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Resilience and Survivance: Frameworks for Discussing Intercultural Interactions

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At the 2016 Midwest Archaeological Conference, a sponsored symposium titled “Encounters, Exchange, Entanglement: Current Perspectives on Intercultural Interactions throughout the Western Great Lakes” celebrated 50 years since the 1966 publication of George Irving Quimby’s seminal text, *Indian Culture and European Trade Goods*. The text divided time after European contact in the Great Lakes region into Early, Middle, and Late Historic eras, and its acculturation-based typology of diagnostic material culture remains a standard reference in Midwest historical archaeology today. Since the 1960s, archaeologists, historians, descendant communities, and others have worked to investigate material outcomes of intercultural encounters in the Midwest from a variety of perspectives. This volume results from collaboration among scholars who presented at the conference.

In this introductory paper, we highlight theoretical frameworks, specifically the concepts of survivance and resilience, which thematically unite the papers in this volume. Such theoretical frameworks highlight the agency of individuals and communities and the historical contingency of colonial encounters. This postcolonial approach allows for more thorough discussions and expands on Quimby’s oft-cited text. We emphasize new techniques and perspectives that both build on and revise our understanding of historical archaeology and Quimby’s historic chronology in the western Great Lakes region.

KEYWORDS survivance; resilience; colonialism; Great Lakes

Introduction

In 1966, George Irving Quimby published a short text, *Indian Culture and European Trade Goods*, which divided time after European contact in the Great Lakes region

into Early, Middle, and Late Historic eras. This acculturation-based typology of diagnostic material culture remains a standard reference in Midwest historical archaeology today. Over the last 50 years, archaeologists, historians, descendant communities, and others have worked from multiple perspectives to understand the material outcomes of colonial encounters among the diverse Native American peoples present in the Great Lakes region when Europeans and their trade items arrived there. While the historical framework remains relevant, scholars now recognize that the focus on European history and acculturation only perpetuates the colonial discourse and imbalanced power relationships inherent in colonial situations.

Today's research questions in Midwest historical archaeology no longer rely on acculturation-based models; instead they emphasize historically contingent situations of intercultural interaction while expanding on the original goals and themes of Quimby's oft-cited text. Papers in this volume are united by their contributions to this postcolonial discourse of interactions and encounters in the western Great Lakes, highlighting progress in theoretical frameworks, interpretation, methodologies, and collaborative approaches to scholarship over the last 50 years. In this introductory chapter, we demonstrate how the overarching themes of indigenous survivance and resilience, exhibited in both long-term material continuities and innovative technological and social practices, provide new perspectives on past topics.

The themes of survivance and resilience bring to the forefront Native experiences and perspectives. Narratives of survivance, which draw on the works of Gerald Vizenor (1992, 1998, 2008) and have been applied in archaeological and museum contexts (e.g. Kasper and Handsman 2015; Silliman 2014), illustrate how the agency of Native peoples overcomes colonial narratives of cultural loss and assimilation. Likewise, recent social applications of resilience theory (e.g., McAnany and Yoffee 2010; Rodning and Mehta 2015; Sauer 2015) provide examples of flexible adaptations to potentially disruptive situations such as colonial encounters. From these perspectives, this volume characterizes the highly dynamic, mobile landscape of exchange and intercultural interaction in the western Great Lakes region of North America. This setting highlights the diversity of human interactions, from initial arrivals of European-made materials through the era of intense trade in furs, cloth, and other materials in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In the following case studies, authors demonstrate how one might reject Quimby's description of "Pan-Indian" culture in his Late Historic period (1966:140), and perhaps much of Quimby's acculturation model, without rejecting his material chronology. Under the "umbrella" of survivance and resilience, these case studies focus on social relations as a means of power and resilience in a changing world; empowered Native Americans in trade situations using that power for survivance; and the agency and expression of individual identity growing more important in the face of intercultural interaction. Scholars specifically focus on Native American population movements, settlement patterns, development of multiethnic villages, and existing trade networks circulating European-made items in "protohistoric" periods before the arrival of European peoples. Techniques and perspectives highlighted here both build on and revise our understanding of intercultural interaction and Quimby's historic chronology in the western Great Lakes.

Overview of Quimby's Framework

On the basis of common, temporally diagnostic artifacts, Quimby devised a typology that could be used to identify archaeological sites as Early, Middle, or Late Historic (1966:63–90), using material culture to establish the age of sites that yielded trade items but that were not associated with written documents. The underlying premise of this division was that Native-made artifacts, such as ceramics and lithics, decreased over time and were replaced by technologically “more sophisticated” materials such as metal kettles and firearms. While Quimby had been hoping to trace artifacts back through time to connect prehistoric groups with historic ones, he noted (1966:8), “I discovered that by 1760 the Indians of the western Great Lakes region had become so changed by employment in the fur trade and contact with the culture of white men that the significant typological continuities in material culture had been destroyed.” It is this sentiment that the authors of our volume challenge, evidenced through various case studies.

Quimby did recognize that trade items, and modifications to them, were taking many forms. In fact, many of Quimby's temporally diagnostic categories are based on his categories of change that he interpreted as degrees of acculturation, which belies the complexity of what was actually taking place. Table 1 demonstrates some of this complexity.

Quimby's “categories of change” grapple with typological issues inherent in a colonial situation, such as Native-made items in precolumbian forms produced using new, imported materials, as in tinkling cones cut from brass kettles, or innovative new techniques for crafting, as in catlinite pipes decorated with inlays made from molten lead. In discussions of the categories and their representative artifacts, he carefully lays out examples that include organic materials, fibers, cloths, feathers, and furs, which generally do not preserve well archaeologically, as well as more durable metal and glass items. This focus was prescient, as today we continue to recognize the importance of understanding how taphonomic processes affect evidence available in the archaeological record.

Once defined, these material categories were used to connect archaeological assemblages to particular points in time. For example, Early Historic period (1610–1670) sites were characterized by abundant native-made ceramic and lithic artifacts, with proportionally fewer trade items. Iron hoes were designated as most characteristic of the Middle Historic period (1670–1760) and steel tomahawk-pipes, a combination European/native item, as diagnostic Late Historic period (1760–1820) artifacts (Quimby 1966:71). Both material and form were considered: C-shaped bracelets made of brass wire are considered diagnostic of the Early and Middle Historic periods, while those found in the Late Historic period were made from silver (Quimby 1966:72). The result was an easy-to-use reference for those seeking to date assemblages of historic materials. If a silver gorget is recovered at a site, one can simply reference Quimby's work to state that the site probably dates to between 1760 and 1820. The challenge today for archaeologists comes in retaining the utility of a typology of temporally diagnostic artifact types, necessary for assigning dates to archaeological sites on the basis of material culture, while at the same time rejecting the framework of acculturation on which the typology was originally built.

TABLE 1.
SUMMARY OF QUIMBY'S CATEGORIES OF CHANGE.*

Material Category	Examples
New artifact types	Firearms, iron implements, cloth, scissors, glass, brass and silver trade items, vermilion
New artifact types reproduced on local material	"Imitation" stone pipes and other trade items, molds for lead casting, maple sugar
New artifact types introduced forms, made of both new & local material	Clothing with imported material but indigenous designs, wooden handles for imported tools
New artifacts of introduced forms manufactured locally using local techniques	Clothing with imported material and European designs, some silver ornaments cut or modified from other silver ornaments
Old types of artifacts using new or imported materials	Iron, brass, or glass arrow points, brass tinkling cones and adornments, repurposed firearm parts, adornments with imported feathers or horsehair
Old types of artifacts modified with new technologies or imported materials	Lead inlays on red stone pipes, modification of scraper technology for sheet brass
Old types of artifacts modified by a new element	Representational images on birch-bark scrolls and rock art depicting Europeans

*Note: From Quimby 1966:9–12.

Quimby (1966) in 2016

In 2012, Vergil Noble highlighted Quimby's lasting influence in an entry of *The Oxford Handbook of North American Archaeology*, stating that "Quimby's landmark summation (1966) of 20 years' research on the subject, *Indian Culture and European Trade Goods*, remains in print and is still frequently cited by scholars of the fur trade more than 40 years after its initial publication" (Noble 2012:423). Uses of this citation vary widely. As of November 2017 on Google Scholar, there were 144 results citing *Indian Culture and European Trade Goods*, in books, dissertations, and journals including *American Antiquity* and *Historical Archaeology*, as well as in regional publications. This measurement of citations does not differentiate between those articles that are critical of the text and those that employ it as a reference, so we provide contextualization of citation practices below.

Within the realm of cultural resource management (CRM), the Early-Middle-Late historic division of material culture continues to be a standard means of assigning a date to site assemblages. For example, during Phase III mitigation of US-131 in Grand Rapids, Michigan, a small assemblage of "contact period" trade items were found, including spall and blade gunflints; beads; Jesuit rings; kettle scrap; thimble, knife, and utensil fragments; brass and silver pendants; earring pieces; tinkling cones; and silver brooches. While several methods were used to provide a date for this portion of the assemblage, including radiocarbon dating of a corn-cob from a smudge pit, diagnostic ring and bead types, and the styles of gunflints, Quimby (1966:92–101) is still cited. The report reads: "[t]he small amount of silver coupled with the fact that the items consist of small articles of adornment (i.e., earrings or pendants and a brooch) suggests that the occupation took place prior

to the great surge in the use of silver in the fur trade during the Late Historic period between 1760 and 1820” (Hambacher et al. 2003:9–12). In a 2008 article by Mainfort and Martin on the Battle Point site in Michigan, Quimby’s chronology is also briefly mentioned with regard to silver brooches at the site: “[t]hree . . . were cut horizontally from a large engraved gorget or arm band, a practice that seems to have been fairly common during the Late Historic Period” (Mainfort and Martin 2008:150–151). Clear and concise definitions of chronological periods are essential in CRM; Quimby’s typology provides such a system. However, citations are not limited to applications of the typology for chronological purposes.

Researchers continue to cite Quimby’s detailed descriptions of artifacts and materials as comparative examples for their own sites, often in broad terms as part of literature reviews (e.g., Bollwerk 2006; Loren 2011:112) but sometimes in more depth. Furthermore, Quimby’s chronology and interpretive framework are now widely applied for comparative purposes outside the Midwest. For example, a recent text on metallurgy in “pre-contact” eastern North America (Trevelyan 2004:144) invokes Quimby’s discussion of trade kettles (1966:64–72) in the western Great Lakes region as evidence for the widespread preference for brass and copper over iron kettles at Early Historic sites in Virginia. House (2013:62) uncritically employs Quimby’s category of “old types of artifacts modified by the substitution of an imported material” (Quimby 1966:10) to describe a copper-base metal assemblage from a colonial Quapaw village site in Arkansas. Such broadening of the scope of Quimby’s original intent should be treated with caution. Despite the persistence of the acculturation-based typology as a chronological and material-culture reference, increasingly citations to the 1966 text appear in critiques of acculturation and binary models of intercultural interaction. These critiques come from archaeologists working in colonial contexts worldwide (e.g., Mullins 2011; Paterson 2011), ranging from scholars of the North American Midwest (Schwartz and Green 2013) to Scandinavia (Horning 2013).

In contrast to the expanding geographic scope for critiques of Quimby’s text, in the pages of the *Midcontinental Journal of Archaeology* (MCJA), which began its run as a “Voice for the Heartland” (Brose 1976), *Indian Culture and European Trade Goods* has been cited only 15 times as of November 2017. This number, which seems relatively low, serves to highlight the journal’s long focus on prehistory, as well as the tendency of historical archaeologists to publish in other venues. Citations of Quimby’s 1966 volume have increased over time in the MCJA, but the first critiques of Quimby in this journal did not come until the twenty-first century. In 2006, Schurr both praised the usefulness of the study and pointed out Quimby’s and his contemporaries’ disinterest in later periods, when a fully acculturated “pan-Indian” culture was presumed to have “replaced earlier distinctive tribal cultures” (Schurr 2006:7). In 2012, Nassaney elaborated on the idea of decolonization and demonstrated how early archaeologies of colonialism, such as Quimby’s work, reinforced the destructiveness of colonial encounters by emphasizing cultural loss and assimilation of indigenous peoples.

From this review of citations of *Indian Culture and European Trade Goods*, there is a common theme: the theoretical framework is now outdated, but researchers remain both interested in and reliant on the data set and chronological control of

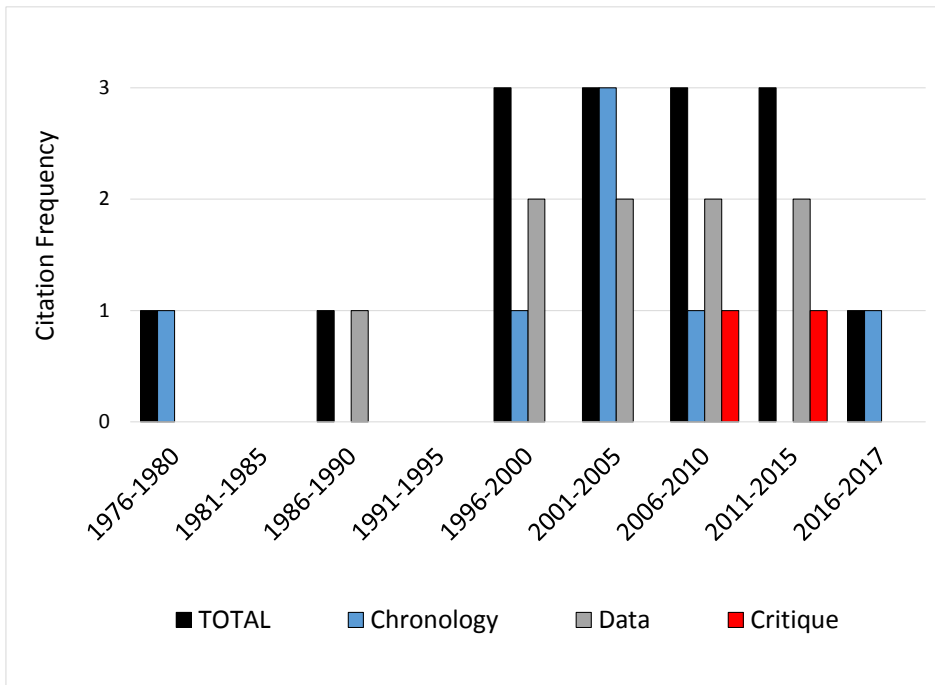


FIGURE 1. Citations of Quimby (1966) by year and usage in the *MCJA* since 1976.

Quimby's typology. Fortunately, in archaeology today, it is possible to reframe and refocus discussions of legacy data sets such as Quimby's. By initiating this discussion in the pages of the *MCJA*, we draw attention both to the colonial legacy of historical archaeology in the Midwest and to progress toward wider applications of postcolonial interpretive frameworks. In an era when repatriation, consultation with descendant communities, collaborative scholarship, and other decolonizing activities have become necessities for responsible archaeological practice, it is critical to rethink our analytical frameworks for the material culture of colonial situations.

Theoretical Frameworks

In recent commentary on Quimby's culture-historical framework, common themes include postcolonial critiques and decolonization of the acculturation-based approach; individual and community ethnicity and identities; multiple and hybridized expressions of identity; and breaking down binary distinctions. All of these aspects can be generally described as postcolonial approaches to archaeology of intercultural interaction. Two key concepts—resilience and survivance in colonial situations—unite the case studies presented in this volume. The use of these two concepts emphasizes our focus for this volume: the active presence of Native American groups during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. Briefly,

we provide an overview of some key terms for this discussion to highlight common themes and clarify our definitions of terms used in this volume.

Postcolonial Archaeology and Decolonization

Postcolonial approaches applied today challenge early twentieth-century models that proposed that sustained contact between groups would lead to cultural change, usually with one group becoming more like the other. This “acculturation” was not originally defined as unidirectional cultural oppression but rather as a general descriptor of cultural change as a result of sustained interaction (Cusick 1998; Redfield et al. 1935). However, subsequent investigations of “contact” and “acculturation,” including Quimby’s, considered the adoption of trade items as a strictly material, economic decision based on the technological “superiority” of European-made items, such as axes, metal cooking pots, and firearms, over native-made stone tools and ceramics (e.g., Feest 1980; Fitting 1976; Quimby 1966; Quimby and Spoehr 1951). Acculturation models reinforced stereotypes of Native peoples as passive receptors of superior European materials rather than featuring them as active agents and glossed over the unbalanced power dynamics, violence, and severity of encounters between Native Americans and European groups (Ferris 2009:9–17; Silliman 2005). These models overlooked the agency of Native communities, communities that continued (and continue) to exist despite material or superficial appearances of change in cultural values and practices.

These models came into question with the postcolonial critique that took place throughout the social sciences in the 1980s and 1990s, which identified and attempted to correct for Western biases and the often elitist nature of scholarly discourse, particularly in discussions of the non-Western “Other.” They also recognized that using dichotomies such as “colonizer” and “colonized” or even “pre-historic” and “historic” helped reproduce the power imbalances of colonialism in their own work (Liebmann 2008, 2013; Liebmann and Rizvi 2008; Patterson 2008; Said 2014 [1978]; Silliman 2013:491–492; Webster 1997).

Anthropologists and archaeologists working under the postcolonial paradigm seek to understand, without resorting to one-sided acculturation-based or strictly functionalist interpretive frameworks, why and how groups experiencing colonial encounters adopt and reimagine nonlocal materials. Technologically driven studies of material culture conducted with attention to this postcolonial critique have investigated how groups adapted and modified foreign materials using both known and innovative production processes to fit with existing and newly developed ideological systems (Deagan 2004; Ehrhardt 2013; Panich 2014). Other research has focused on the social, rather than the technological, motivation behind these exchanges (e.g., Cipolla 2015; Gosden 2004; Silliman 2010). For example, Susan Sleeper-Smith’s (2009) work in *Rethinking the Fur Trade* shows that, rather than being focused on the technological aspects, many groups were concerned with the social relationships and kinship ties that were being created and maintained because of these exchanges.

It may seem that *decolonization* could be used interchangeably with the term *postcolonial*; however, these words represent two different ideas. We recognize here that decolonization is a specific response to postcolonial critiques and that not all

postcolonial approaches fit the description of decolonized approaches. Language, theoretical frameworks, interpretations, and research practices all may be used, made, and conducted from a postcolonial stance. However, whereas postcolonial approaches *recognize* the influence of colonialism and other biases on research (e.g., Jordan 2009; Hayes and Cipolla 2015), decolonized approaches actively seek to *deconstruct* the dichotomies of the colonizers and the colonized or “Native” versus “European” encounters, which oversimplify historically contingent situations of intercultural interaction and reproduce the inherent power differential and struggles of marginalized groups in the modern world (Atalay 2006a; Baram and Hughes 2012; Deagan 2013:262; Lightfoot et al. 2013; Nassaney 2012; Scheiber and Mitchell 2010). Decolonized approaches emphasize indigenous voices, community input, collaboration, and multivocality in interpretation. Good-faith repatriation efforts (e.g., Ehrhardt and Kelly, this volume) also can be characterized as a decolonizing practice. However, cautious of distorting the reality of situations for the sake of political correctness or decolonization, Deagan has recently argued that, in their interpretive frameworks, archaeologists should seek to understand local interactions, which sometimes likely did take place under the broader dichotomous constructions that postcolonial theorists seek to dismantle (2013:263). In this volume, we recognize that our research methods, approaches to archaeological practice, and even our interpretations may not be fully decolonized.

The papers within this volume seek to understand local interactions from a broader standpoint and are actively focused not on decolonizing our approaches to research but rather on understanding how interaction and exchange took place within colonial situations, as Deagan (2013) suggests. We take a critical approach to our topic, recognizing how our own biases and dichotomous thinking may influence our work. Rather than emphasize or analyze the extent of our decolonizing, we focus instead on how recent scholarship provides evidence for long-term resilience and survivance in contexts of colonial encounters.

Colonial Encounters

Discussions of colonialism today often invoke terms such as *interactions*, *entanglements*, or *encounters* instead of the term *contact* so as not to gloss over the idea that *contact* implies a single event, not the reality of long-term influences and relationships and the distinctive power imbalances inherent in such situations (Silliman 2005). Studies of interaction worldwide now often distinguish among different processes and outcomes along a spectrum of interaction based on power dynamics, material values and exchange, and intensity of encounters (e.g., Alexander 1998; Gosden 2004; Paterson 2011; Stein 2005; Webster 1997). As circumstances change, new descriptors of the situation are required. The widespread recognition of these shifting social processes and outcomes, and how that understanding can affect archaeological interpretation, has led Jordan to suggest that “the dominant mode of interpretation in the historical archaeology of indigenous sites is to see social categories as being in motion” (Jordan 2016:63; see also Nassaney, this volume), a sentiment that echoes current themes in the discipline of historical archaeology as a whole (Matthews 2016).

Recognition of the “mobility” of social categories contrasts with preceding interpretive frameworks, which focused on classifying colonial encounters along a spectrum of interaction. For example, in his now classic work, *The Middle Ground*, Richard White (1991) argued that, by the early nineteenth century, the balance of a “middle ground” style of colonialism in the midcontinent was gone, lost to what Gosden (2004) called “terra nullius” or no-man’s-land forms of colonial encounters. Terra nullius colonialism serves as one end of that spectrum, when Western conceptions of landownership and agriculture as the primary means of dominion over territory take precedence over other, less-intensive traditions of land use, such as seasonal mobility or shared territories (Gosden 2004:114–152). Conversely, at the other end of the colonial spectrum, Kathleen Duval (2006) suggested that, in the Southeast, colonial encounters took place on “Native ground” rather than a middle ground. She argues that, in this region, Europeans never had any real political power and operated within the existing framework of native power relations up to the nineteenth century and perhaps beyond. In a similar manner, Michael Witgen’s (2012) reexamination of the historical record of colonial encounters in the interior of North America shows how the Anishinaabeg, among other Great Lakes peoples, maintained power in this region well into the nineteenth century by retaining territorial sovereignty in practice, if not on paper, to a much later date than Richard White (1991) had originally suggested.

Careful considerations of interpretive frameworks are a hallmark of current scholarship on sites and communities that fall into Quimby’s Late Historic period. For example, Schwartz and Green (2013) suggest that by seeking to designate middle or native grounds, the frameworks of which rely on the binaries of assimilation versus resistance and change versus continuity, and by linking these respectively with the powerless versus the powerful, scholars actually reproduce the colonial narratives that such approaches were meant to challenge. To interpret a nineteenth-century Ioway community in southeastern Iowa, Schwartz and Green (2013) demonstrate how an interpretive framework based on material culture practices, such as use, repair, and recycling of objects, and on various modes of exchange, better reflects the dynamic and relational power structures than simply classifying the situation as either a “middle” or “Native” space does. Archaeological examples supported with rich historical contextualization, such as the experiences of Miami communities on the Wabash River in the eighteenth century (Mann, this volume), are key to rejecting classificatory interpretive frameworks. Rather, critically assessing long-standing historical and archaeological narratives of “contacts and colonialisms” can highlight long-term continuities in subsistence practices and settlement patterns of various native peoples, such as those living in southwestern Ontario who persisted and counteracted increasing European populations and their land-clearing activities well into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Ferris 2009). The presence of European-made material culture in “colonial spaces” need not represent discontinuity of indigenous practices (Ferris 2009; Silliman 2010). Recognizing these key interpretive developments in archaeology today, we turn to the concepts of resilience and survivance as means for examining our case studies from a postcolonial context without falling back on models of

acculturation, assimilation, accommodation, or resistance. These models focus on choice and action, for all communities involved.

Resilience and Survivance

Resilience theory originated from mid-twentieth-century economic models and then gained favor in ecological and environmental studies as a way of modeling how environments may “bounce back” after change (see Sauer 2015:32–36 for a complete historical review of the concept). In general terms, resilience theory has been applied to environmental contexts, but it is widely used to examine relationships between social and ecological systems (Folke 2006): for example, as a means of analyzing living more sustainably in the face of climate change and resource shortages (Rodning and Mehta 2015; Foster et al. 2016; Walker and Salt 2006). As archaeologists have considered the interpretive value of resilience theory, it has been identified as an element of one of five topical clusters of “grand challenges” in archaeological exploration today (Kintigh et al. 2014). In that scheme, which addresses “Resilience, Persistence, and Collapse” as a unit or perhaps as a broad range of adaptive patterns in human societies, resilience is identified as a strategy that can be investigated through environmental, social, and economic studies. However, resilience theory as an interpretive framework in archaeology has broadened to encompass a means of conceptualizing the flexibility of social systems and cultural practices, without necessitating the inclusion of ecological or environmental data (Redman 2005; Sauer 2015). In this way, the basic premise of resilience theory remains the same—that is, that people and communities within the boundaries of a given social or economic situation will act and adapt to change in order to enable their continued success, survival, and even survivance.

