urban renewal.

These problems led the government of Taiwan to undertake rebuilding the MDVs. Two waves of MDV rebuilding were launched, in the 1970s and again in the late 1990s. Many of the MDVs were reconstructed to become public housing or other public buildings. The original villagers were given first privilege to live in the new public housing, but many others also moved into these housing complexes, with the result that the old MDV community was eventually lost. Although some MDVs have been scheduled for reconstruction since the 1980s, they have not yet been remodeled. Still, many residents have moved away from the villages, and those empty MDVs have become modern ruins (Tang, 2004).

Thus, the archaeological study of MDVs allows archaeologists to examine the taphonomy of ruins. Dawdy (2006) argues for a taphonomy of disaster. For instance, when Hurricane Katrina occurred in New Orleans, it wiped out much of the city in a short period of time. But unlike Pompeii, where the volcanic eruption literally froze people in their tracks, in New Orleans people were able after the fact to see the remains of their houses and to select what to preserve and what to discard. Dawdy proposes that the clean-up and rebuilding efforts are social processes and can be considered as aspects of the formation of the archaeological record, in other words, as taphonomic processes.

Likewise we also believe that the MDVs—or any kind of modern ruin—are suitable as laboratories in which to examine taphonomic processes of ruination. Many more MDVs will be abandoned within a few years. In some cases the residents will move away from the village to elsewhere. In these cases, as with the rapid and directed taphonomic processes that followed upon the disaster of Hurricane Katrina, understanding MDVs residents as a diaspora group deciding what to preserve and what to discard helps us to develop a typology of "social" taphonomic processes.

The MDVs have been known for their many insufficiencies, their symbol as a failure of government, and their existence as obstacles to urban renewal. In the last decade, however, a new way to treat these modern ruins has emerged. Rather than rebuild or remove them altogether, some MDVs are now viewed as heritage sites and are being transformed into museums, monuments, parks, and public areas. We believe that this phenomenon has arisen for two reasons (1) the recent emergence of Waishengren identity and (2) the development of appreciation of the modern ruin in Taiwanese society.

Emergence of the Waishengren Identity

The original Waishengren residents of each MDV were from the same military unit, but not necessarily from the same region of China. Villagers often had diverse cultural and societal practices. After years of living together, however, villagers developed similar practices in their way of living; indeed, they developed a new identity together. And although the lifestyle and experiences of occupants of each MDV in Taiwan were, and are, quite different, residents of MDVs nevertheless often share an imaginative collective memory of life in an MDV. Such collective memory has been reinforced through various media including literature, television dramas, theater productions, and so on. For example, the "Literature of the Compound of Military Families" is often written by second-generation Waishengren. Unlike the first-generation Waishengren who came from China, these second-generation Waishengren are writers who grew up in MDVs and have never actually seen their "homeland" (Mainland, China). Until they go to college or serve their mandatory military service, they have no "Benshengren experience." Life in the MDV for them is actually a parallel to their parents' "homeland experience" in China. More recently, this kind of reminiscence is reproduced through mass media in popular TV dramas such as "A Story of Soldiers" (2005) and "The Story of Time" (2008), and in plays such as *The Village* (2008); the latter production was so popular that it toured as far away as Singapore, Macao, China, and the United States. It was especially appreciated by Chinese audiences who had no experience of life in the MDVs. Such productions certainly reinforce Waishengren as well as MDV identity, even now for the third generation of Waishengren, those who have never actually lived in a MDV.

Another example is a newly developed, trendy MDV cuisine, "Juancun Tsai," which is emerging as a widely recognizable style of cooking. Unlike the delicate traditional Chinese regional cuisine, it is simple homemade food, using only ingredients that would be found in times of want. While the cuisine was probably developed during the years of high occupancy in the MDVs, it actually emerged only after MDVs were abandoned, correlating again with the further evolution of Waishengren identity.

These examples demonstrate that Waishengren as the term first used to denote an outsider became instead a subgroup of Taiwanese society for those diverse mainlanders and their descendents who shared the same MDV experience. In this regard, the MDV is their imaginary homeland.

Appreciation of the Modern Ruin

In addition to the development of Waishengren identity, we suggest that an appreciation of modern ruin is a second cause for the demand that MDVs be preserved. Dawdy (2010) identifies the shift in perception and increasing interest in modern ruins. She remarks that in the past, Western observers of recent ruins have found

them banal, tragic, or noisome. Modern ruins were seen as dystopic, whereas ruins from a more distant past tended to be viewed romantically. She notes that recently the Clockpunk or Steampunk subculture combines Victorian or Edwardian fashions with contemporary nanotechnology and musical forms. It is an antimodernist aesthetic:

> Clockpunks embrace a knotted temporality as expressed in their revival of the antique science fiction of Jules Verne and H. G. Wells. They see it as the role of their generation to engineer not the end of the world but the end of modernity, by purposefully entangling moments of its progressive time line. (Dawdy, 2010: 766)

Two events that occurred recently in Taiwan show that the Taiwanese have started to develop an appreciation of modern ruins, as Dawdy suggests. In the past, recent ruins were not considered valuable and therefore were torn down for urban renewal projects.

The first event is the destruction of the railway platform in Taipei. Since the late nineteenth century, the Tangbu neighborhood of Taipei City had been an important district for the sugar industry. In 1909, Japanese businessmen in the area established a modern sugar factory. The factory applied modern methods to extract sugar from sugar cane and used the railway to transport the product. The factory remained open until the beginning of WWII. In 2003, the site was designated as a cultural heritage site by the Taipei government, and in 2010, it was developed into Tangbu Culture Park, promoting the history of the sugar industry. Four warehouses and the remains of the railway platform have been preserved and renovated (Taipei Tang-Bu Cultural Association, 2002). In 2011, one of the warehouses and the surrounding area were loaned to Minghua Yuan, a famous Taiwanese opera group, to encourage the development of traditional Taiwanese opera. Out of concern that the brick platform was dangerous to children, Minghua Yuan unfortunately decided to remove it. The destruction of every element dating from the Japanese Period raised the attention of the local cultural association. In their defense, Minghua Yuan asserted that the Department of Cultural Affairs of Taipei City Government did not include the platform as a part of the cultural heritage site.

The second event is the preservation of a historical building, the Gao Binge Tavern in Chenghua City, established in 1936. The building was given historical status in 2011. The tavern was the largest banquet place in central Taiwan during the Japanese Period, a favorite gathering place for Taiwanese gentlemen and intellectuals during colonial rule. After WWII, the building was owned by the Taiwan Railway Company and used as a railway hospital for a short period. After the building sat idle for a year and when heavy maintenance work was required, the Taiwan Railway Company decided to demolish the building. Local people objected to the plan, however, citing the building's significant historical and political value. Debates lasted for a year, until the city government finally decided to preserve the building and to designate it as a cultural heritage site.

The definition of "cultural heritage site" was problematic in Taiwan. The Chinese term used to refer to a heritage site is *Guji*, which means "ancient site." Prehistoric Austronesian sites fit the definition of *Guji*, since they have thousands

of years of history. Three-hundred-year-old temples built by early Chinese immigrants also fit the definition of *Guji*. But Taiwan has a relatively short history (from 1624), and *Guji*'*s* meaning as "ancient site" seems inadequate to define many twentieth-century sites that have cultural value. The railway platform of Tangpou factory and Gao Binge Tavern are two such examples.

The adaptation of the concept of cultural heritage helps authorities to define and protect recent historical sites and buildings. The Cultural Heritage Preservation Act passed in 2005 defines monuments as historical buildings and settlements, buildings, and/or ancillary facilities used for the needs of human life and cultural heritage. Historical sites are places that contain the remains of or vestiges of past human life with historic and/or cultural value and the spaces upon which such remains and vestiges are erected (Republic of China & Culture, 2005). In fact, it would be arbitrary and inadequate for Taiwan, with its relatively short history, to define heritage sites, such as monuments, historical buildings, settlements, and historical sites, only by their antiquity.

The cultural value of monuments, historical buildings, settlements, and historical sites becomes another important determinative element. The demand for the preservation of the railway platform at the sugar factory and of the Gao Binge Tavern shows that people are more interested in modern ruins that have cultural, historical, and aesthetic values. Such appreciation is also applicable to the preservation of Military Dependents' Villages.

MDVs as Contemporary Archaeology

As noted above, the Taiwanese public has begun to develop an aesthetic appreciation of more recent and modern ruins, and archaeologists in Taiwan share that appreciation. They have not yet paid enough attention to the more recent past materialized in sites such as MDVs, however. Archaeologists in Taiwan once considered that porcelains, as recent Chinese remains, were not the subject of archaeology and therefore discarded them as "modern" disturbances (Chen, 2004). In the last decade, however, Taiwanese archaeology has started to pay more attention to historical archaeology. This may result from the fact that the majority of Taiwan's population is Han Chinese who want to know more about their own past, as is the case in Lucas' observation that the development of historical archaeology in the USA arose from European descendants' interest in their past (Lucas, 2004). Nevertheless, historical archaeology projects in Taiwan are being done by prehistoric archaeologists, who focus mainly on the sites of early indigenous habitation. Archaeologists there share the historian's premise that recent historical periods do not need archaeological investigation because the historical accounts provide sufficient information. Archaeology of the later period or contemporary past has been largely dismissed. Such a view is based on the premise that archaeology is only a method to study antiquity. Archaeology as a method for studying material culture has been overlooked (Dawdy, 2010; Lucas, 2004).

Since the 1980s, studies of MDVs have been conducted by scholars from a variety of disciplines, including sociology, anthropology, urban studies, history, and others. Several themes can be identified: the distribution of MDVs, MDVs as political communities, villagers' identity, and MDV literature (Lee, 2007). The MDV as a modern ruin, however, has not yet been explored archaeologically. Lucas (2004) points out that archaeology is a set of methods focusing on material culture regardless whether the subject of the study is the distant or recent past. He also notes that

> archaeology is, in most minds, associated with ruins of one sort or another—ruined buildings, decaying structures, broken objects, all variously buried or rotting on the surface. They speak of the passage of time and, ultimately, of oblivion or forgetfulness. Archaeology as a contemporary practice is very much an act of salvaging such ruins, rescuing them from oblivion. (Lucas, 2005: 130)

Dawdy (2010) suggests that archaeology of the contemporary past is an archaeology that uncovers things not yet forgotten. Thus, we propose an archaeological study of MDVs, their construction, destruction, ruination, and preservation as a contemporary archaeological project by examining social life in the villages, bringing into the study aspects of MDV that are still remembered. Such an approach to examining the MDV ruination process not only provides more information for MDV studies from a material culture perspective, but also provides methodological insight for the archaeological study of the contemporary past. In the following section, we provide four cases of MDVs that have been preserved and transformed to cultural heritage sites in the last decade, focusing on their distinctive aspects that called for their preservation.

Case Studies

Forty-Four-South Village (四四南村)

Forty-Four-South Village (Figs. 6.2 and 6.3) was allied with the No. 44 munitions factory. The village was the first MDV constructed in Taiwan. It was originally modified from a storehouse owned by the previous Japanese government. Each family was separated only by curtains. Because of its growing number of residents, the village moved to Xinyi District, at the edge of the Taipei City. Ten buildings were erected in 1949, separated into several units. Each unit afforded <33 m^2. There were no toilets in any unit; people had to share the use of public toilets. When some of the houses were demolished in 1999, the structure of the village was much different than when it was first built. In 2001 four of the village buildings were preserved on the merit of their historical significance. The old MDV has been modified to become the Taipei Xinyi Public Assembly Hall, which includes a restaurant that serves Juancun food, public space, a showroom, and a museum depicting MDV life. Today, Xinyi District is in fact the newly developed financial area in Taipei, where the highest building in Taiwan, Taipei 101, is located (see Fig. 6.3). Far from its past, the Forty-Four-South

Fig. 6.2 Forty-Four-South Village (Photo by Chieh-fu Jeff Cheng)

Village is now surrounded by luxury mansions, shopping malls, and office buildings (Council for Cultural Affairs, 2009; Lee, 2007).

Hukou Armored Division MDV (湖口裝甲眷村)

Hukou Armored Division MDV is located in Hukou, Hsinchu County. This MDV village was first built by an ordnance unit in the 1950s. The village subsequently underwent several modifications. Although the area is generally called Hukou Armored Division MDV, actually it can be divided into four small villages. Since there are not many MDVs in Hsinchu County, the county government decided to preserve Village No. 2 (Fig. 6.4), after its residents moved out. The goal is to restore the original buildings and turn the village into a living museum.

In 2007, Village No. 2 was designated as a cultural heritage site. In 2009, the county government hired an architectural firm to evaluate the best way to preserve and restore Village No. 2 (Zhong, 2009). The plan to preserve the Hukou MDV was first initiated in 2007, but when we visited the site in the summer of 2012, we were surprised that the site was still fenced and there was no sign of any restoration work. The structures remained more or less intact. Villagers' belongings have long since been removed. Wild grass grew randomly, suggesting that no maintenance has been done. When local people saw us trying to get into the ruin, they asked us if we were government officials. According to them, the site has remained untouched for years, and they never receive any information from either the county government or the Department of Defense. The site is fenced to keep children from the adjacent elementary school from playing there.

Fig. 6.3 Forty-Four-South Village and Taipei 101 building (Photo by Chieh-fu Jeff Cheng)

"Rainbow" MDV (彩虹眷村)

Gancheng Second Village, TaiMao Fifth Village, and Matsu Second Village are three adjacent MDVs located in Chunan neighborhood of Taichung City. These villages were built between 1961 and 1963. In order to begin a MDV rebuilding project, almost all of the residents moved to public housing between 2000 and 2004. Most of the settlement has now been destroyed. Only one part of the Matsu Second Village has not yet been demolished. The remaining village is known as "Rainbow MDV" today (Fig. 6.5), a moniker earned from the work of a local resident, Huang yong-fu, an 80-year-old veteran who still lives there and who has been painting on the village walls since 2008. An amateur artist, Huang's painting is colorful and is

Fig. 6.4 Hukou Armored Division MDV (Photos by Chieh-fu Jeff Cheng)

appreciated by the many citizens of Taichung. The village now attracts hundreds of visitors from all parts of Taiwan. The site has long been part of an urban renewal project, however, and is slated for demolition soon. A group of local college students and folklorists who learned about this fact recently requested that Rainbow MDV be preserved. Through Facebook and other social media, their request has been supported by many people. In 2011, the mayor of Taichung finally promised that the Rainbow MDV would be preserved as part of the cultural heritage of the city (Council for Cultural Affairs, 2009).

Fig. 6.5 Rainbow MDV (Photos by Chieh-fu Jeff Cheng)

Treasure Hill Settlement (寶藏巖)

The Treasure Hill settlement (Fig. 6.6) was constructed by military personnel without the help of any government agency. Unlike other MDVs, the Treasure Hill settlement was not legally built. In the 1950s, the hill served as an antiaircraft base. Many low-ranking military personnel built their houses on the hill back then. Although it lacks any official recognition, the settlement was nevertheless a de facto MDV. The population of the settlement reached its peak in the 1960s; more than 200 households settled there. In the 1980s, the Taipei City government was determined to remove the illegal settlement and to remodel the area into a public park. Most of the remaining residents at Treasure Hill were old and single veterans by then, so removing them and compensating them became problematic, and the plan was delayed. In the 2000s, a team of students from the Graduate Institute of Building and Planning, Taiwan University, began long-term community service in the settlement. The team requested that the settlement be preserved and designated as a heritage site for its architectural and historical value. After years of effort, the settlement has now been transformed into the Treasure Hill Artist Village, and, in 2004, the Department of Cultural Affairs of Taipei also recognized the site as a cultural heritage under the category of "historic community." The Treasure Hill settlement now holds many art exhibitions and music events (see Fig. 6.6). The settlement has been featured in *The New York Times* as one of Taiwan's "must-see" destinations (Gross, 2006).

Fig. 6.6 *Left*: Treasure Hill settlement music event. *Right*: Treasure Hill settlement (Photos by Chieh-fu Jeff Cheng)

The Social Life of MDVs

As Dawdy points out, the ruins of modern cities often represent the dystopian present. Compared to the romantic view of ruins of the distant past, the modern ruin is non-progressive and should be destroyed for urban renewal projects (Dawdy, 2010). Each case of modern ruin mentioned in the previous section, on the contrary, has been preserved precisely because of its unique value. By carefully examining their distinctive elements, we are able to understand the trajectories of MDVs ruination. The MDVs were once seen as representing both the failure of government and as obstacles to urban renewal. Under such a dystopian view, many MDVs, and especially those in the cities, were earmarked for rebuilding as new public housing or other public facilities. The four cases mentioned above are part of the renewal plan.

As noted, some of the MDVs were preserved because of the rise of *Waishengren* identity. Such MDVs serve as monuments for newly emerged identity. For example, before the Hsinchu government decided to preserve a part of Hukou Armored Division MDV, most of the village had been destroyed, and the residents moved away long ago. The village had been abandoned and became a ruin. But the decision to create a monument in situ creates a new meaning for that ruin. The research project (Zhong, 2009) executed by a government team looking into the history, culture, and architecture of the village created the historical and cultural value of the village site that only recently has been appreciated.

Forty-Four-South Village is another good example of political force changing the modern ruin. The significance of the village is enormous, not only because it was the first MDV built in Taiwan and therefore can be considered the root for the imaginary homeland for Waishengren, but also because it is located at what is today the most modern district of the capital city, Taipei. The village actually sits beneath the highest building in the city, Taipei 101. Forty-Four-South Village, as a monument, is connected to the progressive modern city. Many pictures of Forty-Four-South Village taken by tourists and officials show the village just beside and under of the shadow

of the Taipei 101 (see Fig. 6.2). The supposedly dystopian modern ruin is linked to the symbol of progress, the skyscraper.

The trajectories of ruination can, however, take different routes. Both Forty-Four-South Village and Hukou Armored Division MDV were preserved through the power of political persuasion. Forty-Four-South Village, however, is located in a major city and has been modified into a civic hall, whereas the Hukou Armored Division is located in the country and remains a ruin.

On the one hand, we see that modern MDV ruins have been preserved because of political force. On the other hand, the preservation of MDVs does not always directly link to the emergence of the Waishengren identity in Taiwan society. For instance, the Treasure Hill settlement was considered an obstacle to the development of the city. It was illegally built and its expansion was entirely unplanned. The way in which the settlement developed, however, was considered valuable by many people, such as students of urban planning. In other words, the aesthetic value of Treasure Hill was the driving force behind its eventual designation as a heritage site.

The Rainbow MDV was also scheduled for rebuilding. Most of the residents of the village were moved off the site. But it was the lone veteran's painting that created new meaning for the ruin. Rather than its meaning as a MDV, the preservation of the site hinged on the aesthetic value of its paintings. After Rainbow MDV raised the attention of the media, a Facebook page launched by original villagers of the MDV who had already moved away stated that "it is not pained [sic] MDV or Rainbow MDV, it is our Gancheng second village, TaiMao fifth village and Matsu second village." Apparently the original villagers wanted their former home remembered as a MDV settlement and not as an artist's canvas for personal expression. Among 103 photos of the MDV provided on the original villagers' Facebook page, not a single photo displays the painted area. Ironically, their reaction readily demonstrates that the significance of the heritage site arises from its aesthetic value as a "rainbow village" and that it has little political value as a MDV.

As Gonzalez-Ruibal notes, "supermodernity (post-modern era), like modernity in general, is characterized by destruction as much as by production or consumption, with the difference that the destruction is usually overlooked" (2008: 248). It is also true that "how these ruins are created and how they are treated in the aftermath give us a clearer picture of the tensions that undergird local political economies than do the first impulses toward planning and construction" (Dawdy, 2010: 773).

The MDV's nature as modern ruins affords many research opportunities for understanding their destruction or preservation. Whether MDVs are rebuilt as public housing, preserved for their political or aesthetic value, or discarded as ruins, the afterlives of MDVs provide us with knowledge of possible trajectories and models of an archaeological site's social life. As Dawdy (2010: 773) states:

> archaeologically and anthropologically, there is much to be learned from slowing down and paying better attention to processes of destruction, abandonment, and decay—not as interludes but as the main act. Instead of rushing to reconstruct the fleeting moments of completeness, we need to get better at recognizing what Benjamin called an object's afterlife, which may have a more lasting legacy…Landscapes and objects can continue on in a ghostly state, or, perhaps better said, they are reincarnated through reuse and recycling while retaining some spirit of their social roles.

The MDVs reviewed in this chapter demonstrate that while all have achieved their demand for preservation, each has developed a different trajectory of social life. We believe such trajectories of social life of modern ruins must be considered when we study ancient ruins.

Conclusion

The archaeology of MDVs provides us with valuable information on how a settlement is built, remodeled, and rebuilt in a larger spatial context. The goal of an archaeology of the contemporary past is not solely to provide new and different accounts, more data, and more interpretations of MDV studies (Gonzalez-Ruibal, 2008; Lucas, 2004). Rather, it emphasizes that archaeology can also—and must—mediate the recent past in ways that make presence manifest and keep memory alive. This implies exploring other ways of engaging with the materiality of the contemporary world and working in the gray zone between revelation and concealment (Gonzalez-Ruibal, 2008: 252).

The MDV study gives archaeologists the opportunity to observe the construction, destruction, ruination, and reuse of MDVs as a category of material culture and to understand the movement of a people, the *Waishengren*. As Lucas (2004: 116) suggested, an archaeologist could devote her whole life to the material history of just one site. Our study demonstrates that by delineating the nuanced trajectories of ruination, we can avoid oversimplifying their abandonment as ruination or preservation as solely a political process. Examination of the social lives of recent ruins will certainly help us understand the ruination of ancient sites.

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Chapter 7
Buried Memories: Wartime Caches and Family History in Estonia

Mats Burström

Introduction

Archaeology's down-to-earth perspective adds a human dimension to the recent past, granting us a glimpse into how major historical events and processes affected ordinary people, in many cases changing their lives radically. The present study examines the well-documented case of Estonians who fled into exile during the Soviet occupation of Estonia during the Second World War. By focusing on a material phenomenon—the burial of hoards of family possessions—it will enable us to consider aspects of this historical episode from the recent past that are customarily overlooked by grand historical narratives. Indeed, in the final instance, it may be that only small narratives—stories dealing with the experiences of individual families—are able to make major events and processes truly comprehensible.

The burial of objects by Estonians fleeing Soviet occupation has hitherto attracted little or no attention from scholars. Accordingly, almost all information about this episode must be collected directly from those with direct personal experience or people to whom they have related their memories. Stories told about things hidden in the ground not only bear witness to dramatic events in the recent past but also show the importance of material objects for the work of memory. Talking about buried family possessions generates memories that reach far beyond the objects themselves.

The practice of hiding objects in the ground also raises questions about people's cultural relation to the earth. Although the reasons given for choosing to bury objects are invariably entirely practical, the symbolism of the act itself is hard to ignore and has a significance of which people at the time were not often fully conscious.

M. Burström (✉)
Department of Archaeology and Classical Studies, Stockholm University,
Lilla Frescativägen 7, 106 91 Stockholm, Sweden
e-mail: mats.burstrom@ark.su.se

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Historical Context

To understand why people fled their native country and hid their belongings in the ground, it is necessary to sketch an outline general history of Estonia during and after the Second World War (for a comprehensive account, see Raun, 2002).

In August 1939, the Soviet Union signed a nonaggression treaty with Nazi Germany, known as the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. The treaty contained a secret clause for the partition of Eastern Europe in different spheres of influence, which sealed Estonia's fate by assigning it to the Soviet sphere.

For Estonia, the consequences of the Soviet-German agreement were immediate. Soviet military bases and troops for "mutual defense" were forcibly situated in Estonia in September 1939, followed by a full-scale military occupation in June 1940. In August 1940, less than a year after the signing of the treaty in Moscow, Estonia was declared part of the Soviet Union and renamed the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic.

In June 1941, Germany launched Operation Barbarossa, the invasion of the Soviet Union. After only a month or two, the Soviet occupation of Estonia was succeeded by a German occupation. The succession of developments that eventually led Estonian families to bury their possessions was also profoundly affected by the Atlantic Charter, a blueprint for the postwar world drawn up by President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill in August 1941. The Charter contained a number of shared principles upon which its signatories, the United States and the United Kingdom, based their hopes for "a better future for the world." In it, the signatories state that

> they desire to see no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned. (Atlantic Charter Foundation, 2010)

Moreover,

> they respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live; and they wish to see sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them. (Atlantic Charter Foundation, 2010)

Estonians regarded the Atlantic Charter as a promise to restore Estonia's independence after the war. In autumn of 1944, the tide of war turned, forcing Germany to retreat step-by-step from occupied Soviet territory. As a consequence, the Soviet Union reoccupied Estonia. The first Soviet occupation had been extremely violent, involving the murder of around 2,000 people, among them many political leaders, and the deportation of 10,000 people to Siberia. Remembering this brutality and fearing further persecution and deportations, tens of thousands of Estonians fled the country. About 70,000 Estonians left during the autumn of 1944, mostly for Germany or Sweden (Fig. 7.1).

Most of the refugees had faith in the Atlantic Charter and expected to be able to return home in a year or two. The situation presented refugees with an acute problem, however. What should they do with possessions that they would need on their return but could not bring with them? There were a number of possible solutions, such as leaving possessions (including animals) in the charge of relatives and friends or hiding them. There were several kinds of hiding places. Some were indoors—under the

Fig. 7.1 Boat overloaded with Estonian refugees arriving in Sweden in September 1944 (reprinted from Brun, Moor, Tibbing, & Vilper, 1945: 17)

floorboards, inside walls, or in attics. Yet most refugees were justifiably anxious that their house would be burnt down by the occupiers and looked instead for other hiding places. In the event, concealing items underground turned out to be common practice. Burial offered a safe hiding place, one that promised to be more than adequate for the year or two which most people expected their belongings to remain there.

As the Soviet occupation extended into the postwar period, Estonian refugees found themselves unable to return and recover their hidden belongings as planned. The second Soviet occupation was also violent, particularly during the period before Stalin's death in 1953. The oppression culminated in March 1949 when more than 20,000 Estonians were deported to Siberia. Fearing deportation, Estonians continued to hide possessions underground even after the end of the Second World War.

The Soviet occupation of Estonia ended only with the collapse of the Soviet Union itself. In August 1991, during an attempted coup by conservative "patriots" in Moscow, Estonia declared itself a sovereign nation. It was quickly recognized by Moscow; three years later, the last Russian troops left Estonia. Estonian independence made it possible for Estonian exiles and their descendents to return and search for possessions hidden decades earlier.

Searching for Stories

In her novel *If Home is a Place* (1995), Canadian author K. Linda Kivi writes about a mother, her two daughters, and their experiences as Estonian refugees during the Second World War who ultimately settle in Canada. The novel explores the refugee experience and—as the title suggests—the meaning of home, revealing how emigration can shape a family for generations.

If Home is a Place includes a story about burying pots that is essentially based on the real experiences of the author's mother. In the novel, the pots are buried so

that they can be recovered and put back into everyday use. The mother in the novel reflects that "What is buried cannot be stolen. At least not before we return. *If* we return" (Kivi, 1995: 10).

This statement accounts for why the pots were hidden even as it expresses a nagging doubt about the future. The pots are, of course, functional objects that may be put to practical use once again, such as cooking that favorite fish soup of her grandmother's. But the pots are more than that. They are the material expression of a hope of returning home. For the mother in Kivi's novel, digging a hole in the ground for the pots is thus not merely a practical task but an act of remembrance: "The deeper we dig the more voices there are in the air. Old ones. Ones that live in my head" (Kivi, 1995: 13).

These excerpts from Kivi's novel raise a number of issues under consideration in this chapter. How have people in the recent past used the ground as a hiding place for their belongings? In what ways are these objects thereby made important? And how can digging in the earth—or, indeed, archaeological excavation itself—set in motion a process of remembering (cf. Wallace, 2004)?

I began my quest for stories about buried belongings by asking Estonian colleagues for their opinion about the subject. While all were most helpful, some of their initial answers were somewhat disappointing, as the following example illustrates:

> I'm sorry, it's a good story, but highly unlikely to be true. I've studied Estonia's islands … and I've interviewed people who escaped in their own boats or who helped others escape, and I have a large family (including relatives who stayed and others who escaped), and absolutely no-one has ever mentioned anything even vaguely resembling this. I think it's a modern legend, not something that actually happened. (Peil, 2009, my translation)

Other answers were more encouraging. A woman working at the Estonian Literary Museum sent the following story, originally told by her grandmother, about her family's situation in southern Estonia in July 1944: "It was obvious they couldn't take much with them…They decided to bury the most valuable things in the ground. That's what people had always done in those parts in wartime" (Hollo, 2009, my translation).

Not only does her story confirm that things were indeed hidden in the ground, it describes, quite remarkably, a situation in which people are so used to war and exile they have developed a cultural praxis for coping with some of the ensuing problems: objects that for one reason or another cannot be brought are simply buried in the ground.

Another reply, from a Swedish-Estonian woman, confirmed that it was customary to bury objects in the ground: "I've often wondered, what will the archaeologists in the future think when they find all the buried objects?" (Kalm, 2009, my translation).

Most Estonian refugees fled to Germany and Sweden in 1944, but Soviet repatriation policies caused an additional wave of migrants to move to Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States. In order to get in touch with Estonians living in these countries, I contacted Estonian associations and newspapers. A response forwarded by the Associations of Estonians in Great Britain touched upon a recurrent theme, that of lost knowledge:

> I have heard of many such instances as you describe of people hiding treasure before fleeing from Estonia during the Second World War. Regrettably, the vast majority of refugees from Estonia have now died and I do not know of anyone who could help you with your research. (Järvik, 2009)

It is true that most people who fled from Estonia almost 70 years ago are now gone, and those still with us are very old. This fact reminds us of a classic reason for collecting data: if the stories are not documented now, at the very last minute, they will be lost forever. It may actually be already too late. While I find such "now or never" arguments problematic and not entirely convincing, it is nonetheless true that the stories I have been searching for are in the process of disappearing. To be sure, many are passed onto the next generation, but in the case of those who do not share their experiences of leaving things behind and being disappointed in their dream of returning home, the stories will probably fade away.

Stories about hidden objects are in some cases a kind of secret knowledge that people do not want to share with anyone outside their family and closest friends. One reason may be that these family belongings are still buried and thus, at least potentially, at risk from thieves or strangers. Another is that these are memories of trauma, as with an answer I received from a friend of a Swedish-Estonian:

> Yes, I know of such a story, and I have also seen the objects in question. I have, however, promised on my honour never to say anything that could lead to the discovery of the objects or the people concerned.
>
> The main reason for not wanting to talk about hidden belongings is that the stories behind them are so traumatic. (Anonymous, 2009, my translation)

Whatever their reasons, one has of course to respect the fact that some people do not want to share their memories or retell stories told to them in confidence. Without the stories that accompany them, however, most of the items recovered from the ground would seem almost indistinguishable from any other similar objects. Removal from their context deprives them of their special ability to mediate an alternative perspective on the recent past.

There are also many stories about buried weapons and Estonian national symbols such as flags or fragments of monuments to the Estonian War of Independence (1918–1920). These stories are often of a more heroic nature than those dealing with family belongings, and there is probably a greater risk that they have been spiced up. In keeping with my interest in minor narratives, I have not actively sought out stories about objects with a more obvious symbolic significance.

Stories About Buried Belongings

In spite of the difficulties discussed, it has been possible to collect more than 30 stories from people who have personally experienced or been told about the burial of family possessions in Estonia during the Second World War. Some of these stories concern people who have returned to a place where something was hidden, only to discover the scenery has changed beyond recognition. To their dismay, they discover that a road, house, or something else has been built on the very spot where they buried their things. Others, as some of the following stories illustrate, have been more successful in their quest.

Helga Nõu

An amazing story about the recovery of buried possessions is told by Helga Nõu (b. 1934), a Swedish-Estonian author and artist (Nõu, 2009). Her father, Aleksander Raukas, was a chief forester who in 1944 arranged his family's escape from Estonia by boat across the Baltic Sea to Sweden. Before leaving, he smeared the surface of two oil drums with tar, filled them with family items, and buried them. He also prepared a smaller tin filled with photographic film. Helga, then ten years old, was brought to the site, and her father tried to get her to memorize the number of steps from a certain pine tree to the spot where the drums and the tin were buried.

After the political thaw following Stalin's death in 1953, Aleksander Raukas started to correspond with relatives in Soviet Estonia. He sent food and clothes in boxes of wood lined with corrugated paper. In 1958, he hid a letter containing a treasure map, showing the location of the buried items, between the wood and the paper in one of the boxes. This put Raukas' relatives in danger since Soviet customs agents examined all packages; anyone caught receiving secret messages would no doubt have been in serious trouble. In this light, it is surprising that Raukas' relatives, rather than destroying the papers, held onto and later returned them. Today the treasure map is in Helga Nõu's possession (Fig. 7.2).

The text that accompanies the treasure map contains a detailed description of how to find the hidden objects. It is a unique document of the emotions relating to the burial of family possessions by a refugee:

> They're buried, and I'm almost certain that after fourteen years there won't be anything that can still be used. They might have survived for a couple of years as intended, but it's all turned out differently, and knowing what happened will really just confirm that all that once was is now gone.
>
> Among the useful articles are clothes, linen, books, photo albums, and a hunting rifle. A number of books are such that, if they're still legible, it would probably be best if you destroyed them straight away.
>
> If there is anything left, I don't need any of it. I just want to know if there's anything left and if any of the photographs are salvageable, but even that isn't that important. Life has taken a different turn, and all that once was now seems a dream, far from reality. (Estonian-Swedish translation by Helga Nõu, Swedish-English translation by Charlotte Merton)

The last sentence is almost a condensed summary of a refugee's experience. I am happy to report that Helga Nõu's uncle did manage to find the treasure and eventually send photos and some other items to him in Sweden.

Indrek and Ädu Aunver

Indrek Aunver (b. 1955) and his mother Ädu (b. 1922), both living in Sweden, relate another story about buried belongings and their recovery (Aunver and Aunver, 2009). Her father, Arnold Kerem, was a vicar in Tartu, and in 1940, he decided as a precaution to hide some valuables at Mähkli, the old family farm. Together with some relatives, he buried a large copper kettle filled with silver flatware, silver beakers, pieces of jewelry, and more.

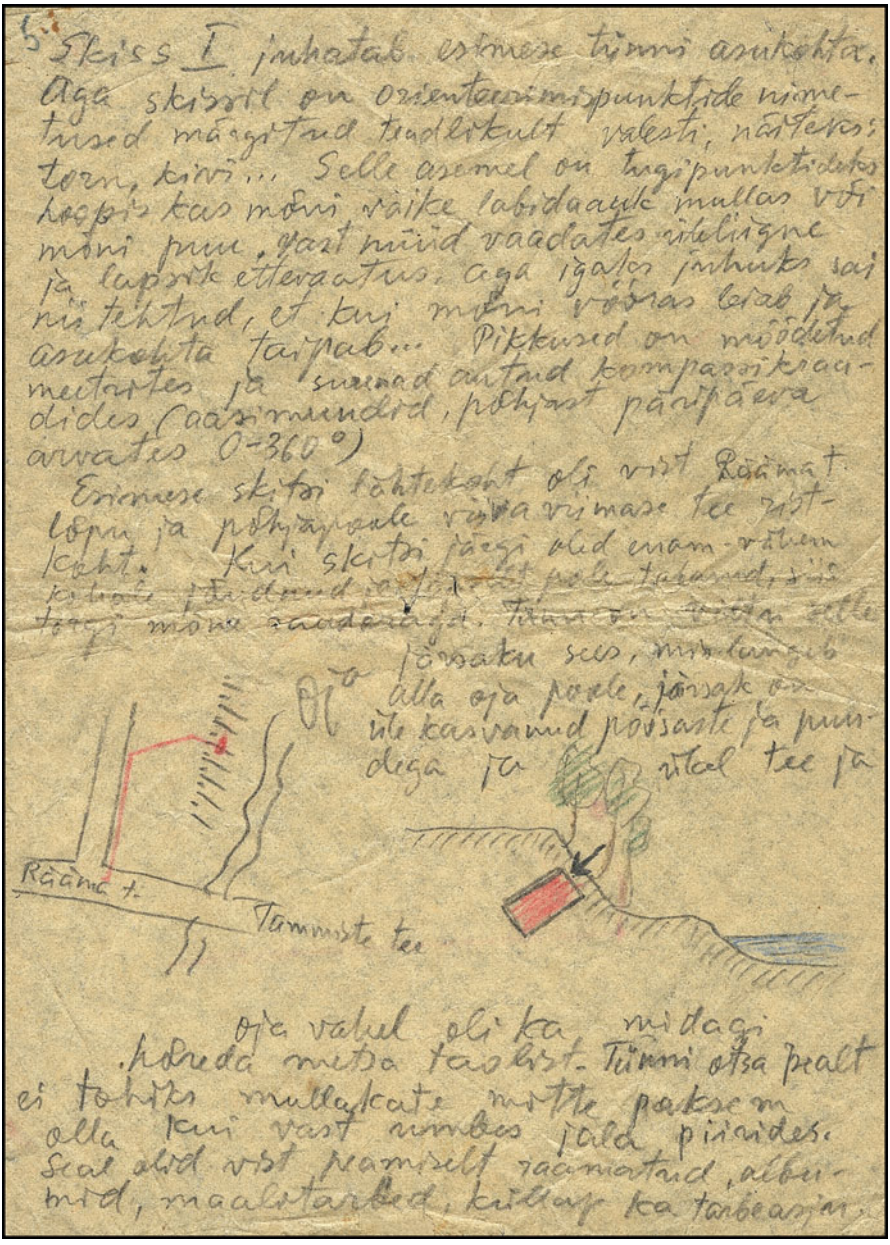

Fig. 7.2 A sheet from Aleksander Raukas' secret letter from 1958 showing the location of one of the buried barrels (figure courtesy of Enn Nõu)

During the Soviet era, the farm was transformed into a *kolkhoz*, a collective farm, to which the family had no access. Nevertheless, Ädu's brother, who had stayed in Estonia, paid a night visit to the farm in 1975. Making sure that he had not been observed, he managed to find and to dig up the kettle and its contents.

Fig. 7.3 The Russian eyewitness to the 1975 dig at Mähkli (Photo by Indrek Aunver)

In 1996, Ädu returned with Indrek to the family's farm for the first time since her escape from Estonia in 1944. The only person now living there was a Russian man, the adopted child of an Estonian family who had lived there during the Soviet period. For some reason, he immediately identified the visitors as the farm's rightful owners and, to their surprise, spontaneously declared that it was pointless looking for hidden treasure (Fig. 7.3).

It turned out that he had witnessed the 1975 dig. Seeing from his attic window a man digging in the dark with a spade, he had guessed the truth. However, he did not want to interfere—always a sensible strategy in the Soviet period—and he had kept mum ever since. The items recovered have all been sold with the exception of a pair of silver beakers that were once a wedding present and are now in the keeping of a relative in Estonia.

Ester Salasoo

Ester Salasoo (b. 1956) lives with her family in the United States. Her story about buried possessions starts with her grandmother, Marie Kikas, who was a dentist living in Türi in Estonia. In September 1944, the Kikas family fled from the Soviet occupation, leaving some silver cutlery buried in the backyard of their apartment in Türi. The family moved to Germany and after a couple of years emigrated to Australia.

At some point, the cutlery set was dug up—the exact circumstances are unknown—and sent to the family in Australia, where it was put to use, as Ester relates (Salasoo, 2011) (Fig. 7.4).

> I can remember special dinners, at Christmas and on birthdays, when the cutlery was used in Australia. During one of my mother's trips to visit me in New York, she brought me the cutlery set as a gift.
>
> After my mother passed away in 2000 (my father having died in 1997), we began setting a place for both of them at our Christmas dinner table here in Niskayuna, New York, using the silver cutlery. Their places at the table were empty, of course, but symbolically they were both present since we had all used the silver on previous occasions in Australia. The cutlery became a connection to our missing parents, physical place holders for them at the table. It also metaphorically anchored the connection to my parents and grandparents. It adds to the occasion by remembering and honoring them, with no words needing to be spoken.
>
> The fork and knife are quite heavy in the hand, and it sometimes feels that the solid weight of my ancestors is right with me during our family dinner.
>
> Using the silver, I just wonder what their life would have been like in Türi, and what conversations would have taken place during dinners eaten with the same cutlery set. Which meals did they use them for? Was it schnitzel, like my grandmother Mimi [Marie] used to make when I was little, or perhaps *pelmenis* (dumplings), like those steaming and waiting for me in their dozens when I ran home from the school bus in Australia?