The recent theoretical pairings of resilience and collapse (Faulseit 2015; Kintigh et al. 2014; McAnany and Yoffee 2010) address the fundamental human tendency to carry on or persist in the face of change. As applied in situations of intercultural interaction and colonialism, resilience takes on the role of counteracting long-standing assumptions and narratives of indigenous societal and cultural collapse, described as “terminal narratives” (Wilcox 2009:11–13) or the “vanishing Indian” mythology (Wilcox 2010). Quimby’s (1966) understanding of cultural loss and Native American acculturation in the Late Historic period is one example of such a narrative. In colonial situations of population mobility, migration, and diaspora, resilience in its most general sense can refer to cultural persistence through strategic-networking practices (Peace and Labelle 2016), which serve to reject “collapse” through alliance building and social connections among diverse communities. Such persistence can be characterized as exemplifying both resilience and survivance (Creese and Walder, this volume).

The concept of survivance originated with Gerald Vizenor, a scholar of American studies and literature, who has articulated the importance of considering indigenous histories in their present contexts and removed from colonialist impressions (1998, 1999, 2008). In an early article, Vizenor explained the term *survivance* through the real-life parable of “Ishi,” a Yahi Native American individual who became famous in the early twentieth century as the “last of his tribe,” as described by anthropologist Alfred Kroeber. Ishi has been contrasted with Christopher Co-

lumbus, who in 1992 was honored in quincentennial (neocolonial) celebrations; at that time Vizenor wrote, “Columbus is the national fetish of discoveries. Ishi is the representation of survivance” (1992:266). By juxtaposing Ishi, a human being who told his life story with humor and authenticity, with the “fetishized” Columbian narrative, Vizenor illustrates how Ishi, often described as a victim and a survivor of postcolumbian genocide, not only survived but also rejected his own victimhood by taking the name *Ishi*, or “one of the people” in his native language, and adjusting to life in the strange cultural context of the early twentieth-century anthropological museum. Vizenor’s later writings further develop *survivance*, defining it most recently as “the action, condition, quality, and sentiments of the verb survive” (2008:19). Survivance rejects the passive position of survival and emphasizes native agency and persistence in rejection of Indian stereotypes; it is survival, with an attitude (Nassaney, this volume). As archaeologists interested in investigating Native American histories and archaeological evidence, it is critical for us to note that survivance as a concept arose from American Indian literature studies. Applications to archaeology have been relatively few and must be undertaken with care so as not to colonize or appropriate this idea for our own purposes.

Museum contexts are ideally suited for presenting survivance stories to diverse audiences. Such educational spaces, where archaeological artifacts had long signified cultural loss or destruction, today offer a way to highlight Native American ingenuity, persistence, and agency in their own history, retaking the construction of the past from the Western, colonial perspective so common in twentieth-century museums. At the National Museum of the American Indian, native voices relate to the public not a single story of victimization or loss but rather the diversity of reactions, responses, and experiences of colonialism inherent in native North American peoples’ histories (Atalay 2006b). Likewise, at the museum of the Mashantucket Pequot Tribal Nation, visitors experience survivance narratives in spaces that are cocreated through extensive collaboration among museum staff, tribal community members, and visitors (Kasper and Handsman 2015). In both of these museum contexts, narratives of conflict, racial discrimination, and other tragedies of colonialism are far from absent or glossed over; rather, they are acknowledged and described but not presented as defining indigenous experiences in the modern world. In this way, museums can provide a decolonized context to curate, examine, and interpret the material record of colonial encounters to the public in ways that academic publications and scholarly discourse cannot.

Beyond museum contexts, Silliman (2014:59–60) has provided an interpretation of Vizenor’s survivance as applied to archaeological investigations, drawing on his experience and collaborative research on Pequot colonial histories. One of the key points Silliman draws from Vizenor is that past peoples probably never intended to create the dramatic cultural changes that we might interpret in the archaeological record; rather, past peoples were more concerned with persisting within the given social environment on a day-to-day basis, emphasizing a more human temporal scale. The changes archaeologists view were constructed over a prolonged period, as people were only gradually adapting to and modifying their environment. As such, our interpretations of change and continuity in the archaeological record were not viewed as such by the people actively creating the record; scholarly interpretations

are merely analytical projections superimposed on the past (Silliman 2014:61). This is not to say that change was imperceptible to people in the past; in fact, Native oral histories and literature recount times prior to European arrival, as well as the changes that arrival wrought, in vivid detail (e.g., Buffalo 2008; Caramini 2006; Waioskasit 2006). Interaction might lead to situations of hybridity, and Silliman adds that survivance both permits and negates aspects of this concept, highlighting how “hybridity” as a construct can reinforce the false dichotomy of continuity or change, when in fact survivance reflects the ability “to change in order to stay the same” (Silliman 2014:60). Hybridity reproduces terminal narratives by emphasizing the mixing of cultural traits that diluted native histories. Survivance narratives, like the concept of resilience, confront perceptions of collapse, as demonstrated in a case study of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Montaukett history and archaeology (McGovern 2015), which addresses racialization and intercultural interaction to counter narratives of identity loss and assimilation. McGovern shows that survivance, as a framework for interpreting the archaeological record of colonialism, allows us to refocus attention on individual experiences and personal narratives rather than on long arcs of (dis)continuity or acculturative material change.

However, unlike resilience theory, survivance specifically addresses indigenous experiences, often in colonial situations that directly resulted in racialization and institutionalized racism against nonwhite peoples (Handsman 2015; McGovern 2015). For this reason, survivance as an interpretive framework in this volume applies specifically to indigenous, non-Western, and Native American experiences; to characterize our interpretations of European colonial settlers’ experiences as survivance narratives would be to colonize the term. We suggest that the paired concepts of resilience and survivance help frame the case studies of this volume because “the concept of survivance counters notions of acculturation that still linger, sometimes subtly, in our terminologies and narratives” (Silliman 2014:60). In the vein of Vizenor’s (2008) original intent, we argue that situating archaeological investigations of the material culture of indigenous peoples within the framework of survivance can help create new stories as told through archaeological (and historical) narration. Resilience and persistence strategies can highlight the historical contingencies of diverse social, economic, or environmental situations related to colonialism (e.g., Allard, this volume), and we recognize that, as newcomers in a native-controlled world (Duval 2006; Witgen 2012), European colonizers also confronted intercultural interactions in resilient ways. The resilience-theory framework applies to interpretations of the experiences of European or nonindigenous groups, especially in situations of multiethnicity and cultural hybridity, such as the culturally conservative sartorial practices of French colonists at Fort St. Joseph (Nassaney, this volume). Part of investigating the entire social environment of colonial encounters, a decidedly holistic approach (after Jordan 2016), means researchers must recognize that not everyone changes or survives in the same way. Our papers here consider that Native American communities of myriad and shifting affiliations, as well as Europeans of various nationalities, demonstrate how many aspects of identities were resilient amid changing social and economic landscapes. Taken hand in hand with survivance, which highlights Native American groups’ abilities to thrive and persist, not merely to survive, the case studies in this volume

provide new insight into the dynamic social landscapes and complicated nature of colonial encounters in the Midwest.

Case Studies

The contributors to this volume elaborate on the variety of colonial experiences in the Midwest, providing examples of resilient social systems and narratives of survivance and resilience that extend from seventeenth-century archaeological contexts to current situations of collaboration on research and repatriation. The case studies emphasize the fluidity and dynamic nature of encounters from multiple angles and demonstrate that the focus on history from a European standpoint (i.e., colonizer/colonized or prehistoric/historic) limits our understanding of the more complicated interactions and human behaviors at work.

The topics of papers in this volume can be divided into three overlapping themes: collaboration with indigenous stakeholders when investigating early (that is, late precontact or protohistoric) sites; problematic observations; and place and identity. Under the themes of collaboration to address “early” sites, Kathleen Ehrhardt and Jamie Kelly discuss the repatriation of the materials from the Dumaw Creek site in Michigan, including the collaborative efforts involved in the analysis leading up to it. John Creese and Heather Walder focus on the initial undertaking of archaeological research, highlighting efforts to develop a collaborative project to survey for protohistoric sites. This focus on collaboration helps remind researchers of the necessity of such engagement with indigenous stakeholders as a key part of working toward decolonized research. Certainly, “problematic observations” might arise while doing this research. For example, Michael Nassaney discusses artifacts that do not fit our preconceived ideas about what the past should look like, examining evidence from his long-running investigations of the Fort St. Joseph site. These problematic observations are critical for rethinking previous notions about the past. The third theme explores the relationship between place and identity, moving toward providing decolonized interpretations of the past. Amélie Allard discusses indigenous influences on the movement of people and goods during the fur trade. Finally, Rob Mann presents results of his investigations on the forks of the Wabash River and what this place represented. Our volume concludes with a piece by discussant John Low, who provides his perspectives as an ethnohistorian and a Pokagon Potawatomi community member.

Conclusions

Over the last 50 years, researchers have worked to better understand from multiple perspectives the material outcomes of colonial encounters between Native American peoples and Europeans. Whereas Quimby (1966) provided an initial framework from which to build, researchers now realize the necessity for a decolonized approach, one that does not perpetuate the colonial discourse that Quimby’s

acculturation framework suggested. Current research, such as that presented here, is working toward this. We have chosen to focus on the topics of resilience and survivance to help provide a framework for building decolonized approaches and taking new perspectives on the archaeology of colonial-era intercultural interactions.

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Revisiting Dumaw Creek

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The Dumaw Creek site figured prominently in George Quimby's 1966 "Indian Culture..." and was the subject of a monograph he published that same year. Quimby could not have foreseen how relevant the collection he documented and the material and cultural questions he posed would remain to ethnohistorians and archaeologists throughout subsequent decades. He also had no way of knowing how directly his approaches and interpretations would fall under the critical gaze of modern intellectual perspectives, viewpoints, and accumulated knowledge as the decision-making processes of repatriation unfolded. Here, we review the results of a recent technological and material reexamination of the copper and associated materials from Dumaw Creek in advance of repatriation. Findings are presented within larger contexts of modern collection documentation and the repatriation process. Results affirm our understanding of Dumaw Creek's temporal position in regional chronology and illuminate the complex uses of these materials.

KEYWORDS late precontact Michigan; NAGPRA repatriation; decolonization practice; native copper; Bell Type II ceramics

Introduction

In 1966, after working as curator of North American archaeology and ethnology at the Field Museum in Chicago, George Quimby put into print two works about the archaeology of the western Great Lakes region. The first (1966a), entitled "The Dumaw Creek Site," is a monograph in which he reports on materials from a late precontact village and burial locality in Oceana County, Michigan. In this work, he

combines archaeological and material culture analyses with comparative ethnohistoric information to describe in rich detail the social and economic lives of Dumaw Creek peoples. Quimby sets Dumaw Creek's occupation at shortly after the turn of the seventeenth century—around 1605 to 1620—and perhaps earlier (Quimby 1966a:7, 81, 1966b:24). He further postulates that the site was likely occupied by late precontact Potawatomi (Quimby 1966a:87–89).

The second work is his well-known classic, *Indian Culture and European Trade Goods* (1966b), in which the Dumaw Creek site (20OA5) is prominently featured. In *Indian Culture*, Quimby's aim was to demonstrate the process of "acculturation"¹ in the western Great Lakes by presenting a periodized chronology of post-contact Native material change based on the ever-increasing inflow of trade goods from the earliest encounters through the arrival and permanent settlement of Europeans (Quimby 1966b:11). Since Quimby recognized the Dumaw Creek site as one of the few *very* late precontact sites (terminal Late Woodland) known in the western Great Lakes region (1966a:81, 1966b:23–24), he set the locality into his scheme as *the* late precontact regional baseline site. He refers to its temporal position as "just before the French" (1966b:33, 43).

Here, we revisit the Dumaw Creek site from a collections perspective, highlighting the results of recent research on the collection and summarizing its eventual repatriation in 2014 under the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). Adopting such a perspective in our current postcolonial intellectual, political, and museological climate brings us face to face with dual, often intersecting, interpretive (materials-based, research-oriented) and institutional (management) challenges that decolonization approaches and the special funerary-related nature of the assemblage present (Gosden 2001). Our primary research-based challenge is to acknowledge but leave behind perspectives that once framed Dumaw Creek as a culture-historical temporal marker or point of entry in materials-driven acculturation/assimilationist frameworks, even as we strive to resolve lingering questions about the temporal positioning and ethnic association of the site using modern methods, techniques, and 50 years of accumulated knowledge. We are urged to engage in modern problem-oriented collections-based research that dismantles and transcends artificial "historic" and "prehistoric" period boundaries and contributes instead to our understanding of the long- and short-term histories of living (surviving) Native traditions (Liebmann 2012:34; Rubertone 2012:268–269, 273; Silliman 2012:118).

The second challenge concerns the modern work of museums and institutions to provide some type of restitution to Native groups or communities of origin whose accumulated, decontextualized patrimony formed large chunks of their holdings (Robbins 2014:107–110; Tythacott and Arvanitis 2014). In the United States, this has largely (but not exclusively) involved identifying, evaluating, and ultimately returning human remains, physical objects of sacred value or cultural patrimony, and indeed knowledge in consultation, partnership, and collaboration with identifiable descendant (source) communities as mandated by NAGPRA in 1990 (Amato 2004:234; Bray 2004; Robbins 2014; Wylie 2015:193–194). Here, the critical importance of "Native voice" and "multivocality" as shared, even privileged, authority in both decolonization efforts and in NAGPRA compliance converge (Colwell

2016:116–118). It also merges the difficult work of archaeologists and museum professionals who seek to establish reliable ethnic identities and affiliations (Lightfoot 2012:286–289). How this work was carried out for the Dumaw Creek materials is reviewed here.

After providing a short background for the collection, we review what new knowledge has accumulated concerning questions of dating, temporal positioning, and ethnic affiliation of the site. We include results of a recent technological and material reexamination of the copper and associated materials from Dumaw Creek in advance of repatriation in 2014. Finally, we discuss the 2014 repatriation of the collection.

Background

In 1915 and 1916, Carl Schruppf, a farmer from Oceana County, Michigan, unearthed human skeletal remains and artifacts while digging up a pine stump on his property in Summit Township, 4 miles northeast of Pentwater, Michigan. In the late 1920s or early 1930s, Schruppf sold the collection to H. E. Sargent, a Grand Rapids artifact dealer, who, in turn, sold a large portion to Charles Nelson, a schoolteacher in Grand Rapids. This series of private-sector transfers included a 1924 inventory of some of Schruppf's materials by F. M. Vrieland under the direction of Dr. Wilbert B. Hinsdale of the University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology. In 1958, the Department of Zoology at the Field Museum in Chicago (then called the Chicago Natural History Museum) acquired part of the original collection from Nelson's estate. Despite the University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology's inventory, the collection was undocumented when it arrived at the Field. A year later, the Department of Zoology transferred the collection to the Anthropology department (Accession 2656), where it came to George Quimby's attention. Quimby, then curator of North American archaeology and ethnology, began to investigate its origin. He was able to trace the collection back to Schruppf and his property near Dumaw Creek using Hinsdale's files and the University of Michigan's inventory. The University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology's *Michigan Archaeological Site File* contains a collection of cards from the "Hinsdale site-file compiled in 1920's–30's." The cards contain information about excavations and finds made in various townships in Oceana County, including a number of sites from which Schruppf may have removed material (Quimby 1966a:8–10).

Between 1960 and 1964, Quimby visited private collections and accumulated additional material from the Dumaw Creek site. He documented extensive collections from the site amassed by Mr. Seymour Rider shortly after Schruppf's investigations (Quimby 1966a:11). In 1965, Quimby's surface finds (Accession 2866) were incorporated into the collection along with five large rim sherds that Schruppf had removed from the site (Quimby 1966a:67).

In 1966, Quimby published a report on the Dumaw Creek site in the Field Museum's *Fieldiana* journal. According to Quimby (1966a), the site (200A5) is located on the Pentwater River in Oceana County, Michigan. He noted the location within Section 5 of Weare Township and described the site as both a village and a burial ground located adjacent to one another (Figure 1). According to Quimby

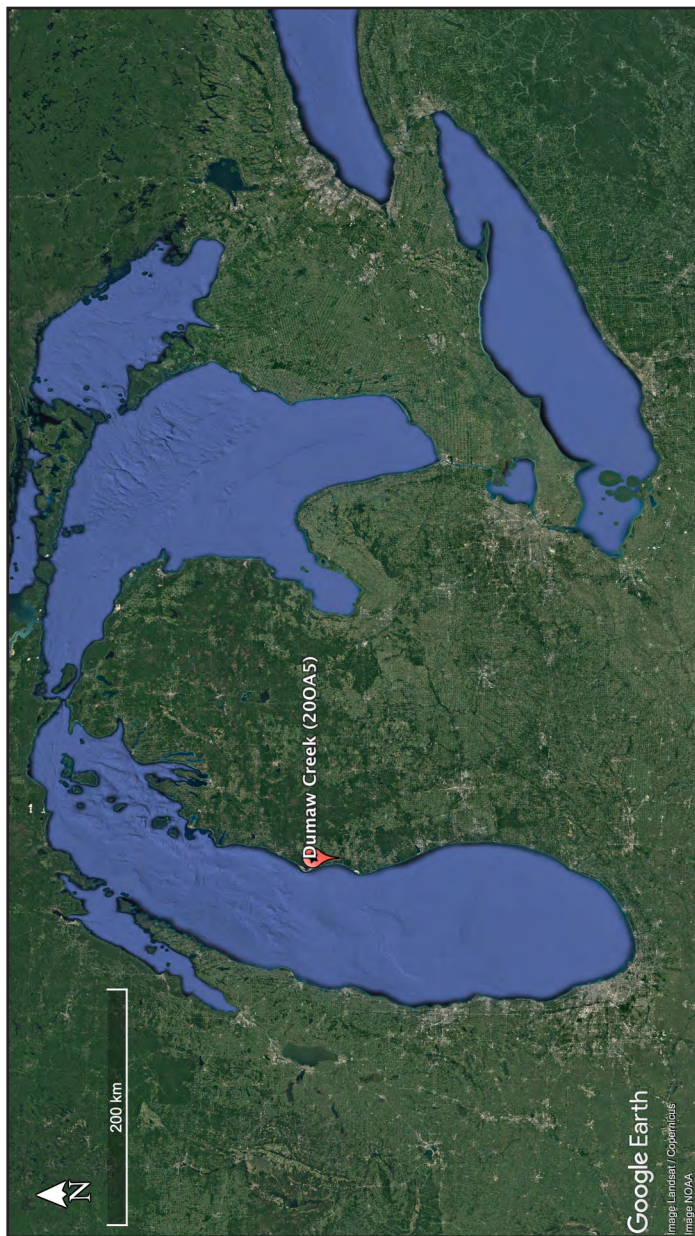


FIGURE 1. Location of the Dumaw Creek site in the Great Lakes region.

(1966a:7), the area had been heavily forested with white pine until the 1870s, when much of it was cut down for lumber and to make way for farming.

The site assemblage was well documented by Quimby in his 1966 report.² He reported the well-preserved partial human skeletal remains of 14 individuals, some of whom were wrapped in furs and buried with stone implements, copper beads, and other artifacts. Ceramics, shell beads, faunal remains, tubular copper hair beads, triangular arrow points, chert knives, drills, scrapers, bone awls, ground-stone celts, stone pipes, seeds, a twined bag, and other objects are included in the collection. Quimby described all of these artifacts in significant detail. Unfortunately, by the time of his report, much information about the relationships between individual artifacts and the human remains had been lost or never had been recorded (Quimby 1966a:15–16). In many instances, however, Quimby added observations about artifacts in private collections not curated at the Field.

Temporal Placement

Quimby dated the site to the early seventeenth century and to the end of the Late Woodland period (Quimby 1966a:81). According to Quimby, the well-preserved human, animal, and other uncarbonized organic material suggested a late prehistoric date for the burial site, and he noted the similarity of ethnobotanical remains such as pumpkins or squashes at Dumaw Creek to those of “other sites of similar age and environment in the Upper Great Lakes region” (Quimby 1966a:83).

Quimby submitted three lines of evidence to argue for his proposed dating of the site: (1) the relative age of a pine stump; (2) a radiocarbon test result; and (3) the absence of trade goods. He (1966a:80) estimated that the pine stump Schrumpp removed from his property in 1915 to be 250 to 300 years old. Trees in the area had been cut in the 1870s, thereby dating the burials beneath the stump to no later than 1580–1630.

Quimby had organic material from one of the burials radiocarbon dated by the University of Michigan Radiocarbon Laboratory. He wrote (1966a:80) that “a witches’ brew of fur and hair from raccoon, beaver, elk, bear, and buffalo, plus human hair and fragments of human and animal tissue—all of which were in direct association with skull no. 2” (the skull from burial 2) had been tested. The uncalibrated radiocarbon date was published as 280 ± 150 years (M-1070, Crane and Griffin 1961:110). Calibrated today, this date range is AD 1430–1953 at a 2- σ range (Stuiver and Reimer 2012). The uncalibrated date led Quimby to conclude that the remains were protohistoric rather than prehistoric. Quimby (1966a:81) ultimately settled on an occupation in the period of AD 1605–1620 or perhaps earlier.

Coauthor Jamie Kelly sent several uncarbonized squash or pumpkin seeds (*Cucurbita pepo*, former Field Museum catalog number 268183) to the Illinois State Geological Survey at the Prairie Research Institute, University of Illinois at Urbana–Champaign, for an accelerator mass spectrometry (AMS) date (ISGS A2304). The seeds were selected from the roughly one hundred seeds recovered by Quimby from between layers of hide wrapping that covered the skull from burial 2 (former Field Museum catalog number 268113). The AMS analysis produced an uncalibrated

date of 370 ± 20 BP. Using calibrated data, the seeds date to between AD 1450 and AD 1629 (AD 1450–1523 and AD 1572–1629) at $2\text{-}\sigma$, establishing the strong likelihood that the burials at Dumaw Creek dated to the precontact period, as Quimby had asserted based on the evidence he presented at the time (Stuiver and Reimer 2012).

It is surprising that Quimby did not use copper compositional testing as one of his main arguments for a late prehistoric occupation at the site. He had had a small sample of 3 copper artifacts from the site tested using X-ray spectrometry (probably X-ray diffraction) and another undisclosed number tested by neutron activation analysis (NAA) to determine whether the copper was native or imported (Olsen 1962). It was determined that the copper was native.

Copper Assemblage and Material Analysis

It seems that the copper industry from the Dumaw Creek site, its remarkable and well-preserved association with Native burials as personal adornment or burial furniture, and its native (elemental) nature is familiar to most archaeologists working in the Midwest for any length of time. Quimby had documented these materials in significant detail in his 1966 publications, but to the best of the senior author's knowledge, they have not been restudied since that time. Modern interest in seventeenth-century indigenous copper-working technologies and copper use over the transition to the use of European copper (Ehrhardt 2005, 2012; Walder 2015), advancements in archaeometric compositional testing methods, and the impending repatriation of the artifacts prompted a thorough restudy in 2012.

Aside from the fur wrappings, copper is probably the class of materials most intimately associated with the skeletal materials. The most prominent (and most lavishly illustrated) features of the collection are two exceptionally well-preserved crania with hair and copper hairdressings still in situ and remarkably intact (Quimby 1966a:Figures 1, 2, 3). Both dressings involve the use of "hair pipes" or "large tubular beads," but the stylistic application of the beads on each of the crania is different. The adornment of "skull #1" consists of what appears to be about 29 (by Ehrhardt's count) longitudinally suspended copper "hair pipes" threaded through individual sections of hair and held in place by single overhand knots (of hair) at the lower end. "Skull #2" is adorned with a rectangular "plaque" or hair/headpiece made of at least 24 (by Ehrhardt's count) tubular beads strung on and knotted together with leather thongs. The plaque is held in place with a band and associated thongs. This particular cranium had come to the museum in its original animal-skin wrappings, three pieces of which are impregnated with copper salts as a result of having been in direct contact with the copper hairpiece.

In 1966, Quimby had tallied 155 copper artifacts in the overall Dumaw Creek collection. As of 2012, the collection numbered 167³, 162 of which are "hair pipes" and tubular beads of various sizes and dimensions. There are 138 complete beads and an additional 24 bead fragments. All beads are cylindrical or irregularly cylindrical; their lengths range from 16.9 mm to 72.7 mm (Figure 2). They were made on roughly rectangular blanks of thin (0.2–0.8 mm thick) copper sheet.

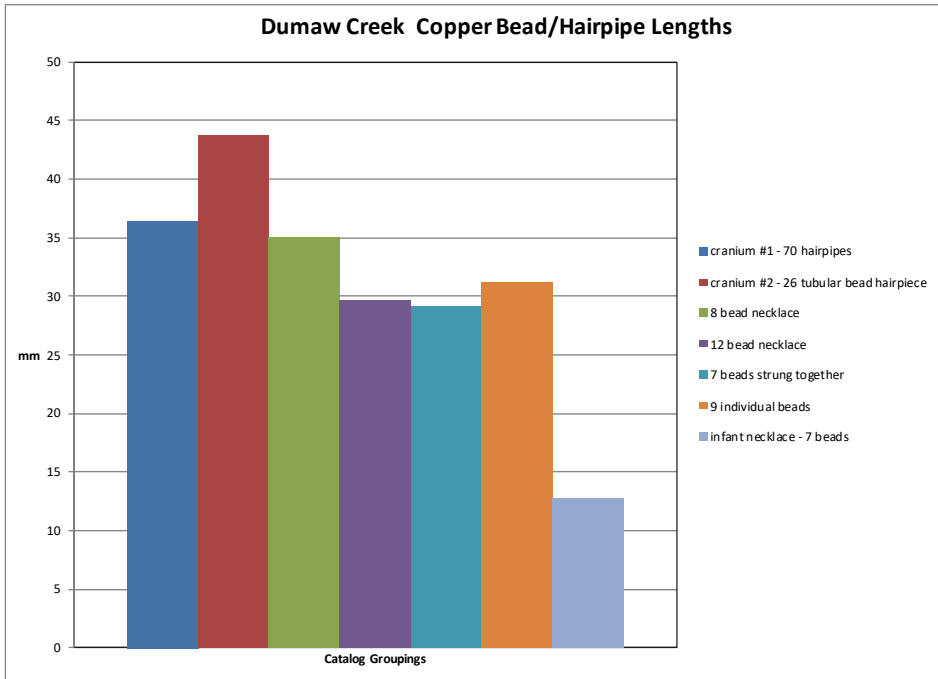


FIGURE 2. Mean lengths of copper beads and “hairpipes” that occur in association or were grouped together by Quimby (1966a:36–42).

Many beads have crimped or contracted ends. Squeezing one or both of the ends of the beads (probably after placement) undoubtedly aided their ability to stay in place. Tubular beads whose ends had been crimped or squeezed around stringing materials were a regular feature of the industry. For the most part, beads are strung freely on thongs (Quimby 1966a:Figures 12, 14). However, Quimby recorded an “infant’s necklace” made up of seven small tubular beads (ranging in length from 8.8 mm to 17.9 mm) squeezed tightly in place along two segments of thong (Quimby 1966a:Figure 15, rows 3 and 4).

Many of the tubular beads still contain the materials through which they were strung (human hair, leather thongs, organics) and/or provide clear evidence as to how they were used in multiples and in combination with other materials. One of the most fascinating aspects of the reexamination was deciphering the overhand knotting, joining, and attaching techniques used by those making the ornaments. A single tinkling cone and four small pieces of sheet copper round out the industry.

Quimby (1966a:15, 42, 1966b:30) also mentions early reports of a rather large (13 cm in length) copper serpent pendant that had been directly associated with a small child’s burial. It had appeared in an early newspaper photograph and was included in the University of Michigan Museum of Anthropology’s inventory. Its impression could still be seen in the animal skin in which the child had been buried (Quimby 1966a:Figure 4), but the artifact itself had long disappeared (1966a:42–43). He had never seen the actual artifact, but it appears to have closely resembled

those found at the Upper Mississippian Anker and Hoxie Farm sites (Cook County, Illinois), among other places.

A small-scale compositional analysis using laser ablation inductively coupled plasma mass spectrometry (LA-ICP-MS) was undertaken at the Field Museum's Elemental Analysis Facility (EAF) under the direction of Dr. Laure Dussubieux (2012) (Table 1). Testing and quantification of results followed protocols established at the EAF laboratory. Eight artifacts from the collection were tested, including six tubular beads, one piece of bent sheet, and the single tinkling cone. All of the tested artifacts were found to have been made of native copper, confirming Quimby's assertion that trade copper was absent at the site (1966a:43).

Cultural Affiliations

Quimby's (1966:89) assessment of cultural affiliation for the site was that those who occupied it surely were "Algonquian-speaking" peoples. He went on to outline the complicated movement of central Algonquian groups in the region around this time, naming several groups, including the Sauk, Fox (Meskwaki), Kickapoo, Menominee, Mascouten, Miami, and Potawatomi as potential occupants (1966a:88). Quoting noted Michigan archaeologist Emerson F. Greenman, Quimby pointed to the difficulties faced in pursuing clear cultural affiliations in this region at this time:

The lower peninsula of Michigan was for the most part a sort of no man's land, an empty buffer zone between the Iroquois to the east and the Algonquian tribes—the Potawatomi, [Kickapoo] Sauk, Fox, Menomini, Mascoutin and Miami—in eastern Wisconsin. Rumors and legends current after 1670 hint that some of these same tribes had lived in the lower peninsula [of Michigan] before 1650, and that they had been driven to the other side of Lake Michigan by the Iroquois [Greenman 1961:25].

Quimby went on to write that the Sauk and the Potawatomi were "good possibilities" for cultural affiliation but acknowledged their complicating cultural overlap with other groups (1966a:86–87).

Drawing on ceramic evidence to make his arguments, Quimby noted that the ceramic assemblage of Dumaw Creek bore a strong likeness to the Bell Type II style, a minority pottery type found at the Bell site, Winnebago County, Wisconsin. Bell Type I, the majority type at Bell, was associated with the Fox (Meskwaki). Quimby believed that Bell Type II represented a unique group, probably Sauk, and that the Dumaw Creek ceramics were antecedents produced by those same peoples. However, he wrote (1966a:89) that he would favor a Potawatomi association should the Bell site/Sauk association ultimately be dismissed. That same year, in *Indian Culture*, he seems more confident of a Potawatomi affiliation, citing the region as their early historic homeland (Quimby 1966b:33).

Linda Naunapper (2007, 2010) has recently explored traditional interpretations of Dumaw Creek and other "Bell Type II" ceramic assemblages. She suggests that

TABLE 1
LA-ICP-MS COMPOSITIONAL RESULTS FOR THE COPPER ARTIFACT SAMPLE FROM DUMAW CREEK*

	268115-1	268115-2	268121-18	268147-5	268150-5	268150-9	268153	268152-01
	tubular bead, frag	tubular bead	tubular bead	tubular bead	tubular bead	tubular bead	tinkling cone	rectangular blank
Be	2.3	1.2	0.9	0.7	0.6	0.7	0.5	0.2
Mg**	1,798	59	142	138	17	53	31	68
Al**	33,976	1,946	3,318	1,279	680	579	138	1,448
P**	99,169	5,420	13,755	1,809	3,625	19,312	11,244	163
Cr	56	9	4	10	3	4	3	2
Mn	278	76	150	145	70	134	141	30
Fe**	37,379	824	2,654	2,741	440	1,701	341	899
Co	3.9	0.7	0.6	0.9	0.1	0.9	0.1	0.3
Ni	19	4	3	6	2	2	2	1
Cu	82.32%	99.03%	97.93%	99.32%	99.47%	97.78%	98.75%	99.70%
Zn	100	95	113	191	67	131	154	72
As	495	12	13	8	5	8	7	6
Ag	2,967	1,001	290	183	205	127	367	164
Cd	15	7	5	15	4	3	2	6
Sn	11	11	9	11	5	4	2	2
Sb	14	13	8	4	4	3	3	1
Pb	44	36	18	199	21	16	16	69
Bi	10	1	4	5	3	4	3	1

*Copper values are expressed as weight per cent; all other elements are in parts per million.

**Elevated values for these elements probably reflect corrosion in the sampling area.

the grit-tempered, globular-bodied, cordmarked ceramics identified under this type have been broadly interpreted as Bell Type II but that only one rim sherd from Dumaw Creek truly fits into the specific definition of the type proposed by Wittry (1963). Indeed, this type is only sparsely represented outside the Bell site itself. This leads Naunapper to suggest that the ceramics often possess variables that “may have been more complex across these grit tempered ceramics dated to this time” (2010:85). As to the ethnic association of Bell Type II with Potawatomi peoples, she reasons (2010:109) that the type would have “greater volume and distribution” throughout the region (especially along the western Lake Michigan shoreline) than her reexamination revealed. Although her work does not preclude a Potawatomi affiliation, it complicates the picture and suggests further data and research are needed before final conclusions can be drawn.

The Potawatomi, today represented by seven federally recognized tribes, have been documented above as likely affiliated with the Dumaw Creek site. However, based on the complicating factors mentioned above, a view that places *only* the Potawatomi in this area would not be a thoroughly satisfactory conclusion, given the known migratory history of Native peoples of the time. Therefore, descendant tribes of the Sauk (Sac) and Fox (Meskwaki), Kickapoo, Mascouten, Menominee, and Miami should, by the above account, be included in a likely affiliation based on the preponderance of evidence required by NAGPRA.

Repatriation of the Dumaw Creek Remains and Associated Funerary Objects

In 2011, the 11 tribes composing the Michigan Anishinaabek Cultural Preservation & Repatriation Alliance (MACPRA) consortium submitted a request under NAGPRA,⁴ under the terms of regulations specific to “culturally unidentifiable” human remains (CUHR), for the disposition of human remains and associated funerary objects (AFOs)⁵ removed from the Dumaw Creek site. The CUHR regulations became effective in 2010, amid some controversy, and they operate differently in some ways from the general provisions and requirements of NAGPRA. Repatriation staff from the Field Museum researched the claim and consulted with MACPRA, other tribes, and museum staff. In researching the overall background pertinent to the request, the museum determined by a preponderance of the available evidence that the human remains under the request could be affiliated to 13 present-day federally recognized tribes, three of which are members of MACPRA,⁶ and that many of the artifacts under the request qualified as “Associated Funerary Objects” (represented by 86 Field Museum catalog numbers) under NAGPRA. Following research, these associated funerary objects were reasonably believed to have been placed with or near individual human remains at the time of death or later as part of the death rite or ceremony. The museum determined that the jointly requesting member tribes of the MACPRA consortium were appropriate candidates for repatriation given the affiliation of three of their member tribes. Given the consultation undertaken with the aforementioned affiliated tribes outside the

MACPRA consortium, it was unlikely that other tribes would bring a competing claim forward. None did.

Dr. Anne Grauer (2012) of Loyola University conducted an inventory of the Dumaw Creek skeletal remains at the Field Museum, in which she reported that a minimum (MNI) of 42 individuals are represented.

In 2013, the Repatriation Committee of the Board of Trustees of the museum approved the repatriation of human remains and associated funerary objects, and consulting tribes were notified. Notice of the inventory completion, consultation, history, and description of the remains to be repatriated, descendant tribes as claimants, and final solicitation for additional requestors appeared in the *Federal Register* in February 2014 (*Federal Register* 79:6626–6628). The physical repatriation took place on May 17, 2014. Ancestors and associated materials were reburied at the Pine Creek Reservation in the presence of tribal representatives and others (Chivis 2014).

Summary and Conclusions

From 1959, when his inquiry into the site and its associated materials began, Quimby clearly understood the significance of the Dumaw Creek materials in the late precontact history of the western Great Lakes. His sleuthing resulted in a stand-alone monograph on the site that was at once descriptive and comparative. The acculturation/assimilationist framework in which he situates the site in *Indian Culture* was not modern, even for the time (Peske 1967). However, his combined ethnological, ethnohistorical, archaeological, and scientific approach to analysis and his interpretations and conclusions in the Dumaw Creek site monograph were remarkably prescient for their time.

In 1966, Quimby could not have foreseen how relevant and influential the collection from Dumaw Creek and the questions he raised about it would remain to late precontact western Great Lakes ethnohistorians, archaeologists, and Native peoples through subsequent decades. He also had no way of knowing how directly his interpretations would fall under the critical gaze of modern, often conflicting, scholarly and political perspectives, viewpoints, and accumulated knowledge as the processes of repatriation unfolded. Today, archaeologists working with sites, materials, and things related to this critical and complex time have made significant progress, but they still grapple with some of the same kinds of questions he did.

Repatriation of the Dumaw Creek materials is a case study in the “sea change” occurring in modern museum principles and practice, which the Field Museum’s repatriation director, Dr. Helen Robbins, describes as one important way to “move beyond its colonial history” (2014:105, 115). Decolonizing institutional privilege in ownership and interpretation of inalienable cultural patrimony gives voice and returns power to Native values and priorities. In this case, it has served to reconnect living Native peoples with their own traditional identities and their local, long- and short-term histories, as well as with their Anishinaabe ancestors. Collections of material culture provide a knowledge forum for reconstituting a peo-

ple's cultural memory and reacquainting them with lost or forgotten skills, such as copper working (Low 2011; see Vrdoljak 2008:197). Modern problem-oriented collections-based research (even in the absence of the actual artifacts) can still be performed, perhaps in new, collaborative ventures.

In these important senses, decolonization practice has affected the ways archaeologists and museum professionals seek to (re)view the complex relations among indigenous groups, material culture, material culture change, and social change in historical contexts. Quimby could not have imagined this outcome for his collection, but today, considering his deep and forward-looking interest in developing and deepening knowledge of Native communities and certainly their rights to self-representation, he might be considered one of decolonization's champions.

Acknowledgments

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Notes

- 1 Quimby had long been interested in the relations between material culture, material culture change, and culture change (which he saw as acculturation). In 1951, Quimby, along with Alexander Spoehr, curator of Oceanic Ethnology at the Chicago Natural History Museum (as the Field was then known), cowrote "Acculturation and Material Culture," in which they presented a framework for classifying contact-era artifacts into categories reflecting processes of culture change.
- 2 Because of the culturally sensitive nature of the artifacts, we will not provide images of the Dumaw Creek collection. Please refer to Quimby 1966a and 1966b for illustrations.
- 3 This is not unusual, as materials deteriorate and potentially fracture in curation.

- 4 NAGPRA, 25 U.S.C. 3005(a)(1) provides: “[I]f . . . the cultural affiliation of Native American human remains and associated funerary objects with a particular Indian tribe . . . is established, then . . . the museum, upon the request of a known lineal descendant of the Native American or of the tribe . . . shall expeditiously return such remains and associated funerary objects.” Under NAGPRA, the requirement to repatriate Native American human remains and associated funerary objects is subject to two exceptions: (i) to complete a specific scientific study or (ii) to resolve competing claims where there are multiple requests. Neither exception applied in the claim for the remains and AFOs from Dumaw Creek.
- 5 NAGPRA defines AFOs to be “[o]bjects that, as a part of the death rite or ceremony of a culture, are reasonably believed to have been placed with individual human remains either at the time of death or later, and both the human remains and associated funerary objects are presently in the possession or control of a Federal agency or museum,

except that other items exclusively made for burial purposes or to contain human remains shall be considered as associated funerary objects” [25 USC 3001 (3)(A)].

- 6 The Match-e-Be-Nash-She-Wish Band of Potawatomi Indians of Michigan, the Nottawaseppi Huron Band of Potawatomi, and the Hannahville Indian Community Tribe of Potawatomi are members of the Michigan Anishinaabek Cultural Preservation & Repatriation Alliance [MACPRA] consortium.

The 10 tribes not in MACPRA include the Pokagon Band of Potawatomi Indians, Michigan and Indiana; the Forest County Potawatomi Community, Wisconsin; the Citizen Potawatomi Nation, Oklahoma; the Prairie Band of Potawatomi Nation, Kansas; the Kickapoo Traditional Tribe of Texas; the Kickapoo Tribe of Indians of the Kickapoo Reservation in Kansas; the Kickapoo Tribe of Oklahoma; the Miami Tribe of Oklahoma; the Menominee Indian Tribe of Wisconsin; and the Peoria Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma.

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From Wendake to Chequamegon: Bridging the Wendat Diaspora in Quimby's Early Historic Period

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In 2016, the Chequamegon Bay Archaeological Survey (CBAS) project initiated efforts to relocate a historically documented multiethnic diaspora village attributed to Odawa and Wendat-Tionnantaté peoples who briefly settled near the shore of the bay circa 1661 to 1670. Investigations along the shore of Chequamegon Bay and the banks of Whittlesey and Fish Creeks, in Bayfield County, Wisconsin, produced no evidence of a seventeenth-century Native American habitation site. Our review of relevant historical sources found that the association of these two locales with Odawa and Wendat settlement is not based on firm archaeological or documentary evidence. We also found that both locales have been transformed by deforestation and subsequent erosion, lake-level rise, and heavy channel aggradation and sedimentation following Euro-American settlement. As a result, two different explanations for the negative findings at these sites are possible: (1) Neither locale was associated with seventeenth-century indigenous settlement, or (2) site locations are correct but are inundated and/or deeply buried beneath overburden. In spite of these ambiguous results, the project has stimulated an ongoing collaborative relationship with descendant communities and employed innovative field methods aimed at maintaining survey effectiveness while minimizing disturbance and honoring indigenous protocols of respect.

KEYWORDS Wendat; Indigenous diaspora; community-based collaborative research

Introduction

In the opening paragraph of *Indian Culture and European Trade Goods* (1966), George Irving Quimby framed the moment of “contact” in the Great Lakes region as a clash of technologically superior and inferior cultures, the outcome of which was more or less inevitable. As he put it, “the meeting of French and Indian was a confrontment of Stone Age culture by Iron Age culture. And ultimately the culture contact engendered by the fur trade destroyed aboriginal culture, so that by the twentieth century there remained only an empty shell of what had existed at the time of discovery” (1966:3). This fatal-impact narrative set the stage for Quimby’s influential tripartite acculturation scheme (incorporating Early, Middle and Late Historic periods).

Here we take a critical stance on Quimby’s master narrative, arguing that it is implicated in long-standing settler colonial discourses of erasure that deny the cultural authenticity of contemporary indigenous peoples and, by extension, their rightful claims regarding land, resources, and sovereignty in the present. At the same time, however, we direct our attention to a more positive aspect of Quimby’s project, one becoming more relevant today as archaeologists seek ways to decolonize their research both methodologically and theoretically. This is Quimby’s concern for building direct historic links between contemporary and past indigenous societies. As archaeologists make efforts to engage and collaborate with contemporary indigenous nations, the problem of how to appropriately link past and present, while rejecting simplistic dichotomies of “colonized” and “colonizer,” recurs and forces us to return to the challenges Quimby faced in 1966. This paper describes our recent efforts to establish a community-based participatory research project that addresses questions of cultural continuity and change among Wendat and Odawa refugees of the mid-seventeenth-century Great Lakes and upper Midwest. This research is propelling us toward new kinds of bridge building, not only between past and present but also between indigenous stakeholders and academic collaborators.

Indigenous Diaspora in the Great Lakes: Destruction or Survivance?

The forced migration, dispersal, and resettlement of indigenous peoples have been widespread historical patterns in the Euro-American colonization of eastern North America (White 1991). Historians and archaeologists of the early historic period, often laboring with a dearth of textual evidence, have tended to jump to conclusions about the consequences of these events. Drawing on the long-standing trope of the “vanishing Indian” (Wilcox 2010), dislocated indigenous peoples have been portrayed in earlier literature as having been simply annihilated, absorbed into the colonizing population, or assimilated into the populations of neighboring communities (e.g., Mason 1981; Quimby 1966). Generalized to cover the totality of Native American experiences of colonial dislocation, such accounts do little to shed light on a complex and varied set of processes that encompassed catastrophic social disruption as well as strategic alliance building, ethnogenesis, and cultural revitalization (Jordan 2010; LaBelle 2013; Silliman 2010).

There is consequently a pressing need for fine-grained, materially grounded archaeological case studies of indigenous diasporic communities in the early colonial period (e.g., Cipolla 2013). This is particularly true for the seventeenth-century Great Lakes, when the westward migration of Wendat, Tionnantate, and Odawa peoples—refugees of the so-called Beaver Wars—landed them outside the immediate attention of most colonial observers (Branstner 1991, 1992; Trigger 1976; Williamson 2014). The resulting textual void has, until recently, been filled with accounts of tribal destruction and acculturation that recapitulate Eurocentric biases and leave many important questions unanswered (e.g., Trigger 1976:825).

In 2015, the authors launched the Chequamegon Bay Archaeological Survey (CBAS) as a first step in developing a more robust archaeology of the Wendat diaspora. A primary impetus for the project was our recognition that a fatal-impact narrative continues to haunt academic research in the Great Lakes, particularly as it applies to the issue of tribal dispersion. By starting from the assumption that contemporary indigenous groups are “empty shells” of what had existed, archaeologists have often believed their job is to piece together a history of fragmentation, loss, and assimilation. This view tends to discourage collaboration with contemporary indigenous cultural experts and discounts the myriad ways in which indigenous peoples and their cultural traditions have not only survived colonization but also thrive in the present.

The story of the Wendat (or Huron) dispersion (forced scattering of peoples) or diaspora (dispersion but reflecting a desire to return to one’s homeland) is perhaps the paradigm of the fatal-impact narrative in the region. The Wendat occupied much of southern Ontario during the Late Woodland period, numbering some 30,000 to 40,000 people at contact (Warrick 2008). With the arrival of the French, Jesuit missions were established in the Wendat homeland and European diseases were introduced. Epidemics, as well as conflicts with the Haudenosaunee over control of the fur trade, led to demographic and political instability. In a few short decades, the Wendat population declined by about 70% (Warrick 2008; Wright 2004:1305). Haudenosaunee aggression eventually forced the Wendat to abandon their homelands between 1649 and 1651 (Trigger 1985:269–273). The survivors split into a number of small communities and moved east, to settle near Quebec City; south, to join several of the Haudenosaunee Nations; and west, to Mackinac Island, Green Bay, and later to Chequamegon Bay, on Lake Superior (LaBelle 2013; McCullen 2015; Mason 1986; Figure 1) where our survey is focused.

This history has been used to bolster a wider narrative about the loss of native cultural integrity in the face of European “guns, germs, and steel” (Wilcox 2010). As Quimby put it, “In less than sixty years [Huron] culture . . . declined to near extinction, against a background of acculturation and warfare engendered by the European fur trade” (1966:116). Sympathetic or unsympathetic, the message is the same—authentic Wendat culture faded rapidly in the face of European influence. However, the fatal-impact narrative is misleading. Against many odds, the Wendat retained a distinct language, narrative tradition, kinship system, and geopolitical identity throughout the historic period. Excellent recent histories by Peace and LaBelle (2016), LaBelle (2013), and Steckley (2014) show that the Wendat diaspora occurred during a time of strategic continuity as well as dramatic change. The picture

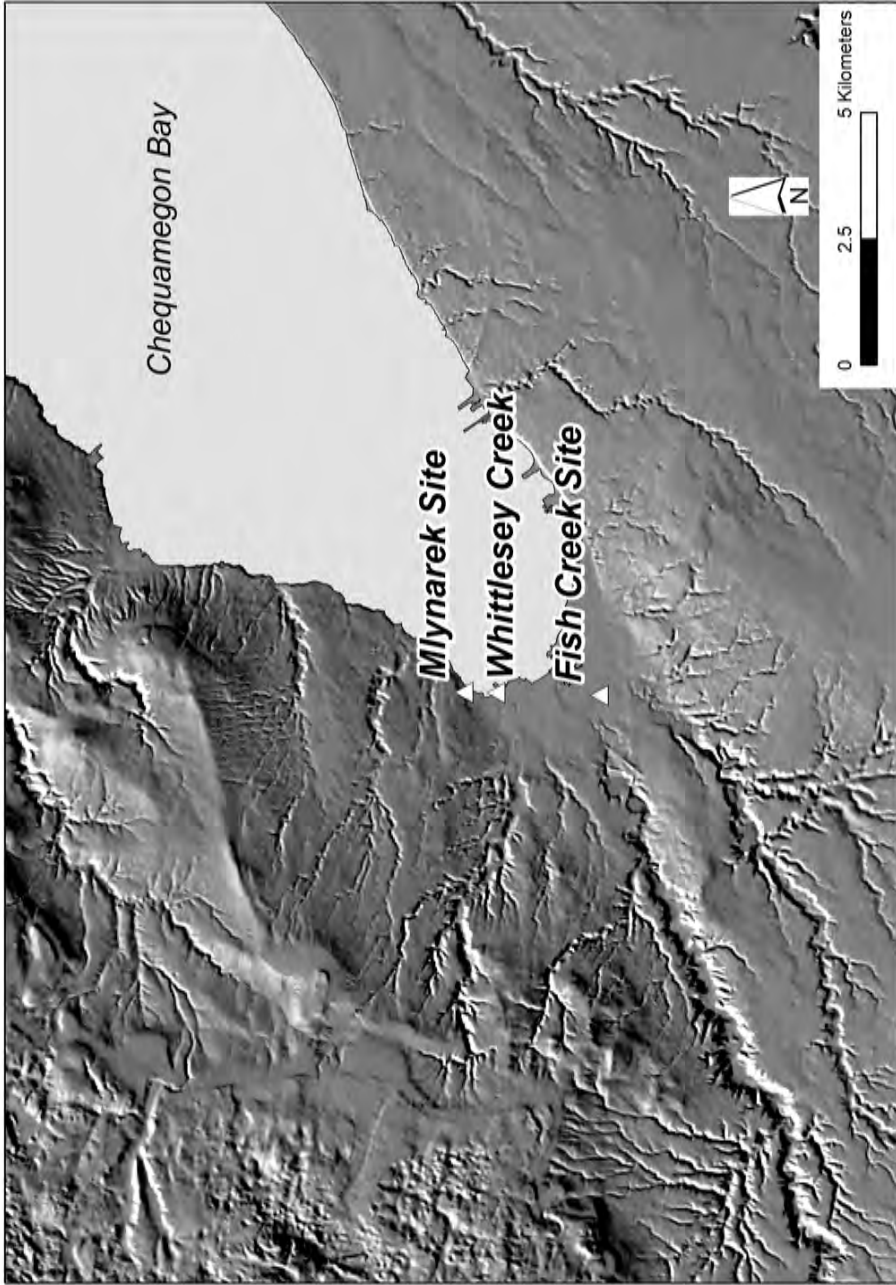


FIGURE 1. Chequamegon Bay Archaeological Survey area, 2016 (Creese and Walder 2016).

these authors draw is consistent with Anishinaabe cultural critic Gerald Vizenor's concept of survivance (Vizenor 1998, 2008). As he defines it, "survivance . . . is more than survival, more than endurance or mere response. . . . [It] is an active repudiation of dominance, tragedy, and victimry" (Vizenor 1998:63). Survivance, we think, provides an important decolonizing framework for understanding the Wendat migrant experience (cf. Atalay 2006; Nassaney 2012). It directs us to consider how seventeenth-century Wendat refugees labored, more or less successfully, toward political, economic, and social viability in the face of pressures from within and without.