Ester Salasoo's story illustrates how its history confers a special meaning on a material object; while not a replacement for absent people, the object can at least represent them. Ester's story also illustrates the power of artifacts to evoke reflections and memories, in her case experiences from the recent past in Estonia and Australia as well as from the United States in the present.

Letti Rapp and Ulo Rammus

Letti Rapp (b. 1942) and Ulo Rammus (b. 1935) are brother and sister living in Sweden. In 1998, they returned to their family's old farmstead in Estonia to search for a cache of family belongings (Löfgren, 2005; Rapp, 2009). Before the family went into exile in 1944, their father buried a barrel filled with many different objects in their garden. He later told Ulo exactly where it was buried at a distance of some meters at a precise angle to the house.

Fig. 7.4 *Top*: The Salasoo family gathering at Thanksgiving in 2011, a golden opportunity to lay the table using the special cutlery. Note the places set for Ester's absent parents (Photo by Ester Salasoo) *Bottom*: Ulo Rammus and Letti Rapp displaying some of their finds (Photo by Olle Löfgren)

The house had been burned down during the Soviet period because houses were, for military reasons, not permitted close to the shore. Nevertheless, Ulo and Letti managed to find its remains and started to dig. The sandy soil was easily removed and they soon bumped into something hard. There, after 54 years, was the "family treasure."

Ulo and Letti sat down in the grass and investigated their find. The barrel contained a couple of telephones, glass plates, a glass decanter, silver coins, a pocket watch, a telescope, buttons, suspenders, and much more (Fig. 7.4). Letti took one of the phones found and symbolically called their dead father to tell him that the treasure was now found. They opened a bottle of champagne and clinked glasses. Back home in Sweden, the siblings divided the cache between them. The recovered possessions are today highly valued for their strong links to the family's history.

Ahto Kant

During my search for stories about family belongings buried in Estonia, I placed advertisements in newspapers in several countries and on the Internet. One of the people who contacted me as a result was Ahto Kant (b. 1933). Now living in Sweden, he escaped from Estonia as a boy of eleven in 1944 together with his mother (Kant, 2009, 2011).

Ahto's father, Johannes Kant, was a fighter pilot and member of the Estonian national shooting team, which before the war had been very successful in the world championships. In the autumn of 1944, the family was staying at a farm called Kivisilla. Before Ahto and his mother left, Ahto and his father buried a number of items under the floor of a shed, consisting of inscribed silver objects which the President of Estonia had given to the Estonian National Shooting Association. Ahto remembered a large beaker and a dish wrapped in a yellow or green oilcloth. He asked for my help in recovering it.

The Kivisilla farm was pulled down in the 1980s as a consequence of the Soviet command economy's theories about large-scale agricultural units. Today all that remains of the former houses is a large cairn of stones and rubble at the bottom of a field.

Ahto had been back to the site on his own a couple of times without finding what he was looking for. What he did find was a piece of china from some kind of souvenir. It bore the legend "Mälest," a fragment of the Estonian word for "memory." Ahto saw it as a sign that his treasure was now just a memory. On the other hand, perhaps memories should be considered our real treasures. In any case, he kept the piece of china—as a souvenir.

I found Ahto's story convincing and thought there was a reasonable chance that the objects buried were still there. So we decided to try our luck at finding a cache hidden 65 years previously. We engaged the help of a metal-detector specialist, Johan Landgren, and surveyed the site together over a couple of days in May 2009 (Fig. 7.5). Unfortunately, we did not find what we were looking for. In all likelihood, this means that the objects are indeed gone, either found by someone else, perhaps soon after being buried, or removed when the remains of the farm were bulldozed.

Ahto was not overly disappointed by the result (or lack thereof). For him, the memories of hiding the objects had been haunting him for many years, leaving him no real peace. He had been wondering whether the "treasure" was still there and, if so, whether it could be found. Ahto felt that he owed it to his father to do whatever

Fig. 7.5 *Top*: Johan Landgren surveying the Kivisilla site. In the background, the cairn comprising the remains of the former farmstead can be seen (Photo by Mats Burström). *Bottom*: Toomas Petmanson with his Estonian history of the world (Photo by Mats Burström)

he could to try to recover the buried objects. And now he had done just that and finally given himself some peace of mind.

Another important result of the metal-detector survey was that it generated conversations and evoked memories. With the exception of an Estonian two-cent coin from 1934,

all that emerged from the survey were objects that would under normal circumstances simply be called scrap. Yet even these fueled the conversation. Archaeological fieldwork is indeed an effective way to initiate a remembering process.

Toomas Petmanson

Another person who contacted me after reading my call for stories about family caches was Toomas Petmanson (b. 1973), an Estonian who had lived in Canada before moving to Sweden. He wanted to show me some books he had bought on the street in Tallinn in 1996 (Petmanson, 2010).

The books are a multivolume history of the world that was published in Estonian in the early 1930s (Fig. 7.5). The seller was eager to tell Toomas the history of the books, which had been slightly damaged by damp, and explain the reason for their condition. During the Soviet period, books such as these were forbidden because history was only permitted to be taught using the Soviet version; indeed, it was illegal to have this non-Soviet version of world history in your possession. For this reason, the seller claimed these copies had been hidden in a milk can and buried in the ground for many years.

Now the proud owner of this history of the world, Toomas seems particularly appreciative of the marks made by hungry mice. These are not just the teethmarks of a mouse, he explains, but a sign that these books have a history of their own. They are a reminder that what once had to be hidden away now is freely permitted. Some things do get better with time.

Toomas' story differs from most of the others in that he has no family ties to the recovered object. It is irrelevant as far as he is concerned. He is anxious to take care of the books in the best possible way and to tell their story. It shows that the sentimental value of recovered objects is not restricted to the family circle.

Concluding Remarks

Burying caches of family possessions has been shown to be a common practice in Estonia during the recent past. It is interesting to note that the phenomenon has nonetheless failed to attract any scholarly attention; indeed, many people doubted even that such caches existed. While presenting this Estonian case study in different contexts, I have been supplied with numerous examples of the same practice in different parts of the world in the recent past, such as, for example, the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s. Burying things for safekeeping, it would seem, was far more common in the last century than has hitherto been acknowledged.

Few of the family belongings hidden in the ground in Estonia had any real financial value, most were everyday objects and books. Rather, their value was practical; they were intended to be put back into use when the refugees returned back home. But they did not return, at least not before Estonia gained its independence in 1991.

During the long years of exile, these caches took on new meanings in the minds of refugees as they were transformed from functional objects into repositories of memories. Recalling and discussing these hidden possessions generated—and still generates—a stream of memories. Stories that range far beyond the objects themselves recall a lost world, a childhood, a time when those closest were still alive, in short, the memories of a happier life.

Without exception, the people who have shared their stories with me gave a practical reason as to why their cache was hidden underground: there was little or no time, and the ground was felt to be the best alternative to hand. Yet this reason does not exclude more symbolic motives, one of which is that the ground represents security and stability for people used to living off the land. Placing objects in the ground created a special relationship with the place: it marked a deeper sense of belonging. The soil was in many senses associated with past generations who had lived there and now lay buried there: a symbol of people's emotional ties to their home. Burying family belongings, while remembering the past and hoping for the future, became the equivalent of sowing the earth in confidence of the harvest to come.

For those families who had buried things, the hiding place had a special aura, and they could visualize the hidden to their inner eye. The esoteric aspect of knowing what is there, although not visible to all and everyone, creates a very strong bond to the land. The invisible may indeed be as powerful as a symbolic marking as may any visibly imposing monument.

Exiled Estonians and their descendents can now travel to their family's native country again and look for the belongings buried there. Some have chosen to do just that, others have not. Some have refrained because of their advanced age, practical difficulties, or because the material objects no longer seem so important. Many believe that their attention is better spent on more pressing matters than trying to find some old household utensils. Indeed, buried belongings seem for some families to have been important because they were out of reach. Perhaps a similar relationship—the unobtainable as signification—might also be said to hold for much else in our archaeological endeavors and, for that matter, for human existence as a whole.

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Chapter 8
Resituating Homeland: Motion, Movement, and Ethnogenesis at Brothertown

Craig N. Cipolla

> There is a motion among the tribes of Indians round about here, to unite together and Seek for a New Settlement among the Western Indians, Their view is if they can find room, to embody together both in Civil and Religious State, their Main View is, to Introduce the Religion of Jesus Christ by their example—among the benighted Indians in the Wilderness, and also Introduce Agriculture amongst them… (Occom, 2006a)

So wrote Samson Occom, the famous Mohegan Presbyterian preacher of eighteenth-century Connecticut. The letter from which this excerpt comes is addressed to the officers of the English Trust of Moor's Indian Charity School, an institution founded to train Native American students as missionaries. Though Occom wrote in pursuit of two related goals, he emphasized one much more than the other in his letter. The most conspicuous objective, of course, was to raise funds to support his efforts to further the spread of Christianity among Native American communities of north-eastern North America. The more furtive objective was surely nearer and dearer to Occom's heart, however. In writing such letters, he hoped to gain access to the necessary resources to ensure the revitalization, survival, and perseverance of his native brethren in colonial North America (Cipolla, 2013; Jarvis, 2010). Each of these goals, particularly the latter, in Occom's eyes entailed large-scale movement.

Only a few years after Occom penned the letter quoted above, the "motion" he described therein grew into what we now refer to as the *Brothertown Indian Movement*. The very same motion eventually led to the ethnogenesis of the Brothertown Indians—a group now situated in and around the Fox River Valley of Wisconsin. This chapter thus explores movement of a particular type, namely, large-scale population dispersal. From Connecticut and coastal New England to Central New York State to Wisconsin and the greater Midwest (Fig. 8.1), this chapter explores issues of motion and movement via Brothertown history and archaeology. As with many native histories of post-Columbian North America, mobility played a

C.N. Cipolla (✉)
School of Archaeology and Ancient History, University of Leicester, University Road, Leicester LE1 7RH, UK
e-mail: cc363@le.ac.uk

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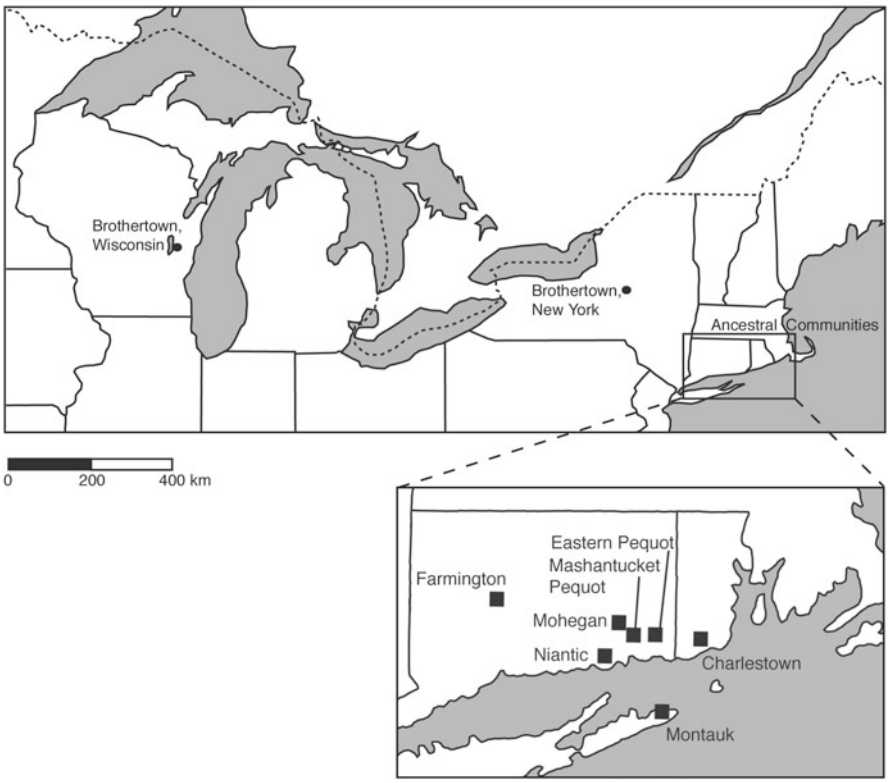

Fig. 8.1 Location of ancestral communities and both Brothertown settlements (figure by Craig N. Cipolla)

central part in the forging, perseverance, and transformation of this community. For native peoples in general, European and Euro-American encroachment on their homelands often led to movements and diasporas that had ethnogenetic results. Despite the centrality of movement in many Native American histories, archaeologists working in such contexts have yet to fully explore this dimension. This is partially a result of the discipline's inherent tendencies towards *sedentarist* approaches to the past that treat stability, meaning, and place as *normal* and distance, change, and placelessness as *abnormal* (Sheller & Urry, 2006: 208). For very practical reasons, these patterns are deeply embedded in the practice of archaeology, which typically focuses on one archaeological site at a time. I work around this difficulty with the Brothertown case via a multisited analysis (Cipolla, 2010, 2011).

Since the Brothertown Indians relocated to new landscapes three times during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, their case seems particularly fitting for an exploration of issues of movement. With each new landscape and with each new settlement, there came new sets of possibility and constraint that critically shaped the community. Building upon the works of practice theorists such as de Certeau (1984),

I regard the materiality of space as a vital component of social reproduction. As they reproduced their cultural milieus in New York and Wisconsin, Brothertown Indians simultaneously forged relationships with new surroundings while renegotiating connections to their original homeland and its inhabitants. I frame my analyses in terms of these two interconnected phenomena. First, I consider the pragmatic consequences of starting anew among foreign peoples, things, and spaces. Second, I explore notions of homeland and the shifting relations between those who left home and those who stayed behind. These twin processes are deeply entangled. As noted by Ian Lilley, diaspora studies must consider "the local and the nonlocal, and how through processes of hybridity and creolization some groups of people can be both at the same time" [Lilley, 2004: 287; see also Lilley (2006)].

I focus primarily on settlement data from each of the Brothertown settlements as they provide unique glimpses of the process of Brothertown ethnogenesis "as seen from above." Before they were "Brothertown Indians" sharing the same landscape, members of the emergent community lived in seven different settlements scattered across Rhode Island, Connecticut, and coastal New York. After their first move, these seven groups had access to a proverbial blank slate on which to create their new multi-tribal settlement in any way they wished. Approximately half a century later, their children, grandchildren, and great grandchildren had the same opportunity, this time in Wisconsin on the eastern shore of Lake Winnebago. Qualitative and quantitative analysis of the settlement patterns in both New York and Wisconsin offer insights into the roles that tradition, communal memory, and ethnic identities play in cases of movement and diaspora. How did the Brothertown Indians resituate their homelands in these foreign landscapes, if at all? How influential was *movement* in shaping any of the observed changes or continuities? To complement the settlement patterns, I also briefly consider shifts in material culture and language that co-occurred with the noted settlement transformations. Before delving into these analyses, I set the context with a brief overview of Brothertown history.

Historical Context

As described by Samson Occom above, it was during the last quarter of the eighteenth century that the Brothertown Indian community began to take shape. This occurred as segments of several tribal groups from Rhode Island, Connecticut, and coastal New York broke away from their home settlements for a chance at starting over in the "wilderness" of Central New York State (Belknap & Morse, 1955; Brooks, 2006; Cipolla, 2010, 2011, 2012a, 2012b; Commuck, 1855; Jarvis, 2010; Loew, 2001, 2003; Love, 1899; Murray, 1998; Silverman, 2010) (see Fig. 8.1). The nascent Brothertown community consisted of Narragansett, Eastern Pequot, Mashantucket Pequot, Mohegan, Montauk, Niantic, and Tunxis peoples. Uniting this group were shared beliefs in the "religion of Jesus Christ," dedication to the practice of European-style agriculture, and hopes of escaping the land politics and corrupting influences of colonial culture on the East Coast. They first settled in New

York on land granted to them by the Oneida. On 7 November 1785, Occom (2006b: 308) described the founding of their new town in his journal: "But now we proceeded to form into a Body Politick—We named our Town by the Name of Brotherton, in Indian Eeyawquittoowauconnuck."

During the early nineteenth century, the state of New York began to purchase large tracts of land surrounding native settlements, isolating various New York Indian communities and seriously limiting their respective land bases (Cipolla, 2010: 66–70; Commuck, 1855: 295; Love, 1899: 317–318). Combined with persistent land conflicts with encroaching Euro-Americans, this change forced the Brothertown Indians and several neighboring New York groups to look for new lands once again. In the 1830s, this search led the Brothertown Indians to what is now Wisconsin, where they purchased land from the Menominee. They quickly transformed the landscape of their new settlement, clearing fields for planting and creating new infrastructure, including the first Methodist Church built in Wisconsin Territory. Although this move freed the Brothertown Indians from land troubles for a time, the respite was only temporary. Within just a few years of their second relocation, the US government passed the Indian Removal Act, which attempted to push all native groups west of the Mississippi River into Indian Territory. In an effort to hold on to their new Wisconsin settlement, in the late 1830s the Brothertown Indians petitioned for US citizenship and associated land rights, becoming the first Native American community officially recognized as US citizens.

After they had divided their Wisconsin settlement into individually owned lots, a combination of high property taxes and a mid-nineteenth-century influx of German farmers eager to purchase lands in the area influenced some Brothertown Indians to sell their private properties and move away from the community that they and their ancestors had lived with for nearly a century. This population dispersal rapidly increased as the nineteenth century drew to a close, spreading the Brothertown Indians across Wisconsin and beyond. Although these moves clearly changed the structure of the Brothertown community, Brothertown individuals and families maintained ties to one another and to their shared cultural heritage (Cipolla, 2010, 2010b, 2011). Today, the Brothertown Indian Nation has a tribal meeting house in Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, just a 20 minute drive south from Brothertown.

Resituating Homeland

The settlement patterns analyzed in this section resulted from sets of practices spanning a range of consciousness. Although they clearly had the potential to do so, I do not argue that spatial configurations of settlements simply resulted from intentionally discursive practices designed to create or bolster social boundaries within the Brothertown community. Similar to Michel de Certeau's (1984: 93) observations on pedestrians moving through the crowded streets of Manhattan, "whose bodies follow the thicks and thins of an urban 'text' they write without being able to

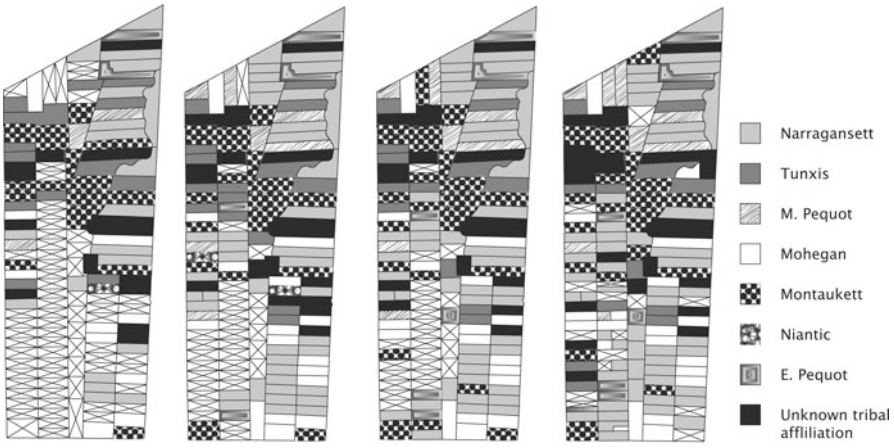

Fig. 8.2 Distributions of tribal ancestries in Brothertown, New York, in the years 1800 (*far left*), 1810 (*center left*), 1820 (*center right*), and 1830 (*far right*); plots marked with an "×" were unassigned (figure by Craig N. Cipolla)

read," I see Brothertown settlement patterns as the long-term aggregated outcomes of fairly short-term decisions on the part of Brothertown individuals and families. Like the paths described by de Certeau, decisions on where to live were influenced by the particular contexts in which they took place but also recursively shaped those contexts in ways unbeknownst to their practitioners. Although the individuals and families who created and shaped the patterns discussed here might have done so unconsciously, the resulting patterns still had pragmatic effects in the world. These patterns were part of the fabric of everyday life in Brothertown and therefore to some extent informed their identities and their relations with one another.

For the most part, Brothertown Indians chose their lots on a first-come, first-served basis. They likely based their choices on a number of factors. A particular lot's estimated potential for agricultural production and proximity to landscape features, communal spaces, and certain neighbors all possibly shaped these decisions. In the analysis that follows, I focus primarily on the last factor, assessing the significance that tribal ancestry played in Brothertown Indians' decisions on where to live. Did individuals and families of the seven tribal ancestries at Brothertown maintain separate residential areas or "neighborhoods" [see Giddens' (1984: 10) discussion of ethnic segregation]? If so, did these neighborhoods persist through time and space as the Brothertown Indians moved from New York to Wisconsin? For that matter, are there connections between shifts in settlement pattern and other known communal changes?

Figures 8.2 and 8.3 depict temporal shifts in the distribution of lots in both Brothertown settlements by tribal ancestry. Figure 8.2 depicts shifts in the distribution of tribal ancestries in Brothertown, New York, between the years 1800 and 1830,

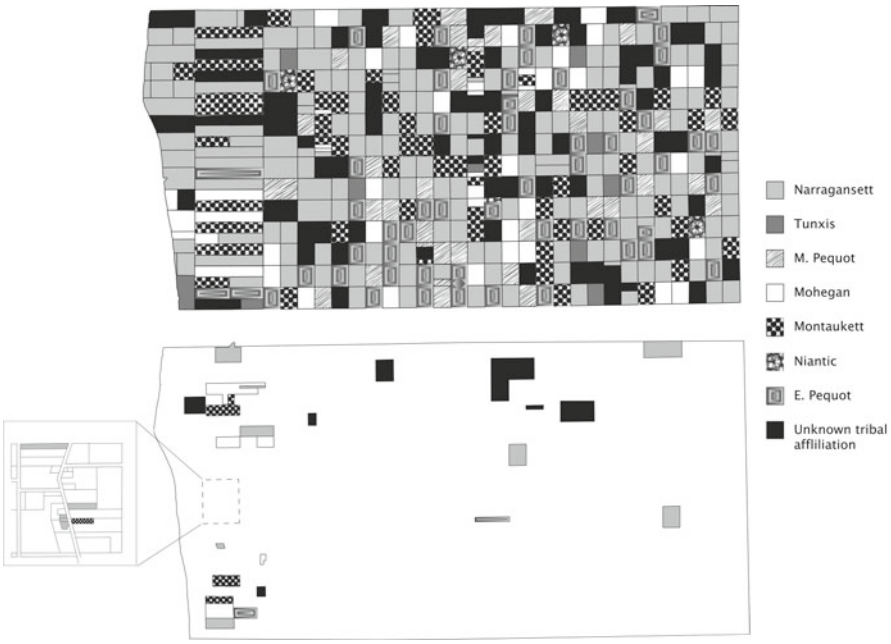

Fig. 8.3 Distribution of tribal ancestry in Brothertown, Wisconsin, in the years 1840 (*top*) and 1893 (*bottom*) (figure by Craig N. Cipolla)

while Fig. 8.3 depicts these patterns in Brothertown, Wisconsin, between the years 1840 and 1893.

The 1800 map shows several small residential clusters of ancestral tribal groups in Brothertown, New York. These included small concentrations of Narragansett and Montaukett descendants in and around northern Brothertown, with Narragansetts in the far northeastern corner and Montauketts in the northern central portion of the settlement. To a lesser extent, Mohegan residences were also concentrated in the southwestern corner, and most Tunxis residences sat in the northern half of the settlement. Comparatively fewer individuals of Eastern Pequot, Mashantucket Pequot, and Niantic ancestry had claimed lots in Brothertown by this time, and the southwest corner of the settlement remained largely unassigned (and potentially unoccupied).

Quantitative analysis supports these interpretations, demonstrating that lots occupied by Narragansett and Montaukett descendants bordered lots occupied by individuals of the same tribal ancestry more so than lots occupied by individuals of other tribal ancestries in Brothertown. Over 45 % of the lots occupied by Narragansett and Montaukett descendants abutted lots occupied by individuals or families of the same ancestry. For Mohegan-occupied lots, just over 30 % of their boundaries abutted other Mohegan-occupied lots; they also shared borders with the same percentage of lots occupied by Tunxis descendants, however. Less than 20 % of Tunxis-occupied

lots bordered lots occupied by other Tunxis individuals, while over 30 % shared borders with lots occupied by Montaukett descendants. It remains uncertain why Tunxis- and Montaukett-descended individuals and families appear to have gravitated towards one another more so than to individuals of other tribal ancestries, but it is possible that the observed patterns resulted from intermarriage between the two groups.

As of 1810, many of the patterns identified above still existed. A majority of Narragansett-, Montaukett-, and Mohegan-occupied lots shared property boundaries with lots occupied by individuals of the same tribal ancestry. Although some Narragansett descendants remained concentrated in the northeast corner, new Narragansett clusters also appeared. One developed in the central portion of the settlement. The other cluster appeared in the southeast of the settlement. In comparison to the previous decade, the frequency of lots occupied by Narragansett descendants adjacent to lots occupied by other Narragansett descendants also increased by more than 10 %. This pattern relates in part to the comparatively higher numbers of Narragansett descendants in Brothertown overall, but it also indicates continued migration to Brothertown, New York from Rhode Island during the first part of the nineteenth century (see Fig. 8.1). In addition to the observed Narragansett clusters, Montaukett and Tunxis descendants also remained clustered in and around the heart of the settlement, and Mohegan descendants maintained their residential cluster in the southeast corner of Brothertown.

In 1820 some of the residential clusters remained while others began to dissipate. Montaukett and Mohegan residences remained clustered while Narragansett descendants spread across Brothertown, interspersing their residences with other ancestral tribal groups. Clusters of Narragansett descendants are visible on the map in the northeast, central, and southeast portions of the settlement, but not in numbers exceeding what would be expected in a random distribution (Cipolla, 2013). The Montaukett maintained their residential cluster in the northern central portion of the settlement while spreading southward. Likewise, the Mohegan maintained their residential cluster in the southeast portion of the settlement while spreading westward. As in previous decades, Niantic, Mashantucket Pequot, and Eastern Pequot descendants claimed relatively low numbers of lots in Brothertown.

By 1830 Narragansett descendants had spread across all of Brothertown, causing the frequency of contiguous Narragansett-occupied lots to spike again. They maintained their residential cluster in the northeast corner of the settlement, but most Narragansett descendants lived in either the central or southeastern portions of Brothertown. In fact, their numbers had increased so much by this time that most other ancestral tribal groups living in Brothertown began sharing lot boundaries with Narragansett descendants more so than any other group. In spite of these changes, Montaukett and Mohegan descendants still maintained their respective residential clusters in northern central and southeastern Brothertown. Consistent with the maps from previous decades, the 1830 map demonstrates the relatively low numbers of lots owned by Niantic, Mashantucket Pequot, and Eastern Pequot descendants.

Figure 8.3 depicts the settlement patterns of Brothertown, Wisconsin at two points during the nineteenth century. Consistent with patterns discussed above, Narragansett-descended Brothertown Indians were ubiquitous in the new settlement, owning a majority of the land in 1840. Instead of clustering in the northeast corner of the settlement as they did in New York, however, Narragansett descendants established a residential concentration in the northwest of Brothertown, Wisconsin, abutting the eastern shore of Lake Winnebago. Similarly, Mohegan descendants lived mainly in the southwest corner of the new settlement, also choosing spots close to Lake Winnebago. Rather than establishing residential clusters like the Narragansett and Mohegan, Montaukett descendants spread themselves fairly evenly throughout the new settlement. Of note, the 1840 data also speak to a sharp increase in the number of lots owned by Mashantucket Pequot and Eastern Pequot descendants compared to previous decades. Both groups maintained a loose residential cluster in the southern-central portion of the new Brothertown settlement. Interestingly, spatial relations between the loose clusters of Narragansett, Pequot, and Mohegan descendants on the eastern shore of Lake Winnebago roughly mirrored the geographical relationships of their ancestral homelands on the East Coast. That is, the sequence in Brothertown from north to south was the same as the east to west distribution of Narragansetts, Pequots, and Mohegans on the Atlantic Coast of Connecticut.

In the late nineteenth century, historian William DeLoss Love briefly mentioned a part of Brothertown, Wisconsin, known as "Pequot." He (Love, 1899: 328, italics added) explained the various toponyms used in the new Brothertown: "At first they named their town Deansborough, *though a certain locality was called Pequot*. It was also known as Manchester. The name is now Brothertown, in remembrance of their old home." In a letter sent to Milwaukee, Wisconsin, in the mid-nineteenth century, a Brothertown Indian named Thomas Commuck (1851) also wrote his return address as, "Pequot Wis." Although these sources omit any discussion of Pequot's location within the Brothertown settlement, the concentration of Pequot descendants—both Mashantucket and Eastern—in the southern-central portion of the settlement provides an invaluable clue to its potential whereabouts.

Quantitative analysis of the 1840 data supports this interpretation. Although all ancestral tribal groups represented by adequate sample sizes border lots owned by Narragansett descendants more so than any other group, the prevalence of residential clusters of Pequot descendants is still fairly high. For instance, nearly 30 % of the boundaries of Pequot-owned lots abutted lots owned by other Pequot descendants.

As seen in the second map of Fig. 8.3, it was during the late nineteenth century that non-Brothertown Indians came to own most of the land in Brothertown, Wisconsin. Although Brothertown Indians owned nearly every lot depicted in the 1840 map, the settlement consisted of only 30 Brothertown-owned lots by 1893. Despite these transformations, Narragansett-descended Brothertown Indians still owned more lots in Brothertown than any other ancestral tribal groups at the time.

To summarize, this brief analysis identified several ancestral tribal concentrations in the settlement patterns of the Brothertown Indians, each of which changed

through time. In the first few decades of the settlement's existence, Brothertown Indians of Narragansett, Mohegan, and Montaukett descent lived in loose residential clusters, or "neighborhoods," in Brothertown, New York. As time passed, these clusters generally dispersed and individuals and families of different tribal ancestries increasingly entangled themselves with one another in residential spaces across the landscape of Brothertown, New York. In Brothertown, Wisconsin, Narragansett and Mohegan-descended Brothertown Indians maintained loose neighborhoods, located respectively in the northwest and southwest corners of the new settlement. Similarly, a fairly large number of Pequot-descended Brothertown Indians also formed a loose neighborhood in the southern-central portion of the settlement, which might have been known by the toponym "Pequot." The sharp increase in lots owned by Pequot-descended Brothertown Indians in Wisconsin also demonstrates that some Brothertown Indians joined the community later than others, potentially moving to Brothertown, New York, in the 1830s or moving directly from the East Coast to Wisconsin in the mid-nineteenth century. William DeLoss Love (1899: 338, 349) notes that this was the case for at least a few Mashantucket and Eastern Pequot families. Finally, in the late nineteenth century, the Brothertown Indians began moving away from Brothertown. The final map in the analyzed sequence illustrates this transformation. By 1893, only a few Brothertown-owned lots remained, most located in the northwest and southwest corners of the township, with a few located in the center of the town and others spread out in the far western part of the settlement.

With a few exceptions, tribal neighborhoods slowly dissolved within the larger Brothertown community. Mohegan, Narragansett, Montaukett, Tunxis, Pequot, and Niantic descendants at Brothertown thus eventually came to see one another simply as Brothertown Indians and fellow community members. The reasons for this gradual shift were both genealogical and social in nature. As time passed, members of various ancestral tribal groups intermarried at Brothertown, creating new generations of mixed tribal ancestry while the community as a whole began to experience a shared history as Brothertown Indians that was simultaneously *local* and *nonlocal* (Lilley, 2004).

Materializing New Relationships

As the Brothertown Indians increasingly blurred intra-communal tribal distinctions in their settlement plans, they also manufactured, adopted, and inspired new forms of material culture. These forms shed light on intercommunal dynamics between members of the nascent Brothertown community, their new neighbors, and the ancestral tribal groups left behind on the East Coast.

Brothertown cemeteries and grave markers speak to the relationships forged between Brothertown Indians and their new Iroquoian neighbors. For instance, the earliest communal cemetery in Brothertown, New York, fused (nonlocal) coastal Algonquian traditions of death and burial with those of local Iroquoian groups

(Cipolla, 2010, 2011). Fowler Cemetery, located in the heart of the former Brothertown, New York, contains between 60 and 100 burials dating from the late eighteenth to the early nineteenth centuries. In addition to several handmade limestone grave markers typical of many East Coast groups of this period and one purchased marble gravestone, this cemetery primarily contains miniature burial mounds, approximately one to two feet in height, a few feet wide, and six or so feet in length. Given that eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Iroquoian burial traditions also involved several varieties of burial mound (Bushnell, 1920; Cipolla, 2010, 2011, 2013; Colden, 1904; White, 1967) and coastal Algonquian traditions did not, it seems likely that the earliest members of the Brothertown community adopted some local native burial traditions and fused them with their own Native-Christian belief system. These practices and their resulting materiality, of course, further positioned the Brothertown community in an interstitial space—not fully Iroquoian nor Algonquian, not fully Central New York State nor coastal New England.

The 1830s and 1840s were a time of great change for the Brothertown community, most evident in the start of their second emigration to current-day Wisconsin but also apparent in their cemeteries. During this time, the Brothertown Indians shifted from using locally produced "homemade" markers and mounds to "store-bought" stones bearing inscriptions written in the English language. Such markers typically list the deceased's name and biographical information. These new forms of commemoration sat between old ways and new ways and superficially mirrored the cemeteries of their new Euro-American "neighbors."

Headstone inscriptions from this period stand testament to the Brothertown Indians' unique social position. For example, an 1835 inscription reads, "Aaron Poquiantup, formerly a member of the Niahantic [sic] tribe of Indians, RI…" The phrasing of this inscription suggests that tribal membership tied closely with a specific homeland (Cipolla, 2011, 2013). It equates a location (Rhode Island) with the tribal identity "Nahantic." The location of Aaron Poquiantup's grave in Brothertown, New York (i.e., not in Rhode Island), reinforces the message sent by the tense of the inscription, further emphasizing that Poquiantup died as something other than a Niantic Indian. The reader is left to contemplate precisely who Aaron Poquiantup was after he left his home community for Brothertown.

For an example of the latter set of relationships mentioned above—between members of the new Brothertown community and those left behind on the East Coast—I turn to native basketry produced during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Anne McMullen's interpretations of changes in Mohegan basket décor during this time period [1987: 120–123; see also Fawcett (2000): 41, Fitzgerald (2008), and Tantaquidgeon and Fawcett (1987)] serve as a provocative point of comparison for patterns seen in Brothertown cemeteries. McMullen saw these changes as linked directly to the politics of the Brothertown Movement, particularly to the tensions between new members of the Brothertown community and those left behind in their respective homelands. Such baskets often bear stamped medallions—interpreted as representing groups of people such as the Mohegan—and borders or stockades—interpreted as representing reservation or other land boundaries (Fig. 8.4).

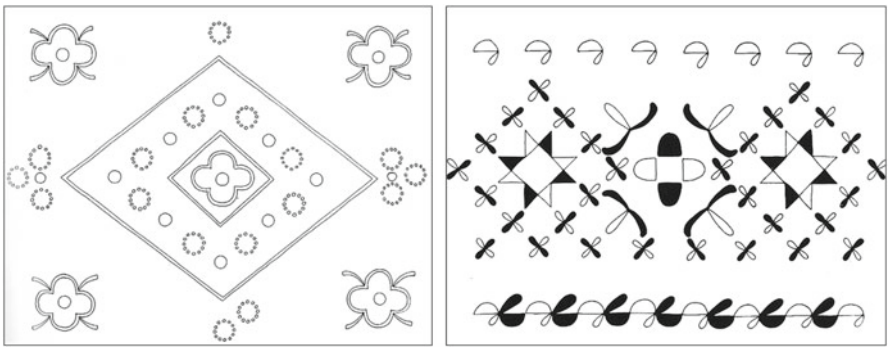

Fig. 8.4 Mohegan basket designs discussed by McMullen (1987: 115). The design on the *left* predates the Brothertown Movement; according to McMullen, the *central diamond-shaped* border represents Mohegan land boundaries, while the four-domed medallion within represents the Mohegan people. Those Mohegan peoples represented outside of the boundaries of the Mohegan land are similar to those within. The design on the right dates to the early nineteenth century; according to McMullen, the distinction between medallions inside and outside of the Mohegan land boundaries was meant to deny the Mohegan ancestries of those individuals that had joined the Brothertown Indian Movement (figure courtesy of the American Indian Archaeological Institute)

Baskets manufactured at Mohegan prior to the Brothertown Movement used the same types of stamped medallions both outside and inside the borders, while baskets manufactured during and after the founding of Brothertown, New York, use distinctly different medallions outside of the represented land boundaries. Following McMullen's logic, those Mohegan who chose to remain on their homelands in Connecticut during the late eighteenth century rather than joining the Brothertown Movement also intentionally marked distinctions between themselves and their relatives and friends who chose to leave. If this interpretation is correct, the baskets portray tribal and communal identity as fundamentally contingent on a physically shared homeland. They depicted the individuals and families who left that homeland as something other than Mohegan. Aaron Poquiantup's inscription suggests that new members of the Brothertown community held similar beliefs about leaving home and becoming part of a new tribe.

Solidifying Boundaries

Each of the changes discussed above also coincided with a much more pronounced social transformation associated with the Brothertown Movement, this one largely linguistic in nature. As the Brothertown Indians resituated homeland and materialized new relationships, they also solidified new social boundaries through clear shifts in *ethnonymy*, the naming of social groups. Similar to other cases of ethnogenesis (Merrell, 1989, 1999; Voss, 2008), those living at Brothertown eventually replaced

the traditional names of the groups from whence they came (i.e., "Narragansetts," "Eastern Pequots," "Mashantucket Pequots," "Mohegans," "Tunxis," "Niantics," and "Montauketts") with a new communal moniker (i.e., "Brothertown Indians"). By necessity, this change coincided with new uses and meanings of the name Brothertown. As evinced by the excerpt from Occom's journal included above, the name first appeared as a toponym in the late eighteenth century. This changed as Brothertown's inhabitants and their interlocutors began gradually transforming the toponym, or place name, into an ethnonym (Cipolla, 2012a, 2012b). In fact, this change was conventionalized to such a degree by the time of the Brothertown Indians' next emigration to current-day Wisconsin that they "took" the toponym with them; subsequent to their departure for Wisconsin, Brothertown, New York, became known as the towns of Waterville and Deansboro. These transformations attest to the mutual constitution of place and people (Ingold, 1993), revealing the importance of a shared space (e.g., the Brothertown settlement) in forging communal identities and the role that actual people played in constituting the place that they inhabited, bestowing upon it certain attributes or "senses" (Feld & Basso, 1996).

This emergent identity and ethnonym challenged the dominant social hierarchy by rendering the community difficult to classify in relation to contemporaneous Euro-American and native communities. The resulting cultural ambiguity—tied to the nonnative roots of the name Brothertown and its inclusion of the root word *brother*—assisted the Brothertown Indians in their negotiations of colonial politics, further bolstering their interstitial social position. The term *brother* in the name allowed multiple, competing interpretations depending on the reader or receiver, an ambiguity that helped the Brothertown Indians align their community with a diversity of addressees, both Indian and Euro-American. Terms of fictive kinship—specifically fictive brotherhood—sat on the boundary of at least two discursive conventions, one Christian and the other native (see Bragdon, 1997; Cipolla, 2012a, 2012b; Morgan, 1962; Murray, 1998). The meaning one ascribed to *brother* in such instances depended on the classification of the overall work in which it appeared and on the orientation of the receiver (Hanks, 1987; Morson, 1981).

Discussion and Conclusions

This brief exploration of Brothertown history reveals both the nuances and significance of large-scale population movements in colonial and postcolonial North America (also see the vast literature concerning African diasporas). The settlement patterns highlighted in this chapter speak to the social and cultural ramifications of such movements. The community first organized itself spatially in terms of the tribal ancestries of its members, but these intra-communal boundaries wore thin as time passed. Both settlement and cemetery patterns of Wisconsin speak to a decreased emphasis on ancestral tribal kinship networks with the community (Cipolla, 2010, 2013). Rather than identifying as Narragansetts, Pequots, or

otherwise, new generations clearly saw themselves as part of a new ethnic community: the Brothertown Indians.