A focus on survivance raises a number of questions that we hope to address through an archaeology of the diaspora: How did Wendat refugees in Wisconsin during the 1660s cope with the challenges of displacement? How did they rebuild their community's economic, social, and political strength following the chaotic events of the previous decade? What was the role of the long-standing Wendat-Anishinaabe alliance in this process? In order to answer these sorts of questions, we seek to build different bridges than those of interest to Quimby. The problem becomes how to reconceive our research in ways that make room for indigenious survivance, both in terms of how we theoretically problematize the diasporic experience and in terms of how we practice archaeological field research in the present.

The Wendat at Chequamegon Bay

The Wendat and Tionnantaté Nations, known collectively today in the United States as the Wyandot and Wyandotte (Steckley 2014), occupied the peninsular region of southern Ontario during the Late Woodland period (ca. AD 1000–1600; Williamson 2014). In the seventeenth century, the Wendat, a political confederacy of five tribes—the Deer, Bear, Cord, Swamp, and Rock—occupied much of today's Simcoe County, Ontario. The allied Tionnantaté, or "People of the Hill," held nearby territory west of the Nottawasaga River below the Niagara escarpment (Garrad 2014).

Both groups spoke northern Iroquoian languages but had close economic and political ties with Anishinaabe peoples such as the Nipissing and Odawa. The Wendat-Tionnantaté were settled agriculturalists who grew corn, beans, squash, sunflower, and tobacco and lived in fortified villages of up to 2,500 people (Sioui 2000; Williamson 2014). With the arrival of the French, the Wendat became heavily involved in the fur trade, acting as middlemen between the Tionnantaté, Atti-wandaronk, and others, and the French colony at Quebec (Trigger 1976). In the 1630s, Jesuit missions were set up in the Wendat homeland, the occupants of which introduced European diseases to residents of the area. A series of devastating epidemics ensued (Trigger 1976; Williamson 2014). In the 1640s, the Haudensaunee, who had access to firearms through their Dutch trading partners, stepped up their attacks on the Wendat, who were forced to largely abandon their traditional homelands between 1649 and 1651 (Trigger 1985:269–273).

Bearing the brunt of coordinated Haudensaunee raids in the spring of 1649, Wendat refugees from across the confederacy, including a significant group from the village of Ossossané, took refuge at the principal Tionnantaté village of Etharita (Thwaites 1896–1901:34:223, 35:79–81). The Tionnantaté lacked sufficient provisions to feed

the incoming Wendat refugees, resulting in a famine the following winter (Thwaites 1896–1901:35:147). A Haudenosaunee war party also attacked Etharita in December, burning the village and scattering the survivors. The following spring (1650), a group of Tionnantaté and Wendat refugees moved together to Mackinac Island (Thwaites 1896–1901:56:115). Other Tionnantaté reportedly fled south to winter near the Atti-wandaronk in the Detroit area (Garrad 2014:503; Thwaites 1896–1901:38:181). This group later rejoined the Mackinac contingent at a place called *A,otonatendie* (see Mason 2015), which was described by Father Ragueneau as “three days journey above the sault Skia,e [Sault Ste. Marie] toward the south” (Thwaites 1896–1901:38:181). This is generally interpreted as Rock Island, at the mouth of Green Bay, Wisconsin. A definite Wendat-Tionnantaté component at Rock Island has been identified and reported on by Mason (1986), who dates it to 1651–1653. Other contemporaneous sites on the Door Peninsula, Wisconsin, such as Clay Banks and Horn’s Pier, have yielded pottery with Wendat or Wendat-influenced designs (e.g., Hall 1947) and glass bead assemblages with lower Great Lakes affinities that may reflect the presence of Wendat-Tionnantaté in the area at this time (Walder 2012).

The westward move seems to have been an important regrouping and recovery period for the Wendat-Tionnantaté. By 1653, one or more groups of Wendat-Tionnantaté had rendezvoused with their traditional allies, the Odawa, and had recovered sufficiently to send a large trading brigade to Montreal in 1654 (Thwaites 1896–1901:41:77–78). This exposed them to Haudenosaunee reprisals, however, and one group of Odawa and “about a hundred” Wendat-Tionnantaté removed to a village the Jesuits called St. Michel (Thwaites 1896–1901:44:245–247). However, the sustained threat of Haudenosaunee attack forced groups of Wendat-Tionnantaté and Odawa to continue to move west, where they resided with the Potawatomi and others on the shores of Green Bay (Trigger 1976:821). Under continued pressure, the Wendat-Tionnantaté eventually pushed west to the headwaters of the Black River in Wisconsin (Thwaites 1896–1901:45:235), where they settled until conflicts with the Dakota impelled them to move north to join the Odawa at Chequamegon Bay on Lake Superior (Thwaites 1896–1901:46:143–145, 55:97). According to Nicholas Perrot’s memoir (ca. 1680–1718) as translated in Blair (1911), the Odawa and Wendat occupied a site on the Mississippi sometime in the 1650s until conflict with the Dakota drove them north. Perrot writes,

The continual incursions made by the Scioux forced the Outaouas to flee. They had become acquainted with a stream which is called Black River; they entered its waters and, ascending to its source, the Hurons [Wendat-Tionnantaté] found there a place suitable for fortifying themselves and establishing their village. The Outaouas pushed farther on, and proceeded as far as Lake Superior, where they fixed their abode at Chagouamikon [Blair 1911:164–165].

Sometime afterward, continuing hostilities between the Wendat-Tionnantaté and Dakota “compelled them to abandon their fort, with great loss of their men, and go to join the Outaouas at Chagouamikon” (Blair 1911:166).

A significant draw to settle at Chequamegon Bay may have been the opportunity to trade and reestablish relations with the French. French traders Radisson and

Groseillers visited and built a brush structure and palisade at the bay in 1661. They traveled from Three Rivers with a party of Wendat men (some of them escapees from the Haudenosaunee) who reportedly wished to rejoin their families at a settlement then located “five great days’ journey” (Adams 1961:125) inland from the lake. Radisson’s *Explorations*, translated in Adams (1961), describes their arrival at Chequamegon as follows:

We went on half a day before we could come to the landing place, and were forced to make another carriage—a point of two leagues long and some sixty paces abroad. As we came to the other side, we were in a bay of ten leagues about. If we had gone in by going about that same point, we would have passed a straight, for that was very high the other side, which is a cape very much elevated like pyramids. That point should be very fit to build on and advantageous for the building of a fort, as we did the spring following. In that bay there is a channel where we take great store of fishes, sturgeons of vast bigness and pikes of seven foot long. At the end of this bay we landed. . . . The men told us that we had five great days’ journeys before we should arrive where their wives were. . . . The next day they went their way, and we stay for our assurance in the midst of many nations, being all but two almost starved for want of food [Adams 1961:124–125].

Several weeks later, Radisson and Groseillers’s traveling companions returned, and they made the difficult journey inland to the Wendat village. They “marched four days through the woods,” until “at last we came within a league of the cabins, where we laid, that the next day might be our entry. . . . [W]e were in cottages which were near a little lake some eight leagues in circuit. At the waterside there were an abundance of little boats made of trees they have hollowed, and of rind. The next day we were to embark in them, and arrived at the village by water, which was composed of a hundred cabins without palisades” (Adams 1961:128). After wintering in Dakota lands, perhaps near Mille Lacs, and attending a spring Feast of the Dead, Radisson and Groseillers returned to Chequamegon Bay in 1662. Upon Radisson’s arrival at the lakeside, he noted something like a small village “at least twenty cottages full” (Adams 1961:143). He also received word of an Odawa “fort” “on the point that forms that bay which resembles a small lake” (Adams 1961:143). Radisson’s description of the Odawa fort is possibly the most identifiable for any site on the bay during the period of interest. It would appear that he is referring to the long point of Chequamegon Bay, though Ross (2000 [1960]) argues that it was Houghton Point. According to these sources then, there were at least two settlements at the bay in 1662: a village and an Odawa “fort” on the point that forms the bay. Additionally, a Wendat village of some hundred cabins remained at a site located five days’ journey inland.

The next significant historical documentation comes from Father Claude Allouez’s description of the mission of St. Esprit in 1666–1667 (Figure 2). Allouez describes his arrival at Chequamegon Bay in the following manner:

After coasting a hundred and eighty leagues along the Southern shore of Lake Tracy [Lake Superior], — where it was our Lord’s will often to test our patience

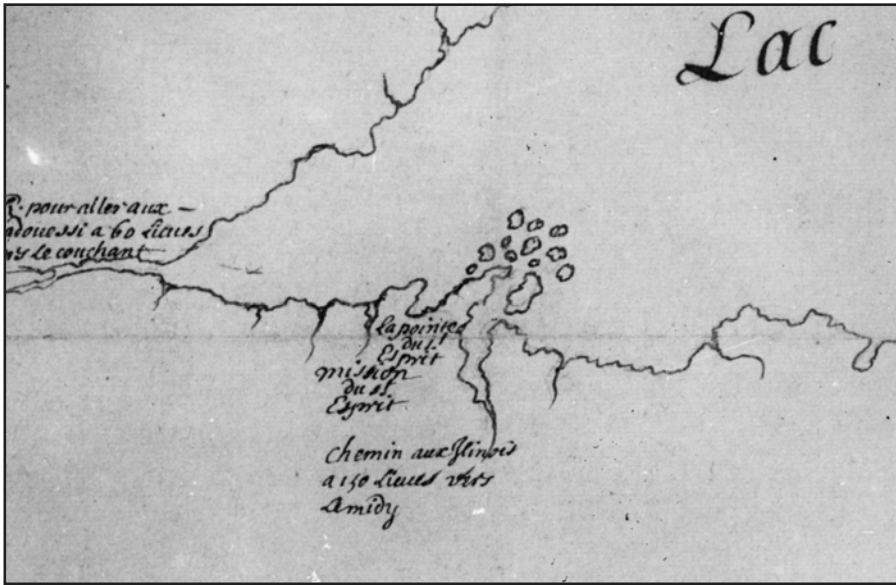


FIGURE 2. Portion of 1669 map of Lake Superior attributed to Father Allouez showing Chequamegon Bay and the Apostle Islands (top of map is oriented to north). The annotation reads: “La Pointe du St. Esprit - Mission du St. Esprit.”

by storms, famine, and weariness by day and night, — finally, on the first day of October, we arrived at Chagouamigong, whither our ardent desires had been so long directed.

It is a beautiful Bay, at the head of which is situated the great Village of the Savages [*sic*], who there cultivate fields of Indian corn and lead a settled life. They number eight hundred men bearing arms, but are gathered together from seven different nations, living in peace, mingled one with another [Thwaites 1896–1901:50:272–273].

Later in the same relation, Allouez identifies not one but two villages and describes his halting place as between the two:

This part of the Lake where we have halted is between two large Villages, and forms a sort of center for all the nations of these regions, because of its abundance of fish, which constitutes the chief part of these peoples’ sustenance. Here we have erected a little Chapel of bark, where my entire occupation is to receive the Algonkin [Anishinaabe] and Huron [Wendat] Christians [Thwaites 1896–1901:50:296].

It would appear that one of the two villages mentioned was principally Odawa and the other principally Wendat-Tionnantaté, although Father Allouez’s 1666–1667 account leaves plenty of room for differing interpretations.

Allouez writes that in 1666 he moved his chapel into one of the villages: “I deemed the time had come to transfer our little Chapel to the midst of the great Village [larger of the two?], which lay three-quarters of a league from our abode, and which embraces forty-five or fifty large cabins of all nations, containing fully two thousand souls” [Thwaites 1896–1901:50:299–300]. Allouez does not clarify which village the chapel was moved to. However, his description of the Wendat-Tionnantaté seems to indicate that they may have occupied a separate settlement:

The Tionnontateheronnons of the present day are the same people who were formerly called the Hurons of the tobacco nation [Tionnantaté]. They, like the rest, were forced to leave their country to escape from the Hyroquois, and to retire to the head of this great Lake, where distance and scarcity of game furnish them an asylum against their foes. . . . *Their village* is at no great distance from *our abode*, which has enabled me to apply myself to this Mission with greater assiduity than to the other more distant ones [Thwaites 1896–1901:50:305–306, emphasis added].

Allouez distinguishes the “Chapel” from his “abode,” meaning that the Tionnantaté village he speaks of may have been one and the same as the earlier mentioned “great Village” to which the chapel was moved. Moreover, his description of the great village, if even vaguely accurate, suggests that its residents were living in large structures, perhaps Wendat-style longhouses (with some 40 occupants per house).

In 1669, Father Marquette replaced Allouez as head of the mission. At this point, Marquette notes the presence of five villages at the mission:

I arrived here on the thirteenth of September, and went to visit the Savages [*sic*] in the Clearings, who are divided among five Villages. The Hurons [Wendat], to the number of four or five hundred souls, almost all baptized, still preserve a little Christianity [Thwaites 1896–1901:54:168].

Other nations mentioned by Marquette include the Keinouché, Kiskakongk, and Outaouaks [Odawa bands]. Renewed conflicts with the Sioux in 1670 forced the Odawa residents of Chequamegon Bay to flee to Manitoulin Island and the Wendat-Tionnantaté to Michilimackinac in 1671, where Father Marquette established the mission of St. Ignace (Thwaites 1896–1901:56:113–119).

The Chequamegon Bay Archaeological Survey

An archaeology of the western Wendat diaspora faces the challenge of locating Wendat people as they traveled west, often with relatively brief sojourns punctuated by long-distance removals, complicated by the fact that seventeenth-century indigenous settlements across the Great Lakes were often complex multiethnic mosaics (Jordan 2010; Quimby 1966). Material culture can be equivocal: The Odawa, longtime neighbors and allies of the Wendat, made pottery that is frequently difficult or impossible to distinguish from Wendat wares (Fox 1990; Wright 1968).

Moreover, earthenware pottery—the cultural historian’s fast friend—diminishes and ultimately disappears from many regional artifact inventories by the turn of the eighteenth century (Branstner 1992; Mason 1981). Colonial documents such as the *Jesuit Relations* are crucial sources on Wendat-Tionnantaté culture, politics, and history during this period but, as demonstrated above, are often vague on key details related to timing and geography.

In 2016, we initiated the Chequamegon Bay Archaeological Survey (CBAS) to investigate Wendat-Tionnantaté refugee presence at Chequamegon Bay. With a population numbering at least 800 (if Allouez is to be believed) occupying one or more sites for up to a decade, we expect abundant material remains. In spite of this, the locations of the 1660s Wendat and Odawa multiethnic village(s) and Jesuit mission at Chequamegon Bay have never been identified archaeologically; physical evidence of Wendat-Tionnantaté presence in the area is limited to Wendat-style pottery and smoking pipes recovered from nearby Madeline Island (Birmingham 1992, 2005; Mazrim 2011; Quimby 1966). The primary goal of the 2016 season was thus to investigate several locales near the head of Chequamegon Bay that have long been conjectured to be associated with seventeenth-century Wendat and Odawa refugees.

Several late nineteenth-century antiquarians, including Davidson (2006 [1892]), Verwyst (1887), and Thwaites (1896–1901), speculated about the location of the mission and associated villages. They identified probable sites by noting patches of young forest and by talking to old-timers who could recall the locations of trading posts and indigenous villages. Charles E. Brown eventually compiled these sites into his atlas (Brown 1906), where they formed the basis of the original Wisconsin state archaeological sites inventory (ASI). Using the ASI, we identified two sites for survey in 2016 that have been connected to the St. Esprit mission. 47-BA-0002, also known as Shore’s Landing, is located at the mouth of Whittlesey Creek on Chequamegon Bay in a marshy area that is now part of a National Wildlife Refuge. 47-BA-0028, located on a bend in the northern tributary of Fish Creek several hundred meters inland from the bay, has most often been connected with the Odawa “great village,” although the basis for this is equally speculative. Aside from an unpublished survey of Whittlesey and Fish Creeks conducted by Beloit College in the 1970s, no official archaeological investigation of either site was conducted prior to our work in 2016.

2016 Investigations at Chequamegon Bay

The sites investigated in the 2016 season, Whittlesey Creek (47-BA-0002), the Mlynarek site, and Fish Creek (47-BA-0028), lie in the east-central portion of Bay-field County, Wisconsin, adjacent to Chequamegon Bay (see Figure 1). This part of the county is a low-lying basin that contains extensive wetlands and marshes associated with the lower White River, Fish Creek, and Whittlesey Creek drainages (including the Fish Creek slough) which flow from southwest to northeast into the bay.

Dramatic alterations of base level and land cover have occurred in the survey area since the seventeenth century, radically affecting the fluvial geomorphology of the Fish and the Whittlesey Creeks’ drainages. Following the last glaciation,

differential crustal rebound on the eastern and western sides of Lake Superior has resulted in rapidly rising lake levels in Chequamegon Bay, shoreline transgression, and rising base levels in the Fish and the Whittlesey Creeks' basins. Fitzpatrick and colleagues (1999:6) report a shoreline elevation rise of 26 cm between 1870 and 1995 at the Fish Creek outlet. If this rate of rise has been constant since the 1660s, this would amount to a shoreline rise of approximately 70 cm. Over the same period, land cover also changed dramatically. Prior to Euro-American colonization, the Fish Creek basin was dominated by balsam fir and white spruce forest (Finley 1976). In the 1880s, 90% of the total land cover was clear-cut, resulting in the destabilization of stream banks and heavy erosion of sand bluffs in the upper stem of Fish Creek, with consequent sedimentation in the lower main stem and slough (Fitzpatrick et al. 1999:9). These factors complicate any simple conclusions regarding the presence or absence of seventeenth-century diaspora settlement at the Whittlesey Creek mouth and Fish Creek sites.

Survey at the Whittlesey Creek Mouth (47-BA-0002)

Site 47-BA-0002, listed in the state archaeological site inventory (ASI) under the name "Shore's Landing Trading Post," is located in the township of Barksdale, T48N, R5W, Section 35, E ½ of the NE quarter section. Survey in 2016 was confined to the portion of the ASI site polygon falling within the Whittlesey Creek National Wildlife Refuge plus a contiguous portion of lakeshore located immediately north of it (Figure 3).

This area was first associated with the Jesuit mission of St. Esprit by local antiquarians in the late nineteenth century. In an 1892 publication, Davidson noted that the mission was "supposed by some to be at or near the mouth of Whittlesey creek, about three miles from Ashland, and between that city and Washburn" (2006[1892]:435). Verwyst's 1895 history of the bay is referenced by the Wisconsin ASI as the basis for the mapping of 47-BA-0002 at the mouth of Whittlesey Creek. Citing the Reverend Henry Blatchford and John B. Denomie (a "half-breed" of Odanah) as his informants, Verwyst writes the following (2006[1895]:13:429, 430-431):

According to Blatchford there was formerly another considerable village at the mouth of Whittlesey's Creek, called by the Indians Agami-Wikwedo-Sibiwishen, which signifies 'a creek on the other side of the bay,' from agaming (on the other side of a river, or lake), wikwed (a bay), and sibiwishen (a creek). I think that Fathers Allouez and Marquette had their ordinary abode at or near this place, although Allouez seems also to have resided for some time at the Ottawa village up Fish Creek.

A short distance from Whittlesey's Creek, at the western bend of the bay, where is now Shore's Landing, there used to be a large Indian village and trading-post, kept by a Frenchman. Being at the head of the bay, it was the starting point of the Indian trail to the St. Croix country. Some years ago the writer dug up there, an Indian mound. The young growth of timber at the bend of the bay, and the absence of stumps, indicate that it had once been cleared. At the foot of the bluff or bank, is a beautiful spring of fresh water. As the St. Croix country was one

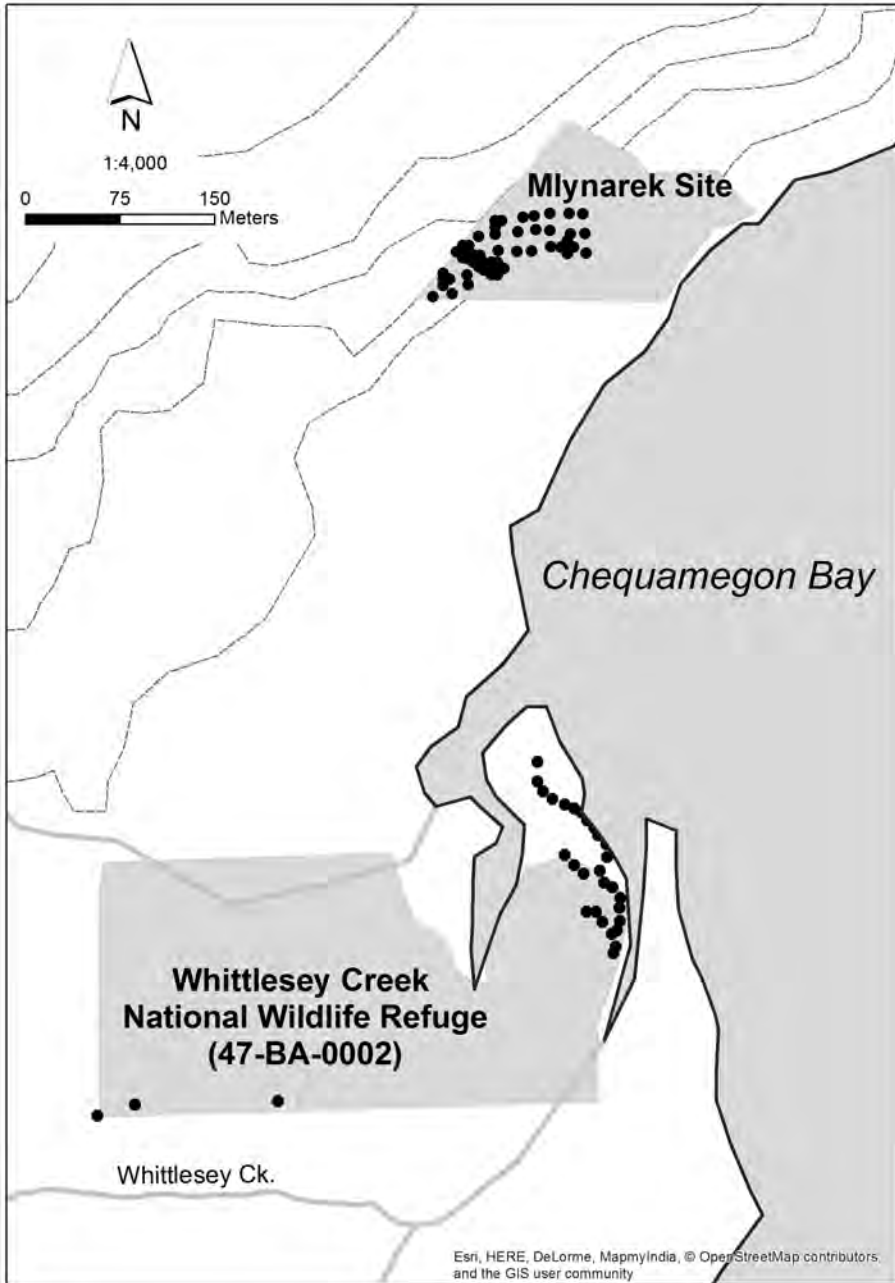


FIGURE 3. CBAS 2016 shovel test pit survey at Whittlesey Creek (47-BA-0002) and the Mlynarek site showing distribution of test pits (dark circles) and property boundaries (grey).

of the principal hunting grounds of the Chippewas and Sioux, it is natural there should always be many living at the terminus of the trail, where it struck the bay.

It should be noted that Verwyst appears to be discussing two distinct sites in this passage—one at the mouth of Whittlesey Creek proper (the ASI 47-BA-0002 site), called “Agami-Wikwedo-Sibiwishen,” and another nearby at “Shore’s Landing” (at the “western bend of the bay”). However, later sources seem to have conflated the Whittlesey Creek mouth with Shore’s Landing. A single village and mound symbol appears near the mouth of Whittlesey Creek in Charles E. Brown’s overview map of Bayfield County in the files of the Wisconsin Historical Society. The Wisconsin ASI follows Brown in placing Verwyst’s description of the Shore’s Landing trading post and mound in the creek mouth area.

An unpublished survey of Whittlesey Creek by a crew from Beloit College in 1977, under the direction of Robert Salzer, reported shovel testing along transects spaced at 15 m intervals. Soils were troweled and inspected for artifacts but not screened. Although the exact boundaries of the survey are not available, field notes and sketch maps indicate that this survey covered the creek mouth to well upriver of Highway 13. They recovered no pre-twentieth-century artifacts.

In the 2016 field season, a combination of pedestrian shoreline inspection and shovel test pitting was employed in the survey of 47-BA-0002. Much of the marshy, low-lying National Wildlife Refuge parcel was inundated with several centimeters of standing water, making STP survey impractical. Survey focused on the higher land immediately adjacent to the outer creek mouth and the shoreline, where we excavated a total of 31 shovel test pits. Along the shoreline, where lake water was easily accessible, soils were water screened in nested 1/8- and 1/4-inch mesh sieves, while in other areas only dry screening with 1/4-inch mesh was used (Creese and Walder 2016). This method was adopted to maximize the probability of recovering small temporally diagnostic artifacts such as glass trade beads. All test pits at 47-BA-0002 were devoid of cultural materials. These results conform to the findings of the Beloit College survey (Musil unpublished field notes, “Jennifer L. Musil Site Survey,” for Monday, May 30th, 1977, pp. 13–15. Notes on file at the Logan Museum, Beloit College, 1977). No evidence for indigenous or Euro-American settlement prior to the twentieth century is currently apparent in the upper 50 cm of sediment at this location.

Survey on Fish Creek (47-BA-0028)

Site 47-BA-0028 lies within Wisconsin DNR land, a low-lying, partially wooded levee area on the north shore of the northern tributary of Fish Creek, several hundred meters upstream from the confluence of its northern and southern branches. Within some 10–30 m of the riverbank, the land drops off into wetland, which confined the 2016 survey to the higher ground (Figure 4).

Writing in 1895, Verwyst identified the junction of Fish Creek and its tributary with a large village of the Odawa:

At the junction of those two creeks and along their banks, especially on the east bank of Fish Creek, was once a large and populous Indian village of Ottawas,

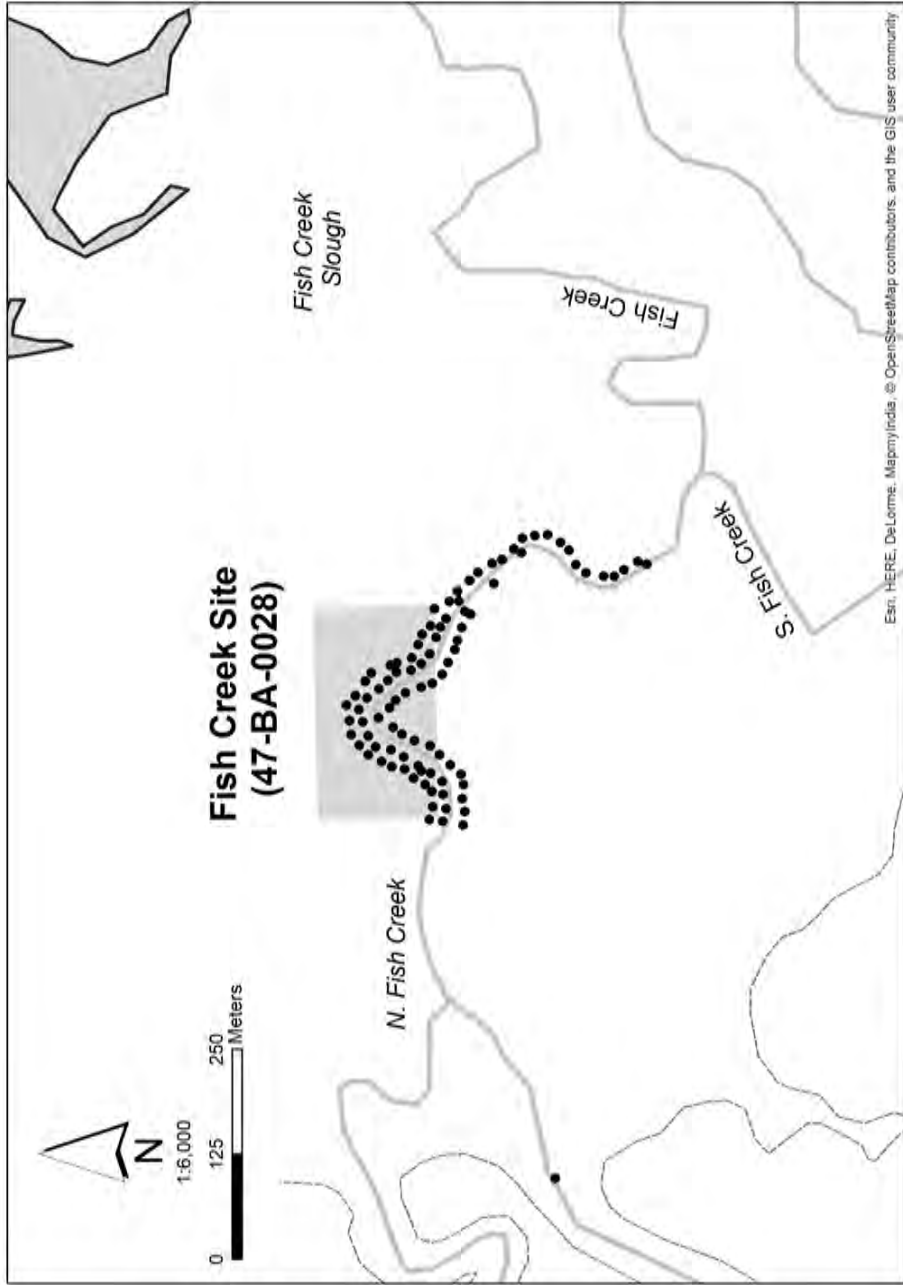


FIGURE 4. CBAS 2016 shovel test-pit survey at Fish Creek (47-BA-0028) showing distribution of test pits (dark circles) and site polygon (grey).

who there raised Indian corn. . . . [T]he soil along Fish Creek is rich, formed by the annual overflowage of its water, leaving behind a deposit of rich, sandy loam. There is a young growth of timber along the right bank beneath the bay and Ashland Junction, and the grass growing underneath the trees shows that it was once a cultivated clearing. It was from this place that the trail left the bay, leading over to the Chippewa River country [2006(1895):430].

It should be noted that given the logging-related disturbance of the Fish Creek watershed that was taking place at the time of Verwyst's writing (Fitzpatrick et al. 1999), the young timber and grass he observed at that location were not necessarily indicative of seventeenth-century land clearance. Verwyst himself makes no mention of artifacts or other cultural features. It is possible that his 1895 assertion was wholly conjectural.

The 1977 Beloit College field school (mentioned above) surveyed Fish Creek with the express intention of finding the "Ottawa" village discussed by Verwyst (M. Leander unpublished field notes, "Site Survey on Fish Creek and Boyd," pg. 1-4, on file at the Logan Museum, Beloit College, 1977). They were unsuccessful in doing so. It is not clear from extant field notes exactly what portions of the 47-BA-0028 polygon, if any, were surveyed.

A total of 86 STPs were excavated at Fish Creek during the 2016 survey, at 15 m intervals along three transects excavated by shovel and dry screened with ¼-inch mesh (see Figure 4). Additionally, a series of bank survey cuts were conducted by canoe within the boundaries of the DNR parcel both upstream and downstream from the ASI site boundary along the north tributary of Fish Creek. No buried paleosols or anthropogenic soils were apparent either in STPs or bank cuts to a depth of approximately 60-90 cmbs, and no artifacts were identified.

The 47-BA-0028 site falls in the "deposition zone" of the lower main stem of Fish Creek, within the boundaries of the Fish Creek slough, a major wetland. Sediments eroding far upstream are typically deposited in this section of the stream. A deep sediment core (G-7) taken nearby at the Fish Creek confluence is described by Fitzpatrick et alia (1999:9). They note that the soils at this locale show evidence for frequent flooding and low potential for cultivation. Moreover, they report some 1.8 m of post-Euro-American settlement sediment. These observations accord with our own just upstream and indicate that the archaeological sterility of the locale may be due to the rapid, deep burial of relevant materials following land clearance in the 1880s.

Survey on Mlynarek Property

Mr. Mike Mlynarek, a refuge manager for the Whittlesey Creek NWR, kindly permitted us to conduct a survey on his property between Highway 13 and the lakeshore immediately north of the Whittlesey Creek NWR's northern boundary (see Figure 3). The area surveyed is an elevated plateau at the top of a bluff overlooking the NWR to the southeast and Chequamegon Bay to the east. Although site 47-BA-0002 at the mouth of Whittlesey Creek is designated in the ASI under the name "Shore's Landing Trading Post," this may be a misnomer. Verwyst (2006[1895]) appears to have distinguished between these two locations, and it is possible that

“Shore’s Landing” refers to a site north of the wetland, where the shoreline is higher and a major overland trailhead is more plausible. Based on this, we concluded there was potential that the Mlynarek property is, or is nearby, the site Verwyst referred to as “Shore’s Landing.” The property is the first point of high ground on the shoreline when approaching from the low-lying head of the bay. It would consequently make a logical landing place from this approach. The lakeshore also “bends” here toward the northeast, in keeping with Verwyst’s description (see above). Based on this tentative identification, we surveyed the wooded southern portion of Mr. Mlynarek’s parcel.

We are not aware of any previous archaeological survey in this location. The 1977 Beloit College survey, however, did cover areas just north of the property, at Boyd Creek. No cultural materials were located in those efforts. We confined our survey to a roughly triangular wooded area to the south of the entrance drive testing a roughly 15 × 15 m grid of 53 shovel test pits (STPs) over the area of interest (Creese and Walder 2016). All positive test pits were “bracketed” at 5 m, with four additional test pits set at cardinal directions, and bracketing proceeded until negative tests were reached in all directions (see Figure 3).

Seven STPs on the Mlynarek parcel were positive for archaeological materials (lithic chipping debris). Each contained a single nondiagnostic lithic artifact. These were drawn, photographed, measured, and finally returned to test pits during back-filling. These artifacts represent diffuse knapping activity in the vicinity on three to four different raw materials. The predominance of low-quality chert and rhyolite is not atypical for precontact aceramic sites in this region. Given the complete absence of pre-1900s historic artifacts on the property, the scatter likely relates to precontact indigenous activities in the area.

Summing up, investigators’ search for seventeenth-century Odawa and Wendat settlements at three locales that have long been associated with such yielded no evidence to support these associations. While we think it most likely that these specific sites were erroneously identified, this conclusion remains inconclusive due to the significant geomorphological changes that have occurred in the Whittlesey and the Fish Creeks’ drainages since the seventeenth century.

Survivance as Practice: Descendant Community Consultation and Collaboration

Although no evidence for the St. Esprit Mission or associated diaspora villages was found, the 2016 season was productive in terms of our broader goals of building bridges with contemporary indigenous stakeholders. Much of our effort in 2016 was aimed at developing a community-based participatory research design (CBPR). CBPR is a methodology that seeks to decolonize research power imbalances that have traditionally existed between archaeologists and indigenous peoples (Atalay 2012; Rizvi 2008). The intent of CBPR is to move beyond formal tribal consultation to include collaboration in all aspects of the research process, from academic questions to field methods, artifact curation, analysis, and interpretation.

To that end, long before setting foot in the field, we began a dialogue with five contemporary descendant and local communities, including the Wyandot Nation of Kansas, the Wyandotte Nation of Oklahoma, the Wyandot Nation of Anderson, and the Red Cliff and Bad River Bands of Lake Superior Chippewa. These different communities have varying histories of colonialism, experiences with archaeology, and accordingly, different concerns that influence the nature of the relationships that have developed to date. Our colleagues at the Wyandot Nation of Kansas and the Bad River Band of Chippewa have been particularly involved in the development of aspects of this project, though in different ways. Members of the Wyandot Nation of Kansas, particularly Chief Janith English and John Nichols, consulted on and encouraged the development of research questions related to cultural continuity across the diaspora. Following field work, Creese visited the Wyandot Nation to present our results and discuss future directions. On the other hand, the Tribal Historic Preservation officers (THPOs) at the time at Bad River and Red Cliff, Edith Leoso and the late Larry Balber, contributed significantly in the area of methodology—particularly in terms of recommending methods that would minimize the impact of field methods on sites and artifacts.

Identifying shared interests and establishing mutual trust between parties is the most important factor in the success of any collaborative community-based effort and, as such, continues to be a work in progress. We have endeavored to foster these relationships through regular formal and informal communication with tribal partners, listening and responding to specific concerns raised by THPOs about archaeological practices—including those of past archaeologists in the survey region—and being willing to reconsider our taken-for-granted dimensions of archaeological fieldwork, particularly concerning the issue of disturbing the earth and curating versus returning artifacts to their original contexts. At the end of the CBAS 2016 field season, these relationships, while highly constructive, remained midway between traditional consultation and true community-based research. Unfortunately, for reasons of funding and distance, it wasn't possible for Wyandot community members to be involved directly in fieldwork, though it remains a hope for future field seasons.

Consultation with the Red Cliff and Bad River THPOs led us to develop methods to address their concerns about the importance of returning any recovered artifacts to the earth. The main innovation here was a “catch and release” approach in which nondiagnostic artifacts were documented and analyzed in the field and then returned to the shovel-test pit from which they were recovered during backfilling. Similar methods have been developed in collaborative research efforts elsewhere. Lightfoot, for example, reports developing a method in which surface-collected artifacts are returned to their proveniences in consultation with Kashaya elders (2008: 221). In 2016, the practice was limited to nondiagnostic lithic fragments recovered on the Mlynarek parcel. Documentation included establishing GPS coordinates, taking photographs, illustrating artifacts, noting dimensional measurements, and writing descriptive notes. Low-impact methodologies of this sort have been a common development of collaborative archaeologies elsewhere, as they seek to address the concerns of tribal members who often feel that “materials removed from sites for curation enter a black hole from which they never return” (Lightfoot

2008:221). Additionally, at Larry Balber's request, tobacco offerings were made at the conclusion of fieldwork in keeping with Anishinaabe ethics.

In sum, the first season of the Chequamegon Bay Archaeological Survey was successful in establishing the basis for an ongoing community-based collaborative archaeological project focused on the experience of Odawa and Wendat migrants at Chequamegon Bay. Although we did not positively identify diaspora-related sites, we were able to test the speculative theories of several nineteenth-century antiquarians on the subject. Most importantly, we are working to build bridges between academics and contemporary indigenous communities in ways that were probably unimaginable to Quimby back in 1966.

Acknowledgments

We are greatly indebted to the many individuals who and organizations that have assisted in making this project a reality. First and foremost, we would like to thank our indigenous and tribal partners, including Edith Leoso, Bad River Band of Chippewa THPO; Larry Balber, Red Cliff Band of Chippewa THPO; Sherry Clemons, Wyandotte Nation of Oklahoma THPO; and Chief Janith English of the Wyandot Nation of Kansas. Without the interest and contributions of these individuals and organizations, the work carried out would not have been possible. We received advice and assistance preparing the project from Wisconsin DNR archaeologist Mark Dudzik and USFWS archaeologist James Myster. Mike Mlynarek, refuge manager at the Whittlesey Creek NWR, was extremely helpful in assisting us during the field season, loaning us additional equipment, arranging for storage, allowing us to survey on his property, and pointing us toward relevant USGS research on the fluvial geomorphology of Fish and Whittlesey Creeks. Additionally, we are especially grateful for input from Robert Birmingham regarding the Beloit College survey. Other individuals who contributed their permission, time, energy, and expertise to the project include landowners Deborah Hudak and Ralph Dusenbery and our student crew members Lindsey Miller, Eric Thibert, and Samantha Yaussy. Funding was provided by a Dean's Challenge grant from the College of Arts, Humanities, and Social Science at North Dakota State University.

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Embracing Anomalies to Decolonize Archaeology

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George Irving Quimby developed a relatively robust database for his time and used it to order sites chronologically in the western Great Lakes region. However, he failed to rectify observations that contradicted his theoretical framework of acculturation, such as the persistence of Native subsistence and settlement practices, instead emphasizing Native adoption of European goods. I argue that we must embrace anomalous data in contemporary archaeology if we want to decolonize the discipline and our narratives regarding cultural interactions. Social and political conditions always impinge on our understandings of colonial pasts.

KEYWORDS colonialism; archaeological epistemology; Native agency; fur trade; Fort St. Joseph

The recent occasion of the 50th anniversary of George Irving Quimby's influential text, *Indian Culture and European Trade Goods* (1966), presented an opportunity to take stock of his intellectual contributions to the field of historical archaeology, along with the theoretical constraints that he labored under. Quimby was a founding member of the Society for Historical Archaeology (SHA), and his works were foundational to the formation of the discipline of historical archaeology as the study of "the archaeology of the spread of European culture . . . and its impact on indigenous peoples" (Deetz 1977:5). A pioneer in classifying postcolumbian archaeological materials in the western Great Lakes region (1939, 1942), Quimby created a three-age system that is still in use today. He studied collections from well-documented sites to identify temporally diagnostic artifacts to formulate a chronological framework for (predominantly Native) sites that lack historical records. This simple yet profound exercise was an important methodological contribution. Despite the novelty of his approach, Quimby operated under the theoretical constraints of his time. As one who adhered to the theory of acculturation, Quimby was unable to rectify observations that contradicted his beliefs.

Questions regarding the relationships between Europeans and Natives persist in historical archaeology, even as archaeologists have attempted to decolonize the discipline by breaking down the dichotomies between history/prehistory and colonizers/colonized (e.g., Ferris et al. 2014; Lightfoot 1995, 2005; Nassaney 2004, 2012; Orser 1996; Silliman 2005; Tveskov 2007; Wilcox 2009). Despite these efforts, it may not prove useful to categorically erase these dichotomous distinctions (Deagan 2013). If we examine microhistories and the articulation of global processes at local levels (glocalization), we can identify deviations from these broad pronouncements—the French and their Native allies often had different political agendas based on divergent histories and cultural values that were expressed in distinctive materialities (see Nassaney 2015, 2019; Orser 2016; Witgen 2012).

The purpose of this paper is not to condemn Quimby's work decades later but to demonstrate that *all researchers* are prone to dismiss anomalous data that cannot be accommodated by their theoretical frameworks. I also scrutinize recent efforts to emphasize the mixing of cultural practices in colonialist settings and the harm this has on contemporary Native groups. Thus, this paper is a brief foray into archaeological epistemology. I argue that we must embrace anomalies—instances in which data contradict theory—rather than deny or ignore their existence if we are to decolonize archaeology and revise our narratives regarding cultural interactions in the colonial period (see also Leone and Potter 1988:12).

By *anomalies*, I mean differences between ethnography and archaeology, divergent patterns, or unexpected information (what Binford [1987] called “ambiguity”). The challenge is to identify and interrogate anomalies and, rather than dismiss them as noise or outliers, employ them to create new conceptual spaces for alternative voices in the dialogue concerning the meaning of the past. Anomalies subsequently disappear as they form the foundations of new cultural imaginings. This is not an entirely Kuhnian approach to the advancement of knowledge in which novel empirical observations alone render prior ways of conceptualizing a particular phenomenon obsolete (Kuhn 1962). While old paradigms may begin to collapse under the weight of repeated irregularities, their demise is coincident with and dependent on new social and political conditions that make previous ways of thinking and seeing no longer tenable.

Inconvenient Observations

Despite efforts to be inclusive in data collection, we typically focus our observations on data that are seemingly most relevant, often due to preconceived ideas, values, and beliefs. Consequently, we often ignore or fail to recognize the significance of seemingly anomalous data (see Nassaney 1989:85; Wylie 1989). In operating under an acculturation framework, Quimby assumed that Native peoples were adopting European objects of material culture because of the objects' inherent superiority as they themselves vanished as a people. Yet, rather than documenting quantitative changes in the goods that Natives adopted throughout the Early (1610–1670), Middle (1670–1760), and Late Historic (1760–1820) periods (which would be more consistent with his theory), Quimby emphasized qualita-

tive changes—each period is marked by the presence or absence of specific configurations of goods, particularly varieties of glass beads and trade silver, among other temporally sensitive artifact categories (e.g., lead seals, clasp knives, finger rings, religious medals).

Quimby claimed that by the Late Historic period, Natives of the region were participating in a Pan-Indian culture that involved the wholesale adoption of European goods (1966:140). Yet, even as he documented changes in Native material assemblages, he also noted a number of “old-style native manufactures” that “may reflect a conservatism in some aspects in material culture” (1966:141–142). For example, he mentions pits filled with charred corn, the use of birch-bark grave linings, the persistence of burial furniture, stone pipes, modified brass thimbles reimagined as tinkling cones, hair pipes, wooden spoons, medicine bundles, wampum, and bone handles decorated with a traditional incised zigzag design. In describing the lifeways of the early nineteenth-century Chippewas (based on the ethnohistory of Alexander Henry and the archaeological record), Quimby similarly remarked, “acculturation applies primarily to material culture. . . . [T]here seems to be a continuity and conservatism of subsistence and settlement pattern that is lacking in most aspects of material culture” (1966:179). This rather peculiar discrepancy—or anomaly—between the new adoptions and old cultural patterns eventually led archaeologists to discard the old acculturation paradigm, but only after they began to consider the vantage point of the so-called colonized (see Nassaney 2012).

Embracing Anomalies in Contemporary Archaeology

Anomalies are relatively easy to identify in previous scholarship with the benefit of hindsight. Yet, in contemporary archaeology our tendency is to ignore, dismiss, and refuse to embrace anomalous patterns, particularly when they contradict dominant narratives and are brought to our attention by subaltern groups or outsiders who do not share our disciplinary orthodoxy. Anomalies within classificatory systems are often treated with discomfort because they represent potential sources of disorder and confusion (Douglas 1966).

Let me draw on an example from my own work in the western Great Lakes region to demonstrate the shifting contours of archaeological knowledge in colonial contexts. For nearly twenty years I have been investigating the site of Fort St. Joseph, an eighteenth-century French mission, garrison, and trading post in present-day Niles, Michigan (Figure 1; Nassaney 1999; Nassaney et al. 2002–2004; Nassaney et al. 2003). Fort St. Joseph should be familiar to readers who know Quimby’s work. In 1937, he and Glenn A. Black conducted an archaeological survey of the St. Joseph River valley with the help of a local collector, Amos Green. Quimby (1993:10) recalled that he “paid particular attention to the locus of Fort St. Joseph at Niles, Michigan” where a fine collection of French trade goods was housed in the local museum. Using this collection, which dated from the late 1600s to 1760, in combination with earlier studies of dated archaeological materials, Quimby was able “to construct a somewhat crude but useful chronology of trade goods in Michigan” (1993:10; see also Quimby 1939).

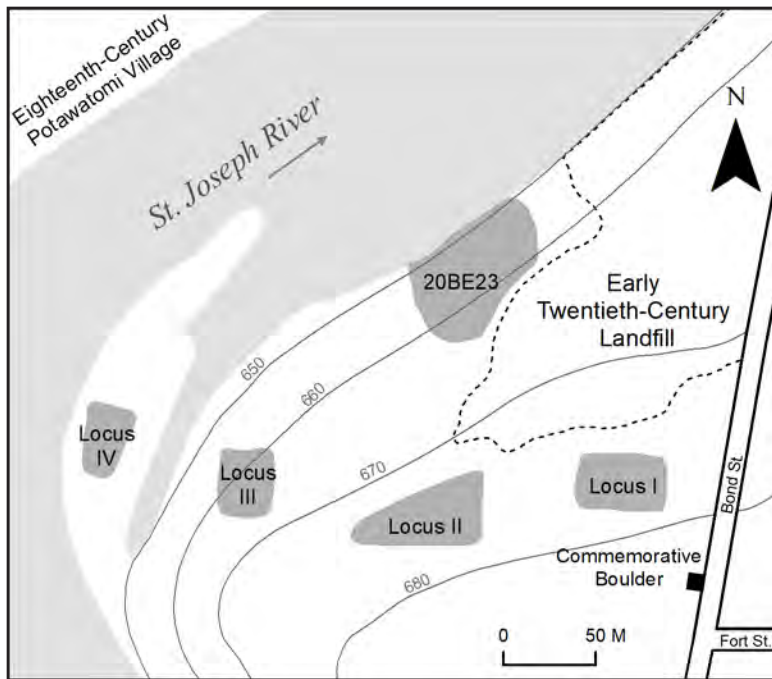


FIGURE 1. Map showing the locations of Fort St. Joseph (20BE23), the Lyne site (20BE10; Loci I-IV), and the nearby eighteenth-century Potawatomi village. Drawn by Jason Glatz.