The observed shifts in settlement patterns resulted only from the new forms of social interaction and experience that came with the passage of time in *resituated homelands*. Although these processes of movement and adjustment certainly transformed them, it is important to point out that they never fully erased memories, practices, and materials related to the Brothertown Indians' ancestral homelands. As demonstrated by the grave markers, cemeteries, baskets, and ethnonyms discussed above, the Brothertown Indians occupied an interstitial space that was simultaneously local and nonlocal (Lilley, 2004, 2006).

The associated material culture also demonstrates that key parts of such movements are the opportunities and spaces that they create for starting anew and rematerializing surroundings. Free from the material and social constraints of their traditional homelands, Brothertown Indians engaged in new forms of burial practice, commemoration, and identification. These emergent forms were clearly influenced by the novel networks of people and things forged through movement. At first, the Brothertown Indians engaged in burial practices that fused Iroquoian and Algonquian ways of doing, but they soon shifted to a new fusion of Euro-American and Algonquian, creating and inhabiting new interstitial social and cultural spaces. Moreover, the observed changes in basketry speak to the ways in which such movements establish boundaries between those who move away and those who stay behind. A new communal name (i.e., "the Brothertown Indians") served to further augment such rifts, creating a resituated (mobile) community.

The practices, materials, and language of Brothertown history speak to the centrality of movement in this case of ethnogenesis. More broadly, this chapter demonstrates the need for practitioners working in native North America to consider movement and diaspora more closely in their research. Fundamental components of such movements are the interstitial spaces that they create and recreate through space and time. For Samson Occom, these spaces were clearly a means of revitalization, survival, and perseverance. Taking the long-view perspective of archaeology, however, it is also clear they created new communities and identities that challenged extant schemes of social and cultural organization.

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Chapter 9
The Global Versus the Local: Modeling the British System of Convict Transportation After 1830

Sean Winter

Introduction

Convict transportation, the process of sending convicted criminals to overseas colonies for punishment, was part of the European colonial diaspora after C.E. 1600. Along with slavery and indentured labor, it was one of the three global forced labor migrations and resulted in the movement of up to a million people between 1640 and 1920 (Pearson, 1999). The system was global and long running, enacted by a number of European countries and their dependent colonies. As with slavery, the voices of those transported have often been muted within the historical process. Negative generalizations of convicts have obscured the far more complex nature of human interactions operating within the convict system. Moreover, the nature of the convict system resulted in significant material remains, making transportation a prime candidate for archaeological analysis. Typically, archaeological investigations of convict transportation have concentrated on individual sites and colonies, examining the impact of convictism at specific times and places. The archaeology of the Australian convict colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land has been extensively examined, and major studies by Kerr (1984), Karskens (1984, 1997, 1999), Casella (1999, 2000, 2001), and others have contributed greatly to the understanding of the convict experience. However, convict transportation was a global process, and the archaeology of convictism in other penal colonies is less well understood.

This chapter examines the British system of convict transportation. Its scope is global rather than local, and it models this system as a network of places and sites, through which people, things, and ideas moved, based on set bureaucratic structures. I argue that by the mid-nineteenth century, there was a set model for penal colonies

S. Winter (✉)
Archaeology, M405, School of Social and Cultural Studies, University of Western Australia, 35 Stirling Highway, Crawley, WA 6009, Australia
e-mail: wintes01@student.uwa.edu.au

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that was applied equally in places as diverse as Bermuda, Gibraltar, and Western Australia. I also argue, however, that the local needs of each individual colony worked to transform this standard model and that this led to unique local expressions of the larger global system.

Both Pearson (1999) and Maxwell-Stewart (2010) have discussed the global nature of convict transportation. Pearson was concerned with providing a global context for transportation to Australia and suggested that convictism was informed by two themes: the use of convict labor for colony building and strategic purposes and the removal of unwanted criminals from their country of origin. Maxwell-Stewart, concentrating primarily on the history of British convict transportation, showed that changes to the system were intrinsically linked to changes in penal theory. Here I follow Pearson and Maxwell-Stewart in positioning British convict transportation as a global system that changed over time, dependent upon developments in penal theory and strategic British need.

The Development of the System over Time

British convict transportation can be divided into three distinct chronological phases (Figs. 9.1 and 9.2) based on changes to the system over time. Changes were influenced by a combination of general impacts, such as geopolitical change and the strategic needs of Empire, and specific impacts, such as administrative developments and advances in penal theory. The chronological demarcation point between phases is arbitrary as there was no clear point where one phase ended and another began. As such, phases are defined based on changes across a range of factors. Generally the system developed from extremely ad hoc to extremely well organized.

Phase One: The Western Hemisphere

Phase one, from ca.1640 to 1780, was centered on the British sphere of influence in the Western Hemisphere and involved transportation to colonies in the Americas and the Caribbean, as well as a short-lived experiment in West Africa (Pearson, 1999). During phase one, the motivation for transportation was primarily the removal of unwanted criminals from Britain, with the utilization of their labor in the colonies, a collateral benefit of this removal. British governmental influence was limited to the passing of legislation that allowed for the transportation of convicted criminals and of laws that defined how this was to occur. From that point, however, the process was enacted in the commercial sphere, with convict labor being bought and sold by private traders (Maxwell-Stewart, 2010; Morgan, 1985). There was no government bureaucracy in phase one; convict transportation was operated as part of, and thus virtually indistinguishable from, the transatlantic trade in indentured servants (Grubb, 2000). The welfare of convicts was entirely in the hands of private firms. Consequently there was limited infrastructure associated with the housing and organization of convicts in the American colonies. While there were exceptions,

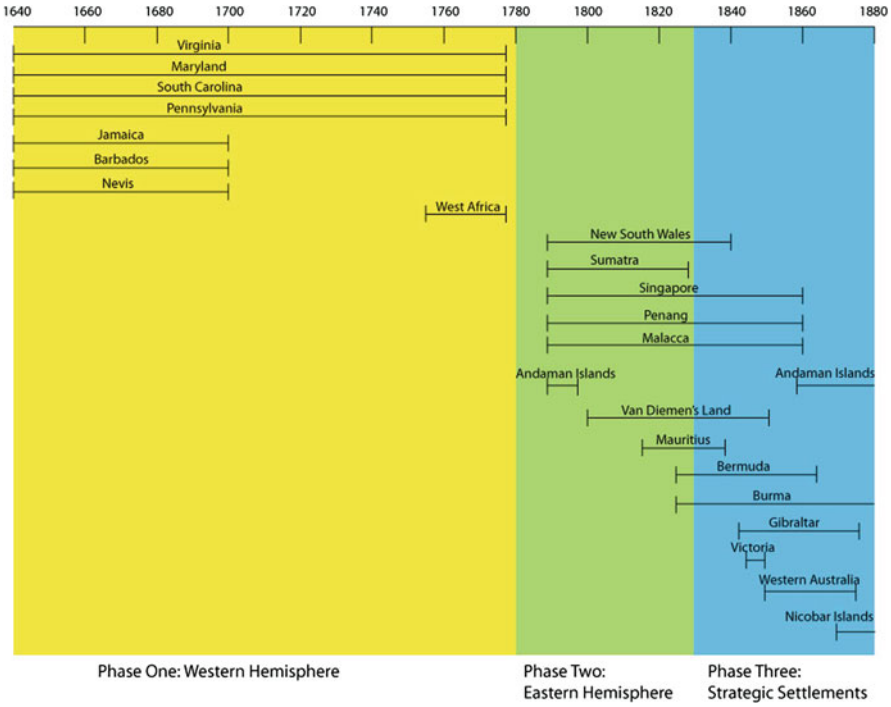

Fig. 9.1 Chronology of British penal colonies (figure by Sean Winter)

transactions for the sale of individual convicts primarily took place aboard ship, and they were usually bought individually rather than in large numbers (Morgan, 1985). Convicts were absorbed into private service, and the American and Caribbean colonies generally did not have large convict sites as seen in phases two and three.

Phase Two: The Eastern Hemisphere

The American Revolution brought a cessation of transportation to the Western Hemisphere, and the British sphere of influence shifted to the east. Phase two, from ca. 1780 to 1830, saw the largest number of convicts transported and the use of transportation as a tool of Empire. The Australian penal colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land were established to receive British convicts, while penal colonies to receive convicts from the British colonies in India were established in Mauritius, Sumatra, Burma, Singapore, Penang, and the Straits of Malacca (Pearson, 1999). Maxwell-Stewart (2010) suggests this demarcation between colonies for British and Indian convicts was designed to maintain racial segregation and purity and was unrelated to differences in their operation. Motivation for transportation shifted from the simple removal of unwanted criminals to the use of convict labor to meet the strategic needs of the British Empire. Convict labor became a tool

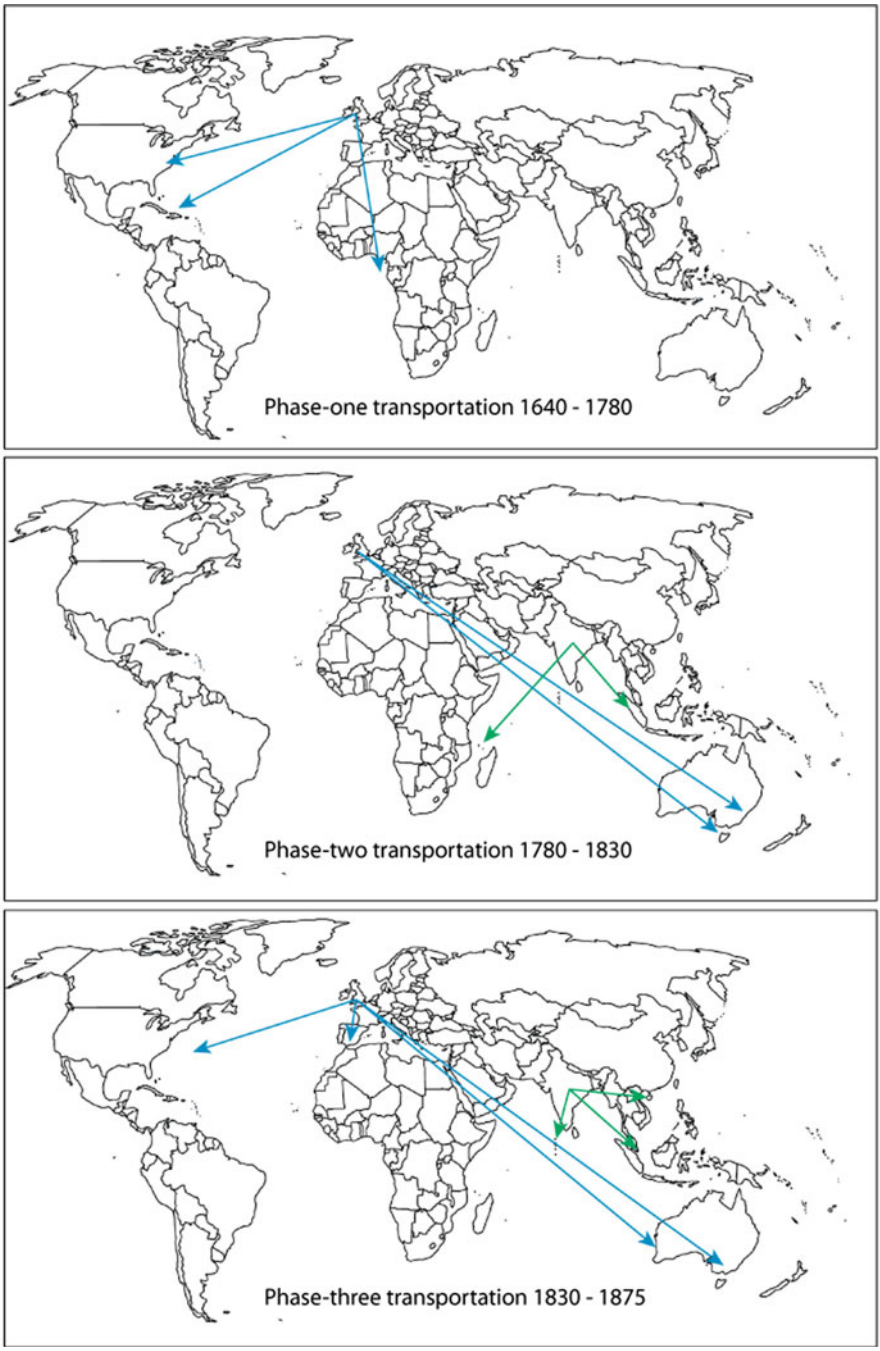

Fig. 9.2 World map showing convict movement during different time periods (figure by Sean Winter)

for the expansion of the Empire into new zones of influence. Developing penal theory also necessitated the need for greater control over the system, and it was during phase two that a specific penal bureaucracy developed. By 1830 this bureaucracy could be characterized as fully developed.

Crucially, phase two saw the operation of the convict system move from the private to the public sector. The new Australian colonies were established specifically to house a convict population and to allow for British expansion into new zones of influence (Hughes, 1987). These new colonies had civilian, military, and convict populations and were run by British government officials. At the end of the eighteenth century, there was little to distinguish civilian from convict in New South Wales (Karskens, 1997, 1999), but during the nineteenth century, the treatment of convicts became increasingly rigid and systems of control were formalized. Over time convicts were increasingly positioned as separate from colonial society rather than integrated within it. Phase two also saw the increasing adoption of penal theory in which the reform of convicts through processes such as surveillance, solitary confinement, religious instruction, and hard labor gained precedence over simple banishment (Foucault, 1995). Traditional approaches of capital and corporal punishment, transportation, and incarceration were carried out in public and were based in concepts of punishment of the human body. Punishment was, in and of itself, the end result of criminal behavior. The new theory emphasized control of the criminal mind, and punishment was carried out in private, becoming part of a process designed to reform criminals and make them useful members of society. The old styles of punishment were seen as contrary to this goal. Instead, the new theory required greater control over individual convicts, the application of specific reform processes, and the development of an attendant bureaucracy to insure the efficacy of this control. The application of this new theory was based on the incarceration of criminals in specifically designed penitentiaries (Ignatieff, 1978).

Phase Three: Specific Strategic Interests

Phase three, from ca. 1830 to 1875, saw a shift to the use of transportation to meet very specific British strategic needs. Large convict colonies were replaced by smaller penal stations, housing small numbers of convicts. In contrast to phase two, where hundreds of thousands of convicts were transported, new colonies established during phase three received relatively small numbers. Approximately 30,000 British convicts were transported to colonies in Bermuda, Gibraltar, Western Australia, and through a limited form of transportation, to Victoria, southeast Australia. New colonies were also established in the Nicobar and Andaman Islands for Indian convicts (Pearson, 1999). Phase three saw the end of the eastern Australian penal colonies, largely as a result of resistance from an increasingly prosperous free society (Hughes, 1987). Likewise the penal colonies in Mauritius and Sumatra were discontinued. Interestingly, the Asian Straits colonies continued throughout this phase, and arguments for the abolition of transportation as it approximated slavery seem to have been confined to

British rather than Indian transportees. Anderson (2010) suggests that transportation was used to banish politically dangerous Indian prisoners, removing their political influence and helping maintain the hegemony of the East India Company. The 1837 Molesworth Committee recommended an end to transportation in favor of the wide-scale use of penitentiaries in the UK (Hughes, 1987; Maxwell-Stewart, 2010). The British government, however, chose a compromise that saw convict transportation continued throughout the nineteenth century where strategically expedient, but discontinued as a large-scale practice.

In phase three the bureaucracy was fully developed and operated along specific lines. Central control had increased with all major decisions made at the seat of British government in Whitehall, London. This bureaucracy had a general model for the establishment and running of a new penal colony, which implicitly included systems for the treatment, classification, reform, and punishment of convicts, for appropriate buildings in which they would be housed, for the local administration of the system, and a range of other instructions. Although the four penal colonies established for British convicts during phase three were set up based on different motivations, the same administrative considerations would have been applied to each. Both Gibraltar and Bermuda were important strategic military outposts, and convict labor was used at each to build military fortifications. In Australia, convictism was intended to ease crippling labor shortages in the Western Australian and Victorian colonies. Crucial to the uniformity of this model was the use of the Royal Engineers Corps in the design, implementation, and running of the system in every colony from the 1830s onwards (Kerr, 1984). Initially, the Royal Engineers were responsible purely for the design of convict infrastructure, but over time they became involved in every aspect of the operation of the convict system. For example, the Comptroller General in Western Australia, Edward Henderson, and his four subordinate officers were all Royal Engineers, charged both with the design and the running of the Western Australian convict system (Hasluck, 1973). Officers of the Royal Engineers were all educated at the academy at Chatham (Nilsson, 1969) and used standard architectural pattern books providing basic designs for structures (Long, 2002; Zabiello, 2004). Convict places, such as prisons, regional depots and stations, and other convict sites, were all consequently designed to the same standard and based on specific designs. Each colony had a Comptroller of Convicts, who was required to report to Whitehall using specific formats, and these reports all went to the same man, the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The overarching characteristic of phase three convictism was uniformity.

Modeling Movement Within the System

The British transportation system clearly changed over time, and it is consequently difficult to develop a specific model that can be applied from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. Nevertheless the operation of the bureaucracy in phase three makes it possible to model general aspects of the network that can be applied to

specific convict sites regardless of their global position. Between 1830 and 1880 the British penal network consisted of 13 colonies (see Fig. 9.1) and a central administration in Whitehall. Individual penal colonies were not autonomous; they had limited capacity to make decisions about their operation. The administration in each colony had the capacity to make decisions about the day-to-day running of the system, but all important decisions were referred to Whitehall, particularly those that involved considerable expenditure of funds. While Whitehall did appear to consider the different needs of individual colonies, one central administration was making policy decisions that had equal effect on places across the globe. While the various colonies were geographically distant from each other, they were connected to Britain by this global network. Movement of information, people, and material culture within this system can be modeled as shown in Fig. 9.3.

Flow of Information

Information flow was two-way between Whitehall and each colony. Information was generated by Whitehall in the form of policy and instructions and flowed back from the colony as reports and requests. There was no information flow between colonies; all business was transacted through Whitehall. For example, discussions about the potential transfer of Indian mutineers to Western Australia did not take place between the two colonies. Instead both colonies made submissions to Whitehall, and although the dialogue was really between Western Australia and India, it was transacted through Whitehall (e.g., Hutt, 1859).

Reports were carried via ship, resulting in a time lag between instructions being given and received. Information traveled as dispatches between Whitehall and colony, and the Comptroller General in each colony was expected to provide six monthly reports on the running of the convict system in that colony. After 1858 each colony was requested to provide these reports using the same basic format (Stanley, 1859). The information that flowed then was consistent, and the system insured uniformity of this flow throughout the convict network.

Flow of People

As with the movement of information, different people moved in different directions within the system. The movement of convicts was implicitly one way out of Britain to the colonies, and the system was set up to discourage their return. During phase one, convicts who returned to Britain before the end of their sentence faced execution (Morgan, 1985). Later, the adoption of the system of "conditional pardons" freed convicts in the colonies but prohibited them from returning to Britain. Likewise, while the system provided for the movement of convicts out of Britain in transport ships, it made no provision for their return once their sentence expired. Time-expired

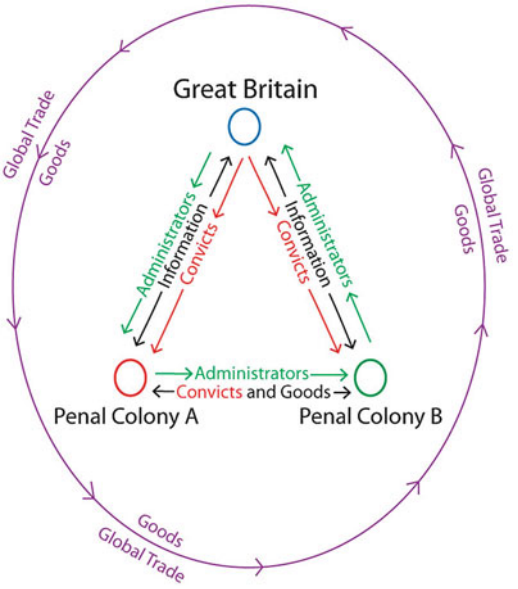

Fig. 9.3 Model of the movement of information, goods, and people within the global convict system (figure by Sean Winter)

convicts wishing to return home had to organize transport themselves. While some convicts inevitably returned to Britain, the vast majority did not. There was, however, movement of convicts between colonies, both before and after the expiration of sentences. Convicts were transferred between penal colonies, and expirees moved of their own free will. This move could be on a global scale, such as convicts being transferred from Bermuda to Western Australia (Mitchell, 1997) or from Mauritius to New South Wales (Anderson, 2000). Decisions about where in the network individual convicts would be sent appear in some cases to have been considered, in others to have been arbitrary. Skilled convicts were much in demand, and Whitehall sent them where they were most needed. For example, in 1850 it was considered that a shipload of convict artificers would be more of a strategic asset in Bermuda and so it was diverted from its original destination of Western Australia (Jebb, 1851).

Crucially, it was not just convicts who moved within the system. The movement of convict administrators, both military and civilian, unlike that of convicts, was two-way, with men sent out to the colonies for a certain period of time, then returning to the UK, bringing their knowledge and experience back with them. They also transferred between colonies, insuring that experience and knowledge flowed throughout the network. For example, when Henderson arrived in Western Australia in 1850 to take up the position of Comptroller General, he was bringing with him skills learned as a junior officer in Canada (Campbell, 1979). Between postings in the two colonies, he spent time working in Whitehall, feeding his experience back into the system. In 1863 Henderson returned to Britain to take up the post of Surveyor General of Prisons (Hasluck, 1973). Likewise, J.S. Hampton served first as a Surgeon-superintendent

on a convict transport ship, then as Comptroller General of convicts in Van Diemen's Land, and finally as Governor of Western Australia (Hughes, 1987; Kerr, 1984). This movement of career officers and administrators within the system was crucial for insuring a uniformity of approach among different colonies.

Both convicts and administrators brought with them a specific British cultural package that would have impacted the places they traveled to. Lawrence (2003) provides an extensive discussion of what is meant by the term "British," suggesting that the term encompasses a wide range of meanings, ethnicities, and ideologies, which in the nineteenth century was implicitly linked with concepts of Empire and imperialism through which concepts of Britishness were transferred. These included a tendency to impose order on new places through the use of systems such as surveying unknown territory, classifying Indigenous inhabitants, the use of European architectural and planning styles, and the development of administrative processes (Seretis, 2003). The movement of people and ideas as part of transportation also involved the movement of British culture and ways of making new environments conform to British ideas of order.

Flow of Material Culture

As with people there was movement of capital and goods both as an official part of the system and as a consequence of it. Each colony provided budgetary estimates to Whitehall and was provided with cash to run the colony based on those estimates. The commissariat in each colony then used that money to source goods as required. Some of these goods were sourced locally, but many others were brought from outside the colony (Fitzgerald, 1852). As such, the penal system stimulated local economies and tied colonies into global trade networks. Archaeological and historical evidence suggests that the sourcing and transport of goods was intrinsically tied into developing global capitalist trade networks. For example, Favell and Bousfield, a private piecework clothing firm based in London, used convict labor in Millbank Prison to produce general workman's clothes (Mayhew and Binney, 2011). Buttons, excavated at the York convict depot in Western Australia and embossed with the words Favell and Bousfield, suggest that this private firm then sold these clothes to the government, to be sent to the colonies and issued to ticket-of-leave convicts.

As this demonstrates, much of the material culture associated with the convict system was the same as that used in general society. Only a very small amount of material culture was specific to the convict system. This included official items provided for the running of the system such as clothes (convict uniforms), restraints (chains, manacles), and official government equipment (weights and measures, sextants). A whole range of other artifacts such as everyday tools (shovels, axes), structural materials (bricks, door locks, hinges), utensils (spoons and plates), and books (bibles, regulations) can be identified as related to convicts by being stamped with the government broad arrow (Ball, 1997). Items stamped with a broad arrow (Fig. 9.4) identified their owner as a "government man" (i.e., convict). Other classes of material

Fig. 9.4 Convict uniform stamped with the *broad arrow* (Photo courtesy of Fremantle Prison)

culture, such as convict love tokens, have been interpreted as an expression of convict resistance to transportation (Millett, 1998). The vast majority of artifacts recovered from excavations at convict sites, however, are everyday items widely available within society. For example, out of the convict-era assemblage comprising 1,915 artifacts excavated at the York convict depot in Western Australia, only two (a piece of chain and a brick marked with a broad arrow) were identifiable by diagnostic characteristics as specific convict artifacts. The rest of the assemblage comprised everyday mass-produced items, produced in Europe and North America and transported to Australia. As such, their use by convicts had to be inferred by context.

One class of material culture specifically associated with the convict system was the built environment, typically transferred first as ideas, then built locally within each colony, although building materials were also often transported from Britain. Kerr (1984) has shown convincingly how the buildings of the various Australian penal colonies had similar designs based on prevailing theory about the treatment, punishment, and reform of prisoners. Phase three Australian prisons were based on the two standard British prison designs exemplified by Pentonville and Portland prisons. While built in a different continent, Australian prisons were essentially British prisons in design and operation. Kerr also demonstrates that a range of other structures, such as barracks, hospitals, asylums, privies, stockades, and offices were built based on standard designs.

Defining and Analyzing Convict Sites

The nature of the convict system over time resulted in a range of convict experiences. As such, virtually any place where convicts lived or worked can be defined

as a convict site (Gojak, 2001). The classic convict site type is the prison, and these buildings dot the landscape in previous convict colonies such as Van Diemen's Land and Western Australia. Convicts were present within all levels of society, however, and administrative arrangements such as the assignment and ticket-of-leave systems saw convicts living and working within free society. Both Connah (2001) and Karskens (1999) have demonstrated that the experience of assigned convicts living within free sites in Australia can be seen only through a careful examination of both historical and archaeological data, and a similar approach would be required to identify the presence of phase one convicts within North American free society.

Positioning convictism as a three-phase system that moved on a chronological bureaucratic continuum from ad hoc to extremely organized allows an analytic framework for investigating convict sites. Generally speaking phase one convictism had no specific convict sites, phase two saw a range of different but developing convict places, and phase three saw specific site types develop. Commensurate with the development of the convict bureaucracy was the development of a related documentary record, which can be used to identify the presence of convicts and interpret sites. Unfortunately phase one, which has the least obvious convict sites, also has the most limited documentary record, while phase three, with its well defined and uniform convict places, has the largest corpus of historical evidence.

Intersections Between the Model and Local Considerations

As the model for convict transportation provided here is general rather than specific, individual considerations at each penal colony must be taken into account. Ongoing research in Western Australia provides an appropriate case study to examine how the imposition of the phase three model intersected with the needs of a specific place at a specific time. Western Australia, initially settled as a free colony in 1829, struggled throughout its first 20 years until at the end of the 1840s; it became the only British free colony to request conversion to penal status. At the time, Western Australia was the most isolated colony in the British Empire, rarely visited by ships (Statham, 1981). Between 1850 and 1868, 9,720 male convicts (Bateson, 1974) were transported to Western Australia; the penal system was officially disbanded ca. 1875. During those 25 years the penal system tied Western Australia into global trade networks, increased the population of the colony fivefold to over 25,000, and allowed the construction of a range of infrastructural elements.

All aspects of the convict model discussed above were applied in Western Australia. The needs of the Western Australian colony were simple; it needed labor and capital to allow the development of industry and the construction of much-needed public infrastructure (Hutt, 1851; Statham, 1981). The administration in Whitehall acknowledged these local needs, and there was a clear attempt to apply the penal system in such a way that they were met. The philosophical underpinning of penal theory, however, also necessitated the control and reformation of prisoners through incarceration in penitentiaries (Ignatieff, 1978). This was problematic as the small Western Australian population was widely geographically dispersed and the labor needs were

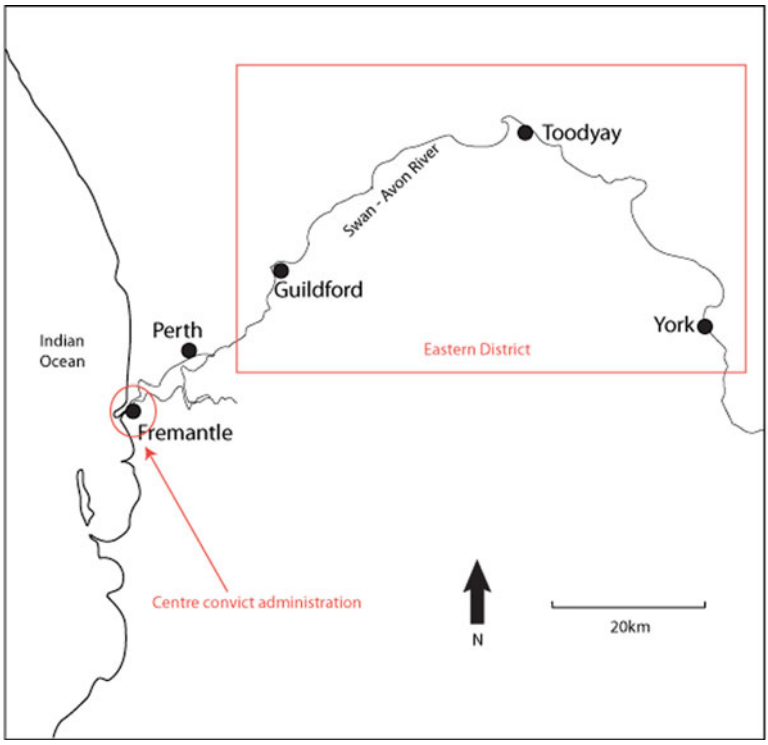

Fig. 9.5 Plan of the Eastern district showing location of convict depot sites (figure by Sean Winter)

largely for individual convicts working in isolated pastoral settings. The needs of the colony, then, were in some ways incompatible with those of the convict system.

Archaeological investigation of the Western Australian convict system has revealed how this tension between competing needs was met. The system was organized spatially around a central administrative hub at Fremantle, surrounded by a network of small regional hiring depots (Trinca, 1993). A penitentiary and a range of administrative structures designed to run the system were built at Fremantle. The rest of Western Australia was broken into districts, and labor needs were serviced by a network of hiring depots situated in regional population centers (Gibbs, 2001). Archaeological investigation of three hiring depots in the Eastern District (Fig. 9.5), situated in the settlements of Guildford, Toodyay, and York, has demonstrated a distinctly different approach to the treatment of convicts to that used at Fremantle.

The design of Fremantle Prison (top of Fig. 9.6) was an amalgam of Portland and Pentonville penitentiaries. In form it was a model prison, designed to allow the reform of offenders. Convicts arriving in Western Australia could see it from their ship, and they were immediately incarcerated in the prison where a range of classificatory and surveillance systems, intrinsically defined by current penal theory, were used to encourage their reform (Millett, 2007). As such it was exactly what was required by the convict system as defined by Whitehall. Archaeological investigation

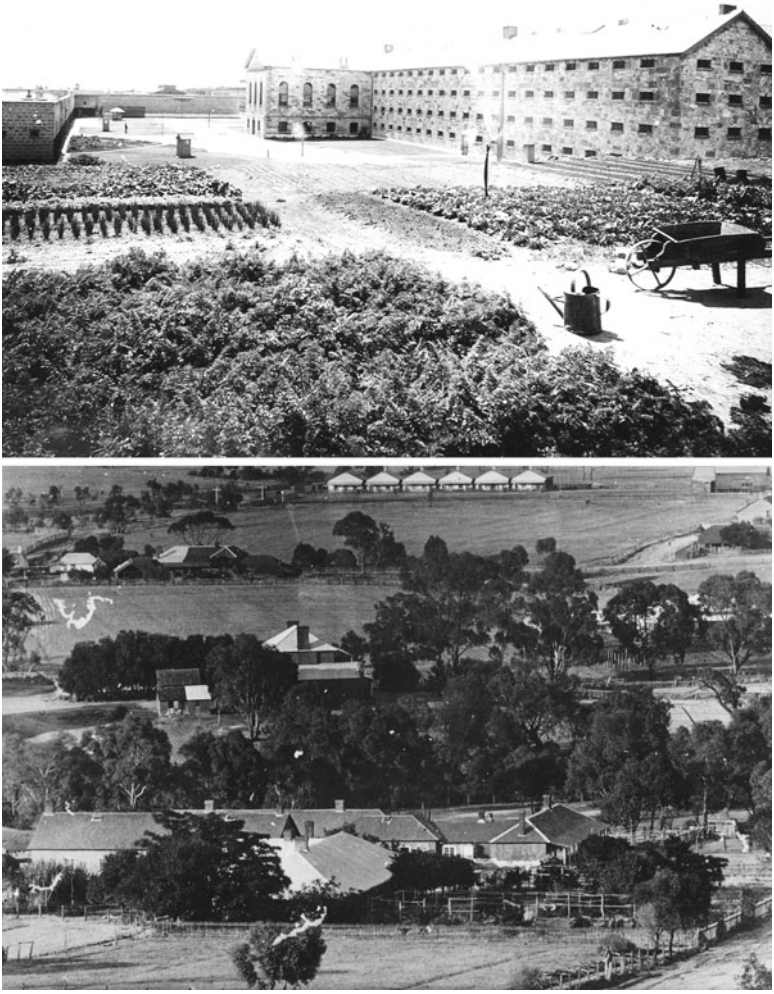

Fig. 9.6 *Top*: Fremantle Prison, ca. 1911 (Photo courtesy of Fremantle Prison). *Bottom*: York Convict Depot, ca.1880s (Photo courtesy of Shire of York Residency Museum P1998.178)

by Bavin (1994) demonstrated that the life of convicts within the prison was heavily monitored and controlled and that the prison design and systems were all aimed at convict reform. Convicts moved through a hierarchy of reform and graduated to a ticket-of-leave when they demonstrated trustworthy behavior for a defined period of time (Millett, 2007). Ticket-of-leave convicts were sent to the regions and initially housed in hiring depots.

These regional convict depots were designed to facilitate labor access for free settlers and evince no evidence of reformative processes. In the regions, what was needed was convict labor, not convict reform, and the convict depots were crucial in allowing settlers to access this convict labor. The high walls and intense security of a prison were contrary to this need. The analogous site types in Van Diemen's Land from the 1840s, the high-security probation stations, had been an abject failure at providing labor access (Brand, 1990). In regional Western Australia, the need was for contact between settlers and convicts rather than separation. The buildings at the depot sites were based on standard designs. Excavation and historical research at the Toodyay and York depots, however, has shown no evidence of boundary walls, restraints, or any physical control of convicts. Convicts at both sites lived in tents for a considerable period of time before barracks were built to house them (DuCane, 1853). Once built the convict barracks had glass windows rather than bars. The bottom of Fig. 9.6, a photograph of the York depot from the 1880s, shows that it is surrounded by a picket fence rather than a wall.

Contrary to contemporary penal theory, the material evidence suggests that security, reform, and control were low priorities at regional convict depots. Regional convicts had the capacity to earn money, and the artifact assemblages from Toodyay and York depots show they used this economic freedom to purchase basic consumer goods. Excavation at both sites returned a range of material evidence that suggests regional convicts had ample access to good food, tobacco, alcohol, patent medicines, and other consumer goods. These artifacts were recovered from open contexts, suggesting that their consumption was openly tolerated. This is directly contrary to evidence from other Australian penal colonies where the consumption of tobacco and alcohol was forbidden and the presence of these has been interpreted as evidence of convict resistance (e.g., Casella, 2001; Starr, 2001). Traditional theoretical models that have emphasized domination and resistance to interpret total institutions such as convict prisons (Casella, 2009) have little traction in interpreting Western Australian regional convict sites. Instead models that emphasize personal agency and the capacity for convicts to be actors in their own reform have greater utility as interpretive frameworks.

The dichotomy between security arrangements at Fremantle Prison and the regional hiring depots demonstrates how the needs of both the colony and the system were met. The high-security prison was based on the latest in penal theory and met the needs of the system to control and reform recalcitrant convicts. The low-security hiring depots allowed for settler access to convict labor. Both prison and hiring depots combined to form a unique expression of the global penal system and in doing so met the needs of both Whitehall and Western Australia.

The Global Versus the Local

The global nature of the British convict system allows a framework for understanding and interpreting archaeological data derived from convict sites. This global model suggests that there will be considerable similarities between the physical

remains of contemporary but geographically separated penal colonies. Modeling the convict system in this way suggests that colonies operating in the same time periods would have a fairly consistent archaeological signature characterized by similar buildings and material culture. Convict sites at places as geographically isolated from each other as Bermuda, Gibraltar, and Western Australia had similarities across a range of factors. This model therefore potentially allows the comparison and interpretation of convict sites at a global scale.

Competing with this global convict framework, however, were specific local interests and motivations that impacted on the way individual penal colonies developed. The motivations for the establishment of penal colonies at Bermuda, Gibraltar, and Western Australia were very different. These local motivations must consequently be taken into account when considering the archaeological remains at convict sites. Factors that need to be considered include the specific reason the colony was enacted, the needs of the local civilian population, the agency of individuals, and specific systems that were developed at individual penal colonies. These local considerations insured that each British penal colony expressed both unique and uniform aspects in each of the three phases of the convict system.

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Chapter 10
Movement and Liminality at the Margins: The Wandering Poor in Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts

Karen A. Hutchins

In the winter of 1755, the town of Plympton, Massachusetts expelled a young couple and their toddler daughter from the town boundaries (Plymouth County Court of General Sessions of the Peace [PCCGS], 1755). Down on his luck as a shoemaker and not receiving wages owed him for farm labor, Japheth Rickard had moved his family from Middleborough to Plympton in search of economic opportunity (Plymouth County Court of Common Pleas [PCCCP], 1756, 1757). Failing to find work and attracting the scrutiny of Plympton selectmen, the family was forced from town. They moved to Kingston, Massachusetts, where in August, Martha Rickard gave birth to another daughter "at a place called the Parting Ways" (Town of Kingston (Mass.), 1911: 120). Japheth Rickard, his wife, and two young daughters were again threatened with expulsion in December, but they remained at Parting Ways (PCCGS, 1756a; Plymouth County Registry of Deeds [PCRD], 1774). In the same year, an older couple, Seth and Deborah Fuller, fell on hard economic times. The town of Kingston notified the Fullers in May of 1755 that they needed to leave the town as they were not residents. On December 19 the town forced the Fuller family out of the town limits of Kingston (PCCGS, 1756b). Eventually, the Fuller family arrived and settled at Parting Ways (Town of Plymouth (Mass.), 1903: 206). The Rickard family was once again "warned out" of Kingston in the winter of 1755, but the family did not leave. The family continued to live right across the town line from the Fuller family for over a decade.

This place, "the Parting Ways," became a haven for several families driven out, made transient, and labeled outcasts. The practice of Massachusetts towns "warning out" poor individuals and families who otherwise would drain the town's poor relief funds created a class of economically disadvantaged people who were always on the

K.A. Hutchins (✉)
Department of Archaeology, Boston University, 344 Carson St.,
Philadelphia, PA 19128, USA
e-mail: hutchins@bu.edu

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move, perpetual strangers who never fit into the rigid cultural, social, and legal boundaries of eighteenth-century Massachusetts society. I argue here that the ability of the Parting Ways site to function as a refuge for members of society's unfortunate was directly related to the liminal status of the property and its eventual inhabitants. The "betwixt and between" status of people and place afforded social, political, and legal flexibility and mobility that enabled the transient families to settle at Parting Ways while they remained unwanted elsewhere.

Movement and Liminality

The Rickard and Fuller families represented marginal individuals, moving across both the physical and social landscape and struggling to find a place to belong. The study of movement within archaeology often focuses on the embodied movement through a landscape—the motion of processing from one place to another. Through the study of landscape and the progression through the landscape, archaeologists have addressed a variety of issues including ritual practice, contested spaces, conflict, resistance, dominant ideologies, and the construction of identity and place (e.g., Bender, 1998; De Cunzo, 1995; Ingold, 1993; Leone, 2005; Thomas, 1996; Yamin & Metheny, 1996). Some of these studies directly address movement, while others implicitly refer to movement in their understanding of landscape as culturally structuring. But movement is not only a physical state or an embodied practice. The term also implies all types of shifts, changes, and progress. People do not just move in space; they move up and down the social ladder, get promoted or lose their job, and go from being a model citizen to a suspicious character. In this way one can be in physical motion or in motion socially, politically, or legally as a person or place changes position, value, or status.