My study of Fort St. Joseph began in 1998 at the invitation of a local community group interested in relocating and interpreting the old fort. We immediately began to assemble a consortium of stakeholders who had a vested interest in the work. The politicization of archaeology was well established by this time and community-based archaeology was emerging as a way to involve local publics in archaeological investigations to produce mutually beneficial results. Atalay (2012:29–54) provides a brief history of community-based research in archaeology. She highlights a “collaborative continuum” that recognizes the varying extent to which partnerships are participatory and community driven (see also Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2008). As more stakeholders are provided a place at the table, the research questions and other aspects of the research design reflect the broader concerns of the participants. We have tried to involve Native partners, with varying degrees of success, in our archaeological efforts. In this collaborative process, we aim to be sensitive to the issues that concern marginalized groups as we strive to share decision making and interpret the archaeological record in emancipatory ways (Berliner and Nassaney 2015). We understand that the past, and how we engage in its study, matters.

From the outset of our study of colonialism and the fur trade at Fort St. Joseph, acculturation was no longer in vogue to explain the outcome of cultural encounters. The patterns predicted by acculturation—material domination and

ethnocide—were contradicted by findings such as those noted by Quimby, as previously discussed. Moreover, in a postcolonial world that paid increasing attention to an indigenous archaeology, many archaeologists—including some who were not working directly with and on projects authorized by Native groups—began to appreciate the close relationships that obtained in the fur trade and the hybrid forms of both material culture and daily practice that emerged through intense cultural interaction (Nassaney 2008). Many followed the lead provided by ethnohistorian Richard White (1991), who was among the first to point out the ways in which the French and the Natives accommodated each other and effectively operated on a middle ground—a metaphorical landscape of practice that was neither Native nor French. Archaeologists began to recognize the variety of cultural borrowing (e.g., birch-bark canoes, snowshoes, brass kettles, cloth), intercultural artifacts (e.g., tinkling cones), and intermarriage that marked fur-trade society in the process of cultural mixing referred to variously as hybridity, *métissage*, and creolization (e.g., Dawdy 2000; Turgeon et al. 1996).

A critical outcome of this narrative of fur-trade society is that it elides significant social differences along lines of gender, status, and ethnicity that existed at the fort (see Nassaney and Brandão 2009). It also suggests that cultural mimicry was a form of naïve emulation; each group was consciously or unconsciously imitating the other (see Havard 2008). Finally, it reproduces terminal narratives by emphasizing the mixing of cultural traits that diluted Native history (Wilcox 2009). Yet a closer look at the evidence reveals that an ethnic separation was maintained between Native and white society (Nassaney 2019). It now appears that sharing across cultural lines merely led to a superficial uniformity in the material world of the fur trade. I detail some of the anomalies that led me to reconsider the blended nature of colonial life at the fort and its environs and the changing social relations that made such interpretations possible.

For much of the fur trade, Native Americans were the primary producers who captured and processed animals for their furs to exchange for imported European goods (Nassaney 2015). There would have been no fur trade in the St. Joseph River valley without Potawatomi and Miami involvement (Nassaney et al. 2012). Traditional Native economic, political, social, and religious systems were fundamentally different than those of Europeans, expressed in material conditions related to tools, technology, culinary practices, and a variety of daily activities that reproduced social relationships in the world and with the supernatural. Many of these practices were the antithesis of European customs, and Europeans attempted in no uncertain terms to force Natives to abandon their former practices and beliefs. In the face of the often horrific and brutal tactics used to enforce compliance, Natives struggled to maintain their core values in a process of survivance (see Walder and Yann, this volume). The presence of the federally recognized Pokagon Band of the Potawatomi is testimony to the persistence of a way of being in the world that differs from that of white Anglo-America. This is not to suggest that Native peoples “possess qualities that are fundamentally different from non-aboriginal peoples and that this exceptionalism accords them special privileges in interpreting their pasts” (Nassaney 2012:10). Rather, by virtue of subjugation by the dominant society for centuries in the “cauldrons of colonialism” (Silliman 2010:219), indigenous

perspectives are “rooted in and simultaneously challenge social conditions of subordination, racism, and evolutionism” (Silliman 2010:219). The ideological distance that has been consciously maintained between Natives and Europeans from ancient to contemporary times suggests that French and Native cultural practices did not dissolve into that cauldron, despite the close relationships that these groups cultivated. By recognizing ethnic boundary maintenance in contemporary society, the possibility of seeing the archaeological record as evidence of survivance emerges. Let me elaborate.

Archaeological evidence clearly shows that the French employed various architectural, technological, sartorial, and religious practices that differed from those of the Natives and served to reproduce their cultural identities (Nassaney 2019). French architectural styles uncovered at the fort—along with handwrought nails, pintles, hinges, and other building hardware—derive from building traditions developed in northwest France (Loveland and Nassaney 2017). The French went to great efforts to acquire, produce, and maintain products of Old World technology such as iron and brass kettles for cooking and iron-edged tools for cutting (knives) and chopping (axes; Figure 2). Moreover, they employed these items in ways intended by the items’ makers. This pattern is not confined to the French at Fort St. Joseph. For example, at Réaume’s Leaf River post, Allard (this volume) interprets similar evidence as a conscious desire of voyageurs to create social boundaries and a familiar place within an unfamiliar landscape.



FIGURE 2. This ax (accession no. 11-2-200) recovered from Fort St. Joseph (20BE23) is emblematic of the importance of iron tools in fur-trade society. (Photo by Cathrine Davis. Courtesy of the Fort St. Joseph Archaeological Project.)

Similarly, the presence of glass-inlaid sleeve buttons and buckles for leather shoes indicates that at least some of the fort's occupants retained European tastes regarding proper attire, even at a frontier fortification. Furthermore, a range of mundane and unusual objects recovered from the fort testify to the persistence of Old World ideas. For example, a French flintlock butt plate was found with a series of intentional scratches carefully organized into groups of ten along its margins—clear evidence of an imported base-ten system of numerical computation. In addition, church records and religious paraphernalia such as crosses, crucifixes, medals, and a cilice suggest that some basic Catholic beliefs and values—including those relating to monogamy, religious conversion, and piety—seem to have survived. Thus, French material culture and its symbolic meanings are clear evidence that colonial ideals were in daily practice at Fort St. Joseph and marked a divergent series of beliefs that set the French apart from their Native allies.

Natives, in turn, engaged in resistant traditions at the fort and in its environs as evidenced by patterns of settlement, subsistence, and material culture. Traditionally, Native peoples maintained a dispersed settlement pattern within a homeland and scheduled their activities in accordance with the seasonal availability of resources (e.g., Witgen 2012). The distribution of precolumbian and Potawatomi settlements before, during, and after the establishment of the French fort suggests that the Natives merely incorporated the fort as another node in their settlement system (Kohley 2013; Nassaney 2015:176–177). Quimby similarly noted that Natives “were still linked to [the] physical environment and the seasons, probably much as they had been in pre-European times. *Thus there seems to be a continuity and conservatism of subsistence and settlement pattern that is lacking in most aspects of material culture*” (Quimby 1966:179; emphasis added).

Although less is known about Native American subsistence strategies during the eighteenth century, judging from the animal bone assemblage at Fort St. Joseph it seems likely that wild food resources continued to play a dominant role in their diet (see Nassaney and Martin 2017). The Potawatomis and their allies had not adopted domesticated animals nor imported cultigens to any significant degree, according to documentary sources. In 1762, Thomas Hutchins (cited in Cunningham 1961:72–73) remarked that

It [the fort] is inhabited by about a dozen French families who chiefly support themselves by the trade they carry on with the Indians and notwithstanding the country is very rich about them, they raise nothing more than some Indian corn and make a little hay to support their horses and mules and a few milch cows, which seems to be all the stock they have.

While the Potawatomis maintained many of their ancient subsistence practices, they clearly embraced imported goods (e.g., Cleland 1971; Mason 1986; Quimby 1966:132–133; Wittry 1963 cited in Quimby 1966:120–123); however, many were substitutes for objects with which they were already familiar, such as containers and cutting tools (see Mann 2014). It is worth emphasizing that Natives chose materials that fit into their worldview; studies repeatedly demonstrate that they were active and discerning consumers who pitted French against English traders, walked

miles to strike a fair bargain, and selectively adopted goods into their material repertoire (see Bradley 1987; Kehoe 2000; Ray 1974, 1980). Furthermore, sometimes goods were not used as their makers or traders intended because Natives reinterpreted objects according to their own symbolic systems (see Hamell 1983). For example, thimbles were common European imports used by the French and Natives alike. Several thimbles that were recovered from the floodplain in proximity to European-style structures are intact and were probably components of tool kits along with needles to sew canvas around fur bales and for clothing construction and repair. In contrast, a thimble from Locus III on the nearby terrace known as the Lyne site (20BE10) exhibits an intentional perforation in the center of the top to facilitate suspension, suggesting its reuse for a decorative function similar to a tinkling cone—a common practice in fur-trade society (Figure 3; see also Langford 2011:38). Although Quimby (1966:76) noted that “some of the brass thimbles [of the Middle Historic period] seem to have also been used as tinklers attached to fringes of clothing,” he could not align this observation with his acculturation framework and consequently failed to consider that Native peoples reimagined and repurposed artifacts and manipulated objects for culturally appropriate uses to maintain identity in the face of changing circumstances (Nassaney 2019).

At the Lyne site above the floodplain at Fort St. Joseph we have recovered lithic debitage, triangular Madison projectile points, low-fired shell-tempered earthenware,



FIGURE 3. This perforated thimble (accession no. 12-1-14) from the Lyne site (20BE10) illustrates the ways Native peoples expressed agency by reimagining imported goods and using them in ways unintended by the items’ European makers. (Photo by Katelyn Hillmeyer. Courtesy of the Fort St. Joseph Archaeological Project.)

several stone smoking pipes, copious amounts of fire-cracked rock, and a series of smudge pits (Locus II) associated with a range of European imports, including gunflints, flintlock hardware (i.e., a trigger, side plate), lead shot and musket balls, a pewter brooch, numerous copper-alloy scraps, handblown glass-container fragments, and a cut fragment of trade silver perforated for ornamental use (Nassaney 2015:Figure 6.4), among other probable eighteenth-century artifacts including the perforated thimble. Most of these materials are confined to the plow zone, so we cannot rule out the possibility that Late Woodland and postcontact period components are comingled. However, artifact associations and radiometric dating suggest that smudge pits for tanning hides were used on the terrace after the French moved into the area (Nassaney 2015:176). While we cannot be certain of the identities of the occupants of the terrace, it seems reasonable to infer that the material remains are evidence of activity areas that included Native peoples. Despite Native involvement in the fur trade and the proximity of their settlements to the fort, the Potawatomi employed objects in traditional ways, modified some to suit new needs, and rejected those that were inconsistent with their cultural values, demonstrating agency and an effort to participate in a changing world on their own terms—evidence for survival and resilience.

Summary and Conclusion

To researchers in a postcolonial world in which the federally recognized Pokagon Band of the Potawatomi are stakeholders in the past, it is apparent that the eighteenth-century French and Natives operated within distinct cultural worlds, attempted to maintain daily practices, and were reluctant to relinquish them. Though they found ways to communicate, trade, and even intermarry, there remained a cultural gulf between the French and the Natives (Nassaney 2019), much as there is today. The *métissage* narrative that replaced that of acculturation carries its own ideological baggage by contributing to the idea that New France practiced a kinder and gentler form of colonialism (see Volo and Volo 2002:xxi; Nassaney et al. 2012:56, 2019). It also reproduces terminal narratives by emphasizing the mixing of cultural traits that diluted Native history (see Wilcox 2009). An acknowledgment of Native survival (see Silliman 2014:58–61) forces us to recast the meaning of the materiality that has been known to archaeologists since the 1930s. As sociopolitical conditions and relations with Native peoples change, the material record—some of which appeared to be anomalous at particular historical moments—can be interpreted in new ways and incorporated into new narratives that further empower previously marginalized groups. We must embrace the anomalies that we observe in the archaeological record and use them to challenge assumptions and preconceived notions about the past so that we can gain a better understanding of the past as it was, not as we believe it should have been.

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Note on Contributor

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Communities, Survivance, and Acts of “Residence” in the Late Eighteenth-Century Fur Trade in Minnesota

Amélie Allard

ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM

In this paper, I consider the issue of change and continuity that was at the root of Quimby’s acculturative models for understanding fur-trading relations in North America, and consider the usefulness of recent theoretical shifts toward survivance and “residence” (after Silliman 2014) to offer a more comprehensive picture of social dynamics in the late eighteenth-century social and physical landscape of the western Great Lakes and the fur trade. Rather than focusing on terminal narratives associated with acculturation, I argue through the examination of archaeological and documentary sources that Anishinaabeg peoples performed “acts of residence.” As a process of emplacement, such acts also empowered indigenous peoples. This performance was contested: Fur traders’ own practices and geographic preconceptions also planted the seeds of an increasingly race-based colonial mind-set, in which Indians and their way of life represented an “Other” that was simultaneously desirable and repulsive. This tension played an important role in the creation of a contested fur-trade landscape, perhaps more so than the seemingly power-free concept of the “middle ground” would suggest.

KEYWORDS fur trade, survivance, colonialism, mobility, Great Lakes

Prior to the mid-nineteenth century, the fur trade featured as one of the major socioeconomic and political colonial endeavors in the western Great Lakes region. It entwined men of European and mixed descent and powerful indigenous social formations such as the Anishinaabeg and Dakota into a web of social, political, and economic relations. Starting in the seventeenth century, French imperialist policies of mercantilism, and indigenous engagement with them, set a precedent for the ways in which colonial encounters would unfold in the interior of the continent, in particular by emphasizing kinship and alliance networks that spread over an overwhelmingly indigenous landscape (White 1987; Witgen 2012). After the Seven

Years' War resulted in British governance of Canada in 1763, the management of trade policies fell increasingly into British hands, while French merchants had less and less entry into the higher positions of the increasingly stratified fur-trade companies (Devine 2004). In the latter quarter of the eighteenth century, powerful fur-trade companies such as the North West Company and its most direct competitor the XY Company came to dominate the trade in the region west of the Great Lakes, in what is now Minnesota and Wisconsin (Figure 1). In exchange for goods such as hunting gear, blankets, cloth, personal adornments, utensils, and alcohol, indigenous peoples were expected to harvest fur-bearing animals—whose pelts were necessary to the manufacture of the fashionable beaver-felt top hat in vogue in Europe at the time—and to help provision traders with food when they wintered in the interior. While the management of the commercial aspect of this endeavor switched hands over time, one key component remained throughout: the central role that indigenous peoples and the creation of social relationships played in its operation. Whether merchants hailed from French, British, or American backgrounds, all relied on Native men and women not only to help them make a profit, but also to help them survive in unfamiliar social and physical landscapes, especially in the late eighteenth-century western Great Lakes region.

Yet, until recently, archaeological evidence of the fur-trade context traditionally highlighted the presence of colonial elements—such as fur-trading posts—over local responses to this endeavor. For example, as Quimby's (1966) seminal work demonstrates, when sites of indigenous occupation were recovered along with European-manufactured items, the ratios of alien technology were used to create a narrative that situated Native responses to colonialism in acculturative terms. This narrative further associated indigenous use of European-made technology with lost or fading cultural identities, taking on the terminal tendencies of the “vanishing Indian” narratives. Acculturative models, as inherent legacies of a theoretical angle on colonialism that Silliman has labeled the “short purée” (2012), consider colonialism as the main inflection point in indigenous historical trajectories (Silliman 2012, 2014). In such views, colonialism inevitably leads to fatal outcomes for colonized peoples, and in turn archaeologists inexorably recognize that not only Indian traditions but also *Indians themselves* have changed in the wake of “systems of authority, forced resettlement, acculturative programs, or adoption of new material culture” (Silliman 2012:115). While we would be hard-pressed to find such narratives in current archaeological narratives, this kind of narrative continues to have harsh repercussions on the politics of representation of American Indians. At issue in this analytical framework is the question of change and continuity and the terminal narratives that often accompany archaeological interpretations of colonialism.

In this paper, I ponder the issue of change and continuity that was at the root of Quimby's acculturative models for understanding fur-trading relations in North America, and consider the usefulness of recent theoretical shifts toward survival and “residence” (after Silliman 2014) to offer a more comprehensive picture of social dynamics in the late eighteenth-century social and physical landscape of the western Great Lakes. Indeed, “residence” in the way that Silliman frames it “refocuses on possibilities of cultural identities [in colonial contexts], while not ignoring acts of resistance” (Silliman 2014:63). More importantly for this paper,



FIGURE 1. Map of the western Great Lakes region showing its most important waterways. The location of Réaume's Leaf River Post is marked by a star.

it holds a strong spatial component that leaves analytical room for considering empowerment in emplacement. In other words, this concept can be extended to understanding how place-making activities—such as movement, architectural practices, storytelling, and so on—can be used for both community formation and the creation of social boundaries (also Mann, this volume).

Drawing from this framework to ground my discussion, I first provide some historical context necessary for understanding the complex daily interactions that took place in the Western Great Lakes region, as well as the construction of the lived and imagined landscape that resulted from them. Using data from Réaume's Leaf River Post, the remains of a 1790s trading post in central Minnesota, as well as contemporary fur traders' journals and memoirs, I provide examples of the complex ways in which Anishinaabeg peoples performed "acts of residence" (after Silliman 2014) that influenced fur traders' geographic knowledge and preconceptions. Such acts, like telling stories that connected their identities to specific landscapes or sharing geographical knowledge, served the dual purpose of controlling one's own space while exchanging knowledge with fur traders who provided opportunities for obtaining desired goods and potential advantageous kin relations.

Yet, even as these processes took place (literally), fur traders' practices and imaginations in turn positioned indigenous peoples in contradictory ways, particularly in creating clear social differences through architectural practices. Indeed, fur traders' journals and memoirs show that encounters in the landscape of the oft-called middle ground (e.g., White 1991) also planted the seeds of an increasingly racialized colonial mind-set, in which Indians and their way of life represented an "Other" that was simultaneously desirable and repulsive. This, I argue, was at the heart of the social dynamics in the eighteenth-century western Great Lakes region and played an important role in the creation of a contested fur-trade landscape, perhaps more so than the seemingly power-free concept of the "middle ground" (e.g., White 1991) would suggest.

Historical Background

In the 1790s, trading for furs in the North American interior involved an ensemble of practices that arose both from an emergent, spontaneous moment of interactions between people of differing cultural background and from a set of practices that had been established, contested, refined, altered, and polished through generations of encounters. By the late eighteenth century, fur trading functioned occasionally through independent traders, but most of it occurred through powerful and stratified merchant companies. At the top of fur-trade society were the Anglo-Scots bourgeois, or the shareholders, who generally resided in Montreal and oversaw the functioning of the trade (Hamilton 1990). Goods destined for trade were carried from Montreal to depots in the interior by a seasonal brigade of laborers in charge of maneuvering the loaded canoes. Once they were safely arrived at a regional depot such as Grand Portage, the goods were divided among a number of wintering partners who spent the winter in the interior with a few voyageurs to trade directly with local indigenous groups. The archaeological site of Réaume's Leaf River Post

is an example of such a post. According to established protocols, Native men and women—most commonly groups of Anishinaabe-Ojibwe—integrated the winter trade post into their seasonal rounds. This typically implied stopping by the trading post in the fall to obtain goods on credit (White 1987), while over the winter and spring, Ojibwe families in turn hosted voyageurs—made kin through marriage or adoption—for a varying period of time. The objective of this practice, which French Canadians called trading “*en dérrouine*” (Birk 1989:10), was for traders to establish more sustaining social relations with Ojibwe families in the hopes of bringing back furs and food to the post as a payment for the goods traded in the fall. Creating kinship ties allowed traders to tap into an extensive trading network and create relationships based in reciprocal obligations—on Ojibwe terms. Indeed, this long-held Anishinaabe practice of alliance making through adoption or marriage could illustrate resilience in the sense of “strategic networking practices” among diverse communities (Walder and Yann, this volume).

Indeed, Michael Witgen (2012) has successfully demonstrated that fur trading in the eighteenth century was but one facet of Anishinaabe life and was certainly not the most important one for all individuals at all times. Nevertheless, Anishinaabeg dictated the practices that came to characterize the fur-trade lifestyle at this time and place, including mobility, food procurement, and the creation of social alliances through kinship. I have argued elsewhere (Allard 2016) that the practices and materiality that made up this particular fur-trading lifestyle, such as constant mobility, foodways, architecture, languages, and vulnerabilities associated with matters of survival in rough environments, created a sense of shared experience (*habitus*, to use Bourdieu’s (1977) term) across otherwise disparate groups of people. However, it was the Canadian traders’ reliance and dependence on their Native trading partners that created an overarching structure for the performance of daily practices and geographic knowledge in this landscape, which, despite colonial aspirations, remained overwhelmingly Native, socially and demographically (Witgen 2012).

In fact, merchants in the eighteenth century were acutely aware that their presence in the interior was a liberty granted by indigenous peoples and not a *terra nullius* to be settled as part of dominion. In a treatise defending their legal right of trade in response to the 1783 Treaty of Paris cessions, some Montreal merchants wrote in a surprisingly enlightened fashion: “The Indians are free and Independent people if ever any on earth were so. . . . Our running a line of boundary by Treaty conveys no right of Territory without obtaining one from the aboriginal proprietors. We cannot give what is not our own” (Michigan Pioneer Historical Collections 1895, Colonial Office Records: “Memorial of Montreal Merchants Respecting Trade,” XXIV: 407–408). While their declaration is tainted with their own political and economic agendas, they nonetheless had no illusion whatsoever about these indigenous social formations being part of the British Empire (or the United States).

An overarching component of fur traders’ lifestyles was their mobility, or the political ways in which their movement across the landscape was performed. The parallels between fur traders’ mobility and the nomadic ways of the Anishinaabeg were not lost on colonial officials: Indeed, in a society where traditional Christian values and the roles of men and women were tied to the land and accumulation of property, colonial religious and secular authorities persistently promoted ideals

of a sedentary life as a remedy for unchristian and improper vagrancy (Devine 2004:36). Rob Mann (2003, 2008) has shown that this negative conception of mobility was one that English officials shared; after Britain officially took governance of Canada in 1763, “colonial elites often categorized French Canadians as a ready pool of manual laborers who presumably ‘lurked’ about with no permanent homes” (Mann 2008:322). Nevertheless, in order for fur traders—mostly of French Canadian descent—to succeed in making a profit, they needed to reside—or should I say, voyage—in the interior for long periods of time as well as make more long-term commitments to their Ojibwe partners (Devine 2004:200). The winterers who were successful in maintaining good relations with their indigenous kin were “better able to remain outside the direct employment of a trading company and establish themselves as independent traders” (Devine 2004:201).

Joseph Réaume, whose name is associated with the archaeological site mentioned in this article, could be characterized as an independent trader offering his services to various individuals and companies over the course of his career. Little is currently known about him as he has left no known writings of his own. However, some of his character and his trading activities are known via other fur traders’ accounts (Peers and Schenck 2002; Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections 1909, Vol. XXXVII:508–564; Wisconsin Historical Collections 1911, Vol. XX:396–471.).

It is from lifelong voyageur Jean Baptiste Perrault, for instance, that we learn that in 1791 “Mr. Cadotte and Mr. Jos. Réaume . . . had left, outfitted by Mr. [Alexander] Henry, a Montreal merchant, to also enter & lead the Indians of Leech Lake towards the plains” (Cormier 1978:85; also Birk 1984:57, 1999a:6). In other words, the Cadotte-Réaume expedition that resulted in the construction of Réaume’s Leaf River Post “was intended to lead the Leech and Sandy Lake Ojibwe to contested hunting grounds west of the Crow Wing River” (Birk 1984:57, 1999a:6). The direct association between Joseph Réaume and the Leaf River archaeological site comes in a brief mention from his future associate John Hay in 1794, who, traveling up the Leaf River, recounts how “we arrived at Reaume’s fort, a fort built in 1792 when he was stopt by the Sious [*sic*]” (Quaife 1915:206–207). The site (Figure 2) consisted of a palisaded enclosure overlooking the Leaf River, with at least two wood-and-daub structures with stone-lined fireplaces. Based on the spatial distribution of artifacts and patterns in the archaeological and historical records, I have interpreted one as the trading house and the other as the living quarters for the crew. The material culture recovered features most prominently hunting gear (lead shot, musket balls, gun flints), personal adornment items, architectural hardware, white clay tobacco pipes, and faunal remains. While it is difficult to ascertain whether this site is in fact the remains of the 1792 occupation, the overall aspect of the post as well as the artifactual assemblage correlate with similar late eighteenth-century occupations in the area. I argue below that architectural practices at this site served to materialize certain tensions and ambivalent attitudes between ideals of colonial settlement and the need—and desire—for mobility.