Sometimes in life, these kinds of changes happen all at once; one minute you are a shoemaker with an income, a home, and community, and the next minute, nothing is certain. Everything is changing, everything is uncertain, until the point if/when a new place is found and a new set of certainties is established. This often also involves physical movement, as it did for the people discussed above, who were turned out of their homes and forced to wander the roads of Eastern Massachusetts in search of a place to create stability. People and places that are in motion like this can be said to occupy liminal states. The word *liminal* is defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary* as "occupying a position at, or on both sides of, a boundary or threshold" or as "relating to a transitional or initial stage of a process." I use the term liminal to describe the state (position, status, or role) a person or place holds in between two known identities—one is neither one thing nor another. Where my definition and use of the term differs from the definition classically defined by Victor Turner (e.g., 1967, 1969, 1974) is that liminality does not involve the stripping of all identity but rather the appropriation of aspects of multiple identities. Turner (1974: 232) argues that "during the liminal period, the state of the ritual subject…becomes ambiguous, neither here nor there, betwixt and between all fixed

points of classification." For Turner, the liminal state was a specific part of a ritual transition—a state of nothingness, seclusion, reduction, and detachment. I argue, however, that when one is nothing, one has the potential to be anything; in being "neither here nor there," one is actually both here and there. For example, the American college student leaves home to live on his own; the student is responsible for feeding himself and doing his own laundry. But this student returns home in the summers to be taken care of by his parents. The college student is neither completely a dependent child nor is he a full adult with all of the responsibilities of taking care of himself. But at any given moment, he may act or function as a child or an adult.

Inherent in the term, liminal is an expectation of transition or movement. Drawing on aspects of both definitions—"the position at, or on both sides of, a boundary" and "transitional"—the concept of liminality conveys a sense of movement or the potential for movement. A liminal state is, therefore, the process of moving from one state to another and the interplay between states. For my purposes here, contra Turner's notion that the liminal is a temporary state to be resolved (Turner, 1974: 231–232), liminality is not necessarily a temporal condition or state but rather a spatial condition. People and things in liminal states are not simply "betwixt and between," but in motion between two states. If, as I suggest, a person in a liminal state is between two different identities, then he or she may have the flexibility to identify with one group or another. They have the opportunity to be the one if only for brief moments before moving back to being the other.

Movement, Warning Out, and Social Welfare in Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts

The Parting Ways became home to such "liminal personae" in the mid-eighteenth century when several white families made transient by the poor relief and settlement laws of Massachusetts towns settled there. What about Parting Ways afforded these families the ability to settle at that location when wherever else they went, they were forced to move on? To answer this question, we must first further explore the social and legal practices of eighteenth-century Massachusetts that ostracized and marginalized the unemployed, as well as the political and legal developments surrounding the establishment and maintenance of the Plymouth town common lands.

The mobility of people in Eastern Massachusetts increased in the eighteenth century as the populations in the region grew. This influx of "strangers" or non-town residents challenged "the traditionalism of the communal society [of New England]; unemployment, single-person households, and residential mobility were not accepted patterns of behavior" (Jones, 1975: 33). Massachusetts towns operated in a manner that was essentially English in nature. These towns had "a corporate responsibility to the poor and dependent" (Grob, 2008: 7). Town coffers as well as individual pockets provided direct aid to many ill, aging, and struggling community members.

But this practice of aiding the poor placed financial burdens on Massachusetts towns and their inhabitants. As the numbers of strangers—emigrating from Europe or migrating from other nearby towns—and the numbers of potential recipients of town aid increased in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the towns and their residents began to scrutinize the people who migrated into their towns (Jones, 1975: 29–33). Towns had to "maintain their own poor," but they remained staunchly against maintaining the poor of other towns. Laws from 1671 required that the town provides for "any person come to live in any Town in this Government…if by sickness, lameness, or the like, he comes to want relief" so long as he has been "there received and entertained three months" (Benton, 1911: 54). After residing in the town for three months, a person became eligible to receive aid from the town. Towns changed laws to make it more difficult to become an official resident—they went from requiring individuals to have resided in the town for three months to become residents to requiring them to have resided in the town for 12 months and adding additional legal hoops (Quigley, 1996: 66–67).

Another method of managing the numbers of potential aid recipients was to get rid of them before they had a chance to become residents. "Warning out" became a major method for dealing with those likely to require the aid and support of the town (Benton, 1911: 55; Bethel, 1997: 38). The town selectmen would determine whether or not newcomers were likely to become a future burden on the poor relief funds. The court could issue a warrant to warn out the individual or family, sending them back to their town of residency (usually their town of birth or the town in which they had resided for the longest duration) (Benton, 1911: 55; Jones, 1975: 46–47). This kept the costs of caring for the poor confined to residents of the town. By casting families and individuals out, the town treated these people as if they belonged somewhere else and were another town's burden. In reality, however, these wandering poor did not simply return to their town of residence, if they had one, but instead they just moved on to another town and awaited their "warning out" from that place. Having left their town of residence, they had uprooted their social identity. Every town believed them to belong to another town and to be someone else's problem, and, as such, they were no one's problem.

The Parting Ways: Passing Through and Settling Down

A group of these "wandering poor" came to settle at Parting Ways in the middle of the eighteenth century. Parting Ways had long occupied a liminal and marginal position in Plymouth society. The land at the Parting Ways area was sandy, rocky, and covered with pine trees, not ideal land for farming (Bethel, 1997: 36). Its location four miles from the heart of the town of Plymouth at the intersection of two major roads connecting Plymouth to neighboring towns and near the boundaries of three other towns relegated Parting Ways to the margins of Plymouth society (Figs. 10.1 and 10.2). It was similarly distant from the population centers of neighboring towns. Deed, town, and vital records used the name "The Parting Ways" to refer a portion

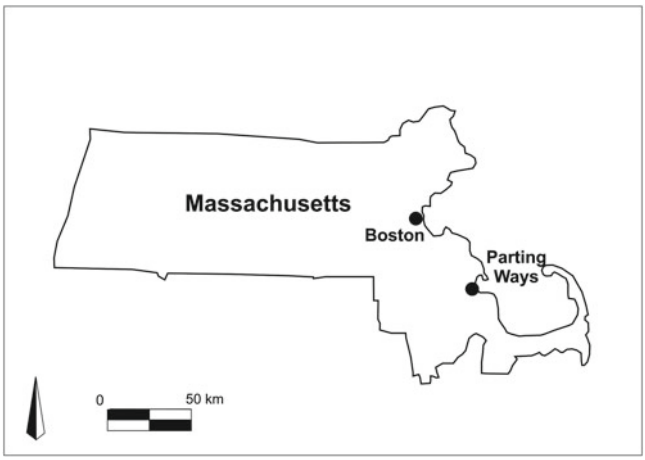

Fig. 10.1 Location of Parting Ways in southeastern Massachusetts, approximately 65 km from Boston, Massachusetts (figure by Karen A. Hutchins)

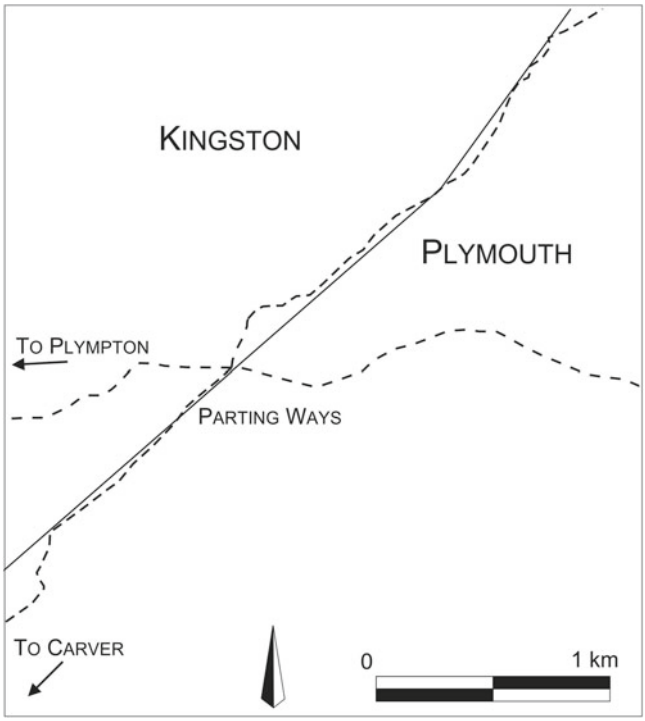

Fig. 10.2 Parting Ways location along the Plymouth-Kingston town line at the intersection of two major historical routes from Plymouth to the neighboring towns of Kingston, Plympton, and Carver (figure by Karen A. Hutchins)

of the common sheep pasture at the Kingston-Plymouth town line from as early as 1755 and likely much earlier (Town of Kingston (Mass.), 1911: 120; Town of Plymouth (Mass.), 1790, 1801, 1811; Plymouth County Registry of Deeds [PCRD], 1773a, 1773b, 1774, 1796). The very name of the location seems to refer to the location on the edge of town, a place in which one "parts ways" with friends, neighbors, or town; movement and transition are embodied in the place name.

The land at Parting Ways represented a liminal legal state early on in its history. Towns in Massachusetts made a slow transition from commonly held agricultural lands to privately held lands by the end of the eighteenth century (Field, 1984). Commonly held lands, once large portions of the town, were divided and redivided among increasingly smaller interest groups until land became primarily held privately by individuals or groups of individuals (Field, 1984: 98–100). "Common" land was generally organized in one of two ways in seventeenth-century Massachusetts: "common and undivided" lands in which a group distinct from the town as a whole had undivided rights to a piece of land for planting, pasture, meadow, or woodlands, and "common and general fields" in which individually owned plots were fenced in common and planted either in common or individually (Field, 1984: 98–99). The "common and undivided" land could also be set aside by the town's common-land proprietors "to be fenced as common pastures by designated groups of farmers" who held the legal status of "tenants in common" (Field, 1984: 99).

This last use of the common land best describes the legal understanding of the common land in Plymouth that the town officials converted into common sheep pasture but does not adequately define the stakeholders who held varying rights in the land. The town of Plymouth set aside this land in 1704 as "sheep pasture" for common use by members of the town who paid a subscription fee for its use (Bethel, 1997: 35; Town of Plymouth (Mass.), 1889: 314). This sheep pasture included an area of just under three square miles centered near Parting Ways at a place called Cobb's Meadow (Town of Plymouth (Mass.), 1889: 314). The Town of Plymouth (1889: 314) voted that all this land

> Shall lie for a perpetual common for ever excepting only meadow, swamps, and swampy ground or land and where as sundry inhabitants of said town have subscribed to an agreement to have their sheep kept in a general flock on said perpetual commons and to build a house for said shepherd to dwell in and liberty for the shepherd for the time being to build up fence and improve 20 acres of land for general benefit of the owners of said flock. [spelling modernized by author]

Although in practice this land functioned as a communal holding with members of the community holding tenant's rights to its use, the town demonstrated its legal ownership over this common land through its decision in 1786 to abandon the sheep pasture and sell off most of the land to raise money for the town (Davis, 1884: 150; Town of Plymouth (Mass.), 1889: 314). Despite the tenant's rights to the land, the town held the right to sell the land and profit from its sale, in the end. The common land, therefore, existed in this legal limbo with multiple stakeholders with varying legal rights and control over the land.

At Parting Ways: Neither Neighbor nor Stranger

It is into this ambiguous legal arena that the transient Fuller, Rickard, and Leach families entered when they moved to Parting Ways in the mid-eighteenth century. These families, members of the wandering poor, found refuge from "warnings out" at Parting Ways, ceasing their physical movement but remaining a liminal social group—neither residents nor strangers, neither property owners nor tenants (Bethel, 1997: 38–40).

Japheth Rickard's struggles did not end completely after arriving at Parting Ways. After settling at Parting Ways, Rickard made attempts to recoup some back payments for work already completed in Middleborough (PCCCP, 1756, 1757). Although Rickard's family continued to dwell at Parting Ways for the next two decades, his poor financial situation forced him to mortgage his house to a family member. This sale was likely the act of a hopeful, if financially desperate, man because a clause written into the deed (PCRD, 1774) reads:

> if the above named Japheth Rickard his heirs or assigns shall pay to the said Eleazer Rickard his heirs or assigns the full and just sum of one pound fifteen shillings and 11 d with lawful interest in three months from the date hereof, then the above written deed to be void and of none effect.

Japheth never produced the necessary sum within the time frame to buy back his home.

Although the exact date of the Fuller family's arrival at Parting Ways is unknown, town records denote that the family's home at Parting Ways was a landmark by 1767 (Town of Plymouth (Mass.), 1903: 206). Fuller ran a tavern of sorts from 1763 to 1766 while living at Parting Ways, for which he applied for licenses to sell "spirituous liquors" (PCCGS, 1763, 1764, 1765a, 1766a). His financial fortunes took a turn for the worse in 1767, and Fuller was forced to mortgage his house to Samuel Bartlett as payment of a debt (PCRD, 1767). Fuller and his wife appear to have left their home after this incident and moved across the town line to Kingston to live with the Rickards. Fuller's son, Archippus Fuller of Middleborough, ran the tavern in his father's absence from 1769 to 1771 (PCCGS, 1769, 1770, 1771a). In 1771, Seth Fuller and his wife were once again warned out—this time from Kingston and the home of Japheth Rickard (PCCGS, 1771b). Fuller likely returned to his Parting Ways home and, in 1773, Archippus paid his father's debt, and Bartlett's widow quitclaim of the dwelling house on the property. Archippus immediately sold the "dwelling house in Plymouth near the Parting Ways, so-called where my father Seth Fuller now lives" to Elijah Leach of Middleborough (PCRD, 1774).

When Elijah Leach purchased the "dwelling house" at Parting Ways in the fall of 1773, he was in a downward spiral that had continued for the better part of two decades. Leach, born in Bridgewater, and his wife, Jemima Snow, had five children, of whom only the eldest two survived infancy. Jemima Leach died in April of 1763 (Bethel, 1997: 40; Town of Bridgewater (Mass.), 1916a: 206, 207, 209, 210; 1916b: 235, 513, 515). Although he remarried quickly in October of 1763, Leach's unfortunate luck continued

(Town of Bridgewater (Mass.), 1916b: 235). He lost a court case in April of 1764 against a man from the town of Duxborough, as both the plaintiff and the defendant were judged to have defaulted on an agreement (PCCCP, 1764). And in June of 1765 (PCCGS, 1765b), Elijah,

> in a lewd, indecent and disorderly manner, did misbehave himself by unbuttoning his breeches and exposing his private members to the open view of divers of his majesties good subjects, both men and women, then and there being present and then twenty days later he did in a contemptuous manner, in the hearing of many of his Majesties subjects say and declare "that he did not care a turd for God in Heaven or on the Earth."

The court fined him a total of 50 shillings in October 1765. But even before the court's ruling, Leach's situation grew even worse. Leach was forced to sell his family's farm in September, perhaps in anticipation of his fine or out of disgrace (PCRD, 1765). Leach, his new wife Ruth, his two children, and his wife's niece moved to Halifax, Massachusetts, in April 1766, but were warned out only eight months later (PCCGS, 1766b). Where Leach and his family lived until 1773 is unknown; he purchased the dwelling house from Archippus Fuller in that year (PCRD, 1773b).

Up until the point of settlement by the Rickard and Fuller families, the land at Parting Ways was sheep pasture, common land that select inhabitants of Plymouth had rights to use. After the Rickard and Fuller families settled at Parting Ways, the area became functionally residential (Bethel, 1997: 38). The land was occupied, although not owned, and town residents no longer grazed their sheep on the common sheep pasture. Instead, the Fuller and Rickard families had gained the ability to own their homes—the structures they built—but not the land on which they were built. The wording of Fuller's mortgage to Samuel Bartlett reflects this relationship with the property and land. Bartlett was granted "all that our dwelling house together with Right in small building set up adjoining the said house where we now dwell.… Together with all the fencing and my Rights of the whole improvement of the Land" (PCRD, 1767). That the towns recorded this deed—and subsequent ones at Parting Ways—reflects the town's acceptance of the Fuller's presence (PCRD, 1774, 1779, 1796). That the town allowed people to settle on the common land at Parting Ways makes sense when we consider the transitional nature and previous use of the common lands. The use of the common land as sheep pasture included provisions for a shepherd to improve some of the land with structures and fencing, so long as it benefited the sheep owners. So as early as 1704, the town conceived of a situation in which people lived on town common land and had rights to improve the land. This in-between legal status of the Parting Ways land provided the opening for the settlement by the transients of Plymouth County.

The Fuller family and later the Leach families lived at the house at the corner of Plympton Road and Nicks Rock Road as liminal members of society—they did not own land nor did they lease or rent land. Until the point when they arrived at Parting Ways, the circumstances of their lives along with the legal system for handling the poor and destitute forced them to migrate from one town to another seeking somewhere to live. The nature of the common sheep pasture at Parting

Ways provided a space for these families to settle down and built lives, but they remained marginalized—on the literal edge of the community—and in a liminal legal state.

Building a Home: Archaeological and Historical Evidence

The historical record addressing the Leach, Fuller, and Rickard families presents a picture of marginal families struggling to survive. And while one might expect to find a similar pattern of transiency in the archaeological record, the excavated remains of Seth Fuller's house present a different picture. The remains of a dry-laid fieldstone cellar, uncovered by James Deetz in 1975 (Deetz, 1996), demonstrate the Fuller family's attempts to carve out a permanent, if sparse and impoverished, life at Parting Ways. The cellar remains consist of two walls measuring approximately 14 f. by 10 f. (Fig. 10.3). The two missing walls were likely robbed out and used in the construction of a second house in the early nineteenth century. No additional out buildings were located on the property.

Fig. 10.3 The dry-laid fieldstone cellar walls of the Fuller House, built in the mid-eighteenth century. The missing two walls were likely robbed out for use during the construction of a second house on the property in the early nineteenth century (Photo courtesy of the Office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, Massachusetts Historical Commission, Boston, MA)

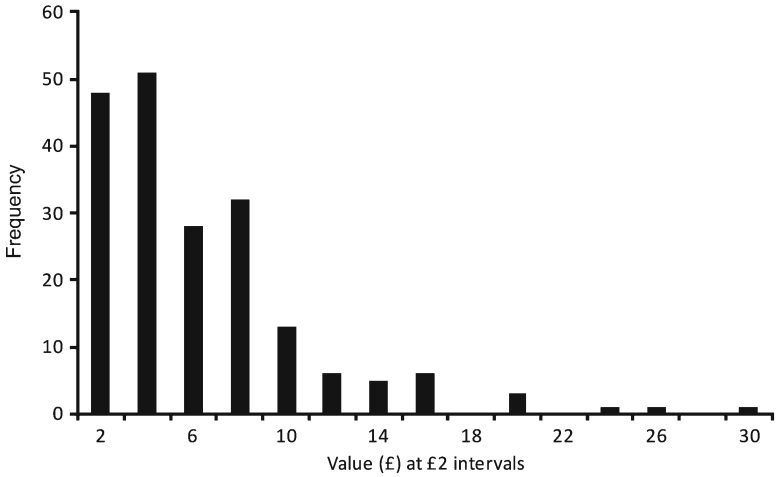

Fig. 10.4 Frequency distribution of house values in the town of Plymouth in 1771 from the Massachusetts Tax Valuation List of 1771 (figure by Karen A. Hutchins)

Although the exact dimensions of the house's superstructure are unknown, a survey of tax records provides a baseline for interpreting the size and construction of the house. Seth Fuller's home was assessed in 1771 at a value of 2 pounds, within the lower quartile of homes owned in Plymouth (Pruitt, 1978) (Fig. 10.4). Although the 1771 tax records did not denote the size of the houses in Plymouth, the 1798 Federal Direct Tax did record information including value of house, dimensions, and number of stories (Federal Direct, 1798). The general size of the Fuller house can be extrapolated from the 1798 data from elsewhere in the state using the relative value of the Fuller house as a reference. The house (then owned by Plato Turner, an African-American) did not appear in the 1798 Direct Tax, and the records for Plymouth are incomplete, with only value and sporadic dimensional data recorded. But from these tax records, a baseline for the value of the Plymouth housing stock can be established. The lowest quartile of homes in Plymouth ranged in value from 105 dollars to 270 dollars (Fig. 10.5). Fuller's home very likely fell into this category, given its low relative value in 1771. Analysis of the 1798 Direct Tax for Worcester County and Middleborough, Massachusetts, by Michael Steinitz (1989) demonstrates the abundance of small, single-story homes in central Massachusetts in the eighteenth century. Those houses in lower quartile in Worcester County measured less than 600 square feet (over half were less than 500 square feet), and over three-quarters of all homes had only one story. In Middleborough, a town located near Plymouth, over 90% of the homes were one story (Steinitz, 1989: 20, 22, 25). Thus, we can conclude that, since Fuller's home was valued as one of the cheaper homes in Plymouth, it likely measured less than 600 square feet (25 f. by 24 ft) and was only one story tall.

This conclusion is bolstered by the cellar that measured approximately 140 square feet. The cellar hole likely extended beneath only a portion of the house, as

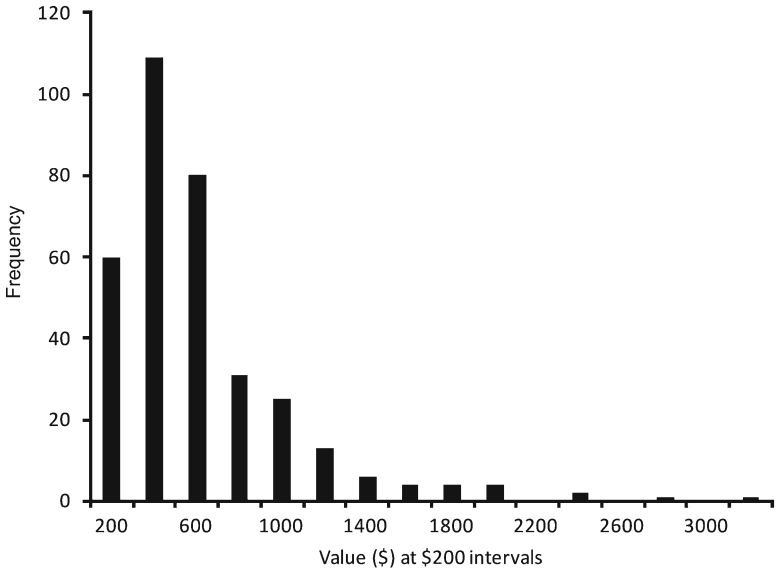

Fig. 10.5 Frequency distribution of house values in the town of Plymouth in 1798 (figure by Karen A. Hutchins)

is typical for the region, but how far the house extended beyond the cellar footprint was not recovered archaeologically, so we may only speculate at this time. The absence of outbuildings does not reflect an atypical poverty or lack of industry. Outbuildings were only typical when associated with the most valuable houses in the community (Steinitz, 1989: 21). Although Fuller's family lived in a small house with no additional outbuildings, their poverty was not atypical of the region, and in fact, the money and energy expended to construct a permanent house at Parting Ways reflects their desire and intent to remain there over the long term.

Summary

For several families, Parting Ways served as a rare refuge from the homelessness that plagued poorer members of Massachusetts society. I have argued here that it was the liminal nature of both the place—common land engaged in the long transition to privately held land—and the people—transients denied a place to call home—that afforded—socially and legally—the type of settlement observed at Parting Ways. Borrowing Victor Turner's turn of phrase, I have described the inhabitants of Parting Ways as "betwixt and between" to reflect their identities as transients and as neither tenants nor owners. The integration of the historical documentation of these families with the archaeological remains of the Fuller's family home also reflects this liminal status. The town and court records and deeds

that provide information about the families present a bleak picture primarily composed of death, financial struggles, and transiency. But the architectural and archaeological remains recovered from the Fuller property demonstrate Seth Fuller's desire to establish himself permanently at Parting Ways.

Parting Thoughts: African-Americans at Parting Ways

In the summer of 1779 the Plymouth County Court of General Sessions dismissed the charges brought against Job Cushman, a white farmer, by "Quash, a free Negro man," for stealing a bushel of his corn (PCCGS, 1779). Several days later Cushman sold his rights to improved buildings on land at Parting Ways, which he had purchased from Elijah Leach several years before, to "Plato a Negro man" (PCRD, 1779). This transaction marked yet another shift in the use of the land at Parting Ways. Before long, two other African-American men and their families joined Plato Turner and Quash Quande at Parting Ways, and the area became known as New Guinea. Today, if you visit the intersection of Plympton Road and Parting Ways Road, you will see a small cemetery believed to be the final resting place for some of the inhabitants of New Guinea and an interpretive sign describing the lives of the African-Americans who lived and possibly were buried there. For the local public as well as the historical archaeological community familiar with James Deetz's work, Parting Ways has always been an African-American site.

I want to end this discussion by arguing that it should not be at all surprising that Parting Ways became the home of four African-American families. Historical landscapes—much like historical texts—convey information and "embody memories" (Holtorf & Williams, 2006: 235). Through their histories, places and landscapes become associated with certain types of people and certain uses, which in turn can be remembered and perpetuated by the collective community memory. By virtue of its enduring liminal nature, the Parting Ways land became the home for members of the transient poor, a group not tolerated in other spaces. In this way, I argue, the landscape at Parting Ways became "linked to socially or culturally mediated remembrance and memory"—"collective representations of the past and associated social practices"—as a liminal and marginal area (Holtorf & Williams, 2006: 235). The collective understanding of Parting Ways as a place appropriate for society's marginalized members in the late eighteenth century made Parting Ways a socially acceptable place for members of the recently freed black population to make their home after emancipation.

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Chapter 11
The Malady of Emigrants: Homesickness and Longing in the Colony of New Sweden (1638–1655)

Magdalena Naum

Introduction

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the discovery of the New World, technological advancements in navigation, and European hunger for wealth, power, and land initiated one of the larger waves of transcontinental movements. African captives were moved to the plantations in the Americas and the Caribbean, aboriginal populations were pushed towards the interior of their countries, and thousands of Europeans resettled willingly or by force to newly established colonies. The Age of Exploration also became an Age of Displacement.

This large-scale dislocation, like any other preceding and later migration, revealed complexities and ambiguities involved in abandoning one's own home (e.g., Brettell & Hollifield, 2000; Landsman, 2006; Naum, 2009, 2012; Ritivoi, 2002). Venturing outside of the known abode offered opportunities of reinventing oneself and of fulfilling dreams of a better life. It promised an escape, if temporary, from the boredom of everyday life and a flight, if often illusionary, from the tight confines of social rules and stigmas. But as freeing and pregnant with hopes as it might have been, moving away from home could also have brought a paralyzing pain of loss. Stepping outside the limits of a well-known social and cultural landscape involves a break with familiarity, confidence, and spontaneity, "a destruction—temporary or not—of private life" (Ritivoi, 2002: 13). Such estrangement can lead to longing and homesickness. The history of migration knows many examples of ancient and modern Odysseuses yearning for home and driven by an obsessive wish to return. It was in the seventeenth century, age of wars, transoceanic travels, and long-distance displacement, however, that homesickness became defined as a disease, a psychological and physical condition with potentially lethal consequences.

M. Naum (✉)
Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, Lund University,
P.O. Box 117, 221 00 Lund, Sweden
e-mail: magdalena.naum@ark.lu.se

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Johannes Hofer and the "Discovery" of Nostalgia

In 1688, Johannes Hofer, a young student of medicine at the University of Basel, wrote a dissertation on nostalgia. He described it as a malady of emigrants, an acute condition of homesickness, "the sad mood originating from the desire for return to one's native land" (Hofer, 1934 [1688]: 381). Hofer observed that nostalgia or homesickness was a psychosomatic condition, "sympathetic of an afflicted imagination," aroused by frequent contemplation of the homeland and recalling the familiar landscapes of childhood and home. This stirring up of imagination or memory of the lost country arose from various sensual inputs: from interacting with objects reminding of the homeland or from hearing one's native tongue or a familiar melody.

Hofer noted that those who seem to suffer from nostalgia are principally young people and adolescents sent abroad or moving outside of their home region, unaccompanied by their families and unable to accustom themselves to the manners of the foreign lands (the list of cases quoted by Hofer includes soldiers, a student, and a servant girl). The Swiss doctor provided an interesting and insightful explanation for the development of nostalgic sentiments.

> First the variety of the weather contributes however little to the disposition of the blood and the destroying of the spirits; especially do the foreign manners, diverse kinds of food, make for the injuries to be borne, and various other troublesome accidents, and one might add six hundred other things. For young people form thus the national habits, and other pleasant customs of living, so that they cling to them tenaciously when sent forth into the foreign regions; they do not know how to become accustomed to strange manners and foods; many of them, although they try to direct strength to themselves at one time or another, nevertheless have not power to achieve it by themselves, wherefore from a light misfortune or a troublesome happening they do but place the charm of the Fatherland before their eyes, they recall it to mind, and this from the continual desire of returning to the Fatherland, do they adjust to it. On the contrary, they are snatched up easily by this (i.e. nostalgia) unless a return is allowed within a short time. (Hofer, 1934 [1688]: 385–386)

Being "held fast by the loathing of the foreign air" and "allured by the memory of the sweet fatherland," those who suffer from homesickness consider returning to their homeland. And when they are kept from the journey they fall into apathy, "easily become sad, continuously think about the Fatherland, and because of the perpetual desire of returning there, they finally fall into illness" (Hofer, 1934 [1688]: 385). Hofer provided a list of diagnostic symptoms of nostalgia: sadness, tendency to scorn foreign manners and uncritical admiration of native customs, melancholy, disturbed sleep, carelessness and apathy, and depression, to which conditions "various diseases finally succumb, whether preceding or following the mood" (Hofer, 1934 [1688]: 386).

Hofer's innovative study into the newly defined disease met with approval and recognition among his contemporaries. The first documented and medically studied cases of nostalgia involved Swiss citizens giving the condition's alternative name of "Swiss illness," but soon patients from different corners of Europe and its colonies were diagnosed with the disease (Darwin, 1796; Rosen, 1975; Johannisson, 2001; Ritivoi, 2002: 15–23; Matt, 2011). As cases of homesickness accumulated

and nostalgia became widely recognized condition, one may wonder what could have caused this sudden emotional outbreak in the early modern world.

The answer to the rapid epidemic of nostalgia might be found in the life conditions of those diagnosed with homesickness. The cases of nostalgic individuals described by Hofer and others involved mercenaries and soldiers forced into battlefields and overseas duty, countrypeople, maids and servant boys who left their home villages to work elsewhere, colonists and planters establishing new settlements, and sailors impressed into navy service. All of them were persuaded or forced to leave their homes and families, faced with the prospects of subordinate, insecure, and monotonous life or even the possibility of death. Such life conditions and uncertainty of one's future made one long for the security and warmth of home.

Discovery of nostalgia and its definition as an illness also came in the time of major social and cultural changes in Europe: development of large cities, colonization of the New World and extensive travel to the far corners of the globe, and displacements caused by large-scale wars. But, as pointed out by Jean Starobinski (1966), these quick economic and political changes often did not match the social realities in the countryside, where the majority of the European population lived. The village, with its highly structured way of life, closed and protective family units, cyclical and repetitive life, and comforting familiarity, stood in stark contrast to the battlefields, servitude, or employment far from home.

In the long tradition of studies of homesickness and nostalgia, from Hofer to modern psychology and philosophy, all authors agree that the obsessive yearning is caused by an inability to accept and adjust to change. The homesick fixate upon an idea of home and the past, which in their recollection tends to acquire glossy and idealized appearance. This fixation is triggered by a perceived sharp discrepancy between the present and the past. In this subjective emotional frame, the positive memory of the past "acquires its emotional edge—its distinctive nostalgia signature, as it were—from the relatively sharp silhouette it casts upon certain present circumstances that invariably are felt to be—and often are reasoned to be—more bleak, grim, wretched, ugly, deprivational, unfulfilling, frightening, etc." [Davis, 1977: 418; see also Davis (1979), Starobinski (1966), Ritivoi (2002), Nikelly (2004), and Pickering and Keightley (2006)].

The radical shift in social, cultural, and spatial geographies caused by displacement meant that nostalgia, too, found its prey among settlers and planters in America.

Migrating to the New World

Settling the colonies in America was an economic and political project. The expected profits from production, trade, and exploitation of resources were impossible without sufficient human labor. Thus migration of a critical mass of settlers and laborers was an essential step to be accounted for in planning colonial endeavors. It was also a logistical problem causing considerable headaches to the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century trading companies and governments.

Throughout the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, Europeans had mixed feelings about leaving their homesteads to venture across the Atlantic. In popular thinking, fed by travelers' stories and artistic images, America was a confusing place full of contradictions. Its natives were portrayed both as noble, springing from the lost tribes of Israel, and as utterly barbaric, monstrous, and equipped with supernatural powers: terribly ignoble heathens, revengeful tricksters, but also childlike, innocent and pure, helpful, and kind (Johnson, 1930; Kupperman, 1995; Myers, 1959; Sayre, 1997). The country was often judged as a materialization of biblical paradise, a land of plenty where crops produced bountiful harvests, or as a dangerous and barren place where no European crops would grow. It was a land of extremes, with scorching hot summers causing disease and plagues of vermin and crippling cold and long winters (Cressy, 1987; Johnson, 1930; Kupperman, 1984).

For most of the Europeans who saw themselves as moderate people living in a moderate climate, living in the same village or region for several generations, relocating to the unknown of such extremes meant severing ties with well-known landscapes and routines and posed a risk of losing their balanced character and the familiar self (Hofer, 1934 [1688]; Kupperman, 1984; Moogk, 1989: 473; Ritivoi, 2002: 17–8). Considering these mixed feelings surrounding transatlantic crossing, it is perhaps not surprising that longing, apathy, dislike, and malcontentedness became a part of attitudes shared by the early settlers in America (Cressy, 1987; Harper, 2005; Johnson, 1930; Kupperman, 1979; Matt, 2011; Moogk, 1989; Wyman, 2005).

Homesickness became a malady in seventeenth-century America and one of the causes of return migration. In his *A Brief Relation of the State of New England*, published in 1689, Increase Mather observed that "since the year 1640 more persons have removed out of New England than gone thither" (1689: 5), affection for the old England (felt also by Reverend Mather) being one of the reasons for return. Statistics from the early period of New France suggest that up to 70 % of colonists returned to Europe within the first few years of their migration to Canada, described by one of the returnees as "a country at the end of the world, and as an exile that might almost pass for a [sentence] of civil death" (Moogk, 1989: 463).

The earliest examples of English settlement attempts in America also show the potency of the idealized image of home, combined with disappointments and harshness of the new landscapes, as impetus for giving up colonial projects and turning back home. The settlers of Popham in Maine lasted only one year before "dreaming to themselves of new hopes at home [,] returned backe with the first occasion" (Stirling, 1630: 30). Isolation and the feeling of hopelessness affected many of the early colonists in Jamestown, whose tragic despair makes them almost ideal embodiments of Hofer's nostalgics. Restrictions of return, introduced by governor John Smith, combined with malnutrition and disease, might have been the causes of lethal apathy observed by visitors in early seventeenth-century Virginia. "Most give them selves over, and die of Melancholye," "more doe die here of disease of theire minde than of their body," reported visitors to Jamestown [Kingsbury, 1935: 226, 275; 1933: 38, 74–75; see also Kupperman (1979) and Matt (2011): 14–21].

Homesickness and longing for home affected other colonies as well. In New Sweden, it reached almost epidemic proportions among soldiers and colonial administrators.

Homesickness in the Colony of New Sweden

The colony of New Sweden was established in 1638 along Delaware River, in the territory of the modern states of Delaware and southeastern Pennsylvania. It was the first Swedish experiment in establishing a presence and claiming territory outside of Europe.

Despite a promising prognosis, this colonial venture turned out to be rather disappointing in terms of commercial outcome. Foreign investors, unsatisfied with the results, withdrew from the company in 1640. From 1640 onward the fate of New Sweden became the sole responsibility of the Swedish Crown. This reorganization required new staff and a program for recruiting settlers willing to emigrate. Prior to 1640 the major posts in the colony were entrusted to the Dutch, who also constituted a strong element among the settlers.

This situation was partly remedied by an active strategy of enforcing relocation to America and by appointing Lieutenant Johan Printz as the new governor of the colony. Equipped with comprehensive instructions giving him executive power, instructing him to develop the colony and establish legal and religious institutions patterned on Swedish examples, and urging him to establish tobacco plantations and other industries, Printz arrived in America in 1642. His long governorship, which he gave up in December 1653, was a period of considerable economic and territorial growth of the colony. This was inhibited, however, by an insufficient commitment by the Crown to the project. Swedish colonial ambitions in America were ultimately crushed in 1655 as a result of a Dutch attack and takeover. The last governor of the colony, Johan Risingh, most of the soldiers, and some of the colonists returned to Sweden. Others stayed under the Dutch, and, from 1664, the English rule.

One of the constant challenges in the history of New Sweden was the rather low interest in migrating to America among the Swedish population. As a result, settlement in the colony underwent stark fluctuations. At its lowest the number of settlers might have been fewer than 30 individuals (e.g., in 1639–1640) to reach about 368 individuals, the highest number recorded, in 1654 (Carlsson, 1995; Johnson, 1911: 699–726).

Because of the initial lack of interest in migrating to New Sweden, the Crown had to use diverse strategies to promote the idea of settlement in the colony. One of them was imposing displacement on a "problematic" segment of the society. Petty criminals convicted of adultery and encroachment of royal prerogatives were offered reduction of their severe sentences to a few years of indentured labor as company workers, if they agreed to go to New Sweden (*Handlingar*, 1934: 217–220; Johnson, 1911: 239; Stiernman, 1747: 55). Recalcitrant soldiers, deserters, and those who evaded being drafted into the army were also forced to serve in New Sweden. A popular conception of America as a dreadful and feared place made military officials consider service in the colony as an appropriate form of punishment for stubborn and insubordinate soldiers (AOSB, 1898: 684; 1905: 315–318; *Handlingar*, 1934: 210–212; Johnson, 1911: 268).

The resentment and fears of serving in America were often only confirmed and deepened after arrival in New Sweden. In the correspondence sent from the colony, motives of longing, homesickness, and despair were constantly repeated (e.g., Craig &

Williams, 2006: 6–8; Johnson, 1930). Malnutrition, diseases, and high mortality rates were some of the reasons for dissatisfaction and eagerness to abandon the colony. After a poor harvest in 1643, about a quarter of the immigrants, mostly laborers and soldiers, died. "The others who are preserved, officers and common [people], have no longer any desire to remain here," wrote Printz (Johnson, 1930: 109–110). Only provisions of food bought from the English and Dutch merchants helped the governor to persuade the colonists to remain.

Not for long, however: in 1647, completing his report, Governor Printz quoted the wish of the soldiers to go back to Sweden. Writing to Lord High Steward Per Brahe in 1650, he confessed that "officers as well as common soldiers, they long and yearn with great desire to be released and to come again to the fatherland, and this might indeed be the best, so that they by chance in the future might not undertake something else. But they all live in the hope that they with the first opportunity may be released and furloughed home" (Johnson, 1930: 177–178). Three years later, in a letter to Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna, he admitted that the state of the soldiers and those who served under the company was very poor and they "look every day for means and opportunities to get away from here, if not with permission then in what way soever they can" (Johnson, 1930: 188). Printz's fears of soldiers' desertion, endangering the already fragile existence of the colony, were well grounded. Escaping to the neighboring colonies of Maryland and New Netherland became a repeated practice harshly dealt with by governors Printz, Papegoja, and Risingh (Dahlgren & Norman, 1988: 157, 221; Myers, 1959: 156–157). Desertions combined with legal departure were the main reasons behind the decline of New Sweden's population in 1648 and in the early 1650s (Johnson, 1911: 710–722).

Difficulties in adjusting to life in the colony, longing, and wishes to return were also expressed by Governor Printz. As early as 1644, in the second report he sent to Sweden, he wrote that "I look at myself at least 100 times a day in this mirror, God knows with what doubts, for I sit here alone and there are hardly 30 men, of all that are here upon whom I can rely in such cases" (Johnson, 1930: 113–114). He finished his report with a humble request of return when his term was over.

In early October of 1646, a long-awaited ship from Sweden docked at Fort Christina. Printz had high hopes that his successor was on board the ship; he was saddened when he learned that the government had failed to find a suitable man for his post. Completing another report to be taken back to Sweden, once again he expressed his wish to return.

> Again,…humbly [purporting] how I for a great while (n[amely] twenty-eight years) have been in the service of my dear native country, constantly accompanying her armies in the field, and now have served in New Sweden one year and seventh month beyond my prescribed term and brought everything into such order that H[er] R[oyal] Maj[esty] has obtained a strong footing here, (…) my humble request to H[er] R[oyal] Maj[esty] and their Right Hon[orable] Excellencies now is, that I be relieved, if possible, and sent home by the next ship to my beloved native land. (Johnson, 1930: 142)

His disappointment must have grown when a new governor was not sent on board the *Swan*, which anchored at Fort Christina a year and a half later. Meanwhile, his pleas to be released became more urgent with the passing of time and were repeated

in every letter sent to Sweden. In 1653, alarmed by the prolonged lack of contact with Sweden, he wrote that he lost all hope for being ever relieved from the position of governor and became so sickly and so incapable of governing the colony that he was forced to assign the conduct of affairs to another. Once again he repeated his sincere desire to "be relieved and released from this place" (Johnson, 1930: 189). Finally, after receiving no news or letters from Sweden for 6 years, he decided to leave the colony.

There were certainly various reasons why life in America was difficult to cope with. Many felt insecure and powerless in a fragile colony, the existence of which was at the mercy of various Native American groups and the Dutch from New Netherland, who never recognized the Swedish rights to the Delaware Valley (Acrelius, 1874: 43–56; Dahlgren & Norman, 1988: 199; Johnson, 1930; Craig & Williams, 2006: 6–8). Although the colony maintained contact with other European settlements (in particular Maryland, New Amsterdam, and New England) and welcomed English and Dutch merchants who supplied it with essential goods, its geographical position, small number of settlers, and infrequent contact with Sweden contributed to an impression of isolation and abandonment. Escalating feelings of indifference of the Crown and the company towards the colony atop of a harsh government introduced by Printz magnified a sense of hopelessness.

Like Printz, the soldiers, officers, and other employees were appointed to serve in America for a limited period of time, in most cases a term of 3 years. These terms, however, were notoriously disregarded, appointments being endlessly prolonged and often unpaid. In such an uncertain, hopeless situation, it was easy to idealize the past and experiences connected with native lands. It was easy to juxtapose the apparent sweetness of the homeland with bitter life in the colony—to fall prey to nostalgic longing.

Materialities of Homesickness

Various studies of homesickness point out that longing and summoning up the past is a response to anxieties and discomforts of the present projected against an idealized past. This recalling is often provoked by interactions with the material world—interactions that bring to mind the familiarity of lost homes.

These connections between fantasies about home and materials that bring them about are the subject of studies on relationships between displaced or journeying people and objects (e.g., Stewart, 1993; Hoskins, 1998; Parkin, 1999; Marcoux, 2001; Tolia-Kelly, 2004; Digby, 2006; Miller, 2008: 73–82; Naum, 2009, 2012; Gielis, 2009). They accentuate the sensual and material qualities of the objects and their ability to "act" upon human beings (e.g., Miller, 1998, 2008; Tilley, 2006, 2007). An observation made by Susan Pearce (1992: 47) that "objects hang before the eyes of the imagination, continuously re-presenting ourselves to ourselves, and telling the stories of our lives in ways which would be impossible otherwise" is an exemplary way of conceptualizing the complexities of human–object entanglement.

In the context of displacement or travel, the material and sensory qualities of salvaged-souvenir objects and their associated stories may play an important role in countering but also evoking emotions of homelessness and loss (Digby, 2006; Gielis, 2009; Parkin, 1999; Ritivoi, 2002; Tolia-Kelly, 2004; Chap. 7). They may serve as mnemonic devices providing "an access to the world of the past, a flexible and changeable world created through nostalgia" (Digby, 2006: 174). Like the famous *petit madeleines*, the taste of which took Marcel Proust back to the scenes of his childhood, objects can stimulate daydreaming and vivid recollections, in which the past seems almost present and tangible (Proust, 1922; Hart, 1973: 397–398; Ritivoi, 2002). Like salvaged pieces of Robinson Crusoe's ship used to construct his shelter and to barricade himself against a strange and potentially hostile island, objects have an ability to reinstate feelings of familiarity and help distance oneself from realities one refuses to accept.

Although attention to agency and the possibility imbued in human–object interaction might seem to be a postmodern sensitivity, the potential of material things to awaken feelings of longing and remembering was in fact already pointed out by Hofer in his dissertation defining nostalgia. Hofer characterized nostalgia as a condition of afflicted imagination, and he observed that "men thus oppressed are moved by small external objects" (Hofer, 1934 [1688]: 381). He suggested that interactions with certain objects and sensory experiences that somehow relate to a lost homeland could arouse the mind to such an extent that an individual "infected" with nostalgia remains fixated with an idea of home and loses tranquility of the mind. Thus objects brought from one's home country or acquired after translocation but connected to the images of home could become souvenirs and symbols of what had been lost.

Soldiers and settlers arriving in the colony carried with them bundles of personal possessions. These included clothes, shoes, tobacco pipes, combs, simple tools, tin cups, knives, mirrors, and other things (Johnson, 1911: 355–356). Johan Printz might have brought most of his valuables to America. An inventory made after the fire at his house in 1645 lists a number of personal things brought from Sweden. A great number of books, clothes, personal accessories, curtains and fabrics for decorating the house, mugs, tableware, candleholders, household articles, and silver and golden trinkets were among the Printz's possessions (Johnson, 1930: 27–28). The list of personal possessions lost in the fire indicates that the Printz's moveable wealth was worth more than 4480 Swedish riksdaler (approx. 896 English pounds), a considerable sum of money at that time (Table 11.1).

During the excavations at Printzhof, conducted in 1937, 1976, and 1986, thousands of objects were unearthed at the site interpreted as Printz's estate (Becker, 1979, 2011; Johnson, 2005). These artifacts diverge somewhat from what is included in the written inventories and include, above all, everyday objects (pottery, pipes, metal tools) that were perhaps too numerous and deemed relatively worthless to be included in his compensation claim after the fire. Together the inventory of possessions and the excavated objects give an impression of Printz's uncompromising will to recreate the comforts of daily life in the colony.

In addition to the material objects, construction of Printz's estate might have provided another link with the familiar Swedish landscape. Remains of his property

Table 11.1 A list of Printz's belongings and company's goods lost in the fire of 1645

Item	Value in R.D.
The governor's library	200
The governor's clothes and other personal articles	1,200
The underlinen of governor Printz's wife	240
Pearls and precious stones of governor Printz's wife	1,200
The everyday and best clothes of governor Printz's wife	800
Curtains and textiles	120
Copper, tin, and household articles	120
Gold, silver, and money	600
120 lbs. of candles	24
Food supplies belonging to Printz and company (Rye, malt, hops, pork, cheese, butter, fish, salted meat)	1015.5

Source: Johnson (1911: 349)

(Printzhof) on Tinicum Island were partially excavated during several archaeological field seasons revealing the foundations of two seventeenth-century houses. Both houses, the original one and the second structure presumably erected after the 1645 fire, were built of wood on stone foundations and equipped with characteristic corner fireplaces/stoves. It is likely that some parts of the original house were built using material brought from Sweden. Printz brought with him 12 dozen timber boards, an amount that would be sufficient to make floors and necessary furnishings of tables, benches, and beds (Johnson, 1911: 348).

From excavations and written descriptions, it is hard to establish with great certainty what Printzhof looked like. The early visitors to Tinicum Island, where Printzhof stood, rarely describe the main house and the outbuildings. Per Lindeström, who arrived in New Sweden in 1654, writes that Printz's estate was "splendidly and well-built, with a pleasure garden, summer house and other such [things]" (Lindestrom, 1925: 172). Danckaerts and Sluyter, who visited the site in 1679, 16 years after the property was sold by Printz's daughter Armegott, made quite a disappointing observation: "On this point three or four houses are standing, built by the Swedes, a little Lutheran church made of logs, and the remains of the large blockhouse, which served them in place of a fortress, with the ruins of some log huts. This is the whole of the manor" (Danckaerts & Sluyter, 1867: 178).

An eyewitness account from the middle of the eighteenth century mentions that main dwelling house of Printzhof was a building one-and-a-half stories tall, with a hall running through two rooms on one side and a room and a staircase on the other side (Becker, 1979: 30). If this description correctly refers to Printz's dwelling, it would suggest that the interior design of the house was that of "parstuga" (double-cottage), one of the more common house designs among wealthier peasants, priests, and lower aristocracy in seventeenth-century Sweden (Erixon, 1982).

The excavated houses undoubtedly belonged to Printz's estate, which, judging from the contemporaneous and later descriptions, resembled Swedish farm complexes, comprising a dwelling house surrounded by diverse buildings related to economic activities related to farming. The exterior of Printz's house and its furnishings

resembled then well-known domestic scenery. In designing and furnishing his estate, Printz engaged in placemaking, which relied on organizing the new place according to familiar categories and thus aimed at keeping at bay "an endemic sense of anxiety and instability in social life" caused by migration to America [Appadurai, 1996: 179; see also Turton (2005)].

By reproducing the familiar structure of a farm, applying recognizable technological solutions, and equipping the house with familiar objects, Printz might have succeeded at domesticating the foreign environment, creating an illusion of stability and unchanged reality, and turning displacement into emplacement. By doing so, he also unknowingly created stimuli for his nostalgic longing. The objects he used daily and the architecture of Printzhof might have acquired important significance; their familiarity and associations with life back in Sweden could have evoked remembering and revisiting the past. More than that, the familiar elements of the recreated home must have had comforting qualities allowing him, at least temporarily, to be immersed in thinking and acting as usual. The objects Printz interacted with on a daily basis invited reflection and provided sensory stimuli for imaginary travels and revisiting of idealized past times and places. They might have acted as mind stabilizers, revealing the continuity of the self through time.

Paradoxically, however, these reconstructed home environments might occasionally have been exposed and experienced by Printz and other longing colonists as a sort of mockery, as a pretense of unchangeability while in fact almost everything around was different. While at certain times material objects stood for comfort and familiarity, on other occasions, they were blunt and tangible reminders of displacement and the loneliness it created. The latter can be exemplified by a mirror Printz gazed in only to realize the desperateness of his condition, longing, and unhomelike character of the colony and to confirm wish of return, which he reported in a letter. It seems then, that the contrast experienced between the recreated home space and the harshness of daily life outside of his doorstep made living in New Sweden even more unbearable for Printz. Being surrounded by material objects constantly reminding him of the past and realizing that the ideas of fatherland imbedded in those objects were so incompatible with the daily existence in the colony, Printz easily became a victim of nostalgic longing, fixated with the idea of returning.

Summary

The social history of New Sweden and other early colonial enterprises in America is as much about colonization and attempts to transplant European institutions as it is about the struggle of the employees of the colonial companies and settlers to accept and adapt to life in the New World. Nostalgia, the early modern disease of the distressed imagination arising from the longing of one's lost homeland, found a fertile ground among those who moved to America. In New Sweden, the desire to return home was motivated by many reasons: disappointment, uncertainty of the

future caused by the unpredictability of the political situation in the colony, commonly felt lack of involvement and support from the government, and difficulty to domesticate and navigate in the alien landscape. Life in the colony was utterly different from the colonists' recollections of life at home-country farms and villages, and the harshness of the former made it easy to idealize and long for the latter. The feeling of longing might have been provoked by interactions with material objects brought from the home country. The power of these small external objects that "hang" in front of one's eyes causing the image of a homeland to cling to one's mind was already recognized in the seventeenth century by Johannes Hofer, the doctor who first defined nostalgia as homesickness.

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Part III
Movement Through Spaces

Chapter 12
"A Kind of Sacred Place": The Rock-and-Roll Ruins of AIR Studios, Montserrat

John F. Cherry, Krysta Ryzewski, and Luke J. Pecoraro

Preface

Between 1979 and 1989, AIR Studios on the east Caribbean island of Montserrat was a premier recording destination for a galaxy of Rock-and-Roll stars. Forced to close by Hurricane Hugo, the property has suffered further damage from the ongoing eruptions of the Soufrière Hills volcano over the past 15 years (Fig. 12.1). In 2010 archaeologists from the Survey and Landscape Archaeology on Montserrat project (SLAM) surveyed the ruins of AIR Studios, recording the spatial layout of the studio, documenting remnant material culture abandoned at the time of the studio's closure, and excavating ash-covered pavement slabs inscribed by musicians during the studio's heyday. It is our contention in this chapter that, as a site of contemporary archaeology, AIR Studios raises several intriguing and important issues about the maintenance of ruins, experiences of a doomed place, and the movement and displacement of material objects.

At the CHAT 2011 conference where this chapter had its birth, our presentation included an accompanying video and musical soundtrack. These components were essential for conveying the importance of the intangible, sensory musical experience that is inextricable from the archaeological significance of AIR Studios. Regrettably, because of the constraints of the traditional print format, much of the force, emotion, and nostalgia contributed by these experiential media are lost in translation. In an attempt to salvage parts of the presentation's choreography,

J.F. Cherry (✉)
Joukowsky Institute for Archaeology and the Ancient World, Brown University, Providence, RI 02912, USA
e-mail: John_Cherry@brown.edu

K. Ryzewski
Department of Anthropology, Wayne State University, Detroit, MI, USA

L.J. Pecoraro
Department of Archaeology, Boston University, Boston, MA, USA

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Fig. 12.1 AIR Studios (*white structure at lower right*) threatened by a pyroclastic flow down the Belham River, February 2010 (Photo courtesy of the Montserrat Volcano Observatory)

we include here audio-biographical references to songs recorded at AIR Studios Montserrat, placed at the head of each section and intended to be particularly appropriate to it. We encourage the reader to listen to some of these songs while reading the text: They will, we hope, enliven our discussion of music's movements, its associated material culture, and its heritage on Montserrat.

The AIR Atmosphere

Audio-Biography: The Police, "Every Little Thing She Does Is Magic," Ghost in the Machine, 1981

In a 1989 documentary that captured one of The Rolling Stones' recording sessions for their comeback album *Steel Wheels*, guitarist Keith Richards described the atmosphere of working at AIR Studios on the Caribbean island of Montserrat as an intimate, productive, and isolated creative experience. In comparison to recording in the city among constant social distractions, he observed, "if you've got everybody on a little island with nowhere to go, and you're actually living almost in the studio, then…you get a lot more done, quicker" (Rolling Stones, 2009). His description of living and working at AIR Montserrat conveys not only an accurate sense of the studio's idyllic setting but also its unconventionally cramped quarters. Spatially, the recording studio was small, measuring only 20 × 25 feet. It was attached to a modest two-story residence with an open floor plan combining dining, kitchen, and recreational spaces. A guest wing with three bedrooms, an outbuilding housing two small offices and storage areas, and an inground swimming pool and patio area completed the built environment of the studio compound.

It was not uncommon for living and recording spaces to overlap. Spatial constraints occasionally forced musicians to spill over from the studio into the residential space, as was the case in 1981 during The Police's recording of their album *Ghost in the Machine*, when drummer Stewart Copeland set up his expansive drum kit in the living room (BBC, 1981). Similarly, the small recording space effectively abolished any formality in the recording process by eliminating distance between the musicians and sound editors. Evidence of the musicians' comfortable interactions with this space is perhaps best illustrated by The Police's music video for their 1981 song "Every Little Thing She Does Is Magic," filmed inside AIR Studios, which features the memorable scene of Sting dancing across the very expensive sound equipment in the editing room.

For nearly 11 years, AIR was one of the most prolific studios in the world and a premier recording destination. Despite challenging logistical constraints, many of the world's most famous Rock-and-Roll musicians of the era took up residence at AIR Studios during its operational years (1979–1989). As vocalist Neil Dorfsman of Dire Straits noted, Montserrat "was a great place to hang out and it was very relaxed, so you could focus on what you were doing" (SOS, 2006). In addition to the focus and relaxation that the secluded tropical island offered, AIR Montserrat boasted the most advanced recording technology of the era, including an acclaimed 58-input Neve recording console. These two factors contributed to fostering a creative environment from which some of the defining albums and songs of the 1980s emerged, including The Police's *Ghost in the Machine* (1981) and *Synchronicity* (1982–83), Duran Duran's *Rio* (1982), Jimmy Buffett's *Volcano* (1979), The Rolling Stones' *Steel Wheels* (1989), Elton John's *Too Low for Zero* (1983), Dire Straits' *Brothers in Arms* (1984–1985), and Black Sabbath's *The Eternal Idol* (1986). At least 67 albums were recorded in full or in part by internationally famous musicians at AIR Studios Montserrat during the 1980s (see Appendix). The global movement of these songs, the reciprocal power they exerted in shaping a generation of music and listeners, and their impact in defining a legacy of musical history on, and associated with, Montserrat connects multiple scales of attachments to memories, experiences, and material culture associated with the studios. The space and its associated artifacts—not least the music that survives—attest to the archaeological significance of what are now the ruins of Rock-and-Roll's cultural heritage on the island and beyond.

AIR Studios and Montserrat

Audio-Biography: Jimmy Buffett, "Volcano," Volcano, 1979

AIR Studios Montserrat was the creation of music producer George Martin (now Sir George), who fell for the island while on vacation there in 1977. Martin had entered the music industry two decades earlier, becoming head of the Parlophone label for EMI in 1960, signing the Beatles two years later, and going on to produce every album they made until the group disbanded in 1970. In the late sixties, he broke away from EMI to form Associated Independent Recordings (AIR), establishing AIR Studios in central London in 1969. But a vacation on Montserrat a few years

Fig. 12.2 The location of Montserrat in the Caribbean (figure by the SLAM Project)

later gave him the idea of developing a sister studio on the island. As his company later put it, "the island exuded an over-powering sense of peace and amity—all the right ambience for the creation of great music" (GeorgeMartinMusic, 2011). Frustrated by the many distractions in the path of successful recording in major cities, he proceeded to construct AIR Studios Montserrat, which opened in 1979. The procession of rock superstars on Montserrat throughout the 1980s generated valuable income for local island residents and a measure of fame for this remote British Overseas Territory (Fig. 12.2).

The Rolling Stones' 1989 *Steel Wheels* album was among the last to be recorded at AIR Studios. Less than six months later, Category 4 Hurricane Hugo made a direct hit on Montserrat, heavily damaging nearly all of the buildings on this small, ca. 100 km^2, island (Berke & Beatley, 1997: 82–116). Sir George Martin returned to AIR Studios six weeks after the storm to assess the damage. Opening a piano keyboard, he saw that all of the ivories were covered in green mold and he understood if the inside of the piano looked like that, the studio's electronics would have fared no better. As Martin confessed in a recent BBC interview, "I realized then we were done" (BBC, 2011). If he entertained any hopes of resuscitating the studios, these were dashed by a second, more permanent, catastrophe, when in July of 1995 the previously dormant Soufrière Hills volcano began eruptions that have continued to the present. Pyroclastic flows and lahars first destroyed and then buried the capital city of Plymouth, blanketing more than half the island in ash and rock and creating a

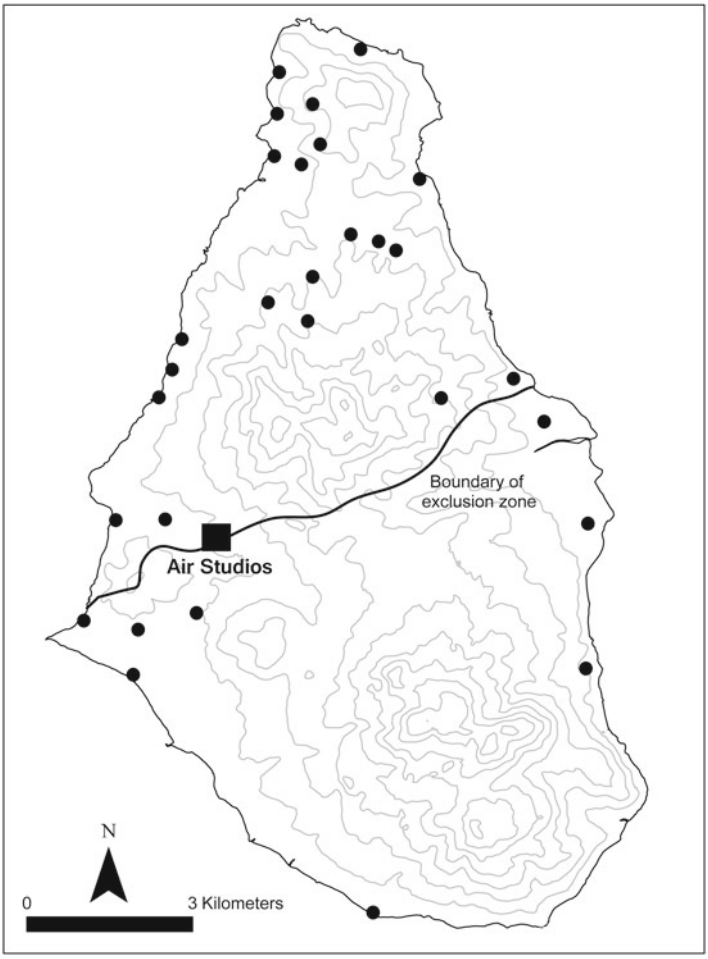

Fig. 12.3 Location of AIR Studios (square) and other archaeological sites on Montserrat (circles) in relation to the exclusion zone as it existed in 2010 (figure by the SLAM Project)

permanently dangerous exclusion zone on the southern end of the island. In addition to the immense disruption of the human population through forced emigration, the eruptions have had a catastrophic effect on the island's landscape. Over half of the island is designated an uninhabitable exclusion zone, and access to it is strictly policed. Within this zone, nearly all of the island's previously investigated archaeological sites have been damaged or completely destroyed (Fitzpatrick, 2012; Miles & Munby, 2006; Pulsipher & Goodwin, 2001; Watters & Norton, 2007).

AIR Studios lies on the very edge of the current exclusion zone (Fig. 12.3), and its buildings are now partially covered with ash and hardened mud. It may be only a matter of time before further pyroclastic flows pouring down the Belham River valley either destroy or deeply bury the studios. AIR Studios is likely a doomed place, making an archaeological approach to it necessary—and uniquely challenging.

As a site of contemporary archaeology, AIR Studios falls within the remit of the Survey and Landscape Archaeology on Montserrat project (SLAM), established by John F. Cherry, Krysta Ryzewski, and the Montserrat National Trust in 2009, as a direct response to the damage already caused, and the risks still posed by volcanic activity (Ryzewski & Cherry, 2010). Two-thirds of the former population of 13,000 has now left the island permanently, while the remainder has been forced to move to safer areas in the north, where resettlement villages, a new capital town and government center, and a wide variety of infrastructure are under active construction.

Inevitably, the cultural heritage of Montserrat is either being destroyed or under threat from the volcano—and to an unknown extent, since no systematic or comprehensive survey of archaeological resources has ever been undertaken (Cherry, Ryzewski, & Leppard, 2012). This survey is the urgent first-phase goal of SLAM's fieldwork. AIR Studios Montserrat rightly belongs within this research framework, despite being a site constructed only 33 years ago, with a single decade of active use, and now a grim future. The studios stand out as an important place of memory work for Montserratians, as they grapple with issues of nostalgia and identity rebuilding [Ryzewski & Cherry, 2012; on nostalgia, see Hodge (2009) and Chap. 11]. AIR Studios is known to, and is a source of pride for, all the island's residents, as well as for the far larger off-island diaspora. Even today, more than two decades after Hurricane Hugo closed it down, the opening of AIR Studios ranks high on the list of key historical facts about Montserrat, on the website of its Tourist Board (VisitMontserrat, 2011).

Archaeology at AIR Studios

Audio-Biography: Climax Blues Band, "Summer Rain," Real to Reel, 1979

In 2010, a SLAM team surveyed the ruins of the AIR Studios' recording and residential complex. The contrast between the vibrant video recordings of musicians previously working and playing in these spaces and the current state of silence and utter dereliction was shocking—the door to the recording studio hanging off its hinges and engulfed in tropical overgrowth, many rooms partially flooded, roofs and floors sagging and rotting, the pool full of sludge, and volcanic ash blowing everywhere (Fig. 12.4).

Recording the layout and current condition of the complex's spaces, the team first examined the ruins of the house, which is still standing but vacant and covered in a thick coat of volcanic ash. Small finds—clothes hangers, cans of food, bathroom fixtures—in the closets, guest bedrooms, and kitchen are among the only hints of the former inhabitants of the house. These unassuming remains are not illustrative artifacts of this space's past rock-star heyday; rather, their survival suggests a measure of hope that the AIR complex might nonetheless still have some kind of future.

Fig. 12.4 Scenes of dereliction and decay within the former living and administrative areas of AIR Studios, June 2010 (Photos by the SLAM Project)

We subsequently explored the interior spaces of the recording studio and associated production rooms. These areas, located towards the rear of the complex, were dark, flooded, and in a bad state of disrepair. Although most of the studio’s equipment had long since been removed and valuable fittings stripped out, there remained a great deal of moveable material culture scattered in various parts of the buildings. These material vestiges included unspooled reel-to-reel recording tapes, technical manuals, early-style computer floppy disks, paper forms for booking artists or renting time in the recording studio, an empty guitar case, the odd shoe, and so on (Fig. 12.5).

The main house sits atop a small hill and faces southward, overlooking the Belham Valley below (see Fig. 12.1). The house is positioned at the end of a winding access road and semicircular driveway. Two wings of the complex extend behind it, out of sight to approaching visitors. The western wing housed the recording studio and production rooms, and the eastern wing was a corridor of guest rooms, typically used to accommodate sound engineers (the musicians generally preferring to reside in nearby villas). An interior manicured courtyard garden was centrally located between the U-shaped space that the building complex creates.

This courtyard is now choked with tropical vegetation, and the ash that has fallen on its sidewalks has been turned by the tropical rains to a hard layer of mud. Locals informed us that beneath the ash was a spot where cement was poured from time to time, allowing recording bands to mark their visit by scratching signatures and messages or pressing handprints into the wet cement. Accounts detail how some of the sidewalk blocks were removed in the early 2000s, at a time when volcanic activity was

Fig. 12.5 The state of the former recording area at AIR Studios, June 2010 (Photos by the SLAM Project)

on the rise. Bronze casts were subsequently made from select handprint impressions, including those of Mark Knopfler (Dire Straits) and Paul McCartney; these are now on display in the Montserrat Cultural Centre at Little Bay, a community theater space constructed by Sir George Martin in 2006 (MontserratCulturalCentre, 2012).

In order to determine whether any of these musicians' inscriptions remained, the SLAM team conducted brief clearance excavations of four contiguous sidewalk segments that ran from the exit of the main house northward along the guest-wing corridor. All of them revealed messages, names, and handprints of former musicians. Two sections were very well preserved, and two were badly weathered but showed traces of graffiti (Fig. 12.6). The best-preserved inscriptions belong to the bands America and the Climax Blues Band (the very first group to produce an album at AIR Studios). All of the inscriptions were carefully recorded, photographed, and videoed. We designated the AIR Studios complex with an official site number, which ensured that it is recorded in the files of the Montserrat National Trust as a significant archaeological site.

All of these remains are of obvious significance for those with an interest in rock music history and for those who remember AIR Studios Montserrat. In our opinion, some of the most salient remains at AIR are the graffiti on sidewalks, outdated computer manuals, analog sound equipment, vinyl record labels, microphone stands, and abandoned recording spaces—artifacts of the technologies and personal experiences of making music there in the 1980s. These are unconventional archaeological remains, though whether or not they are worth preserving is a topic likely to generate debate

Fig. 12.6 Clearing by SLAM of inscribed paving slabs bearing the names of bands and supporting technical crew members, AIR Studios, June 2010 (Photos by the SLAM Project)

among local agencies, music fans, and professional archaeologists. Graves-Brown and Schofield (2011) encountered just such a reaction following their recent publication documenting the cultural and archaeological significance of graffiti drawn by the Sex Pistols, uncovered during renovations of a flat on Denmark Street in London. Viewed as artifacts of "anti-heritage," Graves-Brown and Schofield discussed the obscene and relatively recent graffiti messages as atypical of the types of sites or remains that heritage agencies work to preserve, but they nonetheless advocated their preservation as a potential benefit for future generations. We regard the surviving evidence from AIR Studios in a similar light: This site is pregnant with meaning and memory and cannot lightly be disregarded, but how it should best be memorialized is no simple question. This remains an ongoing dialogue between the property owner, archaeologists, and various on- and off-island stakeholder communities.

Theoretical and Practical Considerations

Audio-Biography: Dire Straits, "Money for Nothing," Brothers in Arms, 1985

Our engagement with AIR Studios has raised several theoretical and practical considerations about the maintenance of ruins, experiences of a doomed place, and displacement of material objects. We briefly discuss each of these issues in turn below.

Maintenance

AIR Studios is located near the boundary of the exclusion zone, whose precise location depends on the level of volcanic activity at any given time, and it is thus an inherently dangerous place to visit. The property is private, so that visiting it constitutes trespass, and clear warning signs are posted to indicate that visitors enter at their own risk. Indeed, the state of the ruin is so perilous that it should perhaps be boarded up and fenced, lest unwary tourists injure themselves by falling through a rotten floor or off a sagging balcony.

Nonetheless, Sir George Martin has hired an island resident to serve as occasional custodian of the site; this individual happens to be a member of SLAM, and it was he who secured permissions for our work on the property. By these means, we have also been able to access Martin's thinking about the site and its future. For example, a budget for 2011 detailed cleanup and safety work that included clearing the exterior driveway to present a more "cared-for" exterior, to board up entry points and affix warning signs, to replace the dilapidated external door to the recording studio in order to "discourage uninvited exploration of the studio spaces," and so on.

While the monetary sums provided for these annual works are quite modest (5,000 East Caribbean dollars), the intention is unmistakable: "to clear the debris from areas that might be accessed by visitors/tourists, to create safe walkways, and an impression of care and attention." Why does Martin continue to spend money in maintaining the purely fictive, orderly appearance of a structure that is rapidly succumbing to irreversible tropical decay and that will quite possibly soon be overwhelmed by volcanic ash flows? The situation speaks to his strong personal nostalgic connection to this place and its time, and yet this is seemingly contradicted by his own stoically philosophical words in a recent television documentary: "It's like everything in life: everything has a period. You bring something out of nothing, and it always goes back to nothing again" (BBC, 2011). This view indexes a larger, equally philosophical question of direct relevance to archaeology: In what sense can (or should) AIR Studios be treated as a heritage site, given its imminent demise?

Fig. 12.7 The repurposed AIR Studios bar at the Soca Cabana bar at Little Bay, Montserrat (Photo by Emanuela Bocancea)

Movement

AIR Studios is a place that has experienced movement through displacement, both in and out. At the most obvious level, there has been the inflow of world-famous rock-stars to the studios over the course of a decade and the outflow of all the albums and music they recorded there. But, interestingly, there has also been a displacement of material culture objects since the studios were abandoned, an outflow that itself speaks powerfully to their salience as now-empowered things (see Chap. 14).

Since the studios were abandoned in 1989, various private individuals on, and visitors to, Montserrat have come into possession of items formerly in use at AIR Studios, and they curate them with studied care—precisely because of their direct connection to the studio's powerful memories. For example, the original wooden bar at AIR Studios was stripped out and reinstalled in the popular beachside Soca bar at Little Bay in the north of the island (Fig. 12.7): "Drink at the bar of the stars" reads its publicity, and there are plaques to remind drinkers of the heritage on which they rest their elbows (Soca Cabana, 2012). Other objects located in the production areas offer the possibility of a finding a "lost" recording; one recent music blog post relates to a discarded reel-to-reel tape taken by a tourist from AIR Studios in 1989—"It can be blank or it can be The Rolling Stones or The Police, who knows? This is a complete mystery!!" (Tape Trail, 2010). Speakers from the editing room are among the most valued remains from the studio among islanders, who have salvaged and

Fig. 12.8 Reuse of AIR Studio speakers in a street festival on Montserrat, March 2007 (Photo by Krysta Ryzewski)

reincorporated them into local events, including the annual island-wide New Year's Day Jump Up parade and weekly street-side DJ concerts (Fig. 12.8).

More distant circulations of the studios' sound technology include the movement of AIR's high-tech Neve recording console, which was relocated to Los Angeles in 1997, where, oddly enough, artists such as The Rolling Stones put it to use once again. The Neve console was the technological showpiece of AIR Studios, acclaimed by many of the visiting musicians for its superior sound reproduction capabilities. Neil Dorfsman of Dire Straits remembered the Neve console and the studio space in a 2006 interview as "good-sounding, but the main room itself was nothing to write home about. The sound of the studio was the desk [i.e., the Neve]…[it] was so good that anything you put through it just sounded great" (SOS, 2006). That the technological affordances of the console compensated for the fact that AIR Studios was a cramped and fairly minimal facility provides a fascinating case study in the context

of sound reproduction and how its associated technologies connect to broader social and technical networks of music making (Graves-Brown, 2009; Sterne, 2003). This selfsame ex-Montserrat Neve console, a historical artifact of sound fidelity, has become yet more interesting because of its continuing use and life history; in 2010 it moved once again, this time to Allaire Studios in the Catskill Mountains of New York, where it is now used by a new generation of pop musicians.

The movement and circulation of material culture from AIR Studios transforms them from a singular site or locus of activity to a distributed network of places. The site location of AIR Studios still exists physically (albeit perhaps only temporarily), but mainly as a new site that is increasingly defined as an assemblage of loss and accumulating ruins. As it continues to be transformed into an abandoned and somewhat inaccessible space and as its materials are removed from it and commemorated or preserved elsewhere, the studios are being progressively reassembled in many new places; in this sense, AIR Studios Montserrat is becoming multi-sited (Ryzewski, 2012).

Heritage Assemblages

Finally, we need to consider why a trip to AIR Studios appears to be so evocative for so many visitors. As already mentioned, the site lies in an exclusion zone, is a private property, and has become a physically dangerous place. Yet, judging from numerous online blogs and other online postings, individuals do regularly visit it, even if in many cases only virtually. To quote from one virtual visitor named Jennifer Boone, "to see the ruins of this place, haunted by the sounds that filled my youth, seems even more appropriate and *kind of sacred*" (Boone, 2011; emphasis added). This is the language of pilgrimage. Understanding this place clearly requires consideration of the nostalgic sentiments and collective memories that connect and draw people from around the world directly to AIR Studios.

Accumulating Ruins

Audio-Biography: Elton John, "I'm Still Standing," Too Low for Zero, 1983

In summary, the importance of engaging in a contemporary archaeology at AIR Studios deserves our attention for continued research, but it also has the potential to be a boon for the ongoing redevelopment of cultural heritage on Montserrat. The recording studio, both as a physical place and as a place from which music "moved," is evocative for the Montserratian people, for visitors to the island, for the musician community who recorded there, and for a global music audience. It is evocative to those who have been to the site, but quite clearly also to those who

have not. While the ruins of the studio will be maintained and visitation will doubtless continue, both legally and otherwise, the site will continue to undergo change and materials will be left behind, creating a new archaeological site in itself. In surveying AIR Studios, we have engaged with its *visible* surface, and, as Rodney Harrison comments, such a surface assemblage is a place where the "past, present and future are combined and still in the process of becoming." In this sense AIR Studios is a transitional place: It is both "present and future centered" (Harrison, 2011: 6).

By contextualizing AIR Studios in this manner, we can approach its accumulating ruins as a site of both local and global heritage, one that will survive in its empowered material remains, memories, and sounds long after the physical structure's demise. Tracking the movement of the Studio's materials, music, and memories is one way to engage with the powerful history of legendary Rock-and-Roll creations, the modern history of the island, and the Montserratian people. It is also one way to understand the strong connections between these local histories and the personal experiences of musical memory and placemaking on a global scale. Despite intense "mixed emotions" about how best to commemorate, salvage, and distribute the studio's past, the surviving memories and objects are already preserving a future for AIR Studios and Montserrat as a "kind of sacred place."

Afterword

Audio-Biography: The Rolling Stones, "Mixed Emotions," Steel Wheels, 1989

We revisited AIR Studios in late June 2012. In a mere two years, the contemporary archaeological record of AIR Studios has been transformed into a ruin of a very different sort than the possible heritage site about which we speculated in this chapter (completed before our 2012 field season). The degree to which the property and its structures have changed since our initial survey is astonishing. In contrast to 2010, when the fairly well-preserved residential area and studio spaces still held potential for renovation and reoccupation, the present state of the property is one of rapidly accelerating and irreversible decay. In 2011, at the request of Sir George Martin, all debris was removed from the interiors of the compound's rooms, and furniture and shelving in these spaces have also been stripped out—further instances of the movement of material culture from AIR Studios. Such ultimately futile efforts to clean and clear the buildings have left little indication of each room's past functions and the materiality of living and working in the studios. Adding to these recent losses is the rapid deterioration of the buildings' infrastructure. Gaping holes now exist in the wooden roofs, termites are causing irreparable damage to walls, floorboards are rotting as rain enters through the roofs, windows and doors are missing,

and the courtyard is completely choked with vegetation. Over the next few years, this complex will inexorably be reduced to the shell of a structural ruin, indistinguishable from other abandoned, decaying buildings in Montserrat's exclusion zone. Nature is reclaiming the studio space, delivering an emphatic final verdict on the viability of AIR Studio's long-term physical preservation. (An album of images comparing the studios in 2010 and in 2012 is available on the "Archaeology on Montserrat" Facebook page: https://www.facebook.com/pages/Archaeology-on-Montserrat/137534903036840?ref=ts.)

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Appendix. A Partial List of Musicians and the Albums they Recorded at AIR Studios Montserrat, 1979–1989

Date	Artist	Album/sessions
1979		
April	America	*Silent Letter*
May	Jimmy Buffett	*Volcano*
June	Climax Blues Band	*Real to Reel*
Oct/Nov	Private Lightning	n/a
December	Roger Daltrey	*McVicar*
1980		
February	Lou Reed	*Growing Up In Public*
March	Cheap Trick	*All Shook Up*
	U.F.O.	*No Place to Run*
	Earth, Wind & Fire	*Faces*
July	Alan David/Bruce Welch	n/a
December	Nazareth	*The Fool Circle*
	Sheena Easton	*You Could Have Been With Me*
1981		
January	John Townley	n/a
Feb/Mar	Paul McCartney	*Tug of War with Stevie Wonder*
April	Mike Batt	n/a
Apr/May	Little River Band	*Time Exposure*
May/June	Michael Schenker Group	*MSG*
Jun/July	The Police	*Ghost in the Machine*

(continued)

Appendix. (continued)

Date	Artist	Album/sessions
Jul/Aug	Rob de Nijs	*80/82*
August	Stray Cats	*Built for Speed*
1982		
January	Elton John	*Jump Up*
Jan/Feb	Duran Duran	*Rio*
April	Roger Daltrey	*Parting Should be Painless* (*parts*)
May	Nazareth	*2XS*
May/June	Sheena Easton	*Madness*, *Money*, *and Music*
Jul/Aug	Ultravox	*Quartet*
Sept/Oct	Elton John	*Too Low for Zero*
December	The Police	*Synchronicity*
1983		
January	The Police	*Synchronicity*
Feb/Mar	Status Quo	*Back to Back*
Mar/Apr	James Taylor	*That's Why I'm Here*
Apr/Jun	I Pooh (Italy)	n/a
Jun/July	Duran Duran	*Seven and the Ragged Tiger*
Oct/Dec	O.M.D.	*Junk Culture*
December	Elton John	*Breaking Hearts*
1984		
January	Elton John	*Breaking Hearts*
Feb/Mar	AIR Supply	*AIR Supply*
Mar/Apr	Eric Clapton/Phil Collins	*Behind the Sun*
May	Geoff Emerick	EMI project
September	Luther Vandross	*Give Me the Reason*
Nov/Dec	Dire Straits	*Brothers in Arms*
1985		
Jan/Feb	Dire Straits	*Brothers in Arms*
Apr/May	Mike Rutherford	n/a
May/Jun	Rush	*Power Windows*
Jun/July	Midge Ure	*The Gift*
Jul/Aug	Tommy Keene	n/a
Aug/Dec	Art Garfunkel	Various
1986		
Mar/Apr	Sting	Various
June	Luther Vandross	*Any Love*
Jul/Aug	Ultravox	*U-Vox*
August	Boy George Culture Club	*From Luxury to Heartache*
Sept/Oct	Black Sabbath	*Eternal Idol*
1987		
March	Rush	*Hold Your Fire*
Apr/May	Indochine (France)	n/a
May/Jul	Sting	Various
Jul/Aug	Deep Purple	*The House of Blue Light*
Sept/Oct	Takako Okamura	n/a

(continued)

Appendix. (continued)

Date	Artist	Album/sessions
Nov/Dec	Corey Hart	*Young Man Running*
1988		
Jan/Feb	Corey Hart	*Young Man Running*
February	Eddie Jobson	n/a
Feb/Mar	Midge Ure	*Answers to Nothing*
April	Keith Richards	*Talk is Cheap*
May/Jun	The Fixx	*Calm Animals*
Jun/July	Simply Red	*A New Flame*
October	Walt Disney World	n/a
December	Complex (Japan)	n/a
1989		
January	Complex (Japan)	n/a
Jan/Mar	Anderson, Wakeman, Bruford, and Howe	*Anderson Bruford Wakeman Howe*
March	Kassav (France)	n/a
Mar/May	Rolling Stones	*Steel Wheels* sessions
May/Jun	Trance Dance	n/a
July	Ziggy Marley	Various

Source: Douglas C. Anderson

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Chapter 13
Historical Montage: An Approach to Material Aesthetics at Historic House Sites

Travis G. Parno

What a museum of curiosities is the garret of a well-regulated New England house.