This mobility, necessary to the tradition of fur trading since the early eighteenth century, not only constrained the execution of colonial ideals and vision but also created an arena where traders were required, if not encouraged, to rely on indigenous peoples to survive in unfamiliar landscapes. In performing a number of their

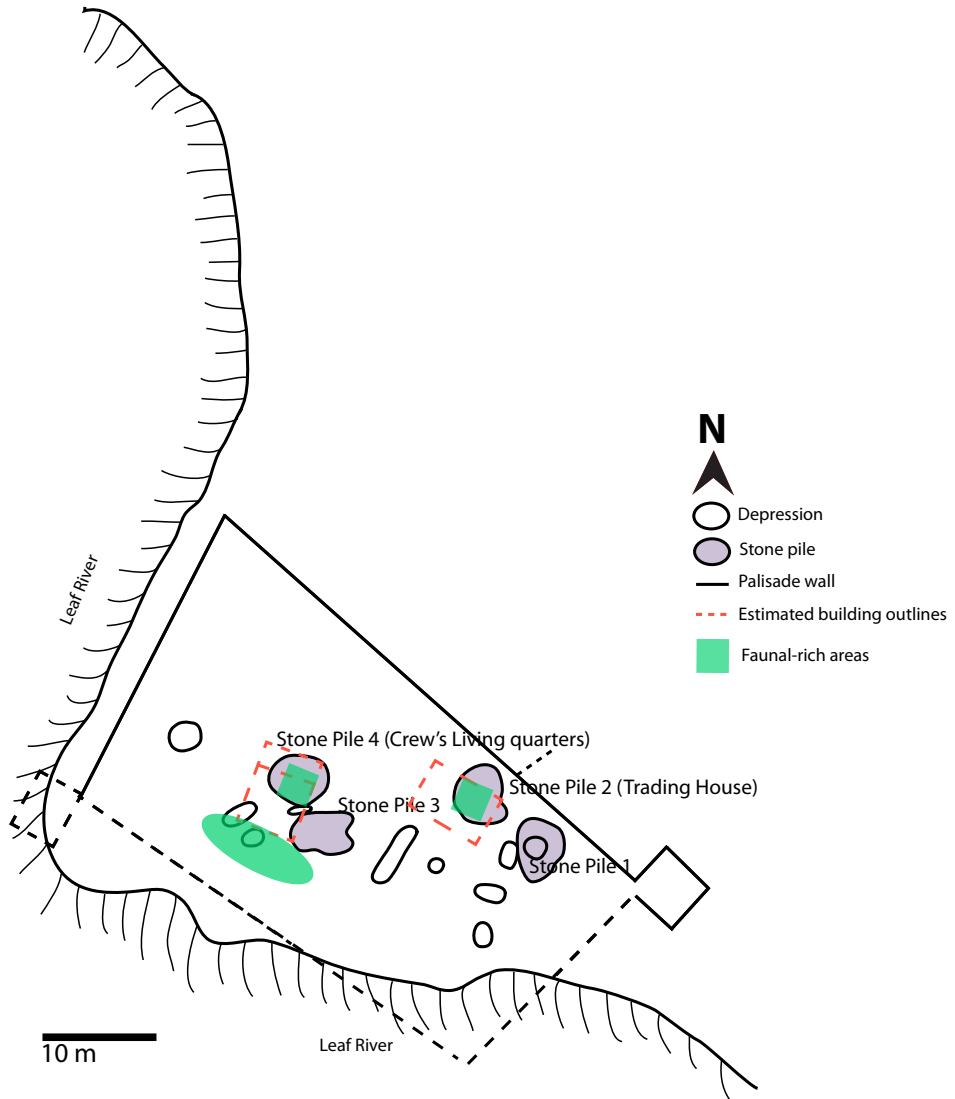


FIGURE 2. Plan view of Réaume's Leaf River Post.

practices and customs, the lower-ranked voyageurs occupied a “liminal cultural space: between cultures, on the margins of French Canadian society, on thresholds of Indian society” (Podruchny 2006:15). Fur traders had no intention or desire to change Native lifeways, and in fact, “their success depended upon their being integrated into the local” (Hayes 2015:64). The “in-betweenness” of the fur traders and their ambivalent attitudes toward their Native trading partners appear to have made them more welcoming (though not uniformly so) of Indian knowledge and conceptions and willing to embrace indigenous virtues of independence and courage in dangerous situations (Podruchny 2006). Traders relied almost exclusively on Native people's willful participation in the trade for food procurement

but also for travel. Not only were many fur traders marrying into the country and adopting a wide range of Native customs, but also as guides, interpreters, and kin, Anishinaabeg peoples in turn controlled the movement of traders across the landscape and actively shaped their geographic knowledge. The following addresses the issue of change and continuity as it relates to the interpretation of the late eighteenth-century context.

Beyond Change and Continuity: Theoretical Avenues

At the heart of the acculturative model proposed by George Quimby and others in the 1950s and 1960s lies the issue of change and continuity, a problem that archaeologists have tackled since the inception of archaeology as a discipline. While questions about how much past societies have changed or how they are reproduced over time can be appropriate given the kind of evidence and long-term temporal scale that archaeologists tend to draw from, it is also problematic for the study of indigenous histories in colonial contexts, where issues of change and continuity have political repercussions in the present (Panich 2013; also Silliman 2009). As Panich has argued, “such approaches are problematic because they may color popular understandings of individual and cultural identities in ways that set up unrealistic expectations about contemporary Native communities” (Panich 2013:106). This latter aspect is one of the most influential realizations in the field of historical archaeology in recent years: that is to say, the realization that archaeological narratives about the past have political repercussions in the present and that concerned descendant communities have a say in the ways in which archaeologists construct their pasts because it affects their present and their futures. Given the colonialist roots of archaeology as a discipline and the theoretical concerns at the time that Quimby produced his seminal work, it is safe to say that this shift was not one that Quimby could have predicted or anticipated. However, drawing from postcolonial and practice theorists, since the 1960s archaeologists have striven to shift their theoretical stands to encompass a more inclusive and socially just archaeology (also Nassaney 2012). With these shifts, “the discussion on change and continuity has moved from a pure dichotomy to frameworks that allow for continuity through change, or ‘changing continuities’” (Panich 2013:106).

Along with this analytical shift, archaeologists have recently looked to the realm of indigenous literary critics for novel ways of considering the complexities and idiosyncrasies of colonialism (Walder and Yann, this volume). Notions of “survivance,” put forth by indigenous scholar Gerald Vizenor (Vizenor 1994, 1998, 2008; Vizenor, ed. 2008), may offer some conceptual help in thinking about colonial encounters in a way that does not downplay the structural violence associated with colonialism, while leaving room for agency and innovation. As Silliman points out, “Vizenor did not expound upon this term to develop fully an analytical concept outside of the literary realm” (Silliman 2014:59). However, it may provide useful insight to think about the complex social and material outcomes of colonialism (Silliman 2014:58). Survivance can be used as a way “to frame stories of Indigenous persistence in nuanced ways that avoid the trap of treating history too neutrally”

(i.e., Native survival as passive outcome, void of agency or struggle) or negatively (Native survival as remnants of an oppressed people; Silliman 2014:58). Rather, survivance emphasizes “creative responses to difficult times” (Silliman 2014:59); it is “survival with attitude, implying activity rather than passivity, using aggressive means not only to stay alive but to flourish” (Vizenor, ed. 2008).

Rather than think of the contested landscapes of the western Great Lakes in terms of stark resistance or hybrid practices, the politics of mobility that acted on place-making activities suggest that it may be more appropriate to use Silliman’s notion of “residence” as acts of survivance: “Many Indigenous peoples lived through colonialism and its inequalities in everyday ways that may have little to do with resistance” (Silliman 2014:61). Taking a landscape and practice approach to the creation of social relations and boundaries allows me to consider a range of complex ways in which late eighteenth-century Anishinaabeg and Dakota peoples negotiated, accommodated, and incorporated the presence of traders of European descent on their hunting territories into preexisting social webs: from active participation in exchanges whose material traces within archaeological remains of fur-trade posts usually amount to food remains, to turning strangers into kin through marriage or adoption, or from outright avoidance of outposts and peoples that symbolized potential threats to political stability, to acting on a conscious desire to control one’s space while accommodating established trading customs. I now turn to the latter aspect of indigenous survivance and the ways in which Anishinaabeg peoples performed acts of residence through their dealings with fur traders.

Residence through Mobility: The Making of a Fur-Trade Landscape

The mobile lifestyle associated with fur trading demanded that merchants and voyageurs travel through sometimes unfamiliar physical and social landscapes. Drawing from proponents of an archaeology of movement (Beaudry and Parno 2013:3; Gibson 2007; Snead 2009; Tilley 1994), I regard places and the paths connecting them as equally important and constitutive of each other in the creation of the broader landscape (Ingold 1993:167). Zedeño and Stoffle (2003) have argued that pathways should be regarded as a central integrative feature in the development of human landscapes, as they play primary roles in opening unfamiliar lands, and the way they are used as political tools of resource control among mobile and transhumant societies. Portages, as a particular kind of path, were important features of the fur-trade landscape that figured predominantly in both traders’ and Anishinaabeg’s geographic imaginations. They held strategic value in trade and politics; building trade posts on ancient portages, for instance, carried strong messages of ideological and political authority, especially since many portages also had cosmological meanings for some Native groups, including Anishinaabeg (Zedeño and Stoffle 2003:64). They are places where “people have adapted to, manipulated or succumbed to physical environments; they might serve as meeting places, trading stations, settlements, camps, cemeteries and other purposes” (Birk 2007:11). Interestingly, Doug Birk has argued that the location of Réaume’s Leaf River Post is at one end of such a portage, a trail that connected the Cat and Wing Rivers and

opened the way toward other major waterways (Birk 1999a). For these reasons, portages, in themselves pathways connecting places on the fur-trade landscape, were oftentimes the focus of anecdotes.

[One of the traders] wintered at the portage de la tortue. It was so called because in the days of [the Indians'] fathers, it had been their oracle, which they came to consult. For the turtle moved, and always kept its head toward the enemy, which warned them to be on their guard; but some years before I passed there it had ceased to be an oracle [Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections 1909, Vol. XXXVII:533–535].

The acts of storytelling and sharing knowledge about such places represent an ideal illustration of “acts of residence”: by telling stories to traders, Anishinaabe men and women found a way of asserting a long-term connection with the landscape (after Basso 1996), even when the Anishinaabeg-Ojibwe were relative newcomers to this area themselves. This simple act of sharing is not what is typically associated with what postcolonial theories would call resistance, yet it actively emplaced Anishinaabeg within this fur-trade landscape and, in so doing, greatly influenced the ways fur traders perceived and imagined this landscape.

While experience, knowledge, and stories about waterways and portages were transmitted from Anishinaabe to voyageur, this knowledge was not as useful in winter, when rivers froze and forced traders to travel on land. In such cases, rarely did they travel without an Anishinaabe guide, or if they did, they followed the latter's or snowshoe trails. In the following excerpt from Nelson, such roads helped in one find one's way, creating a line of relative safety and familiarity that cut through unfamiliar landscapes.

Finding the people were rather a long time absent, I took their “road.” “It is a good road, but as you are not accustomed to these things yet, you had perhaps better not go” [said another trader]. However I went. The road was discoverable by the falling leaves being “here & there” disturbed, from the feet hooking into a root or rotten stick, turning them up and every 2 or 300 yards a branch broken. . . . Such are Indian roads, & many hundred miles have I travelled upon them, with no other indications; but custom and a little attention to the course or direction of the route, render traveling upon them, comparatively sure [Peers and Schenck 2002:48–49].

Fur traders' journals provide ample evidence that anxieties about getting lost and dying of cold and hunger constrained their movements across the landscape, which further enhanced their dependence on their Native trading partners. The association between fear of death and unfamiliar places remained a powerful rhetoric in fur traders' accounts, which indirectly served to enhance their own sense of resourcefulness and courage and, in turn, may have enhanced a sense of camaraderie based on shared experiences and difficulties. The following excerpt from George Nelson speaks to such anxieties:

One unfortunate creature [trader] being very lame from a bruised heel (une foulure) could not reach the canoe in time [escaping from the Iroquois]. Ten days

after, a party returned from Montreal to see after him. After much research they found him dead, “in a hole he had himself dug out with a paddle”! He died from hunger disease and fright. Some say the body was not yet quite cold [Peers and Schenk 2002:10].

However, while accidents seemed relatively common, death itself might not have been, given that traders, including Nelson and Perrault, chose to tell such stories—which were incidentally based on hearsay—as part of unusual events that left deep impressions on their memories. Moreover, we could perhaps argue that constant reference to starvation and death by drowning reflected broader anxieties for these men, who in a lot of ways measured themselves against others in terms of their courage, resourcefulness, and ability to survive. This was a way for them to enhance their own value by showing that they themselves survived, while instances of death and danger were a constant menace and others less fortunate did not survive. As Heidi Scott points out, the “struggle for survival cannot be reduced to a mere discursive strategy,” as it also reflects the “intensity with which the landscape was experienced” (Scott 2009:162).

Banking on the traders’ fears of getting lost, it is likely that Anishinaabe people who shared their geographical knowledge may have steered the traders in particular directions—away from certain places for example, thereby controlling their movements and making their mobility part of the politics of place. This implies that Ojibwe controlled much of the traders’ movements across the landscape and that the traders’ geographic understandings and conceptions were closely tied to their own. That said, this influence was not all-encompassing: Traders’ conceptions of the landscape were mostly focused on the familiar and on *making* familiar places through daily practices.

Making Familiar Places . . . and Difference

The role and influence of Native peoples within this community was rarely acknowledged by fur traders; instead, the latter’s attitudes appear to illustrate conflicting feelings between inclusiveness and difference. Creating social relationships was favored for the sake of trade, but adopting practices of Native peoples was encouraged only when it favorably affected the traders’ survival in an unfamiliar landscape; for example, fur traders using Native techniques for travel (e.g., canoes, snow shoes, moccasins) and the procurement of food were employing reasonable approaches to maintaining their welfare. I agree with Hayes (2015) that the traders’ “success in this landscape was dependent upon being incorporated into the local” (Hayes 2015:64). Yet, no matter how many indigenous practices the traders adopted, it was still deemed necessary for them to make nonverbal statements of difference (also Hamilton 1990).

The examination of architectural practices through the archaeological remains at Réaume’s Leaf River Post provides a good illustration of this. Over the last few years, I have conducted fieldwork at Réaume’s Leaf River Post, the presumed location of Réaume’s 1792 occupation in central Minnesota. The site consists of at

least two daub-and-wood rectangular structures within a large palisaded enclosure overlooking the Leaf River. The lack of stone foundations at the site and evidence for wood-and-daub constructions indicate that the buildings were probably pine structures made using the *pieux en terre* or post-in-ground technique, with upright logs planted in the ground at regular intervals and bouzillage used to fill the interstices. This construction technique and its variations are commonly associated with the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French presence in North America (Nasaney 2008:304; also Mazrim 2011) and, according to Mann, were used so often that they came to be closely associated with a particular French Canadian identity in the face of English colonization (Mann 2003, 2008). Since most laborers were not educated, knowledge of these techniques was not the result of a formal education but rather transmission on the spot, from old-timers to newcomers, and over time became the custom, the “way of doing things.” In other words, construction techniques and architectural practices became meaningful practices in the creation and enactment of a community of practice that revolved around fur trading. These practices not only allowed fur traders to differentiate themselves from their Native trading partners but also to turn unfamiliar spaces into familiar places by performing activities that members of this community could recognize and find comfort in, even when inhabiting an unfamiliar landscape—arguably made more so by Anishinaabeg’s practices and storytelling.

When considering the seasonally mobile lifestyle of traders, it would make sense that camps designed for mobility would have few buildings and would be built hurriedly with the use of local materials. Yet such sites are not common in the fur-trade landscape—pointing to both a desire for social differentiation between traders of European descent and their Native trading partners and a deeply entrenched social disposition to do things the “proper” way. For instance, few stones are present on and in the vicinity of the river terrace where Réaume’s Leaf River Post is located, yet they were found in surprising numbers in the chimney falls (Figure 3), suggesting that the occupants of the post scouted the area and went through the trouble of carrying stones back to the campsite, even though, according to Nelson, stones were not necessary to the construction of a fireplace: “The chimney in one side of the house, part of stone, when handy, but most commonly of earth made into mortar & wrapped in grass” (Peers and Schenck 2002:59).

Another example of this need for differentiation is found in the presence of window glass (Figure 4). Though recovered in small amounts ($n = 7$) near the location of the trading house, glass is significant given the canoe-and-portage mode of transportation, which created logistical constraints on the types of materials that could be carried into the interior. The transportation of glass would have necessitated prodigious care, and only men of status and wealth could have afforded to take such items to the interior. Thus, recovering fragments of glass near the trading house points to certain privileges afforded to the men in charge.

A third manifestation, the presence of a palisade wall, also provides some clues as to the ambivalent attitudes that fur traders held with regard to the Anishinaabe and Dakota presence (read *residence*) in this landscape. Practically speaking, a palisade wall works to keep wild animals at bay and provide a windbreak (Birk 1999b:32).



FIGURE 3. Photograph of the chimney collapse in Stone Pile 2, illustrating the use of stones in this construction. (Photo by the author.)

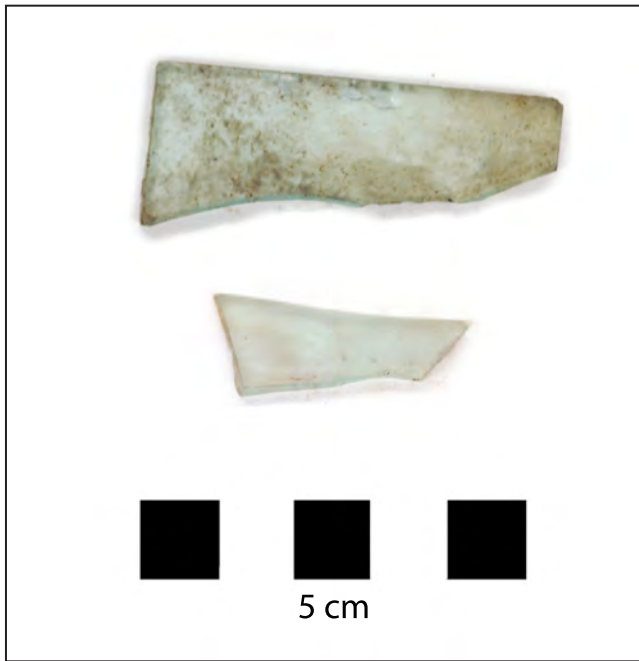


FIGURE 4. Two examples of window-glass fragments recovered from the Stone Pile 2 area at Réaume's Leaf River Post. (Photo by the author.)

However, the main objective is usually to protect against potentially hostile strangers. Fear of an attack, in particular from Dakota warriors, is an overarching theme in the documentary sources that concern this area; in fact, another fur trader's brief mention of Réaume's post makes an enigmatic reference to Dakota threats in the area, saying that Réaume's fort was built in 1792 "when he was stopped by the [Dakota]" (Quaife 1915:206–207). At the post, bastions were diagonally positioned for the purpose of providing the best vantage for occupants to monitor both the water and inland travelers (Figure 5). However, a stockade wall may also serve to monitor *allied* trading partners since, as Doug Birk has suggested, the "Ojibwe sometimes plundered or threatened their traders, or might lay mock 'siege,'" usually to demand alcohol (Birk 1999b:32). A desire for control, as a form of authority, thus worked at multiple levels: to monitor allies, both within and outside the post, and potentially hostile strangers. The presence of palisade walls, therefore, suggests a meaning that goes beyond the purely defensive: The palisade also worked to establish and reinforce social boundaries—a clear and visible statement of power in the midst of an altogether Native landscape.

Even though Réaume was working independently at the time of occupation, his wintering station thus appears as a display of European ideals of space incidentally quite similar to posts associated with the trade corporations (such as the North West Company) in the area, with substantial rectangular structures, bastioned palisade walls, and as suggested by differential use of space and materials at Réaume's



FIGURE 5. Dark stains of charred wood are the only remains of the palisade wall and bastions surrounding Réaume's Leaf River Post. (Photo by the author.)

and other similar locations (see Allard 2016), a power-laden division of space according to rank.

Conclusion

In sum, the nature of the archaeological and historical evidence of colonial interactions in the western Great Lakes region favors a colonial perspective at the expense of that of indigenous peoples, which, as I mentioned at the beginning of this paper, has had detrimental repercussions on the representation of American Indians. However, reading against the grain of the evidence in an attempt to decenter archaeological approaches, and considering practices, discourses, and knowledge at the scale of the landscape, suggests that colonial interactions, although power laden, were not unilateral, nor were they uniformly experienced and negotiated. Fur traders may have worked under a colonial mind-set of ranked social orders that compelled them to differentiate themselves from their Native trading partners, but their reliance on Anishinaabe-Ojibwe people for survival, provisioning, and travel points to the latter exerting control over the transmission of geographical knowledge and movement across this uniquely created landscape. Despite imperial and colonial claims to the contrary, this was a still a Native New World (see Witgen 2012).

The processes of identification in the space that Richard White described as the middle ground worked in complex, contradictory, and local ways, often simultaneously working along lines of ethnicity and rank but also age and experience. As a group, fur traders were not homogenous, and neither were their relationships with the social and physical landscape of the western Great Lakes. However, daily practices of place making, imbued with tensions and ambivalences, point to the fur-trade landscape as a landscape of contested colonialism, where the archaeological and historical evidence should be understood in terms of the politics of place. Through their acts of residence, Ojibwe enabled the creation of this landscape and deeply influenced, if not the outcome, the conditions of possibility for survivance. In other words, they established, contested, and materialized practices and relationships that allowed them to keep a social, commercial, and political hold on the landscape of the western Great Lakes, despite colonial aspirations, into the nineteenth century and beyond. To borrow Kat Hayes's words, "Rather than take [the adoption of trade goods by Native peoples] as a marker of the precarious balance of indigenous lifeways under colonial conditions, it may be seen as the precarious nature of Euro-American lifeways under indigenous conditions" (Hayes 2015:64).

In conjunction with the notions of survivance and resilience presented in the introduction of this volume (Walder and Yann, this volume), the concept of "acts of residence" provides an interesting analytical framework for understanding Anishinaabeg-Ojibwe responses and activities surrounding their participation in the fur trade. I have argued that, in the context of the late eighteenth-century western Great Lakes fur trade, these practice-based processes of community making worked for all involved: traders of European, Canadian, or mixed descent often adopted practices learned from their Anishinaabe counterparts, but they also held

ambivalent attitudes that compelled them to differentiate themselves from their Native trading partners and wives (also Nassaney, this volume). Anishinaabeg also held similar attitudes, and their acts of residence in the landscape were materialized in ways that objects and their origin of manufacture alone cannot represent. Rather, a consideration of community formation at the scale of the landscape and the practices that enable its creation and performance shifts the focus from issues of change and continuity to historical questions regarding the politics of place or how place making may be used in political, power-laden ways.

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People, Portages, and Powerful Places: Miami Indians at the Forks of the Wabash during the War of 1812 Era

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George Quimby's work remains foundational to archaeological studies of the colonial encounters in the western Great Lakes region. However, rather than the homogenous "Pan-Indian" culture assumed by Quimby's chronology, the Late Historic period was a time of social strife among many indigenous groups. This paper examines evidence from the forks of the Wabash Miami Indian village, located at the Maumee-Wabash portage. The focus is on how the agentic aspects of the landscape, including the Miami's social relations with the rivers, the portage, and the local fauna, shaped and were shaped by the struggle over what it meant to be Miami.

KEYWORDS Miami Indians; landscape; identity; agency

Introduction

George Irving Quimby's interest in cultural encounters began at an early age. When he was 8 or 9 years old he loaded up a cart with soap from his family home in Grand Rapids, Michigan, and headed south for Florida to trade with the Seminole, whom he had just read about in the *National Geographic* (Griffin 1983:7). Although young George never made it to Florida, his mentor, Jimmy Griffin, noted that trade and exchange would remain themes in Quimby's research throughout his career. Hence, it should not be surprising to find that Quimby's (1937, 1938, 1939) early studies of trade silver and other trade goods would later form the basis for his seminal 1966 typologically based chronology of the colonial era in the western Great Lakes region, *Indian Culture and European Trade Goods*, that we are reflecting on in this volume.