Thomas Bailey Aldrich, The Story of a Bad Boy, 1870 (quoted in Nylander, 1993: 14)

Introduction

Historic house museums are curious places. On one hand, they relate what is almost universally and intimately familiar: a sense of home. On the other hand, their existence serves to highlight what is different, casting a spotlight on the gap of time between past and present. In their antiquity, they invite us to enjoy a glimpse of the domestic past, yet they are framed within a heritage-based network that is situated firmly in the present. Additionally, despite the fact that each shares the fundamental quality of domesticity, historic house museums feature an astonishing variety of interpretive schemes. Two museums in the same town, even in the same neighborhood, might operate with completely different agendas depending on a number of factors, including the stewardship group's philosophy, their operating budget, the museum's history, the goals of the community and/or stakeholders, and the expectations of the visitor population.

These unique features have not been lost on the archaeological and heritage communities (e.g., Handler & Gable, 1997; Hodge, 2009; Hodge & Beranek, 2011; Holtorf, 2005; Levin, 2007a; Paynter, 2002; Schofield & Harrison, 2010; Smith, 2006; Spencer-Wood, 1996; Stahlgren & Stottman, 2007; Ulrich, 2007; West, 1999).

T.G. Parno (✉)
Department of Archaeology, Boston University, 675 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, MA 02215-1406, USA
e-mail: tgparn@bu.edu

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Fig. 13.1 Fairbanks House, view from the southeast, circa 1936 (photo courtesy of the Historic American Buildings Survey)

These recent discussions of heritage at house museums have offered useful recommendations for building insightful and relevant management plans. They have also illustrated the profound ways that archaeology, heritage, and stakeholder interests can overlap in the museum setting. A common thread that runs throughout the contemporary conversation is a shared belief in the power of communication and collaboration between visitors, communities, and museum and heritage professionals. While these publications have tackled museum heritage from a variety of angles, I echo Amy Levin's call for a more rigorous study of small, local museums (2007b). In particular, Levin points out that, "local museums offer us glimpses at the contradictions and dilemmas evident in any effort to present or represent culture" (2007b: 25). It is these complications that I will examine here, not from the perspective of those re/presenting culture, but of those to whom it is re/presented.

As a case study of this particular set of relations, I offer the Fairbanks House in Dedham, Massachusetts (Fig. 13.1). Built in 1641, the home is regularly touted as an important example of early colonial timber-frame architecture (e.g., Cummings, 1979, 2002; St. George, 1982; Wallis et al., 1898). It has been open to visitors since the early twentieth century and boasts a large and diverse collection of antiques, heirlooms, and archaeological artifacts. The Fairbanks House's architectural antiquity is remarkable, but its allure, like that of other small historic house museums, transcends its slumping wooden shell. The museum assumes an authority—an aesthetic appeal packaged in patina and imbued with a distinctive and authoritative aura—that transports visitors through a montage of time and invites them to paint their own picture of the past. This journey is reminiscent of that taken by Walter Benjamin through the Paris Arcades (1999 [1927]). In each instance, the individual encounters a hodgepodge of mundane material culture pulled from the darkened recesses of time and brought together in a space that is itself historic and fading. Whereas Benjamin used his time in the Arcades

to problematize historiography, I use the museum patron's visit to dissect the construction of heritage at historic houses. Pairing ethnographic survey data with Benjamin's influential *Arcades Project*, I argue that local historic house museums such as the Fairbanks House provide an experience that is actively creative, deeply personal, and highly unique. There is a dynamism beneath the dusty surface of these fixtures of the New England countryside.

New England Historic House Museums

The New England region has benefited from a long and enthusiastic preservation history (e.g., Brown, 1995; Lindgren, 1995; West, 1999). Early preservationists focused on saving examples of colonial architecture and aesthetics, which in practice meant great attention was paid to early homes. But it was more than the buildings' antiquity that drew preservationists to their cause. James Lindgren related Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities (SPNEA, now known as Historic New England) founder William Appleton's affinity for historic houses to "the widespread belief that those early dwellings represented the unpretentious lives, rigorous thrift, and clear-headed resourcefulness of pioneers" (1995: 69). Historic homes were beacons of a since-lost Golden Era, lights holding back the darkness of nineteenth-century urbanism, emigration, and changing social standards.

The result of this domestic focus is that New England is dotted with house museums that range in renown from the well-known Paul Revere house in Boston's North End to much smaller, rural museums like the Marrett House in Standish, Maine. The breadth of interpretations at these sites is equally diverse. Many museums have focused on arranging the site as it would have appeared in a distinct period of the house's history. A quick scan of Historic New England's properties reveals numerous examples of this approach, including the Arnold House in Lincoln, Rhode Island (interpreted to the seventeenth century), the Sayward-Wheeler House in York Harbor, Maine (interpreted to the late eighteenth century), and Roseland Cottage in Woodstock, Connecticut (interpreted to the nineteenth century). Other sites, such as the Coffin House and the Spencer-Pierce-Little Farm in Newbury, Massachusetts, interpret individual rooms to discrete phases, allowing the visitor to travel through time simply by moving through the house. Still other homes, such as the Boardman House in Saugus, Massachusetts, are kept nearly empty of displayed objects, facilitating closer inspection of their architectural skeleton. What the buildings listed above have in common is that they are the property of Historic New England, a well-respected heritage organization with deep roots and, in comparison with smaller, individually run museums, deep pockets.

But what of these smaller local museums, a category that includes not only such sites in Massachusetts as the Edward Devotion House in Brookline and the Boutwell House in Groton, but also the Fairbanks House? Most are established to honor the history of a particular area or family. Many employ only a handful of full-time staff, if any, and are run predominantly by a branch of a local historical society that relies on donations of time, money, and artifacts to operate their museum. Their interpretive schemes are often geared towards a broader temporal representation rather than focusing on a particular period or periods of the house's history. This comprehensive

approach allows for greater flexibility when accepting and incorporating donated objects into the museum's collection. Often a portion, if not a majority, of the displayed material culture originated in disparate locations and was not actually purchased, owned, used, or discarded by the house's original occupants. The resulting assemblage is a pastiche of antiques designed to transport the visitor into a generalized representation of "pastness." This is not to imply randomness on the part of the museum organizers; quite the contrary, the collections are often linked by neighborhood or familial connections, however distant. We can compare the small house museum's displayed artifacts to the Renaissance "cabinet of curiosity," which Thomas (2004: 22) reminds us is often distained for being "haphazard or disorganized" when in fact it simply predated later taxonomic or typological ordering systems (see Lucas, 2010). Rather, Thomas (2004: 22) argues, cabinets of curiosity were based on Aristotelian systems in which grouped objects were associated via "sympathy, allegory, correspondence, and reflection rather than typology and tabulation." This web of temporal, material, and personal relations is crucial to the heritage agendas of local museums and one that directly informs visitors' experiences at the Fairbanks House.

Background: The Fairbanks House

The history of the Fairbanks House begins in 1633 when Jonathan Fairbanks traveled to Boston with his wife Grace and their children from the town of Sowerby in Yorkshire, England (Fairbanks, 1897). By 1641, Jonathan and his family had moved to Dedham and built a modest home on 12 acres of land (Fig. 13.2; Hill, 1892: 28; see also Cummings 1979, 2002). Over time, the house passed through eight generations of Fairbanks descendants, gaining multiple architectural additions according to the needs and means of its occupants (Fig. 13.3). For most of their time

Fig. 13.2 The location of the Fairbanks House (indicated by the *star*) at three scales: eastern seaboard of the USA (*left*), New England (*middle*), and Dedham (*right*) (figure by Travis G. Parno)

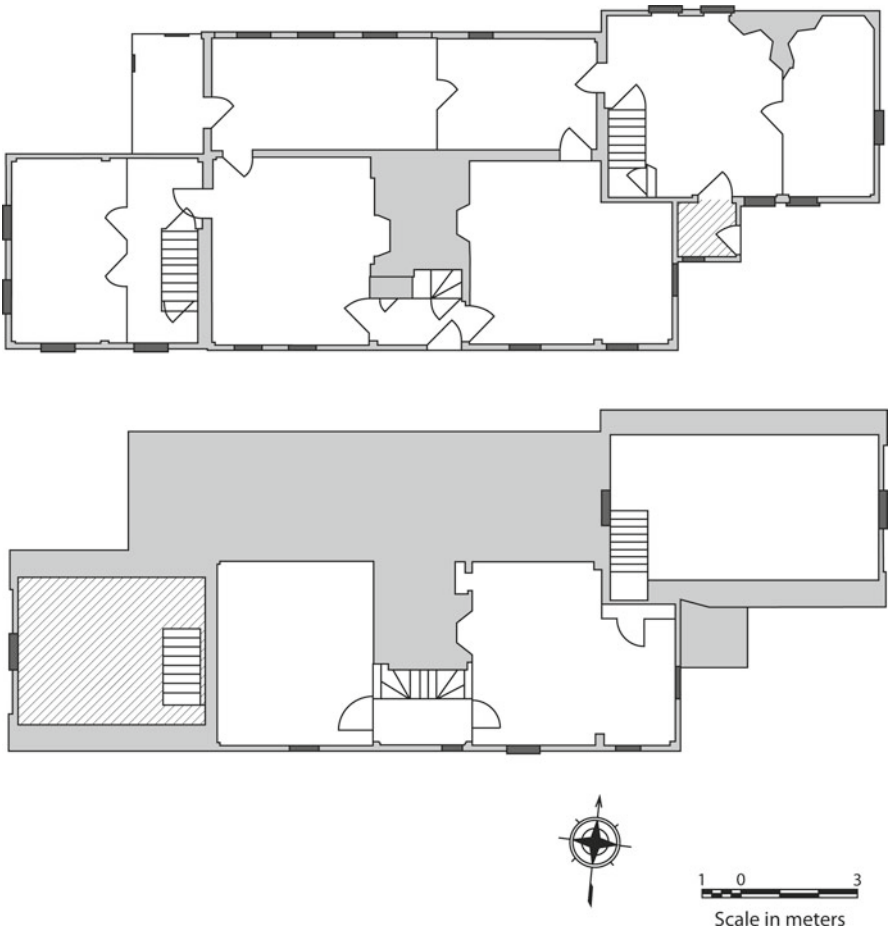

Fig. 13.3 Floor plan of the Fairbanks House as it appears today (first floor on *top*, second floor on *bottom*). Visitors to the museum are not shown rooms with diagonal line pattern (including attic, not shown) (figure by Travis G. Parno)

in Dedham, the Fairbanks were moderately successful middle-class farmers who rode local, regional, and national agricultural trends with a mix of success and struggle. The house reached its final Fairbanks occupant in 1879 when it passed to Rebecca Fairbanks, who was then 52 and unmarried. Rebecca opted to sell the house in 1895, and it was purchased by J. Amory and Martha C. Codman, who turned it over to the newly formed Fairbanks Family in America, Inc. stewardship group (Cummings, 2002: 40–41). The FFA formally opened the house's doors to tourists and visiting descendants in 1904, and it has operated as a heritage site since that time. Currently, the house receives between 1,500 and 3,500 visitors annually.

Today, the Fairbanks House sits on less than an acre of its original 12-acre plot. It is surrounded on two sides by busy streets, mid-twentieth-century suburban

homes, and a recreational park. Even on the property itself, the ancient house looks up at a large Sears precut bungalow-style home (a forerunner of modern prefabricated houses) built in 1912 as a residence for the museum's live-in curator. Within the house's remarkably well-preserved frame rests a wealth of objects collected over the 100 years since the site made the transition from home to museum (Fig. 13.4). The assemblage spans nearly four centuries since the building's construction and includes typical household accoutrement, American Civil War relics, paintings and photographs of assorted relatives (some near and dear, some unidentified), and various ephemera such as farm award ribbons, jewelry, and a scrap of an 1856 wedding dress that was once worn by a distant relation. Spinning wheels, ubiquitous symbols of colonial domesticity, can be found in three of the eight rooms visited on the house tour (for more on spinning wheels, see Monkhouse, 1982). Two of the home's original leaded glass windows now hang on the wall of the parlor (transformed from architecture to art) and samplers, clothing, and ceramics ornament nearly every room, some attributed to various members of the extended Fairbanks family and others bearing the surnames Dunn, Gilbert, Gilmore, Gulliver, and many more (Fig. 13.5). It might take a while to trace the tendrils of the family tree from the artifacts' owners back to the house's original residents, but it can usually be done. The museum memorializes the whole tree, rooted as it is in the home of America's first members of the Fairbanks family, all the while giving deference to Jonathan and Grace as noble forbearers.

The organization of the museum's displays and presentation of its history has been influenced to a certain extent by this broad-based approach. Visitors to the house are taken on a guided tour by a docent (after placing protective plastic booties over their shoes, emphasizing the fragility and sacredness of the space). The tour moves from room to room while the docent shares pertinent information about each space's function through time, often opting to pause and focus on particular artifacts. Some of the objects are accompanied by identifying cards or labels, most written in different hands or printed in outdated fonts, artifacts in and of themselves. Still more of the collection is unlabeled, requiring either the docent or the visitor's imagination to fix them with a provenience. Descendants of the Fairbanks family donated the vast majority of the artifacts, but only some of the objects (an estimated one-third) were purchased, used, displayed, or discarded by the house's historical occupants. The museum curators generally placed objects in the rooms in which they would have been used (i.e., cooking implements in the kitchen, bedding and clothing in a bedroom), but the decision was made "not to attempt to restore the house to its appearance at any one period of time" (Hunter, n.d.). The result is that each room, while representative of a general use pattern, bears little temporal regularity. This material mixture can be dizzying, especially when confronted within the various stages of architectural additions that keep the objects from spilling out onto the lawn. Traveling through these spaces enables the patron to jump through time, but to which time? All of them? None of them?

Fig. 13.4 Photographs of various spaces in the Fairbanks House (from *top left*): display case with jewelry, clothing accessories, and ephemera; fireplace in eastern addition, with armament owned by Lieut. Ammi Palmer Fairbanks (a descendant of Jonathan Fairbanks' brother, Jonas), a bed warmer, antique clock, and other relics; exposed hole in the wall of the eastern addition showing wooden lathing; spinning wheel in the rear lean-to (Photos by Travis G. Parno)

Fig. 13.5 Photograph of the parlor, featuring portraits of Nancy Fairbanks (sister of the house's final owner, Rebecca Fairbanks) and James Tripp, a display case with various donated ceramic vessels, and two of the house's seventeenth-century leaded windows (Photo by Travis G. Parno)

Considering Walter Benjamin

It is not hard to imagine Walter Benjamin posing similar questions about time travel as he meandered beneath the iron and glass ceilings of Paris' decaying Arcades (Fig. 13.6). There, in the musty corners of gloomy antique shops, he drew inspiration from the collections of mundane knickknacks and forgotten curios, objects similar to those that crowd the walls of the Fairbanks House. It has been 85 years since Benjamin began penning his *Arcades Project* and 13 years since the text was translated into English. The work has been a gateway into his larger corpus for many humanities scholars, myself included, and discussions relating his writing to archaeological study have been thought-provoking (e.g., Dawdy, 2010; Olivier, 2004). For example, Olivier (2004) found great utility in Benjamin's nonlinear understanding of time, arguing that material culture demonstrates this reality as it exists in various stages of growth, movement, and aging. Dawdy (2010) has explored Benjamin's writings on ruination and decay and applied them to her investigation of sites of modern disaster and decline. Comparisons between archaeological material and the *Arcades Project* are certainly appropriate—the pages and pages of reflections, quotations, and expositions that make up the text are themselves something of an archaeological site.

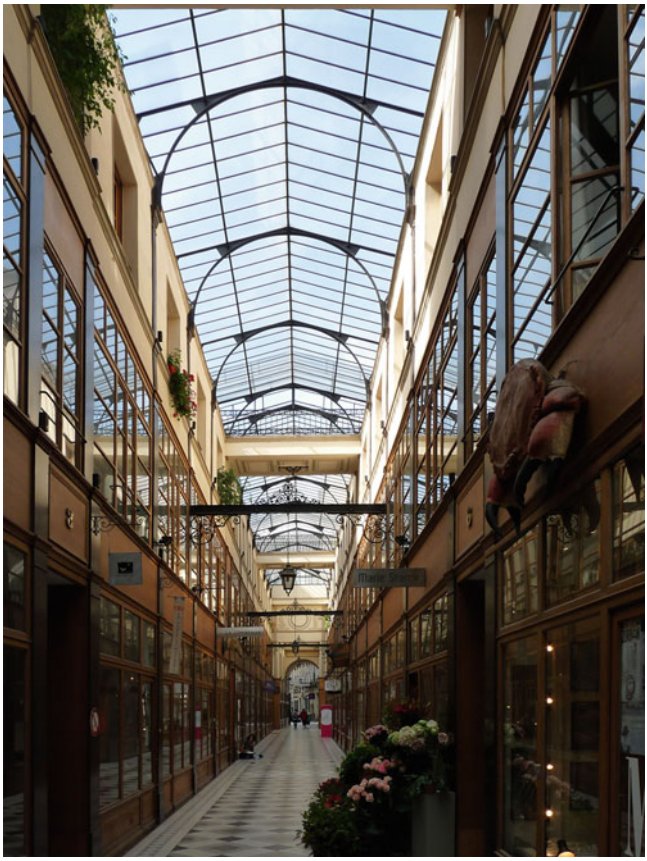

Fig. 13.6 The Paris Arcades (Photo courtesy of Wikipedia Commons)

Its verbiage is sprawling, yet the tome reveals Benjamin to be fundamentally concerned with time and chronology. More specifically, he is focused on overcoming traditional linear chronologies of the cultural historians who emphasized the progress of an oppressive force over the "abortive, retrograde, and obsolescent" moments of alternative histories (Benjamin, 1999 [1927]: 459 [N1a, 3]). The path to avoiding these sorts of clean grand narratives is to separate out the smaller, messier moments—the "trash of history" (Pensky, 2004: 192)—and embrace the resulting interruptions, repetitions, and disturbances in the sea of historical time.

Here a clear connection can be made between the so-called trash of history and the microhistorical approaches taken by a variety of historians and archaeologists (cf. Brooks, DeCorse, & Walton, 2008). Tomich (2008: 226) describes the subject of microhistory as "the singular, the peculiar, the out of series, the anomalous," emphasizing the contextual-interpretive nature of studying the single, irregular event against the supposedly regular background chronology. While some microhistorians analyze

the microscale as a means of tacking back to the macroscale, Benjamin's methodology is more radical. Rather than isolating a single element, Benjamin would have us wade into a pool of disparate, overlooked, everyday historical moments, from which an image of history would emerge. Benjamin links his methods with those of the Surrealists, arguing that we should "carry over the principle of montage into history" (Benjamin, 1999 [1927]: 461 [N2, 6]). Much like an assemblage of found objects, a collection of cast-aside historical moments can, according to Benjamin, lead to the crystallization of the past. The random things, discarded bits and bobs with little relation to one another beyond their lack of place within the functional world, tell a very different story than the parade of active material things that dominate progressive histories. In their individual rejection, they speak of the breakdown of chronology, and in their collectivity, they begin to present another side of the story.

A final metaphor will, I hope, underscore Benjamin's perspective: a mosaic. Tiny fragments combined to make an image. The importance and power of the mosaic, argues Benjamin, lie not in the larger picture, but in the beautiful pieces that form it. Benjamin's use of the mosaic as a metaphor illustrates his belief that, as Ferris (2004: 6) writes, "the value of individual thoughts is derived from how strongly individual they are, from how indirectly they relate to the underlying idea." A great distance between the single thought and the underlying idea, or the fragment and the whole, also implies a great distance between each individual thought. In theory, this results in a jarring experience for anyone expecting an alternative temporality to read like a narrative. In practice, as anyone who has tried to penetrate the *Arcades Project* can attest, this means that the reader is interrupted and forced to stop and contemplate each passage and its relationship to the underlying idea. Thus, the montage approach serves to collect the discarded fragments of progressive chronologies, arranging them in a way that at once highlights their position outside of traditional narratives, forces the observer to contemplate them individually, and allows for novel images of a larger idea to emerge.

So how does this emergence actually occur and what does it look like? Benjamin argues that from the archive of moments come "dialectical images," but these images are rather tough to qualify (Benjamin, 1999 [1927]: 462 [N2a, 3]). Pensky (2004: 177–179) and others have noted that Benjamin himself did not offer an intelligible definition of what a dialectical image is, or even if their existence is possible. I will not try to posit exactly what Benjamin's vision of a dialectical image was, but I believe we might be able to approach a working definition by studying visitor responses to the "reservoir of raw material" they encountered upon visiting the Fairbanks House (Pensky, 2004: 180).

Fairbanks House Visitor Survey: Background and Response

During the Fairbanks House's 2011 open season, which ran from May through October, visitors were asked if they would be willing to respond to a brief written survey upon completion of their tour. The survey's approach was twofold: first, to

collect demographic data so the FFA could better define their visitor base and second, to evaluate the tour experience. More specifically, this second goal was aimed not only at identifying what patrons liked and disliked about their tours but also how they reacted to the material culture contained within the house. It is important to note that conclusions based on the survey results are only tentative; we received responses from a small portion of the visitor population and will subsequently alter both the survey and the method of its distribution during the 2012 open season in hopes of capturing a larger percentage of the museum's patrons. Despite sample size concerns, there are a number of observable trends that will likely be maintained across a larger population.

Most of the demographic data gleaned from the survey results were unsurprising. Visitors were predominantly adults between the ages of 36 and 65, roughly split between males and females. Approximately 50% of the visitors were Massachusetts residents and 25% of the population reported being Fairbanks family descendants (that number rose to 45% in out-of-state visitors). More unpredictable were responses to questions designed to understand patrons' engagement with the museum's collection. I admit expecting that guests would have difficulty digesting the complex web of temporal and spatial relations emanating from the displayed objects. This, however, was not the case.

The first of these materially based questions asked visitors to assess the appearance of the house's interior in comparison to how it looked from 1641 to 1900. This response was reported on a scale from one to ten, with one representing "looks exactly the same" and ten representing "looks completely different." The average response was 3.3, indicating that most visitors believed that the house looked very similar to the way it did when it was occupied by Fairbanks households. The second question in this vein asked visitors to estimate the portion of displayed material culture that was associated with the Fairbanks House's occupants. Visitors were given a choice of responses ranging from "none" to "all" and asked to select one. Half of respondents felt that most of the objects were owned, used, and/or displayed by people who lived in the house, while another quarter felt that either about half or all of the objects were associated with the house's occupants. Only a quarter of the museum's visitors selected the "a few" option and no one chose "none."

It is also interesting to note the written responses visitors provided when asked to identify their favorite part(s) of their tour. It was thought that if certain commonalities could be identified, the FFA Board of Directors might use these trends to guide future developments in the tour program. Although guests reported a wide variety of favorite parts of the museum experience, their choices fell into four loose categories: construction/architectural history, specific objects/rooms, family narrative, and the nonspecific "everything" response. If the latter answer is removed by virtue of being overly general, the remaining categories were represented by 54%, 31%, and 15% of the total responses, respectively. These figures demonstrate that visitors' strongest positive memories of their tour experiences were tied to material objects, either artifactual or architectural.

Interpretations

Constructing a Montage

It is evident from the responses provided that visitors were, generally speaking, comfortable with the museum's material culture. They believed that the majority of the objects played roles in the lives of the home's historical households. Similarly, visitors felt that the house's interior looked very much like it did when it was occupied. They believed, fundamentally, in the authenticity of the experience. The significant degree of veracity placed on the museum's collection is of crucial importance. Within a space filled with china displayed in glass cases, fragmentary archaeological artifacts, a gift shop, and all manner of oil portraits, handkerchiefs, and military armament attributed to distant relatives, guests found an image of the Fairbanks House as an operational domestic space. From this assemblage of disparate old things emerged a picture of a succession of families and the objects they used.

How was this path traversed? We can think of the museum in the same way that Benjamin viewed the Arcades. It houses a variety of mundane material culture, singularly individual objects that would be overlooked in broader historical narratives and now appear almost incongruent next to one another. In their incongruity, they resist, subvert, and ultimately dissolve linear chronology. In this way they act like what Benjamin called "hollowed out" objects, defunct things available to be filled with subjective meaning (Benjamin, 1999 [1927]: 466 [N5, 2]). It is telling that when asked about their favorite part of their tour, visitors cited specific objects and rooms rather than mentioning elements of the historical tale woven throughout the house. When absorbing the narrative mosaic, patrons paused on the interruptions to study and mentally record individual artifacts, using them as touchstones to guide their experience. The objects and historical residents were inseparable, bound together through the guests' tour experiences. And yet, as a collection, the objects formed a montage, and from this montage sprang forth images of Fairbanks House's historical past. Visitors became immersed in the raw materials, navigating the house as Benjamin strolled the Arcades, each constructing a picture of life projected across the space. I do not mean to argue that an uninterrupted procession of history, from Jonathan to Rebecca Fairbanks, played out in the minds of visitors like a reel of film. Rather, patrons were transported into a more general past, a past in which the lives of the Fairbanks family were enmeshed with their material culture and seen in glimpses and glances. The process is akin to building a montage of clips (to return to the Surrealists) cut from innumerable reels that are interpreted, reordered, and interpreted again. The resulting experience is visual, specific, and highly personal. Here I am following Witmore, who argues, following Whitehead (1978), that "no one can encounter the same 'occasion' twice" (2012: 27). Occasion in this case refers to a historical event, but I extend this to mean that no two visitors have the same reaction to the Fairbanks House museum's collection. While the process of

constructing a dialectical image may be similar for each person and the context of its construction certainly is, the picture of life at the house is unique for every guest.

Authenticity

One of the primary issues underpinning this interpretive experience, and indeed that of all heritage encounters, is one of authenticity: Does the visitor *believe* the place/object/story to be historical and, tangentially, to be historically important? While the concept has a deeper history rooted in preservation policy (e.g., Labadi, 2010; Larsen, 1995; Pressouyre, 1993), considerations of authenticity, both explicit and implicit, have perfused recent archaeological conversations about heritage, materiality, landscape, memory, identity, and contemporary practice (e.g., Ashworth & Howard, 1999; Harrison, 2010; Harrison & Schofield, 2010; Holtorf, 2005; Holtorf & Williams, 2006; Howard, 2003; Rosenzweig & Thelen, 1998; Wallace, 2004). Scholars increasingly understand authenticity as something that cannot be painted with a broad brush. It requires a nuanced recognition of local conditions and personal experiences, as well as a lowering of the barriers between public and professional concerns.

This breakdown of the traditional academic/popular divide is necessitated by the fact that both groups tend to have very different conceptions of authenticity. Howard (2003: 142–143) outlines these differences, arguing that the scholarly community values material genuineness and minimal intervention, while the public carries a greater concern for aesthetic appearances than exact physical accuracy. Howard points to television and film as the most explicit examples of this sentiment, writing that "the main requirement, certainly in all the visual media, is for places to look correct for the period. Authenticity of appearance is all; *materials are of no account*" (2003: 143; emphasis added). This statement echoes Cornelius Holtorf's (2005: 112) observation that "more important than the actual age of a site or artifact is its perceived past-ness, i.e., the way it allows the past to be experienced." Both Howard and Holtorf allude to the aesthetics of a site and its materials as being contextual (i.e., understood in relation to perceptions about age, place, meaning, etc.) and superficial. The particular object biography is not significant, or indeed even necessary; if an artifact *looks* and *feels* right, then its place is not questioned.

It seems, then, that the key markers of authenticity for museum visitors are the interdependent qualities of patina and aura. Both characteristics straddle the boundary between the physical and the felt. Patina, the layer of time spread over an object or site's physical exterior, manifests in the chipped paint, the skin-smoothed wood, the grit, and the grime (see also Lucas, 2006; Dawdy, 2010). Both seen and sensed, patina imbues its bearer with age and feeds its aura. Benjamin wrote of the aura inherent in old things, defining it as a property that differentiates an original antique within a contemporary market saturated with copies (2003, as referenced in

Mieszkowski, 2004). He was quick to point out that this separation does not occur in vacuum. Rather, it is the artwork's context within a "highly ritualized network" of cultural traditions that place "works of the past as treasures of civilization" (Mieszkowski, 2004: 40). Because they are based on feeling and observation, both patina and aura are idiosyncratic: What I find to be a lovely antique might be the same unwanted junk taking up space in your attic.

Authentic antiquity is defined by perception; what visitors to the Fairbanks House museum saw was an assemblage of aging material culture. Because the collection (yellowed textiles, worn wooden tools, and chipped ceramic plates) exhibits a thick patina and fits with the setting (organized by use context), the objects were considered to be authentic. Moreover, their arrangement was not problematic in the least. Visitors were able to navigate the temporal leaps occurring between artifacts displayed in the same room. By requiring contemplation, these interruptions facilitated the construction of a dialectical image, rather than inhibiting it. But there is more to the museum tour than simply looking at objects.

Negotiations of authenticity are predicated on contextual examination, so we should remember that, beyond the displayed artifacts, the house itself plays a central role in the journey from material montage to historical image. As a physical space, it wears particular substantive traces that cast a shadow over the materials it contains. It has survived nearly 400 years, a fact that is evident in its low ceilings and creaking, drooping boughs. The house's innate pastness, patina measured in physical durability and duration (Bergson, 1944 [1911]; Olivier, 1999, 2001), carries an authority that casts a shadow on the museum's material culture. Rosenzweig and Thelen (1998) identified a similar spatial authority in their landmark survey evaluating individuals' engagements with historical material. According to their findings, members of the public tend to view museums as the most reliable sources of historical information (1998: 105). The Fairbanks House, as both an aging historic site and a historical museum, holds significant influence as a deliverer of authentic experiences and accurate knowledge. This authority smoothes the rough edges of interruptions between individual objects and makes the move from mosaic to image a bit easier.

Tour as Sensory Experience

Scholars working at the landscape scale have demonstrated quite effectively that we engage with spaces using all five of our senses [e.g., Ingold, 1993; Thomas, 2001; Ashmore & Knapp, 1999; Upton, 1992, 2008; see also Johnson (2007)]. If we view the Fairbanks House museum through a landscape-colored lens, it becomes clear that the visitor experience is multisensory. Patrons are invited to move through the space, ducking under doorframes, traveling in the same steps as the home's former occupants. Rooms are open to be physically traversed; there are no velvet ropes to stand behind and only a fraction of the house is off-limits. As guests cast their eyes on the artifacts housed in ancient architecture, volunteer docents provide verbal

connections between the space and its historical narrative, occasionally pausing to provide detailed accounts of a particular object or act of construction. In one room people, especially children, are invited to listen with an antique ear trumpet, and in another they can try their hand at turning a bed key. While patrons are not invited to taste anything during their tours, their experience clearly involves a multisensory engagement with the museum and its material culture.

It is this complex movement through the museum that defines the visitors' perceptions of the Fairbanks House and its history. Patrons are immersed in a sea of material culture, objects deemed authentic because of their patina, aura, and position within a historical institution. The look and feel of the material overcomes any misgivings about the artifacts' diverse origins or temporal dissemblance. As visitors wander the museum, the docent serves as a guide, but it is ultimately the guest herself who defines the images of the Fairbanks House's past. The space's affordances provide some pointers, but each person who moves through the museum encounters the mosaic of material culture and experiences the resulting images in a distinctly individual way, come what may.

Final Thoughts

Small historic house museums offer visitors the unique opportunity to construct history on their own terms. The 2011 Fairbanks House museum visitor survey provides ample evidence that patrons enjoyed creative, imaginative, and highly personal adventures guided by a multisensory engagement with a collection of dissimilar objects within a patinated space. As they moved through the house, interruptions were negotiated, mosaics were considered piece by piece, and images emerged.

The Fairbanks House is but one small example among a diverse multitude of historic house museums. Many of these sites benefit from active heritage professionals who continuously shape and reevaluate their interpretive plans, but those museums that might not normally be considered to be as progressive offer an equally dynamic visitor experience. Far from being static or disorderly, the material mosaics of local house museums like the Fairbanks House steer visitors towards an intricate and personalized trip through past spaces and past lives. Like Benjamin's *Arcades Project*, these museums liberate "the enormous energies of history" (Benjamin, 1999 [1927]: 463 [N3, 4]), placing the tools to construct imagistic histories in the hands of the museum-going public.

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Chapter 14
"A Small Brick Pile for the Indians": The 1655 Harvard Indian College as Setting

Christina J. Hodge

Introduction

The Possibilities of Setting

The 1655 construction of a brick building to educate "English and Indian youth in knowledge and godliness" radically transformed fledgling Harvard College in Cambridge, Massachusetts, with repercussions to this day (President and Fellows of Harvard College, 1650). The structure was a calculated statement of institutional identity and a prospective vision of Harvard's legacies. It was also an experimental space, prone to manipulation, redefinition, and appropriation by individuals operating within diverse cultural and intellectual contexts. Based on documentary and archaeological sources, Harvard's 1655 Indian College is analyzed as a physical setting that fostered particular practices and social relationships. Mindful of Harvard's multicultural history, and attuned to the possibilities of setting, this chapter considers:

1. The ways that place works upon human experiences.
2. The ways that structured social practice works upon the creation of, and practice potentials of (affordances of), place.

The central question is: How did building the Indian College change early Harvard? Although no more than four Native students ever resided at the Indian College, I propose that the structure dramatically altered the possibilities of social practice at the seventeenth-century school. Because of what and where it was, the Indian College fostered new kinds of intercultural authority and intellectual exchange. More broadly, this study models the application of notions of practice and affordance to a multicultural colonial setting.

C.J. Hodge (✉)
Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University,
11 Divinity Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02138, USA
e-mail: chodge@fas.harvard.edu

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Harvard was the first institution of higher learning in what is now the USA, a residential college carved piecemeal from house lots and cow pastures in the earliest years of interaction between English colonizers and Native Americans. The opportunities Harvard presented motivated movement to and motion within its spaces, a dynamic it shared with other didactic/instructional settings such as schools, meetinghouses, churches, and courts. Harvard College thus became a node connecting communities and sustaining broader fields of significance. The Indian College, in particular, manifested ideals of religion, authority, and identity. When Native men left their homes to live at the Indian College, new possibilities emerged for them and their communities, as well as for Harvard and New England as a whole. As a setting, the Indian College thus created people and made place. At the same time, practices there were constrained by social habits and material opportunities.

Archaeology of the Indian College

The present Harvard Yard Archaeology Project (HYAP) undertakes new research and incorporates archaeology projects done in the 1980s and 1990s to challenge the ways the university understands and presents its own past (Stubbs, Capone, Hodge, & Loren, 2010). Since 2005, HYAP has recovered buried landscapes, buildings, and artifacts from the earliest years of Harvard University while searching for physical remnants of the 1655 Indian College (Fig. 14.1). The 2007, 2009, and 2011 HYAP projects were successful in this mission. They uncovered the remains of a seventeenth-century building trench situated on the parcel of land where Harvard's Indian College once stood. The uncovered portions of the trench measure nearly 3 f. wide by at least 20 f. long, extending roughly north and south of the excavation area (Fig. 14.2). Differential soil textures and colors on the east and west sides of the trench suggest it represents the former east wall of a structure. The trench was dug into glacial subsoil, filled with topsoil, and yielded foundation stones and fragments, clay roof tiles, and significant quantities of broken brick. A layer of pulverized brick spreads around the Indian College footprint, sealing the filled foundation trench (as uncovered in 2007, 2009, and 2011). The location, size, and shape of the trench, along with the materials found inside, indicate that it was dug to support a building sill, then emptied and filled with discarded building materials. The portion of the trench excavated is consistent with text accounts of the Indian College, which describe a rectangular brick building, two stories high, estimated to be about 20 by 70 ft, two stories, with room for 20 students (Morison, 2001: 38).

Artifacts recovered from the site of the Indian College provide crucial details of the structure. Archaeology confirms that it was brick and, further, indicates that it had red ceramic roof tiles and a dry-laid foundation of local argillite. The source of the brick and tiles has yet to be identified, but nearby Medford, Massachusetts, is well known as a center of brick production in the seventeenth century. In 1655, the Indian College was one of a small number of brick facades in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, wood being favored (Deetz, 1996: 158). A decorative brick called a "plinth squint," found in the trench, suggests particular attention to architectural

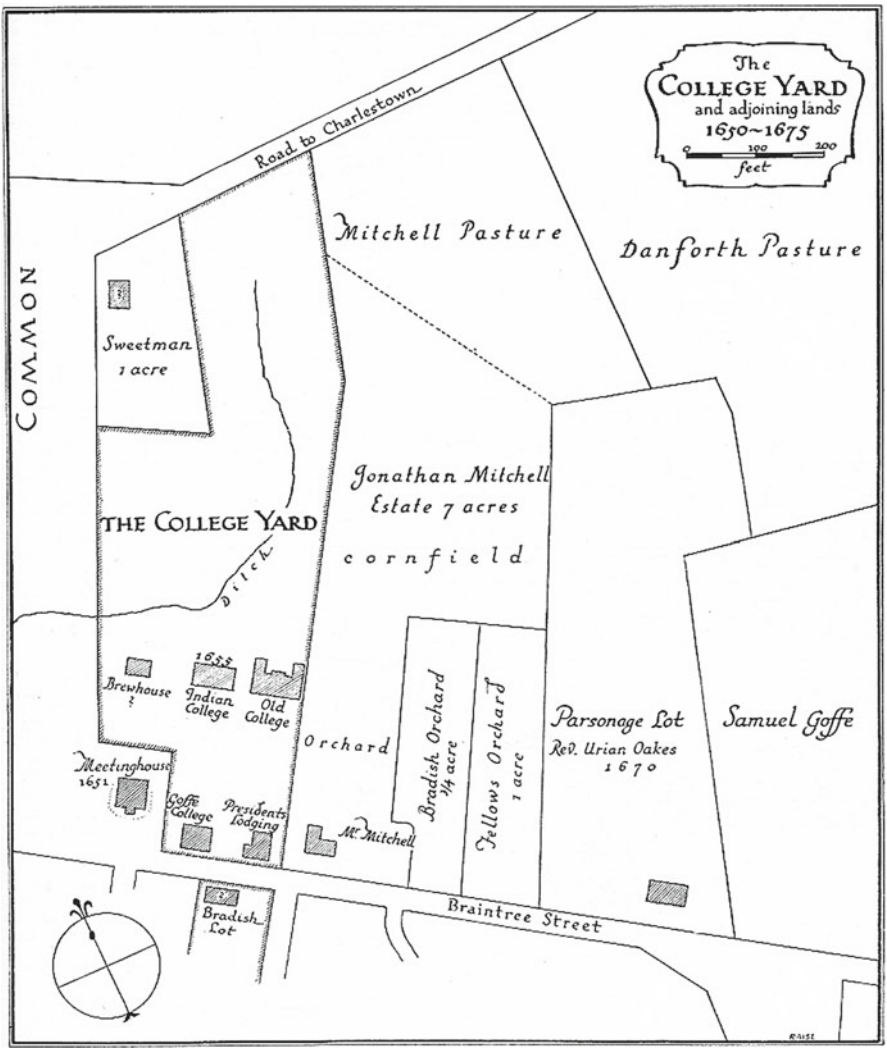

Fig. 14.1 Conjectural map of Harvard Yard in the third quarter of the seventeenth century, for *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century* (Morison, 1936). The HYAP excavation area is in the vicinity of the Indian College as drawn here. No aboveground traces of that or any other seventeenth-century structure remain in Harvard Yard

detail (Peabody Museum #2009.9.5156). It was most likely used to cap a transition row from the thicker, lower water table to the upper, thinner, part of an exterior wall (Fig. 14.3). This special brick thus helped to preserve the Indian College from damaging natural elements. With its red walls and roof, the building was strikingly different from the three other Harvard structures of its period: two renovated wooden houses facing Braintree Street and the decaying, wooden, structurally complex Old College.

Fig. 14.2 Photograph of the seventeenth-century Indian College foundation trench feature. The trench runs roughly north/south and was dug into lighter, sterile orange subsoil. After the foundation was dismantled, the trench was filled with brown topsoil and remnant architectural fragments such as brick, clay roof tiles, and foundation stones, some of which are seen here (Photo by Christina J. Hodge)

Relatively few seventeenth-century artifacts have been recovered from in and around the Indian College trench (2009 project $n = 2{,}459$; 2011 results are pending). Roughly 88% are architectural materials including nails, bricks, roof tiles, foundation stones, and broken window glass. These materials were left in the foundation trench after the stone foundation and brick superstructure were dismantled. The remaining 12% of the artifacts are ceramics (1%), bottle glass (1%), faunal remains (2%), and other organic remains, including coal and charcoal (8%). The trench feature yielded two pieces of printing type in 2009 (joining one recovered in 2007) and no tobacco pipe fragments. These finds may be compared with those from other seventeenth-century features in the Yard (Fig. 14.4). The Old College cellar hole, filled in the late seventeenth century, yielded 1,376 fragments of seventeenth-century

Fig. 14.3 *Left*: Special molded and shaped brick (Peabody Museum #2009.9.5156) recovered from the fill of the seventeenth-century Indian College foundation trench. This type is known as a "plinth squint." The angled brick is paired with another to create a 90° corner. Its slanted surface is designed to cap a structure's water table, a masonry feature that uses extra rows of bricks at the base of a wall to deflect water away from a foundation (Photo by Christina J. Hodge). *Right*: Printing type "*l*" (Peabody Museum #980-3-10/99588) excavated from Harvard Yard placed on the matching page of *The Indian Grammar Begun* (Photo courtesy of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University)

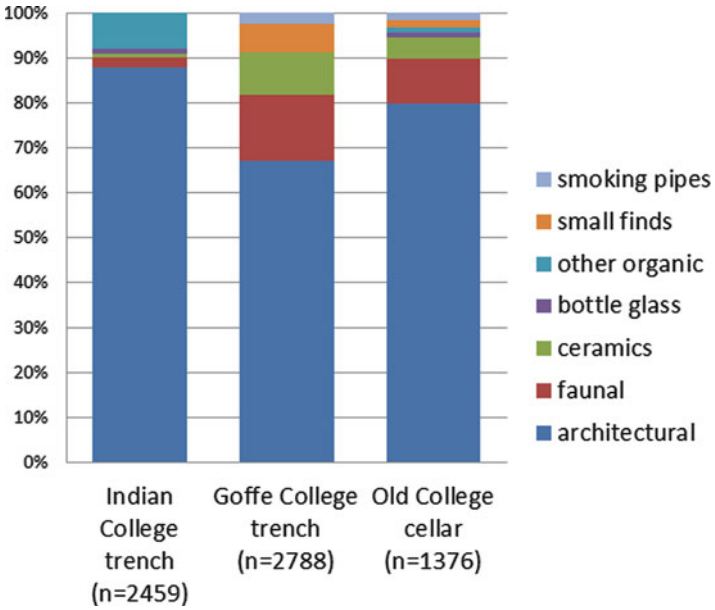

Fig. 14.4 Graph comparing percentage artifact distribution in mid- to late seventeenth-century features in Harvard Yard, including the Indian College trench, the Goffe College trench, and the Old College cellar (figure by Christina J. Hodge)

materials: 80% architectural, 5% ceramics, 1% bottle glass, 1% other organic, 2% smoking pipes, and 1% small finds like buttons and a lead cloth seal (Stubbs, 1992: 234–264). The trench of Goffe College ($n=2{,}688$), dating from the mid- to late seventeenth century, yielded 67% architectural; 10% ceramics; no bottle glass; 15% faunal; no other organics or fuel; 2% smoking pipe fragments; and a great variety of small finds such as pins, printing type (from the period when the President's house held the printing press), and spoons, totaling 6% (Graffam, 1981: 37).

Similar kinds of ceramics, architectural debris, and other items like spoons and glass bottle fragments have been found across the seventeenth-century Yard. Items of ostensibly Native association, such as glass and shell beads, were recovered not from the Indian College, as one might stereotypically expect, but from the Goffe College site, where no Native students ever resided (Graffam, 1981: 85–87). The homogeneity of practice suggested by archaeology is bolstered by written records. Students enjoyed a broadly shared material culture, occupied a largely shared space, lived according to a proscribed daily schedule, and were dictated to by specific rules of behavior. Harvard therefore offered Native and English students a strongly collective material experience.

One unexpected characteristic of the Indian College excavation to date is the near absence of midden or artifacts in the abandonment level and post-salvage trench fill. The Indian College trench fill is dominated by architectural remains. Unlike other seventeenth-century feature fills, it has the appearance not of a convenient trash receptacle but, rather, of a feature that was rapidly covered over after the superstructure was removed. This fact is especially striking when compared with the Old College site, where an exposed cellar hole was convenient dumping ground for generations of students (Stubbs, 1992: 467). The Old College was dismantled in 1677, but its cellar hole was not completely filled until after 1760. There, over 4,300 artifacts from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries track years of slow, steady decline and abandonment. Not so with the Indian College, whose thin material residues suggest a near-instantaneous erasure. Archaeology confirms that Harvard's first brick structure was architectural carrion by the end of the seventeenth century. Its value reduced to building supplies, the Indian College and its possibilities were materially erased.

The Corporation may have intended to make the Indian College a strong and substantial place, and it may have appeared so, but reality belied these hopes. Why? Perhaps the Old College cellar proved so capacious an additional trash dump was not required. Perhaps the Indian College site was an active path between Braintree Street and the newer northwest Yard buildings. Perhaps rapid divestment and erasure was preferred by 1698, as Harvard looked away from its seventeenth-century past and toward its eighteenth-century future. Perhaps the Indian College was expeditiously erased as Harvard's institutional mission shifted in the generation after King Philip's War (Lepore, 1998). Did the transformation of Indian College back into College Yard manifest a deliberate denial? Landscapes are not passive, and the opportunity to destroy, erase, and forget is inherent in every built structure. Whatever the reasons, the effect was there: a subtle forgetting HYAP now works to undo (Holtorf & Williams, 2006: 239).

Placemaking at Harvard College

Concourse and Commons: The Early Academic Landscape

The "College at Newtowne," as Harvard was first known, was founded by a legislative act of the Massachusetts Bay Colony on 28 October 1636. The College purchased a lot and empty house from William Peyntree in 1637 or early 1638. The property backed onto one of Cambridge's (then Newtowne's) designated cow fields and included a one-acre cow yard. This space was renamed the "College Yard" to suit its new function and to distinguish it from surrounding lots, where animals still grazed (Morison, 2001: 7). The most substantial gift to the new school came from John Harvard, a young English clergyman who moved to New England and ministered in nearby Charlestown. When he died in 1639, he bequeathed the College his library of 400 books and approximately half the value of his estate (over £395 pounds). The College was renamed in his honor. With this influx of funds and intellectual capital, the process of realizing an institutional vision gathered force. Harvard's Board of Overseers opportunistically acquired and reconfigured land and structures in Cambridge in order to create an academic collective.

According to Puritan minister Cotton Mather, the "government of New England was for having their Students brought up in a more Collegiate way of Living" (quoted in Morison, 2001: 12). This privileged vision was manifested through governed bodies in a distinct place: Harvard Yard, where English models were finely tuned to the needs of a Puritan theocracy. Overseers crafted a resident community through cohabitation within a bounded space that was structurally, functionally, and behaviorally distinct from the surrounding town, pasture, and marshlands. Seventeenth-century College Laws made this fact quite clear, as they protected students through assiduous circumscription and observation (Morison, 2001: 28–29). In an era before panopticons and the modern/postmodern self, surveillance was distributed and shared among community members. Each matriculating student copied out his College Laws by hand, rendering abstract rules into corporeal knowledge (Harvard University, 1876). Students' hours were scheduled from 5 o'clock in the morning to 11 at night (Table 14.1) (Morison, 2001: 27–28).

In 1640, the Overseers elected Henry Dunster first President of Harvard College. A pressing order of business was to create a real "college," that is, a new, purpose-built institutional building. The framing had begun under Dunster's predecessor Master Nathaniel Eaton (who beat students, embezzled funds, and left in disgrace), but it was under Dunster that the 1642 Harvard Hall (known now as the Old College) was completed. In a 1653 letter, Dunster recollected that, "the students dispersed in the town and miserably distracted in their times of concourse came into commons into one house 7ber 1642" (Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1925: lxxii). Sited in back (north) of Peyntree House, on a former cow yard, the structure manifested the aspirations of the early school and colony. The 1643 anonymous publication *New England's First Fruits* described the Old College (Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1925: lxxii–lxxiii):

Table 14.1 Mid-seventeenth-century Harvard College schedule

Time	Activity
5 A.M.	Morning prayers[a]
6 A.M.	Morning bever (small meal of beer and bread)
7 A.M.	Study
8–11 A.M.	Lectures[a]
11A.M. or 12 P.M.	Dinner[a]
12–2 P.M.	Recreation/study[a]
2–5 P.M.	Meetings with tutors, study
4:30 or 5 P.M.	Afternoon bever
5 P.M.	Evening prayers[a]
6 P.M.	Study
7:30 P.M.	Supper[a]
8 P.M.	Recreation[a]
9 P.M.	Retire to rooms
11 P.M.	Lamps

Sources: Morison (2001: 28–29) and Thayer (1890: 39)
[a]Activities that did or might occur in the Old College hall

> The Edifice is very faire and comely within and without, having in it a spacious Hall; (where they daily meet at commons, Lectures, Exercises) and a large Library with some Bookes to it, the gifts of diverse of our friends, their Chambers and studies also fitted for, and possessed by the Students, and all other rooms of Office necessary and convenient, with all needful Offices thereto belonging.

In scale and configuration, the wooden structure was different from private residences in the town, as well as from ecclesiastical and meetinghouse architecture (Cummings, 1979). Special-purpose rooms for sleeping, study, and food preparation and storage prefigured later domestic architecture, while the traditional multipurpose hall became a communal space of prayer, instruction, study, and dining (Figs. 14.5 and 14.6).

Students moved through this structure according to a schedule prescribed from 5 o'clock in the morning to 11 at night (see Table 14.1) (Morison, 2001: 27–28). Coordinate bodies coalesced in communal spaces of dining and instruction, then dispersed into more private spaces of sleep and study. Access to, residence within, and movement between these settings underscored distinctions of identity, hierarchy, and social role. For example, underclassmen fetched breakfast from the buttery for upperclassmen; only students who were wealthy enough to donate silver pieces to the College sat at the high fellows table during dinner; and only fellows were permitted to stroll in the campus orchard. The Old College was a communal space, yet within it were semi-restricted rooms, like the buttery and library, and more secluded spaces, like student chambers and studies. In the seventeenth century, movement within Harvard Yard and its structures—patterns of inclusion and exclusion, surveillance, and privacy—occurred with a particular, predictable rhythm.

Deducing student experiences from known schedules, any student living at the Indian College traversed the Yard at least three times a day, at 5 A.M., 8 A.M., and 5 P.M.,

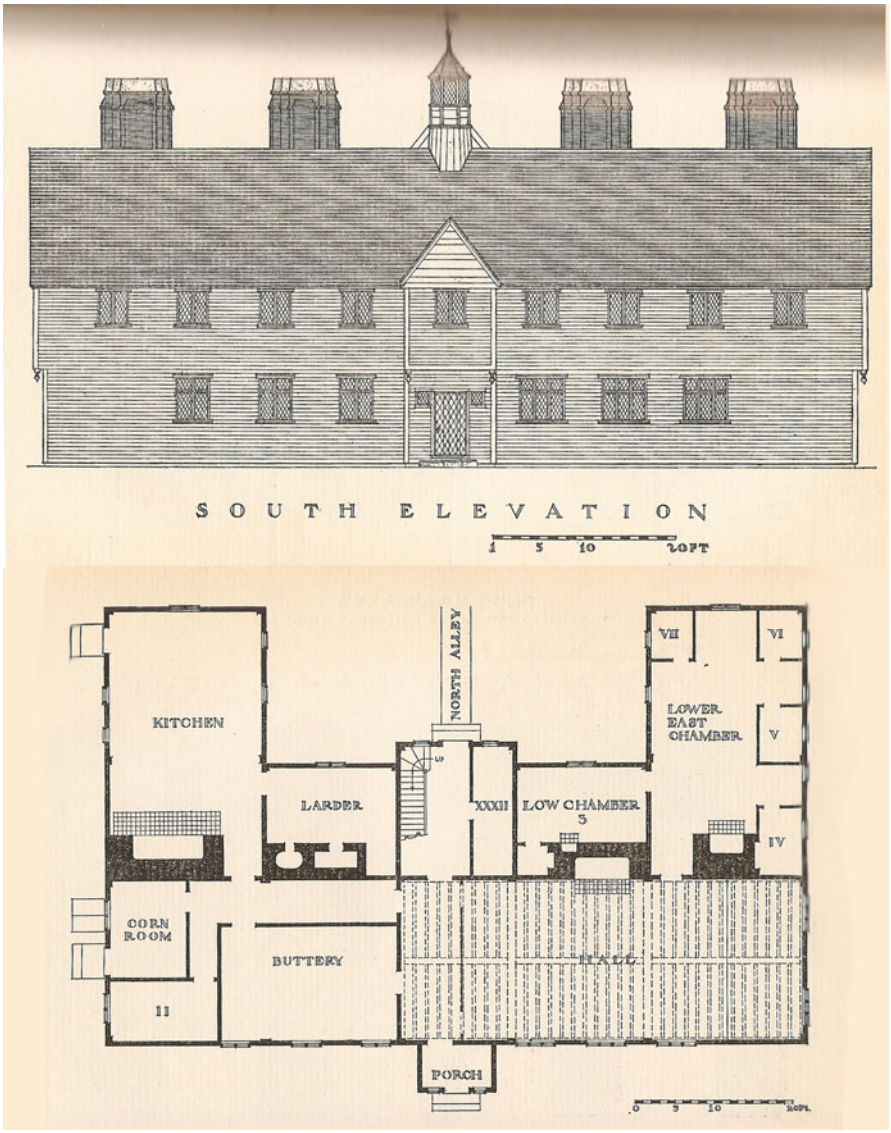

Fig. 14.5 Conjectural south elevation (*top*) and first floor plan (*bottom*) of the Old College, by Singleton P. Moorehead for *The Founding of Harvard College* (Morison, 1935)

when he donned a gown, left his chamber or study, and joined in the fellowship of prayer, lecture, or food in the Old College hall. The need to move from a separate special-built structure to the main multipurpose space revealed a de facto segregation between English and Indian missions at the school. Difference, perceived also through the function of the building, was underscored. The few times when Native students (rather than English) resided at the Indian College, the racial component of

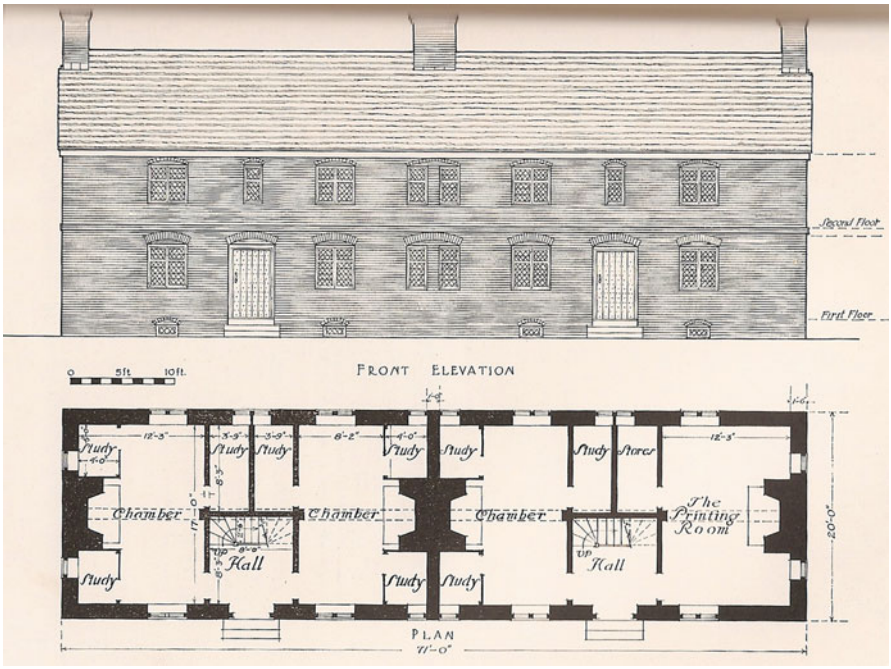

Fig. 14.6 Conjectural elevation and plan of the Indian College, by H.R. Shurtleff for *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century* (Morison, 1936: 344)

this difference must have been especially marked (and reinforced). At the same time, the deep significance of collegial food, study, and prayer was highlighted by the transient—yet mandated and repetitive—practice of coming together in the Old College hall. With the construction and utilization of an explicitly "Indian" college, something of Native New England was manifested in Harvard Yard. I suggest that these inculcating routines took on additional significance with the construction of the Indian College, presenting the ambiguity and entanglement expected in a multicultural colonial context.

The Indian College in Context

To occupy the "city on a hill" invoked by Massachusetts Bay Colony governor John Winthrop in 1630 was to take on an awesome responsibility, a covenant and commitment with God, knowing "the eyes of all people are upon" you (Vaughan, 1972: 146). Among the many motivations drawing waves of English settlers to the New World was a religious imperative to go forth and convert. Puritans especially felt this calling, using it to justify their dispossession and regulation of indigenous peoples. Toward this objective, Gookin (1970 [1792]: 5), first Superintendent of the

Praying Indians in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, described Native New Englanders in 1674 as

> Adam's posterity, and consequently children of wrath; and hence are not only objects of all christians' pity and compassion, but subjects upon which our faith, prayers, and best endeavours should be put forth, to reduce them from barbarism to civility; but especially to rescue them out of the bondage of Satan, and bring them to salvation by our Lord Jesus Christ.

Harvard College was an explicit tool of the Puritan religious and social experiment. The Indian College reversed the flow of missionization, bringing it home to Harvard Yard.

Harvard struggled financially soon after its founding and was revived in the 1650s by a substantial infusion of funds. They came with a new mandate. The English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England (SPGNE) raised and granted funds for Indian education at Harvard. The College, in turn, promised to waive tuition and provide housing for Indian students (Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1925: lxxxiii). Harvard and the Connecticut Commissioners of the SPGNE proposed in a 1653 letter to Edward Winslow that "about six hopfull Indians to bee trained up in the collige under some fitt Tutor that preserving their owne languige they may attaine the knowlidge of other tongues and disperse the Indian tongue in the Collige wee fully approve as a hopfull way to further the worke [of Native conversion]" (Littlefield, 1907: 187). By this time, Harvard already had three institutional structures: the President's Lodging (a.k.a. Peyntree House), the first all-purpose residence and dormitory older than the school itself; the 1642 Old College (a.k.a. the first Harvard Hall); and Goffe College (a.k.a. Olmstead-Goffe House), a dwelling and lot purchased and remodeled in 1651. But these settings would not do for the experiment proposed by the SPGNE.

The Commissioners of the Massachusetts Bay Colony desired a segregated space for Native habitation within the Yard, "one Intyre Rome att the College for the Conveniencye of six hopfull Indians youths to bee trained up there…which may be two storeys high and built plaine but strong and durable" (Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1925: lxxxii). Gookin (1970 [1792]: 57–58) in 1674 remembered the Indian College as

> a means intended for the good of the Indians; which was the erecting a house of brick at Cambridge in New England, which passeth under the name of the Indian college. It is a structure strong and substantial, though not very capacious. It cost between three or four hundred pounds. It is large enough to receive and accommodate about twenty scholars with convenient lodgings and studies; but not hitherto hath been much improved for the ends intended, by reason of the death and failing of Indian scholars. It hath hitherto been principally improved for to accommodate English scholars, and for placing and using a printing press belonging to the college. This house was built and finished at the charge, and by the appointment, of the Honourable Corporation for propagating the gospel in New England.

The Indian College became the second structure in the interior of Harvard's lean two and two-third-acre campus and Harvard's second purpose-built building (Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1925: lxviii). Sited on the interior of the College property, west of the first Harvard College, it transformed the small Yard into

something like a quadrangle (recent archaeology suggests it may not have formed a regular rectangle). As the first and, until 1677, only brick building at Harvard, the Indian College was a robust commitment to religious conversion and to the future of theocratic hegemony in New England. There, Puritan authorities staked out conversion projects while inter-educational agendas were waged by Natives and English alike.

The Indian College did not welcome its first Native American students until 1661, when Caleb Cheeshahteaumuck and Joel Iacoombs, both Wampanoag from Aquinnah on Martha's Vineyard, arrived for their first year (Sibley, 1881: 201–204). Only three other Native students attended Harvard while the Indian College stood. The full list is as follows (Morrison, 1936: 354–360; Sibley, 1881: 201–204):

- Caleb Cheeshahteaumuck, Aquinnah Wampanoag, from Holmes Hole, Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts, arrived in 1661 and graduated from class of 1665.
- Joel Iacoombs, Aquinnah Wampanoag, from Martha's Vineyard, arrived in 1661 (prospective class of 1665), died in 1665, and awarded posthumous degree in 2011.
- John Wampus, Nipmuc, from near Grafton, Massachusetts, arrived in 1665 (prospective class of 1669), left to become a mariner, and bought a house in Boston.
- Eleazar, Wampanoag, home community unknown, arrived in 1675 (prospective class of 1679) and died of smallpox.

These accomplished young men met the high standards of Harvard admission only after years of multilingual, multi-subject instruction from tutors and grammar schools. At Harvard, they lived, learned, ate, and worshipped alongside the English students. Like their English peers, they were distinguished as future leaders. Unlike their peers, however, they negotiated a demanding web of expectations both within their indigenous communities and within the English educational and religious system.

Affordances, Practices, and Setting

To explore further the lives of all who lived with and within the Harvard Indian College, I employ concepts of practice and affordances. Two fundamental presumptions of this approach are that:

1. People create their material surroundings within partially knowable cultural frameworks and value systems.
2. People do not simply populate a setting like the Indian College; they activate it through situated behaviors.

These understandings owe an obvious debt to phenomenological approaches to landscape, where space and place are broached as arenas through which society is individually and collectively created (see, e.g., Merleau-Ponty, 2002 [1945]; Tilley, 1994). Space is, in turn, socially reproduced through thoughts and behaviors (Lefebvre, 1991). Such social practice "requires agency and permits discretion, but

is patterned and constrained by social and physical forces" (Weeks & Fayard, 2007: 4). Forces constraining practice include habitual patterns of action and naturalized cultural values, as well as the physical limitations of the material world (Bourdieu, 1977; Ingold, 1992; Tilley, 1994). Because practice both creates and is created by setting, attention to setting provides an improved understanding of the complex processes by which "social and symbolic structures shape practice" (Weeks & Fayard, 2007: 2).

When thinking about setting, I use the attendant notion of affordances to bridge theories of materiality, practice, and phenomenology in a helpful way. "Affordances" are properties that enable and constrain. James Gibson's *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception* (1986) is the classic introduction to affordances. His focus was explicitly visual and environmental, his approach descriptive rather than explanatory. Hence Gibson is too limited for a direct application within anthropology. Further application of the idea of affordances is found within literature on industrial and other design. This literature addresses agents' perception of and interaction with their material worlds, specifically, what things "afford," or offer, in terms of manipulation and use (Norman, 1990). Introducing affordances to archaeological engagement, Ingold (1992: 46) describes them as "properties of the real environment as directly perceived by an agent in a context of practical action." The term "affordances" is usually applied to material qualities, but it can also describe structuring logics of social practice (the taken for granteds of daily life and identities, sensu Bourdieu, 1977). I adopt the term to describe the limitations and possibilities of practice within a given setting.

Broaching the past via affordances of place, as in this study, foregrounds the structuring potential of entangled landscapes, buildings, bodies, mentalities, and temporalities. There is a "crucial link between affordance and practical action" (Gillings, 2009: 349). Setting's influence on this link is not so much deterministic as influential, as it is shaped by commonly accepted values and, in turn, shapes situated responses. A key question is "what the object or environment affords…practically" (Weeks & Fayard, 2007: 7), which is judged via perception and comprehension, as well as through practice. Archaeology recovers the material correlates of patterned practices, and it reveals the qualities of setting itself. Through the sensible limitations of their arrangement and form, places enable and constrain. They are—in some cases literally—the structuring structures of social relations and individual experiences. The Harvard Indian College was, and remains, once such powerful structure.

At the Indian College site, we have recovered artifacts and architectural features. These residues represent past material worlds, which fostered particular relationships between bodies, disciplined bodies in patterned ways, and promulgated defined colonial agendas. At Harvard, these agendas included the creation of a cohesive academic community, inculcation of particular social and religious values, and self-sustaining consolidation of power and authority within a hierarchical institutional community. Behavior and significance, however, are never completely within hegemonic control. The Indian College structure afforded both a place *of* and a space *between* English and Native, institution and individual, cohesion and disjunction, Harvard and the wider colonial world.

Inspired by the theoretical works cited above, this study below applies the idea of affordances to a particular setting (the Indian College) in order to explore agents' sensual comprehension of, and response to, the structure and the practices there. It asks:

- What are the relations between actors and institutions (Gillings, 2009: 335)?
- How are certain thoughts and behaviors made possible while others are not (Weeks & Fayard, 2007: 10)?

Documentary and archaeological sources outlined above provide rich details about the Indian College, including reactions to it and practices surrounding its construction, destruction, and interim use. Significances of the place are broached below through the notion of affordances. Archaeological and documentary evidences expose ways that the colonial Harvard community experienced the Indian College as a special place; ways that the place fostered particular social and material engagements; and ways that individuals and groups co-opted the place and its potentials. Of particular importance were opportunities of inclusion and exclusion facilitated by the building, its proximate landscape, and the practices gathered there.

Affordances of the Indian College

Type, Setting, and Native Authority

Until it is established and naturalized, a new establishment like the Indian College can be susceptible to appropriation. At early Harvard, the presence of a new, underutilized college building afforded significant opportunities besides Native housing and education. The 1654 College inventory lists the unfinished Indian College as already "intended for a printing house." The first printing press in British North America had been installed in President Dunster's house (probably located near the site of present-day Massachusetts Hall), but by 1659, soon after the Indian College was built, the press was relocated there. In 1656 and 1657, Harvard's new President Henry Chauncy had asked for permission "to make use of the Indian Buildings…for one year nexte ensuing Improve the said building to accommodate some English students provided the said building bee by the Corporation cecured from any damage that may befall the same through the use therof." Thus, the Indian College was always more than its name implied. It always housed a press and, for some years, housed young English boys instead of Native ones.

In fact, only a few Indian students ever lived there. A commentator (Colonel George Cartwright) in 1665 wrote with palpable skepticism that "at Cambridge they have a small colledge, (made of wood) for the English; and a small brick pile for the Indians, where there was but one [Cheeshahteaumuck]; one was lately dead [Iacoombs], 3 or 4 more they had at schole, as they sayd" (Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1925: lxxxii). While the mission of printing continued strong, the scholastic Native presence was never more than two students at a time (Gookin, 1970 [1792]: 52–53). Gookin (1970 [1792]: 52) offered a self-congratulatory rumination:

"In truth the design [of the Indian College] was prudent, noble, and good; but it proved ineffectual to the end proposed." If the end was only the education of scores of Native students, this assessment would be just. But the Indian College was from its beginning more a house for printing than for students. It afforded a space for Native American authority either way, but the epicenter of the Indian College's most far-reaching contribution was the printing room.

There, when not producing religious tracts and government and school documents, printers and apprentices crafted the many works of Puritan missionary John Eliot's so-called "Indian Press" or "Indian books" (Amory, 1989; Clark, 2003). SPGNE sponsored Eliot's work and the new (second) press machine, sets of type (with extra O's and K's to accommodate Algonquian orthography), and paper used to produce it. Eliot worked closely with Native American interpreter Job Nesutan to craft these texts. Apprentice James Printer, a Nipmuc Indian also known as Wowaus, worked at Harvard's Indian College press. With printers Samuel Greene and Marmaduke Johnson, he set the type for many works, most notably two editions of the New and Old Testaments translated into the Algonquian language of eastern Massachusetts (1661–1663 and 1680–1685; production totaled 2.5 Bibles per capita of about 1,100 Christian Indians) (Amory, 1989: 39). Archaeology has recovered around 30 pieces of printing type used at the Harvard press. These include an italic letter "l" from the set used in the introduction to the 1666 *Indian Grammar Begun* (Peabody Museum #980-3-10/99588), as well as an italic "a" from the set used in the headings of the Bible (Peabody Museum #987-22-10/100131) (personal communication 2011, Hope Mayo, Philip Hofer Curator of Printing and Graphic Arts, Houghton Library, Harvard University) (Fig. 14.3).

Through its physical setting and technological attributes, the Indian College press room became a unique, powerful hub of authority (for structures as hubs of power and authority, see Foucault, 1995). The importance of this positioning cannot be overstated. Literacy was integral not only to advanced education, but also to Protestant religious expression and proselytizing. Ministers believed that knowledge of the Bible was most powerful if it was personal, which led them to advocate literacy among Native North Americans, as they did among their English congregations. The Indian College structure, in particular the press room, thus afforded a distinct identity and force to the practical project of Native conversion through literacy. It gave it a home that could be seen and visited. In the same printing room, Harvard printed grammars and Bibles in Algonquian, Native conversion narratives in English, College texts and broadsides in Latin, and governmental and religious works in English. A single setting conflated diverse English and Native literacies. The small, iconic bars of lead printing type recovered by archaeologists are part of this material engagement, one afforded by the Indian College building and by the flows of people/things/ideas gathered there.

After the 1660s, Harvard allowed the Indian College to deteriorate, as it had allowed the Old College to deteriorate decades earlier. By 1693, the press was relocated, and the Indian College was a standing ruin. The Harvard Corporation voted to take it down. In 1695, the SPGNE consented that "Whereas the President & Fellows of ye College In Cambridge have Proposed & Desired that ye Bricks belonging to ye Indian College wch is gone to decay & become altogether Useless

may be Removed & Used for an Additional Building to Harvard College…Provided that in case any Indian should hereafter be sent to yet College, they should enjoy their Studies free in said building." Three years later, Boston judge Samuel Governor recorded that "in the beginning of this month of May [1698], the old Brick College, commonly called the Indian Colledge, is pull'd down to the ground" (Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1925: lxxxiv). The Old College was not faring any better and as early as 1671 was in a "ruinous and almost irreparable state." A new scheme of brick buildings was begun in a new part of the Yard in 1672. The landscape created by Peyntree, Goffe, the Old College, and the Indian College ceased to be.

A Hybrid Setting of Intellectual Exchange

The notion of hybridity forwarded here is taken from postcolonial theories, which emphasize the contradictory nature of authority, the ambivalent nature of identity, and the tendency of subaltern agents to subvert hegemony (see, e.g., Liebmann & Rizvi, 2008; Lydon & Rizvi, 2010; Young, 1995). Hybridity refers to new, transcultural material and social forms that are informed by dominant colonial categories, yet which cannot adequately be captured or bounded by those categories (Liebmann, 2008: 83). Models of hybridity emphasize the reevaluation of subaltern histories, the hybrid and fluid nature of social practice and material expression, and the possibility that something new can emerge from encounters (sensu Bhabha, 2004a; Hall, 2000; Latour, 1993; Young, 1995). Linking the physical development of particular spaces with the social creation of particular identities provides insight into their mutual construction in daily life. In the case of the Harvard Indian College, the building afforded new possibilities for hybrid identification, entangling Native, English, Christian, and Algonquian. It structured those encounters along lines of intellectual exchange and the familiar patterns of daily life within a unified institutional community. Through its distinctive identification and material presence, however, it simultaneously reinforced difference and racial distinction.

Dynamics work both for and against homogenization at any college: the fabricated setting is one field in which these forces play out. At early Harvard, strict schedules moved Native and English bodies around the small campus at regular intervals, creating shared experiences and identities. Explicit communal laws were disciplined into bodies through writing, confessing, and public admonishing. Scholars were set to prescribed intellectual tasks. Archaeological evidence, discussed above, underscores the broadly similar material culture of early Harvard students. Shared material and social practices worked to unify experience. They created a bounded community of scholars, predominantly English but for some years also Native. An insidious cultural nearness is an inescapable consequence of any colonial encounter. As an intentionally multicultural space, the Indian College afforded an unprecedented opportunity for hybrid practices sanctioned by imperial motives. It was intended to groom all students, English and Native American alike, for service missions of conversion and control.

For the English, the "brick pile" of the Indian College worked to make a City on a Hill out of a wilderness. The structure also afforded new opportunities for inclusion

and exclusion, via exterior walls, interior divisions, and the embodied experiences shaped by them. The Indian College especially manifested new logics of association; but, as is so often the case in colonial situations, paradoxes rested at the core. Native students were brought into an English academic space, into the young and struggling institution. The visually and materially distinctive building, therefore, shifted power dynamics at the early school and in New England more broadly, affording a new setting of "opportunity" (Zierden, 2010: 537).

The Indian College was an English space, but also in significant ways a Native one, in both name and fact. It extended already established instructional networks, including Praying Towns and preparatory schools, at which young Native men (and boys and girls) trained and learned (Szasz, 2007). It was designed as a separate space for advanced "Native education." With its building, Harvard committed to educating Native Americans from southeastern New England tribes in the English academic tradition. Although the precise mechanism was never articulated, it also was believed that the Indian College would create conditions through which Native students would teach their English classmates—future missionaries—the regional Algonquian language. Thus, paradoxically, the Indian College enabled a "deliberate separation of space" along racial lines but served shared values and needs by bringing English and Native people together (Zierden, 2010: 527).

Harvard became a place—for a time the only place—where a handful of remarkably brilliant young Native men were invited to come, live, and learn. The two Indian scholars of the Class of 1665 were Caleb Cheeshahteaumuck and Joel Iacoombs, both Wampanoag from Martha's Vineyard. Gookin (1970 [1792]: 52) described them as "hopeful young men." He knew Iacoombs personally and after his death reckoned him pious, learned, grave, sober, diligent, and reverent: in essence, an ideal Puritan. Iacoombs was also the highest ranked scholar in his class. Harvard valued its hierarchy of intellect, in a space of shared opportunity and individual skill. Having an official place in College allowed Iacoombs, Cheeshahteaumuck, and others to transcend hierarchies of race and wealth (while still bound by, and simultaneously re-inscribing, the same hierarchies). These young men joined the Harvard community as living exemplars of Native achievement. As Algonquian speakers and teachers, they joined James Printer in manifesting Native New England within a bastion of colonial authority. They signaled the fact that Native people could direct the flow of resources within English communities and effect change within their own communities. They both enforced and undermined logics of English colonialism. And they had a place at Harvard because of the Indian College.

Reflections

Settings are ontological, in that they situate an agent's understanding of the world. They are organized according to common sense of daily life, which "conjoined social practice/experience with the perceived colonial order of things" (Stoler, 2009: 9). Constructing an Indian College at Harvard irrevocably transformed the school into an explicitly multicultural space. Focusing on the material qualities of the Indian

College as a setting allows me to think through the ways seventeenth-century community members perceived the structure while going about the routines of their daily lives.

The presence and function of this distinctive "brick pile" facilitated certain thoughts and behaviors. The structure allowed and shaped direct intellectual and social relationships between English and Native students as well as between English students and absent/imagined Native people in surrounding communities. Education—specifically the proselytizing combination of education and religion proffered by Harvard in the seventeenth century—encouraged cultural homogeneity as part of an effort to control the colonial frontier. The construction of the Indian College afforded Harvard new kinds of authority as an explicit site of advanced religious and multicultural knowledge. It also, however, diversified Harvard by situating Native communities within the Yard itself.

The Indian College "provided a space of interaction for Native students who could potentially utilize their education community empowerment" (Brooks, 2008: 87). In truth, the building transformed Harvard more broadly. It was something new in 1655, a place where Algonquian was learned alongside ancient Greek, where upstairs a Wampanoag scholar wrote his name in a Latin primer, and downstairs a Nipmuc man used English printing type to spell out the Old Testament in Algonquian syllables. Native scholars would never be authentically English (remaining "mimic men" sensu Bhabha, 2004b). According to the binary cultural rhetoric of English colonialism, however, every imposed and appropriated cultural characteristic made these young Native men less heathen in the eyes of the English. Therefore, Native scholars became somehow elusively more English, and the boundary between English and Native American, savageness and civility slipped (if it ever clearly existed at all). *Harvard entrenched English authority by creating a setting for new kinds of Native authority*: over the deployment of language; over the power of the printed word; over funds; over materials; and over space. For a time, the red brick pile of the Indian College was a resonant node of intercultural practice and interaction. Its fleeting nature, both as a Native residence and as a physical structure, points to divided motives underlying Harvard's commitment to Native education. More broadly, it reveals the deeply unstable nature of hybrid colonial structures.

By building the Indian College in 1655, Harvard became the first institution in British North America committed to the education of Native American students. We should not minimize the fact that the Indian College and its press were intended to afford—force—domination and conversion. But today the material remnants of the structure serve a different mission, while placemaking at the Indian College continues. One of HYAP's goals is to undo the forgetting of history. Through archaeology, material traces of the Indian College, from bricks to printing type, are now apparent to all. They provide an opportunity to consider Harvard, both past and present, as a hybridized colonial space by reinserting the Indian College into a tangible historical landscape and shared narrative. Working within current affordances, scholarship, excavation, commemorative construction, and exhibitions and events are replacing the Indian College at Harvard and within colonial New England. HYAP aims to make studies of the colonial Indian College relevant to present-day

Harvard. The Indian College, and by extension early Harvard, is commemorated as a multicultural bastion, its locus reclaimed to manifest Native presences within an otherwise Anglophile institutional setting.

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Chapter 15
In the Street: Personal Adornment and Movement in the Urban Landscapes of Boston

Alexander Keim

Years of archaeological thinking and research have established the importance of landscapes to human experience in the past. Because the landscape—the external world of space, material, and meaning that surrounds people and their actions—is the stage for and a determinant of human action, it "both reflects past activities and encodes the cultural landscape in which people's views of the world are formed" (Yamin & Metheny, 1996: xv). Understanding the relationships between humans and the landscape is no less important in a historical urban context. Because urban landscapes are materially the products of the intentions and actions of innumerable individuals and institutions, while also containing a wealth of meanings generated by collective memory and individual perception, they "concretely express complex historical processes and reflect the social relationships that inform the appearance and meaning of the urban environment" (Zierden & Herman, 1996: 223).

A better understanding of how humans construct the urban landscape can also contribute to the study of the places and people associated with urban poverty. Urban poverty has long been associated with the idea of the "slum," but recent scholarship (e.g., Karskens, 1999; Mayne, 1993, 2003; Mayne & Murray, 2001; Murray & Crook, 2005; Praetzellis & Praetzellis, 2004, 2009; Yamin, 2001) has demonstrated that the notion of nineteenth-century working-class neighborhoods as unhealthy and unwholesome "slums" was, to a degree, a construction of culturally biased nineteenth-century observers and reformers (Mayne, 2011: 556). The residents of these neighborhoods overcame the physical and material limitations of the landscape, as well as social and cultural structures that constrained and complicated their opportunities to thrive, to live lives of agency and dignity.

A. Keim (✉)
Department of Archaeology, Boston University, 675 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, MA 02215, USA

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Knowing more about the complex relationships between the working class and the urban spaces they inhabited can help to redress the simplistic and pejorative perspective on poverty inherited from the nineteenth century that saw the poor as both victims and perpetrators of body-and-soul devouring slums. It can be a challenge, however, to use the typical results of an urban archaeological excavation—discarded material culture—to gain unique insight into the more intangible aspects of the urban landscape that are vital to how individuals incorporated the experience of their living conditions into their perception and understanding of themselves and their environment. Here I explore methods for applying archaeological data to the study of two of these intangible aspects: individual movement through the landscape and the presentation and performance of self in public space. Through, in part, the creation and performance of identity via artifacts of personal adornment, the negotiation of social desires and contradictions through the consumption and display of consumer goods, and the embodied phenomenon of movement through the cityscape, residents of "slums" created and maintained their own practices and associations in relation to the urban landscape that informed their senses of self and community practices that afforded the possibility to defy the prejudices of contemporary reformers and the lurid pity of history.

Movement and Practice

An integral part of creating and experiencing the urban landscape is moving through it. Archaeologist Julian Thomas (2001) has suggested that human knowledge of any landscape is constituted only through bodily engagement with the world, in part because our bodies are fundamental to the way we order and understand space. Movement in a landscape is experienced as the journey of a human body through the landscape, with the sensory organs of an embodied individual constantly receiving shifting sets of stimuli. These stimuli—sights, sounds, smells, textures, and even tastes—are constructed and interpreted by individuals and societies in ways that are profoundly influenced by history and culture. It is from the relationship between the material, perceptible aspect of the landscape and human experience—mediated both by sociocultural context and the body itself—that each place draws its unique significance and meaning. Tim Ingold (1993: 157) describes the relationship between embodied movement and the material landscape as "incorporation, rather than inscription, not a transcribing of form onto material but a movement wherein forms themselves are generated."

The centrality of individual perception, experience, and action to the concept of landscape raises a salient point: "Since there can be no normative perception, the human environment is necessarily the product of powerful yet diffuse imagination, fractured by the faultlines of class, culture, and personality" (Upton, 1992: 198). Describing landscape as actively inhabited, subjective space, Ashmore and Knapp (1999: 8) suggest that "individuals and communities conditioned by different social, politico-economic and ideological forces project differing configurations of meaning onto the landscape, thus implying that measurable economic impacts

notwithstanding, no landscape…has an objective appearance or significance independent of the beholder." To achieve an archaeological contribution to the study of the intangible aspects of urban landscapes, then, one needs to not only consider historical, cultural, and social context as well as embodied perception and experience but also consult a theoretical framework through which contextualized evidence of individual action can be used to create insight into the mental and cultural processes by which individuals create and ascribe meaning in the landscape.

Practice theory is one such framework, facilitating discourse on how microscale, everyday actions and experiences actually worked to create and maintain large-scale physical and cultural landscapes. By placing the individual at the center of the creation and alteration of social and cultural processes, practice theory restores the actor to the social process without losing sight of the larger structures that constrain and enable social action, grounding cultural processes in the social relations of individuals (Ortner, 2006: 3). As described by French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1977), daily practice helps form the *habitus*, a set of mental dispositions acquired via experience by individuals and communities. The *habitus* of individuals and communities tends to encourage actions and understandings that reproduce the social conditions in which the *habitus* was originally formed, although it retains the possibility of novel outcomes and adaptation (Bourdieu, 1984, 1990, 1992). Because movement and experience in the urban landscape is an inescapable part of day-to-day life for city dwellers, practice theory has the potential to contribute to an understanding of how the forms, experiences, and meanings of the landscape impact individual perception and understanding and recursively how these understandings and perceptions create, maintain, and recreate the physical, social, and cultural aspects of the urban landscape.

Practice theory helps the researcher to frame the recursive relationship between agency and structure; this can be particularly helpful in studying the inhabitants and landscape of working-class neighborhoods. Symonds (2011) warns us that studies of the urban poor that only celebrate their resourcefulness and resilience risk romanticizing social and economic inequality, naturalizing poverty as an inevitability and ignoring the ways inequality is constructed and perpetuated by politically imposed structural conditions. Human action must be contextualized in the dialectical relationship between individual and society, and "to understand the vectors of inequality and the articulation of social power, which is institutionalized and asymmetrical, it is necessary to expose how human action is embedded in social relationships" (Symonds, 2011: 566). Practice theory's conception of how individual practice and social and cultural structures mutually construct and perpetuate each other can help articulate these relationships.

Archaeological and Historical Context

The historical and geographical context in which I will draw the connections between material culture and the urban landscape is Boston's North End neighborhood in the mid-nineteenth century. Over the course of the nineteenth century,

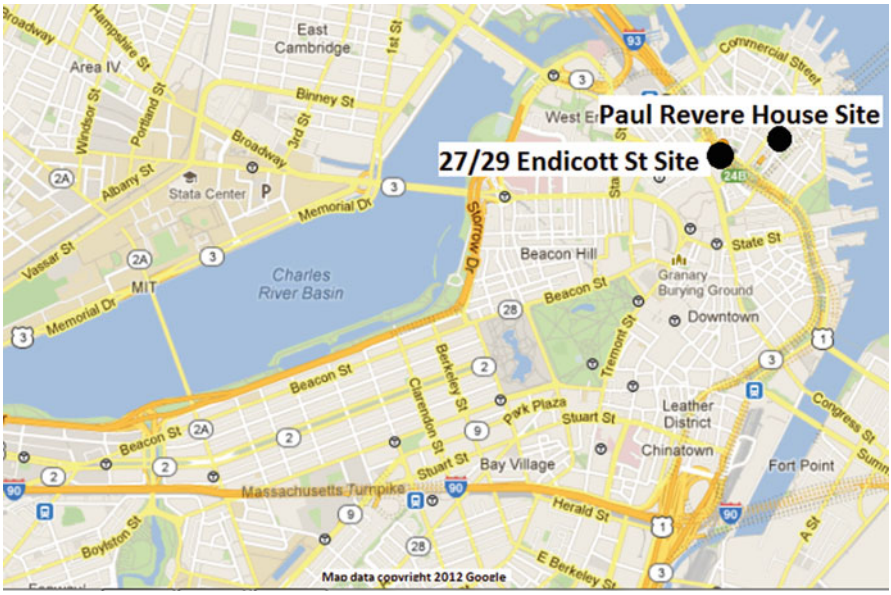

Fig. 15.1 Map of Boston indicating locations of the Paul Revere House site and 27/29 Endicott Street site (figure by Alexander Keim)

Boston developed from a colonial port into a modern industrial city. The middle of the nineteenth century saw the beginning of the dramatic growth in the immigrant population in the city that would continue into the twentieth century. The initial wave of new arrivals was largely Irish, who typically chose to live near the waterfront because of the demand there for unskilled labor. In formerly fashionable neighborhoods near the waterfront, like the North End, mansions were converted into tenements or boardinghouses and became densely populated. In the 1840s these mansions were largely demolished and replaced with four- or five-story tenements that often lacked adequate water, heat, or plumbing. The North End became notorious in the public imagination as a red-light district catering to sailors on shore leave, and its residents gained a reputation for immodesty, immorality, and dangerousness (Todisco, 1976).

I will be analyzing nineteenth-century artifacts excavated from two archaeological sites in Boston's North End, the Paul Revere House site and the Mill Pond site. The Paul Revere House site, residence of the well-known American revolutionary during the late eighteenth century and located at 19 North Square, comprises two historic structures and portions of three house lots dating back to the seventeenth century (Fig. 15.1). The Paul Revere House began operating as a boardinghouse no later than 1850, likely as early as 1833, when ownership passed to Lydia Loring (Boston Valuation Lists, 1833, 1850). The archaeological context that I am considering is a sealed fill layer from a nineteenth-century wood-lined privy located behind the Paul Revere House, with a TPQ of 1864 and a likely date of deposition around

1870, based on the years of operation of the companies whose names are embossed on recovered glass bottles (Elia, 1997). A date of around 1870 coincides with the operation of a boardinghouse there by Catherine Wilkie and her husband James. According to the Boston Directories and Valuation Lists, the residents of the boardinghouse during the period of deposition were a mixture of mariners and recent immigrants.

The other feature I will be considering is the 27/29 Endicott Street privy, a double privy and a cistern dating from the 1850s to 1883. The privy deposit was discovered at the Mill Pond site during excavations preceding Boston's massive Central Artery Project, a.k.a. the Big Dig; because it fell outside the project's 1830 cutoff date for significance, it was excavated as a salvage effort by a volunteer team led by Martin Dudek in the summer of 1993. Given the voluntary nature of the excavation and the lack of funds for artifact analysis and reporting, the collection has been studied piecemeal by a series of undergraduate, graduate, and professional researchers over the years (e.g., Doyle, 1995; Dudek, 1999; Eichner, 2008; Johnson, 2008, 2010, 2012; Stevens, 2000; Stevens & Ordoňez, 2005).

Historical research on the property has associated the materials recovered from the privy and cistern with a brothel operating at 27 and 29 Endicott Street (Beaudry, 2006). We know that the property was involved with prostitution because the 1866 Boston Tax Valuation List entry for 27 and 29 Endicott Street lists the property as "A house by Mrs. Lake," and under occupation it lists "prostitution" (Boston Valuation Lists, 1866: 200). Tax and census records also indicate that either 27 or 29 Endicott Street, or both, also took in boarders. It was not unusual for brothels to take on boarders to fill any unoccupied rooms, sometimes renting rooms to people who would be considered respectable members of the community (Johnson, 2010). In 1867 a "botanic physician" named Dr. Padelford married Mary Lake, the same woman listed in the 1866 Street Book and likely the brothel's madam. Padelford moved himself and his medical practice into 27/29 Endicott by 1868. Research into Padelford's tax records by Milena Benes (1995: 51–57) strongly indicates that his medical practice was not a financial success and that 27/29 Endicott Street may have continued to operate as a brothel through the 1870s.

Personal Adornment and Presentation

How can we analyze urban historical sites like the Paul Revere House and 27/29 Endicott and come up with distinct archaeological contributions to understanding practice, experience, and meanings in the urban landscape? One way is to look at the artifacts related to costuming, personal adornment, and hygiene. The physical appearance of other people is an integral part of the urban landscape. The unique sights, sounds, and smells of other human beings are part of the sensory stimuli of the landscape. In addition to their contribution to sensory stimuli and the performance of identity, clothing and accessories were important elements of embodied practice because dressing in and wearing clothing is a daily activity that intimately

involves and constrains the body. Sociologist Joanne Entwhistle (2000: 10) suggests that clothing is "an intimate aspect of the experience and presentation of the self and is so closely linked to identity that these three—dress, the body, and the self—are not perceived separately but simultaneously, as a totality." Costuming and adorning one's body was a visual measure of difference, a practice that communicated ideas about self and social identity (Loren, 2008: 93).

This is particularly true for the urban landscape of nineteenth-century American cities. Because of the breakdown of traditional social roles and the increasing variety and availability of consumer goods, "the possibility of distinguishing who one's neighbors appeared to be and who they 'really' were diminished. The presentation of self and the assessment of others were increasingly sensory and performative. Thus deportment and visible self-presentation glossed identity" (Upton, 2008: 2). This emphasis on self-presentation facilitated recognition between social groups while also providing the opportunity and means for personal reinvention in an increasingly fluid society.

These kinds of public creations and assertions of identity in the landscape might have been particularly important to the people who used and deposited the material culture found in these privies. Whereas the North End as a slum was a construction of the progressive, middle-class, Protestant, and universalizing cultural outlook of certain observers, the perceptions and meanings bound up in the urban landscape for the residents of the North End would have been produced by their own idiosyncratic origins, experiences, and actions. Embodied public display inside and outside the boundaries of the neighborhood would have been a powerful tool for creating a dialogue between residents of the North End's own understanding of their lives and circumstances and that of society at large.

The recovery of numerous leather shoe parts from the 27/29 Endicott Street privy, the size of which indicates they were worn by women, provides an opportunity to explore the analysis of adornment in terms of public presentation. Pieces of at least 35 individual shoes were recovered from a depositional context dated to around 1855–1870, when the household was inhabited exclusively by women and operated as a brothel. Sixty-five percent of the footwear recovered would have been considered fashionable at the time—light, hand-sewn boots and slippers with fabric uppers—with the remainder less fashionable but more durable pegged construction work shoes, also called "brogans" (Stevens, 2000; Stevens & Ordoñez, 2005). While the work shoes were more practical for the filthy conditions of nineteenth-century streets, the fashionable shoes would almost certainly have been worn outside the brothel in certain circumstances. Prior to statutory criminalization around the turn of the twentieth century, the sex trade was a highly visible part of urban life (Stansel, 1986: 183). The association between nineteenth-century prostitution and fashionable (and therefore expensive) clothing was a strong one, particularly for young women living in a working-class neighborhood like the North End. For the wearer and the observer, fancy clothes would have signified a rejection of the chastity, obedience, and subservience that entailed proper feminine behavior and an embrace of the self-interest that money from sex work made possible (Stansel,

1986: 187). These shoes, like other similar objects of adornment, would not have been merely an emulation of the fashionable or an invitation to male companions—paying or otherwise—but a powerful symbol publically contesting ideals of sexuality, status, behavior, and dependence with every step.

Consumer Goods

Another approach is to undertake a contextual, interpretive analysis of consumer goods and personal items from the assemblage that pertain to movement and experience in a way that provides insight into how consumption can articulate an individual's relationships between his or her everyday practice and larger social and cultural frameworks. Instead of seeing mass-produced consumer goods solely as evidence of the dominant structural, material, and ideological forces associated with market capitalism (Mullins, 2011a: 134), or as an instrument by which individuals directly communicate a specific identity, one needs to consider how "consumers use material culture to 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 be" (Mullins, 1999: 29).

Archaeological approaches to consumer goods have often focused on pattern description of quantitatively prevalent material—like tablewares or teawares—but uncommon materials and unique finds can be richly symbolic and illustrative of how individuals use practice and material culture to negotiate social and structural circumstances (Mullins, 2011b: 33–35). A good example of this kind of material culture is bric-a-brac: mass-produced, inexpensive decorations and knickknacks intended for prominent display as part of Victorian-era domestic decoration. The kinds of bric-a-brac typically recovered archaeologically are small ceramic figurines depicting people, animals, places, or objects (Mullins, 2011b: 34). Paul Mullins argues that bric-a-brac was "routinely consumed for no especially concrete reason besides its capacity to evoke generalized symbolism its consumers considered empowering in their own imaginations, if not the imaginations of others" (2011b: 35). He continues that while some figurines "obliquely posed a behavioral ideal that was 'real' to consumers who recognized their distance from an idealized mainstream," other bric-a-brac "was less a disciplinary model than an oblique critique of un-named social complexities" (Mullins, 2011b: 37).

One piece of bric-a-brac was recovered from 27/29 Endicott Street, a partially intact underglaze painted polychrome ceramic figurine of a fashionably dressed male and female (Fig. 15.2). Depicting two "dandies" in promenade, it is a type of figurine that was very popular in the first half of the nineteenth century. Its popularity is linked to the emergence of the dandy as an urban archetype; the complex symbolism of desire and social position bound up in the dandy represents precisely the kind of contested social sphere Mullins suggests such material culture is used to negotiate. In his book *Another City*, Dell Upton (2008: 86–91) ties the appearance

Fig. 15.2 Ceramic "dandies" figurine from the 27/29 Endicott Street privy (Photo by Alexander Keim)

of dandies in the nineteenth century to the increased importance of costuming and fashion in genteel self-presentation. Dandies of both sexes were figures who distorted the conventions of gentility in an effort to be seen. While proper genteel dress featured carefully fitted clothes that emphasized desirable aspects of the body and deemphasized others, dandies took this to extremes, creating an exaggerated and cartoonish body. Nineteenth-century dandies were known to wear padding on the hips, legs, and shoulders to create the effect of round calves, wide hips, a thin waist, and broad shoulders. Combined with a collar that elongated the neck, this seemingly cartoonish body shape was considered ideal at the time. Another important aspect of genteel self-presentation was proper bodily movement through space, especially in the public urban landscape. One was supposed to move in a graceful and controlled manner, careful to maintain one's personal space and the personal space of others. The tightly laced corsets and clothing of the dandy made this ideal movement impossible (Fig. 15.3) (Upton, 2008: 91).

Dandies engaged in practice—through their use of the material culture of dress and the ways they moved their bodies—that contravened the commonly accepted conventions of "genteel" society. This tension between the supposedly common-sense guidelines of culture at large and an individual's use of familiar forms and actions in novel ways that are both emulative and subversive is an important part of

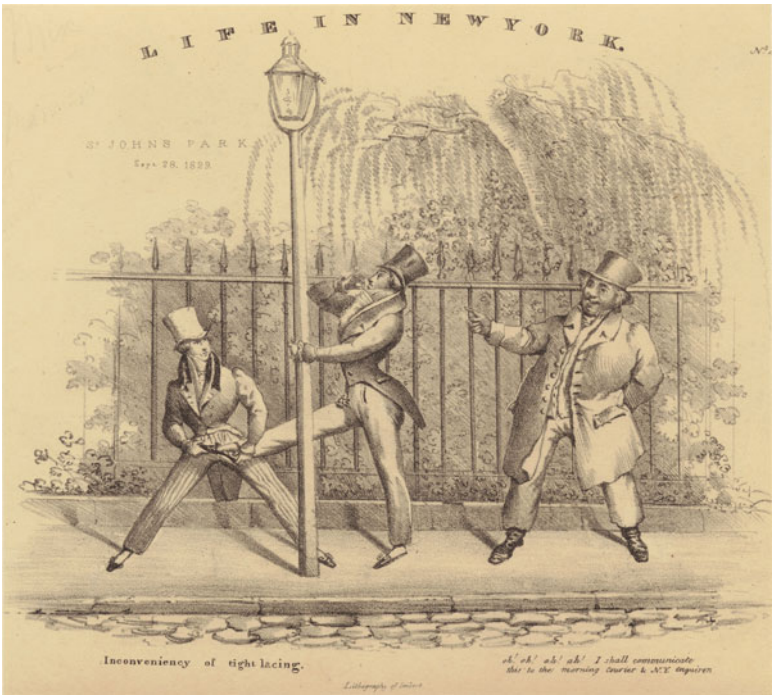

Fig. 15.3 "Inconveniency of tight lacing" (figure courtesy of the Picture Collection, the New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations)

practice theory's mechanism for the generation of structural change. It is significant that the venue for this practice was the urban landscape, a meaningful and shared space that put both the observer and the observed in physical, social, and cultural context.

It is this public discourse—touching issues of social status, material consumption, personal and public space, and changing conceptions of gender, race, and ethnicity—in which the purchaser and displayer of the dandy figurine was not only participating in but declaring his or her right and ability to do so. Whether an object of desire or critique, these artifacts provide insight into how particular consumers used material culture to make sense and meaning out of their everyday actions and experiences in the context of broad social and ideological structures. The purchase and display of representations of people who did not follow the rules of proper dress and comportment are also a tacit admission that these rules were malleable and therefore constructed and that people could choose to follow, ignore, or manipulate them for a variety of reasons and toward a variety of ends. The social symbolism of this figurine is contradictory and ill-defined, but the meanings of such items of material

culture "skated along the boundaries between absorption and resistance as things assumed ever-emergent and relatively inarticulate meanings" (Mullins, 2011b: 37). The importance for our interpretation lies in the consumption of the material itself, as "bric-a-brac was of no consequence if it did not harbor some resolution of concrete social dilemmas, even if that resolution was a symbolic delusion" (Mullins, 1999: 166).

Movement and Experience

In addition to providing evidence for costuming and a window into the social significance of consumption, archaeologically recovered material culture can also provide specific evidence of movement through the urban landscape. By combining descriptive and cartographic evidence for the physical makeup of the urban landscape, historical and demographic evidence detailing the people and businesses that inhabited specific buildings, and archaeological evidence for where in the city people purchased certain goods, it is possible to create a more complete, contextual understanding of practice in an urban landscape from the perspective of embodied perception. Knowing where, when, and why someone moved through the landscape can help move interpretation of experience away from generalities and toward an exploration of contextualized individual practice that tests the relationship between action, experience, and the kind of dispositions generated by an individual's habitus.

To demonstrate the possibilities of this kind of analysis, consider the following case study based on artifacts recovered from the 27/29 Endicott Street privy, the 1867 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map of Boston, the 1867 Boston Directory (a kind of early yellow pages reporting residential and commercial addresses), the 1867 Boston Valuation List tax records, the 1860 Federal Census, and the 1865 Massachusetts State Census. By relating the company names found on embossed glass bottles recovered from the privy to documentary information about the location and nature of certain stores, it is possible to reconstruct the possible movement of the people who purchased, used, and deposited the bottles. The results of my documentary research on the companies named on glass bottles present at 27/29 Endicott and the Paul Revere House are summarized in Table 15.1. This kind of analysis has been done before, for example, in *The Archaeology of Mothering* (2003), Laurie Wilkie surmises that African-American midwife Lucretia Perryman might have shopped for medicines and other products for her midwife practice at a pharmacy as far from her community as possible in order to avoid detection by potential clients and maintain her reputation for secret, specialized knowledge. I plotted the information onto a composite of the 1867 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map of Boston (Fig. 15.4), indicating the location of the archaeological sites and the place of purchase of some of these bottles. While the sample size might be too small

Table 15.1 Company names embossed on glass bottles recovered from 27/29 Endicott Street (ES) and Paul Revere House (PRH) sites

Company name	Street address	Business operation	Years of	Site(s)
B.O. & G.C. Wilson	18 and 20 Central	Botanic druggist	1865–1931	ES
Coburn, Lang & Co.	100 Worcester	Mineral water/beer/cider	1864–1881	PRH
F & B (Fairbanks and Beard's)	Athenaeum Bldg., Howard St	Mineral water	1855–1870	ES + PRH
F.M. Wetherbee	160 Hanover	Apothecary	1865–1874	ES
J.B.Woodward & Co.	160 Hanover	Apothecary	1869–1971	ES
J.P. Plummer	968 Washington	Porter, ales, and cider	1851–1863	ES + PRH
JI Brown and sons	425 Washington	Apothecary	1858	ES
Luke Beards	Athenaeum Bldg, Howard St	Soda and mineral water	1845–1855	ES
M.H. Gleeson	1121 Washington	Apothecary	1841–1878	PRH
Robinson, Wilson + Legallee	102 Sudbury	Apothecary	1855–1874	ES + PRH
Stebbins Druggist	1 and 2 Charlestown	Druggist	1850–1870	ES
Tarr & Smith	Worcester St	Unknown	1857–1861	PRH
Comstock Gove	30 Canal	Soda and mineral water	1865–1884	PRH

Sources. Elia (1997) and Osgood (1994a, 1994b)

to draw any robust conclusions about spatial patterning, we can begin to see potential routes taken by the purchasers and users of these bottles through the urban landscape from home to store.

In the year 1867, someone living at 27/29 Endicott—perhaps Mary Lake herself, desirous of a little fresh air and exercise before another long evening managing a boardinghouse and/or brothel—might have walked to Franklin & Beard's, a wholesaler and retailer in water, beer, and other beverages located in the Athenaeum Building on Howard Street, to place an order for mineral water. Wearing her fashionable boots—the ones with the square toe, small heel, and elastic sides that secured snugly around her ankles—she would have walked out her front door and immediately been immersed in a landscape of buildings, streets, businesses, and people that would have been familiar to the residents and would be reformers of working-class urban neighborhoods around the country. Perhaps hoping to avoid the stink and noise associated with the massive horse stable complex to her right, she might have decided to travel up Hanover Street and turned left. On her left extending down the narrowing street were brick row houses much like hers that, in addition to sheltering as many boarders as could be crammed into their three stories and wooden rear ells, housed alternating pawn shops and brothels. No one lived in the triangular commercial building on the corner, but it did contain two more pawn shops and a new billiard parlor with three tables. On the right-hand side of the street were large, three- or four-story stone or brick warehouses, storing and selling a variety of goods, but the presence of at least five liquor retailers operating from

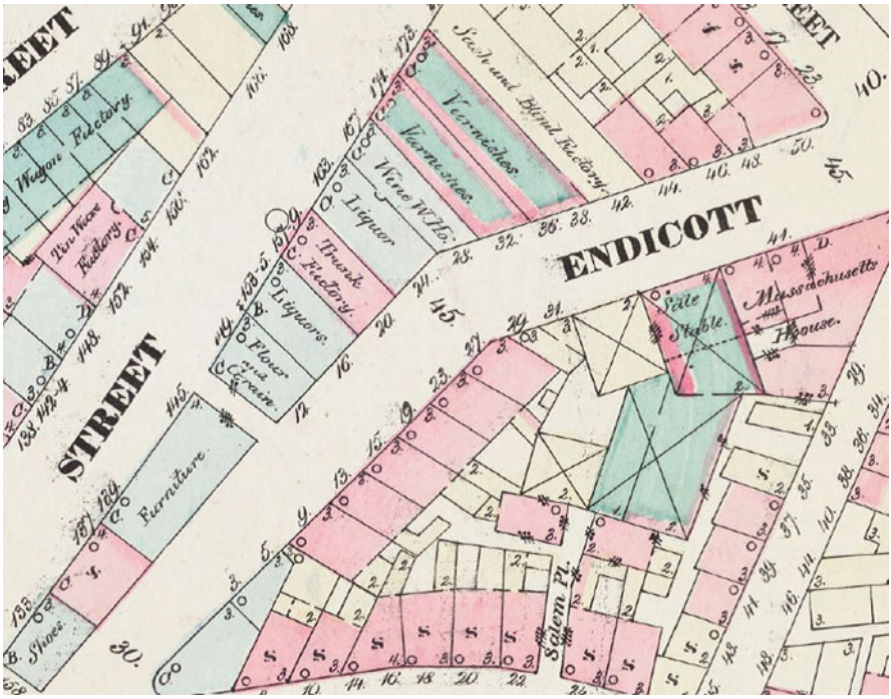

Fig. 15.4 Detail of 1867 Sanborn Map of Boston (Sanborn, 1867)

those warehouses ensured a steady supply of drunken men standing, sitting, or lying face down in the muddy street (Boston Directory, 1867, 1868, 1869).

Photographic evidence can be used to provide even more detail of the urban landscape Mary Lake would have experienced and perceived. Figure 15.5 is a photograph of Hanover Street in the North End taken before 1872. Wider and busier than many of the other streets in the North End, Hanover was and remains to this day a major thoroughfare in the neighborhood. The streetscape shown in the photograph is located on the likely route from 27/29 Endicott to the Howard Street Athenaeum, depicted on the upper left corner of the map (Fig. 15.6). While the shops on Hanover, unlike those on Endicott, had proper storefronts with awnings and wide glass display windows, the upper floors of the three- to five-story brick structures shown in the photograph still would have been tenements and boarding-houses with people and activity overflowing out of the windows. The ground floors opened directly onto the unpaved street that lacked sidewalks or any clear differentiation of pedestrian space, with ladders, barrels, and awnings projecting into the public space of the street. To move down the street would have been to immerse oneself in a riot of horse-drawn traffic, shoppers and peddlers, dust and mud, human and animal waste, and the noise of industry mixed with a gabble of languages and

Fig. 15.5 North side of Hanover Street from Portland Street, pre-1872 (Photo courtesy of the Boston Public Library)

dialects, all funneled into a brick, stone, and cast-iron canyon comprising a hodgepodge of architectural styles and motifs. The meanings of this experience would have depended in part on the *habitus* of the individual actor. A person whose *habitus* formed far away from this urban tableau—for instance, Mary Lake, who census records indicate was born in Maine in 1843, lived in Yarmouth with her new husband in 1860, and ended up widowed, caring for her small child, and living in a brothel by 1865—would have understood and reacted to these stimuli very differently than someone born and raised in the city. With a deeply contextual understanding of individual experience, archaeologists can begin to draw out how and why meanings were formed in the landscape.

By analyzing material culture with a framework that incorporates the role of daily practice in creating and maintaining perception and meaning, the importance of embodied experience in the creation and maintenance of perception, the need to

Fig. 15.6 Digital composite of 1867 Sanborn Fire Insurance Map of Boston's North End neighborhood (Sanborn, 1867)

contextualize material culture in terms of idiosyncratic experience as well as political and cultural structures, and the specific data that can remove the analysis of lived experience from the realm of pure speculation, archaeologists can make important and unique contributions to our knowledge of the practices and meanings of life in the urban landscape. This can aid not just the study of the past, but as the modern worldwide population—particularly the segment of the population living in conditions of poverty—increasingly inhabits urban landscapes, understanding what these landscapes mean and how they are experienced, and how that relates to individuals' knowledge of themselves, is an irreducible component of any attempt to understand and deal with social and economic inequality (Symonds, 2011: 565). To deal with the problems that will arise in our increasingly urbanized future, we need to consider how urban living changes and creates people's identity and *habitus*. A better understanding of the relationship between practice, the self, and urban space—aided by the archaeological study of urban landscapes—can help make sense of how living in cities affects how individuals perceive themselves and the world around them.

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Part IV
Commentary

Chapter 16
Afterword: Archaeologies of Movement

Shannon Lee Dawdy

Movement—the mobile intersection of the time-space continuum—has been a perennial topic in archaeology in the form of diffusion theory, culture histories of migration (of both pots and people, sometimes together), and accounts of settlement patterns. "Circulation" and "global/local flows" have been central themes in anthropology in recent years ("circulations" was the theme of the 2010 American Anthropological Association meeting in New Orleans). The stage was set for this interest by Wallerstein's world systems theory (e.g., 1980) and the stimulation of globalization studies by Appadurai (1986) and others in the 1980s. But the scale of these "systemic" studies was mammoth, their concerns structural, and the phenomena highly impersonal, such as how cloth made in India responded to British demand and ended up in the far-flung shops of the Empire. Cloth travelled by itself, moved by the faceless forces of an ineluctable capitalism. These studies sought to trace a circulation system as mappable as the veins and arteries of a mammalian body.

But something quite different and new is going on in this volume. Despite the archaeological love of spatial coordinates and large roll-out maps, the movements identified here defy mapping because they may be one-time occurrences. Or they occur primarily in the interior spaces of subject experience. On the archaeological side, this book presents an archaeology of *un*settlement patterns. As a broader analytic, movement here operates more at the scale of a dance than of ocean currents—it is human, interactive, and intimate. It is a dance between people and the object-things that flit in and out of their lives over time or the dance that people trace across a familiar landscape, thus making it come to life.

Despite the frequently mute and resistant form of evidence archaeology provides compared to historical texts and ethnographic interviews, these papers elicit pathways much more contingent and affectively charged than those typically traced in

S.L. Dawdy (✉)
Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, Chicago, IL, USA
e-mail: sdawdy@uchicago.edu

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histories and ethnographies of modern circulatory flows. The papers operate at once globally and at a scale of intricate intimacies. One is struck not so much by the large, fat arrows of migrations and trade routes but by the broken lines of goodbyes, painful departures, ambivalent displacements, wanderings, and abandonments. Many of the papers might be subtitled, "The Archaeology of Longing." Others are more about intricacies than intimacies, suggesting a new type of phenomenology, sensitized à la Latour (e.g., 2005), to the ontology of actants both human and nonhuman.

The archaeology of longing suggested here can be felt as *desire*, as in the mutual colonial drive for self-affirming things like copper kettles and beaver hats between Lapland and New Sweden (Chap. 2) or the dandy's desire to be loved through the gaze of other flâneurs in nineteenth-century Boston's North End (Chap. 15). More prevalent in this collection is longing as *nostalgia*. Naum cites, quite appropriately, the oldest definition, as a medical condition synonymous with homesickness. This homesickness is the wounded underside of the modern condition (early modern to contemporary) of extreme mobility. Although histories of migration often discuss the "peopling of the Americas" and the emergence of diasporic peoples, it is, with the key exception of the African slave trade, the arrival location rather than the point of departure that is usually emphasized in scholarship, including historical archaeology. To realize that so many migrants longed to return to their homeland and were not enthusiastic participants in the making of their new places (or in Wallerstein's flow charts) reinforces the power of Bourdieu's (1977) compelling idea of *habitus*—the way in which we are formed by daily habits and everyday objects—such that some actors never really adapted to their new condition *without* those objects and familiar spaces. Thus, instead of viewing the archaeological assemblages of colonial settlers and immigrant neighborhoods as adaptations to new worlds or conservative retentions of "identity," they could just as likely be interpreted either as efforts to restore some part of what was lost or, alternatively, as indifferent accommodations to a place that actors thought (sometimes correctly) was only a temporary way station. Naum cites the striking fact that more than half of seventeenth-century colonists to New England and Canada eventually returned home to Europe (a pattern upheld by my own research on eighteenth-century Louisiana). This liminal malaise should be understood as one of the common subjective conditions of modernity. And it is quite likely that this disease of the spirit disproportionately affected the poor, such as those humanely tracked in eighteenth-century Massachusetts by Hutchins and those who endured forced migration (usually the same demographic). As in Winter's account of the British convict transport system, the physical apparatuses of the system were in no way designed to remedy "homesickness" and likely aggravated it with institutional cells and food, or in the case of farming out, alien frontier conditions.

Archaeology, whether understood as the contextualization of excavated finds or a disposition towards the gritty intersection of human-object-place over time, reveals to us how much actors mediate nostalgia through their material surroundings. In Naum's example of a colonist to New Sweden with a particularly severe case of homesickness, architecture and furnishings (down to the familiar smells of

imported Old World woods) were employed to create a microcosmic replacement for the larger world that had been lost in migration. In Cheng and Hseih's account of military-dependent housing in Taiwan, this sort of action was post-mortem—after a community had been disbanded, the architectural spaces that had given it shape are now being preserved as "heritage" (albeit ambivalently, given the lack of antiquity of the ruins). The act of designating these mid-twentieth-century sites of colonial unsettlement as "heritage" may not so much romanticize them as represent an effort to maintain the ties of a unique social collective that was distinguished above all by its distinct and isolated architectural infrastructure.

In fact, it is not unreasonable to assess all heritage making as a form of enacted nostalgia. This is true even, perhaps especially, when it is not a specific homeland that is missed, but a diffused sense of a more noble, more innocent, or simpler time. This is the form of nostalgia that often comes in for satire and critique as a false romanticism, although it should be noted that Marx himself was not immune to such longings. This "golden age" nostalgia as we might call it, evoking both the idealism of imagining a better time and the golden tint of patina on aged glass and faded photographs, is almost always mediated through objects. In fact, it is difficult to imagine a sense of the "good old days" without the tactile triggers of obsolete objects and fashions. Thus, the antique bricolage effect of the Fairbanks House in Massachusetts, or as Parno nicely calls it, the "generalized mosaic of pastness" (after Benjamin), makes the greatest impression upon visitors. Unlike Governor Printz's house of New Sweden that replicated his homeland in as many authentic ways as possible, the contents of the Fairbanks House do not bother with authenticity and, in fact, are not even all that functional. They are aesthetic objects placed to provoke an experience in the visitor—perhaps even a longing. In contrast, Printz's house was designed to alleviate, not provoke, a longing. So here may be an important distinction—the nostalgia for place (particularly as enacted by those who knew it intimately) versus the nostalgia for pastness. Golden age nostalgia is rarely younger than a dimly remembered childhood, and often references uncounted generations' past. Specificity and authenticity are less needed, since this is a nostalgia more of the imagination than of experience. In fact, specificity may hinder the nostalgic effect since different actors may fill up the gaps in their historical knowledge in quite different ways, picking up virtual artifacts they encounter through books, movies, travel, art, or study to compose their internal mosaic of pastness. These are second-order mediated impressions—quite different from the ingrained *habitus* that informed Printz's reconstruction of Sweden in New Sweden. One could say his house was idiosyncratic since his replica was undoubtedly based on his particular experience in Sweden with subregional and class reference points (in fact, it was his class privilege in the new world that allowed him the luxury of transplanting the look and feel of "home" so thoroughly). The Fairbanks House, despite its quirky collection, is in a sense far from being idiosyncratic. Rather, it encourages collective experiences through generalized collecting. It is not "home" to anyone in particular, but it *is* a time capsule of what *might* have been.

Artifacts that suddenly rush to the surface, through literal excavation, inheritance, or other processes of rediscovery, seem to have a special ability to provoke

nostalgia and longing. Sometimes, as in the remarkable case of wartime caches in Estonia, these artifacts act as fetishes (defined as a displacement of longing onto material things) that cause emotional upwellings and surfacing of repressed memories. Such examples are nostalgia as catharsis and mourning. We might consider this Freudian function of buried artifacts an instance of the "return of the repressed," which was Freud's idea that either libidinal impulses or childhood traumas could never be buried or redirected entirely by civilization and adulthood. The substratum of the unconscious would pop out as slips of the tongue, dreams, or odd obsessions. While I think we should refrain from embracing Freud's pathological view of the individual, the idea that human emotions and memories are often displaced onto, or expressable through, "trigger objects" is a valuable one that I think we see documented not only in these archaeologies of longing but in the essential practice of archaeology itself. While archaeologies of "memory" have been a recent trope within the field, these are often understood as collective, idealized, and continuous memories. It is, however, the *dis*continuity of memory that is highlighted in the case of Estonians returning to their homeland to excavate things they forgot long ago. War caches also emphasize contingency and individual experience, one reason that Burström found little in the way of collaboration or agreement regarding the prevalence of the phenomenon, much less material evidence for it. One might say the treasure maps are themselves likely to be part of repressed memory and therefore we would indeed expect them to be nearly erased or imperfectly remembered.

Historical archaeology often seems motivated by a deliberate impulse to force the "return of the repressed"—to bring up trigger artifacts of memory and repressed experience. Such a drive seems particularly evident in archaeologies of the contemporary which are often hard to reconcile with "heritage" nostalgia. Cherry et al.'s description of his team's encounter with the AIR studio on Montserrat is haunting enough to make the phrase "archaeological survey" seem dry and inadequate. Particularly in their 2012 follow-up to the 2010 visit, there is a sense of total loss of material references for this highpoint in anglophone pop music. Here, in contrast to the Taiwanese case, heritage making will not be possible. Not only is commemoration unlikely, but the sort of social networks the studio made possible among musicians and between musicians and local islanders is lost. The authors suggest an anxiety about forgetting—that remembering past social worlds is quite difficult without material depositories. Even the music made on the island seems to remain mostly mute on the conditions of its own production.

In fact, archaeology's ability to stimulate the "return of the repressed" at the collective level seems to be widely accepted by the lay public, although of course not put in these terms. Allen has found that current longings to find the material traces of Pernambuco's renowned runaway slave community of Palmares have so enthusiastically colored the archaeological record of the region that analysis of the materials from any angle other than this longing displaced onto *things* is practically taboo. Cipolla's account of the ethnogenesis of Brothertown Indians despite a near-total loss of connections to their ancestral New England "home" also emphasizes the importance of material practices as selective mnemonics, even when these have to be reassembled and constantly re-commemorated (such as through cemetery practices)

to be effective. Members of the Brothertown community fully recognized that objects were necessary to keep nostalgia alive and that for displaced persons nostalgia serves as an idealized projection of the possibilities for their collective good.

As this consideration of the "archaeology of longing" suggests, movement can be seen not only in the departures and displacements of peoples and things but in the displacement of memories and feelings onto artifacts, ruins, and longed-for places. From the view of Latour (2005) and others who hold a strongly agentive view of the object world, this may not be an entirely human-centered movement. The objects themselves have a power to influence a relationship with a human actor because of their unique properties, which is why some objects "move us" (in the emotional sense) and others do not. In actor network theory, the old philosophical distinction between subject and object is evaded. Instead, lifeworlds are seen as collectivities of human and nonhuman "actants." This approach is not entirely incompatible with Bourdieu's idea of *habitus*, but it stresses the agency and particularity of the nonhuman world.

Coming out of sociological studies of science, network theory necessarily focuses more on the daily *intricacies* than the greater intimacies of human-object relations (to escape the paradigm's language for a moment). The influence of this sort of thinking and its focus on small relational movements is at least implicitly evident across several papers in this volume. Aldred's account of the inseparability of human space from the temporality of sheep raising and its technologies tracks just such a network while not neglecting the affective dimension, noting that Icelandic ranchers themselves treated the sheep as actors with names rather than as inanimate commodities. Salzer's detailed account of the location and frequency of early sundials provides a look into how particular artifacts, though made by humans, could transform their makers—into gentlemen, into scientists, and into successful military men. The last two are tied to the particular abilities (some might say agency) of these unique objects. Keim's focus on the dandy identifies an urban type who thoroughly appreciated the power of artifacts to "make the man." There is no such thing as a naked dandy. And naked men do not (usually) move through public space. It is clothes and accessories that define and permit movement through socially delimited landscapes. In the case of the Harvard Indian college (Chap. 14), it was the accoutrements of college men and literally (in the case of the printing room) *lettered men* that permitted Native Americans to occupy this space as a special kind of settler identified as Christian and civilized by their clothing, furnishing, and items they consumed. It does not seem right to say that their material assemblage *expressed* who they were. Rather, it continually attempted to make them through the active relations of *habitus*, like the repetitive but never quite identical motion of the printer's roller.

To bring us back to today and some summary of where our archaeological thoughts may be taking us, this volume speaks to a potent maturity that historical archaeology has finally come around to accepting for itself. This maturity means accepting the intimate and intricate scale at which it best operates and the idiosyncratic movements it traces. There is an open-endedness to these papers that also reflects some relaxation on the need to either proclaim a place for historical

archaeology or to engage in debates overly defined by grand narratives. Yet at the same time, these papers demonstrate archaeology's unique ability to tap into the powerful relational movements between people, objects, and landscapes that might more sincerely be called an improvised dance rather than a predictable network.

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