Though still quite foundational and influential, Quimby's acculturative and culture-historical approach was not attuned to the role of power, place, and politics and how these social processes influence the materiality of any given site. Of his Late Historic period (1760–1820), Quimby (1966:8) wrote that “the fur trade and contact with white men had produced a cultural uniformity in the material culture of various tribal groups—a kind of Pan-Indian culture throughout the western Great Lakes.” This emphasis on a growing material homogeneity masked the fact that this was a time of great social strife and tension among many indigenous groups who struggled to come to grips with the new social landscape that arose in the wake of the collapse of the French and British colonial projects in the Great Lakes region. From Quimby's acculturative perspective, the archaeological record of indigenous lifeways during the colonial era appeared to document increasing material dependency and cultural loss, especially as they relate to the abandonment of Native technologies. Take, for example, adoption of metal kettles by the Native peoples of the Great Lakes region during the French colonial period. On the surface, this appears to be a straightforward case of acculturation. The replacement of indigenous pottery by supposedly technologically superior metal kettles is viewed as natural and inevitable (Quimby 1966:8). A more nuanced and Native-centric examination challenges the underlying colonialist assumptions of this “standard view” of the fate of indigenous pottery (Mann 2014; see also Ehrhardt 2005; Pfaffenberger 1992). The persistence of pottery production by Native groups in French colonial Louisiana reveals that, rather than simply succumbing to supposedly universal impulses of economic rationalism, Native women actively chose whether to abandon pottery making (Mann 2014). These women were engaged in conscious acts of resilience and survivance that signal neither cultural loss nor culture-bound resistance (Mann 2014:283; see also Silliman 2014; Walder and Yann, this volume).

In this paper, I examine how the pull of powerful places was key to the resilience, and ultimately the survivance, of the Miami of the Maumee-Wabash portage. I particularly focus on the evidence for factionalism at the forks of the Wabash Miami Indian village, located at the foot of the Maumee-Wabash portage. At this place of cultural persistence, I examine how the agentic aspects of the landscape including the Miami's social relations with the rivers, the portage, and the local fauna—especially beaver—shaped and were shaped by the struggle over what it meant to be Miami at the turn of the nineteenth century.

The Miami

The Miami (*Myaamia*) are an Algonquian group who had settled in the lower Maumee River and upper Wabash River valleys during the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Sutterfield (2009:2–3; see also Rinehart 2012:138) holds that the *Myaamiaki* (Miami people) trace their cultural origins to the St. Joseph River (*saakiiweesiipi*) near Lake Michigan (*kibcikam*). This was part of a larger Miami cultural landscape (*myaamionki*) that came to center on the Wabash River (*waapaahšiiiki siipiiwi*) and its tributaries (Figure 1). By the end of the eighteenth century, the Miami had emerged as the most powerful group in the region. At

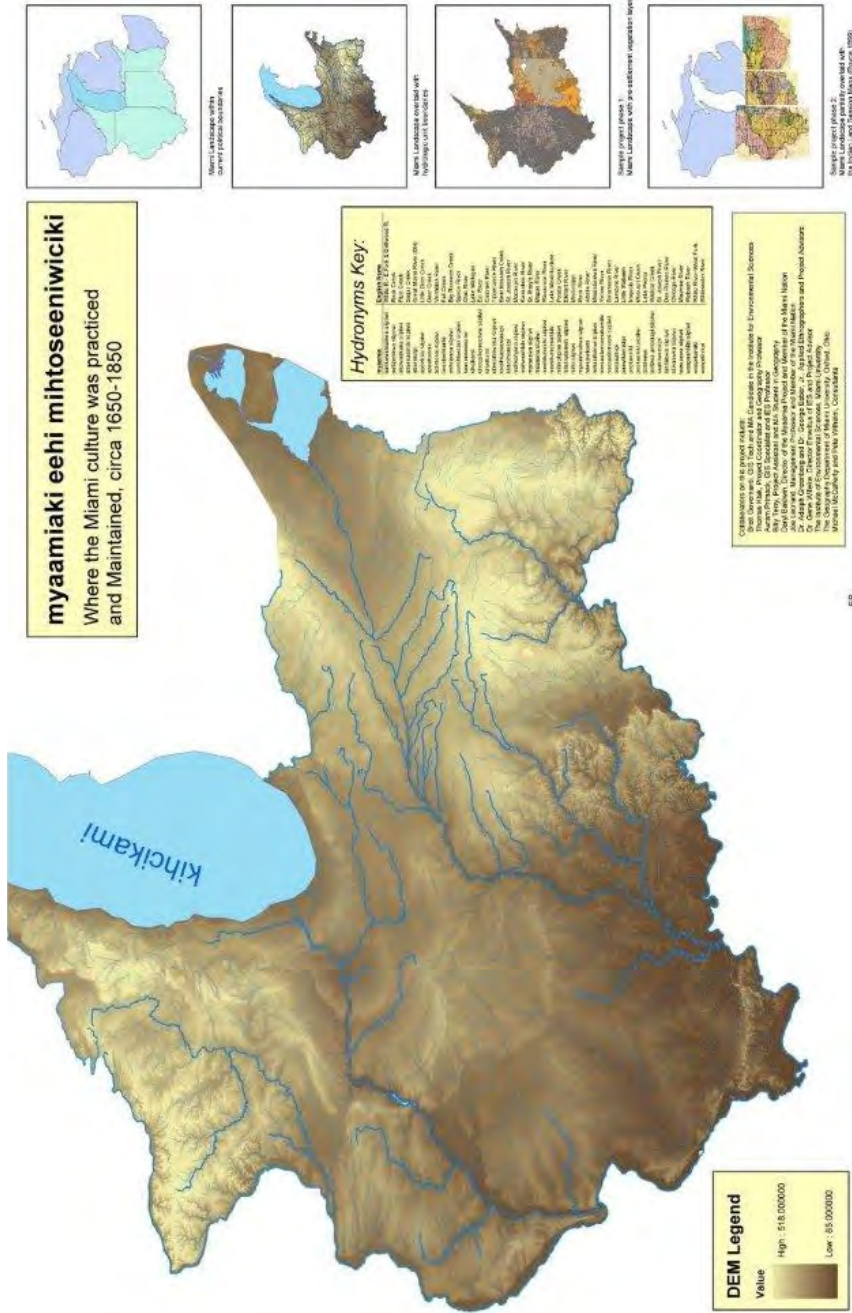


FIGURE 1. Historical landscapes of the Miami. (Reprinted courtesy of the Myaamia Center, Miami University. Credit: Sutterfield, Joshua. *River Names in Myaamionki*. Data created by Brett Governanti. Scale Not Given. Using ArcGIS. 2007.)

their main village, Kekionga (or Kiskakon), located along the headwaters of the Maumee River, the Miami were joined by several other disaffected Native groups including the Shawnee, the Delaware, and some western Iroquois (Figure 2). This “Miami Confederacy,” as it has been called, was staunchly opposed to further American expansion in the region (Anson 1970:95–138; White 1991:413–468; cf. Bottiger 2016:37). Between 1785 and 1794, the Miami Confederacy raided American settlements in Kentucky, Indiana, and Ohio and fought pitched battles with the U.S. military. Led by Little Turtle, a young but skillful war chief, the Miami Confederacy twice routed U.S. forces sent to dislodge them from Kekionga (Carter 1987:105–107; Mann 2009; White 1991:453–454). In 1794, General Anthony Wayne met the Miami Confederacy at a morass of fallen trees blown down by a tornado. Unlike earlier U.S. forces, Wayne’s men were disciplined and he was able to take and hold Kekionga (Allen 1993:83; Barnhart and Riker 1971:301–303).

Following their defeat at what is today remembered as the Battle of Fallen Timbers, the shattered remains of the Miami Confederacy gathered at Greenville, Ohio, in the fall of 1795 to make peace with Wayne and the Americans. Little Turtle would emerge from Greenville as a principal spokesperson for at least some portion of the Miami, and though he felt that further military resistance was futile, he fought hard to limit concessions to the Americans (Anson 1970:133–137; Bottiger 2016:38–41; Carter 1987:145–153). Differences in Miami and American perceptions of space and place were major points of contention. In Soja’s (1989:121)

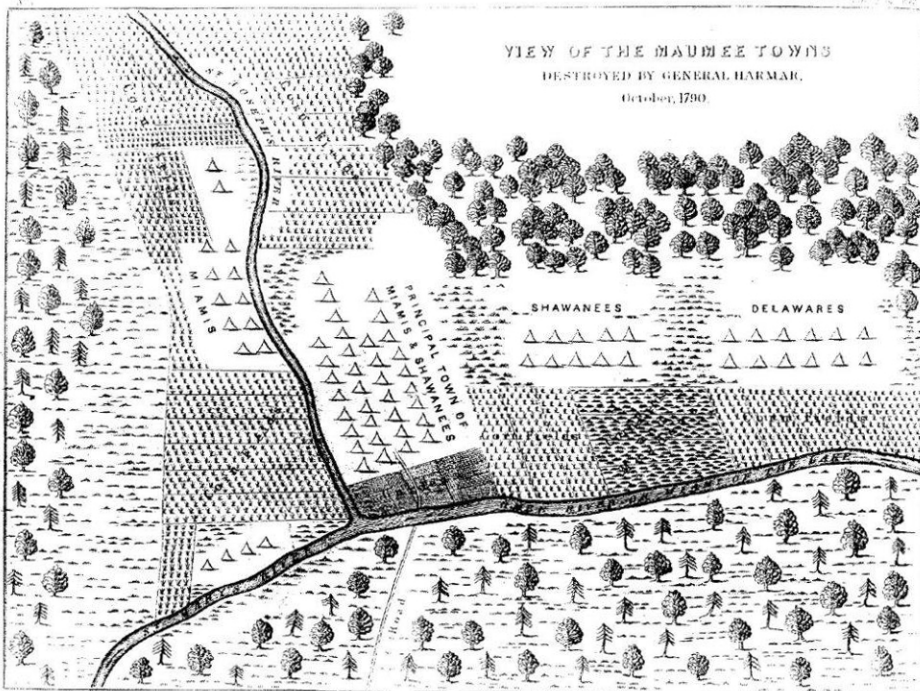


FIGURE 2. Map of Kekionga, before its destruction, drawn by Ebenezer Denny, 1790 (Denny 1860).

words, space became “filled with politics.” No longer viewed simply as a neutral container for social action, space, place, and landscape are more profitably seen as social constructions—social achievements rather than “autonomous reality.” For human actors, they exist only as the outcomes of social relations, be they human-human relations, human-nature relations, or human-spirit relations.

The Maumee-Wabash Portage

Fort Wayne, built shortly after the Battle of Fallen Timbers, was located at the headwaters of the Maumee River and adjacent to the village of Kekionga—the center of Miami identity and spirituality in the eighteenth century (Bottiger 2016:15; White 1991:448–453). For the Miami, Fort Wayne was more than just the material expression of a nascent American hegemony in the region; it was also a threat to the reciprocal relations between them and the landscape surrounding Kekionga. At a council during the treaty proceedings, Little Turtle asked Wayne to limit the American reserve at the Maumee to the side of the river on which the fort already stood, leaving Kekionga in Miami hands. The Miami, he said, wished to “inhabit that beloved spot again.” Because of its command of the Maumee-Wabash portage, Kekionga was, in Little Turtle’s words, “that glorious gate . . . through which all the good words of our chiefs had to pass, from the north and the south, and from the east and the west” (ASP 1832:1:576).

Little Turtle was also anxious to retain control of the portage itself: a 9-mile stretch of land between the St. Mary’s River and the Little River, a narrow, only seasonably and partially navigable creek that was actually part of the portage much of the time. The Little River empties into the Wabash River at the forks of the Wabash, thereby linking the waters of the Great Lakes with the Mississippi River system. Control of the “Long Portage,” as it was also known, had long been an objective of European powers vying for economic and military hegemony over this region (Bottiger 2016:20–33; Glenn 1991; Green and Marrero 2014:34; White 1991:448). After Fallen Timbers, Wayne (ASP1832:1:527) sought to press the Americans’ newly won advantage and wrote of his plans “to build a block house at the landing place, on the *Wabash* [i.e., the forks of the Wabash], eight miles south-west of the post at the Miami villages [i.e., Fort Wayne].”

For longer still, the Miami had been producing and reproducing a cultural identity there, one that was “intrinsically linked to riverine areas throughout the Lower Great Lakes” (Rinehart 2012:138). According to some tribal members, “these river systems” were central to a Miami “place of being” and “formed the heartland” of Miami “ancestral territory” (Rinehart 2012:138; see also Mann 1999:408). By the 1750s, Kekionga and the Maumee-Wabash portage were part of a Miami “cultural and economic borderland of their own making” (Bottiger 2016:22; see also Green and Marrero 2014). According to traditional practice, the Crane clan of the Miami controlled access to the Maumee-Wabash portage and claimed the right to live nearby (Green and Marrero 2014:34). During the late eighteenth century, Pakaana (variously spelled Pacanne or Pacane and translates to “the Nut”) held the title of hereditary civil chief at Kekionga. His sister Tahkamwa (also known as

Maria Louisa Richerville) was an *akimaahkwiaki*, or female village leader, whose power and authority were “above reproach and question” in Miami society (Green and Marrero 2014:36). Pakaana and Tahkamwa were part of the leadership of the Crane clan, and together they zealously defended Miami control of the portage at both the headwaters of the Maumee and the forks of the Wabash (Green and Marrero 2014:36–38). Bottiger (2016:32) claims that Miami “authority and hegemony” in the region stemmed from the fact that they “controlled the portage at Kekionga and were therefore in a position to dictate diplomacy.” While Bottiger (2016:20–33), like Wayne before him, emphasizes the political economic significance of the portage, it is clear that the Miami viewed this landscape from a more holistic perspective. For the Miami, this landscape was a world “where the dead exist” and “the house of supernatural powers (be they benevolent or malevolent) believed to control the conditions of reproduction of nature and society” (Godelier 1986:35). Thus, when Little Turtle spoke at Greenville in 1795, he told Wayne that the lands around Kekionga and “on the Wabash” had been given to the Miami by the Great Spirit “a long time ago” (Bottiger 2016:39). Upon establishing the Miami’s spiritual connection to the landscape, he further told Wayne that the Maumee-Wabash portage was a source of income for the Miami, bringing in up to \$100 a day in fees charged for helping traders and others carry their goods and boats across (ASP 1832:I:576). Here, as throughout the rest of the Algonquian world, the material and spiritual were dialectically intertwined.

With such a Miami ontology in mind, we must be attuned to the agentic aspects of the Miami landscape. As Strang (2004:5) notes, “[W]ater is the perfect example of a recursive relationship in which nature and culture literally flow into each other.” For the Miami, the Maumee-Wabash portage was a place filled with power. In the Algonquian world, power was dispersed throughout the landscape and much social action was geared toward harnessing this power (Dowd 1992). Ritual was the key to successfully negotiating social relationships with the spirit beings that inhabited and controlled the portage route. Adherence to proper ritual meant access to both spiritual power and the material benefits of the portage such as safe and easy passage for themselves and for their friends, relatives, and allies and, as Little Turtle noted, access to European goods or the means (i.e., money) to obtain them. Here river travel was an essential component of everyday life. The agency of rivers—that is, their ability to exercise some power and influence within human-nature relationships—resides, according to Edgeworth (2014:157), in the “flow or energy of the river itself.” For the Miami, safe passage over these sometimes treacherous routes was never guaranteed, but attention to proper ritual usually appeased the rivers and the spirits who dwelled within.

Traveling through the Maumee country in 1764 on a diplomatic mission in the wake of Pontiac’s rebellion, British captain Thomas Morris followed a group of Miami from the Ottawa villages on the Maumee near Roche de Bout to Kekionga. “As they left the Uttawaw [Ottawa] villages before me on their way home,” he wrote, “we traced their encampments, where we saw their offerings of tobacco, made by every individual each morning, ranged in the nicest order, on long strips of bark both on the shore, and on rocks in the river” (Thwaites 1904–1907:1:306). Tobacco was (and still is) a powerful substance in the daily life of the Miami and

other Native peoples, facilitating “*communication* with (and *transformation* into) the spirit world” (von Gernet 1992:173, emphasis in original; see also Mann 2004; Sutterfield 2009:26). Nineteenth-century government agent and early ethnographer Charles Christopher (C.C.) Trowbridge interviewed several Miami informants in the 1820s and related the following information:

When they [the Miami] pass an uncommon rock, or mountain, or enter a cave, they are in the habit of depositing pieces of tobacco as an offering to the deity which inhabits them. It is not an uncommon thing for an Indian to lay upon a large stone a quantity of tobacco, and then to address it—“O Stone, I am fond of life, I like to stay in this world and hope you will let me remain, and that you will give me success in hunting and in travelling.” . . . When crossing a dangerous place in the lake, or when the wind blows they throw some tobacco in the water . . . to insure a safe passage [Trowbridge 1938:56].

While a portage is typically a stretch of dry land connecting two navigable waterways, much of the portage between the Maumee and Wabash Rivers followed a glacial trough known as the Wabash-Erie Channel, a marshy prairie traversed by the Little Wabash or Little River. Only partially and seasonally navigable, the Little River was perhaps the most difficult portion of the portage route. The Miami, no doubt, worked hard to appease the spirits that dwelled here (e.g., see Sutterfield 2009:26). Though no less culturally constructed, the human-nature relations of the Euro-Americans who moved through this landscape were very different than that of the Miami. British Lieutenant Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs at Detroit Henry Hamilton, en route to retake Vincennes from the Americans in the fall of 1778, described the physical difficulties associated with negotiating the Little River, lamenting that where “the pirogues were first launched it is only wide enough for one boat and is much embarrassed with logs and Stumps” (Barnhart 1951:117; see also Green and Marrero 2014). Four miles downstream was the “chemin couvert [covered way], a narrow part of the creek, so narrow and embarrassed with logs under water, and boughs over head that it required a great deal of work to make it passable for our small craft” (Barnhart 1951:117). Further down lay the “swamp called les Volets,” where Hamilton’s “batteaus frequently rested on the mud and we labor’d hard to get thro’, being up to the knees in mud and entangled among the roots and rotten stumps of trees” (Barnhart 1951:118). For Euro-Americans, the river was an agentic adversary that actively worked to thwart *human* agency (see Edgeworth 2014).

For the Miami, however, successful negotiation of the portage was not simply a sheer physical feat that pitted humans *against* nature; rather it was a cooperative endeavor that hinged on a reciprocal relationship between humans *and* nature. As Allard (2016:234) notes, “Animals, as biological organisms, also have agency in influencing human actions, especially given their presence in the physical and imagined landscape.” Thus, human-animal relations were perceived as *social* relations. Animals were often referred to as kin and ritual offerings to them “symbolized the familial relationships and served to maintain ties with these beings . . . so that their aid could be counted on in the future” (Whelan 1993:258–259; see also White 1999).

Among the peoples of the Great Lakes region, beaver seem to have held a particularly prominent place within in the hierarchy of human-animal relations. Many Algonquians believed that the beaver were sentient beings, and their capacity to build lodges and dam waterways was much respected by most Algonquians (Martin 1978:74). Indeed, some groups even referred to the beaver as a “separate nation” (Martin 1978:35), and the many stories of humans going to live with and even marry beavers attest to the close relations between humans and beavers (e.g., Thompson 1966:343; White 1999:109–112).

The Miami relations with the beaver at the Maumee-Wabash portage are a case in point. Here the Miami had constructed a reciprocal relationship with the beaver based not on hunting and trapping but rather on mutual protection and cooperation. During his 1778 expedition through the Maumee-Wabash portage, Henry Hamilton observed that a beaver dam was located 4 miles downstream from the source of the Little River and remarked that it was “to those animals the traders are indebted for the conveniency [*sic*] of bringing their peltry by water from the Indian posts on the waters of the Ouabache—the Indians are sensible of the advantages they draw from the labors of the Beaver at this place, and will not suffer them to be killed in this neighborhood” (Barnhart 1951:117). Four years earlier—in 1774—Jehu Hay, a Detroit merchant, made a report concerning the routes from Detroit to the Illinois Country. “Between the Maumee and the Wabash,” he wrote, “there are Beaver Dams which when the water is low Passengers break down to rais [*sic*] it, & by that means pass easier than they otherwise would, when they are gone the Beaver come and mend the Breach, for this reason they have been hitherto *sacred* as neither Indians or White people hunt them” (Dunn 1894:436, emphasis added). This passage more precisely describes the agency of the beaver and both the sacred and material importance of the beaver living along the Maumee-Wabash portage. Morgan (1991) has drawn similar conclusions regarding the dialectical relationship between spiritual and ecological factors in explaining the nonexploitation of beaver among some Native peoples of the northern Great Plains.

In return for their protection from hunting and trapping, no doubt expressed through ritual offerings of tobacco and other goods, the beaver of the Maumee-Wabash portage built and maintained the dams that facilitated the movement of people, goods, and ideas throughout the Miami homeland and beyond. These beaver were agentic beings who inhabited a sacred landscape, one invested with meaning and significance through “the development of human and mythological associations” (Tilley 1994:18). It is through such complex relationships with the landscape that identities are formed (Basso 1996).

However, identity is never internally homogenous or static and Miami identity throughout the eighteenth century was also a product of their internal contradictions as well as their external social relations, particularly with the French, British, and Americans (Bottiger 2013, 2016; White 1991). With their defeat in 1794 and the subsequent occupation of the headwaters of the Maumee by the Americans, the bond between the Miami and this landscape seemed to be severed. Kekionga was abandoned, and by the turn of the nineteenth century, the Miami were settled in new villages farther down on the shores of the Wabash and its tributaries (see Bottiger 2016:40–44). As the nineteenth century wore on, tensions within the Mi-

ami increasingly rose to the surface. Miami identity became openly contested as factions struggled to come to grips with the new material, spiritual, and political conditions of life under American hegemony.

Elsewhere, I (Mann 1999) have suggested that by 1807 two factions (progressive and conservative) seemed to have emerged (cf. Bottiger 2013:51). The progressive faction—led by Little Turtle and his Anglo-American son-in-law, William Wells—promoted change and assimilation (including the adoption of Euro-American clothing styles, agricultural practices, and foodstuffs). The conservative faction advocated the retention of “traditional” subsistence practices, styles of dress, and foodways. I further contend that, for both political-economic and ideological reasons, it was the conservative Miami who attempted to reassert their hegemony over the Maumee-Wabash portage during the first decade of the nineteenth century. Pakaana, Little Turtle’s primary rival for power and influence among the Miami during this period, was associated with what I have termed the conservative faction (cf. Bottiger 2016:48–53; see also Green and Marrero 2014). Pakaana, shown in Figure 3, was born into the Crane band (*Atchatchakangouen*), which was “considered the most powerful of the five bands constituting the Miami confederacy” and “claimed traditional ownership rights to live near and control access to the Maumee-Wabash portage” (Green and Marrero 2014:34; see also Bottiger 2016:32).

As I have noted previously (Mann 1999:405), conservative Miami were not mired in an attempt to recover some static, timeless, and essentialized version of Miami identity (see also Wagner 2006, 2011). Rather, Pakaana and his followers were engaged in a struggle to protect one version of Miami values, economic interests, and cultural identity (Bottiger 2016:50–51). This included an attempt to regain control over the Maumee-Wabash portage and access to the material and spiritual power of this sacred place within the Miami homeland. Sometime around 1809, Pakaana and a portion of the Miami detached themselves from the Miami villages on the Mississinewa River. Denied access to the former seat of Miami identity and spirituality, Kekionga, these Miami moved to the base of the Maumee-Wabash portage and established a settlement at the forks of the Wabash.

It was this move that represents a physical and symbolic attempt to reestablish traditional Miami hegemony over this central place in the Miami cultural landscape (*myaamionki*) at a time when control over this landscape was becoming hotly contested (Bottiger 2016; White 1991). By 1809, Tenskwatawa (the Shawnee Prophet) and his increasingly militaristic nativistic followers, the British and their Native allies (including some Miami), and the Americans were edging toward open warfare (Allen 1993; Bottiger 2016; Mann 1999). Certainly, the Americans, led by Governor William Henry Harrison, understood the ideological and political importance of Pakaana and the conservative Miami’s move, as well as the strategic significance of the Maumee-Wabash portage (Anson 1970:160). In 1811, Harrison warned the Miami, “My eyes are now open and I am looking toward the Wabash. I see a dark cloud hanging over it. Those who have raised it intended it for my destruction; but I will turn it upon their own heads” (Esarey 1922:I:576).

Still, it would be wrong to assume that Pakaana and the conservative Miami were merely “a band of the Prophet’s followers,” as they were once characterized by John Johnson, the American Indian agent at Fort Wayne (Thornbrough



FIGURE 3. Pacanne (1778), sketched by Henry Hamilton (Reprinted from Wikimedia Commons.)

1961:76n-77n). Tenskwatawa's actual influence among the Miami was more measured. Historian Patrick Bottiger (2016:57) holds that "Pacanne would not have so readily handed over his influence to a Shawnee intruder." Bottiger (2016:59) perceptively notes that "at the root of the animosity between the Prophet and the Miamis lay a fundamental difference in their understandings of what it meant to be

sovereign.” He contrasts the Shawnee’s “itinerant identity and malleable sense of place” (Bottiger 2016:59) with the Miami’s historical connections to specific places such as Kekionga and the Maumee-Wabash portage. Nevertheless, when hostilities broke out in 1812, the conservative Miami joined the British and the rest of their Native American allies against the Americans.

Chapine, a war chief from the forks of the Wabash, led Miami warriors up the Maumee Wabash portage to the headwaters of the Maumee and there joined with other Algonquian forces in one last attempt to dislodge the Americans at Fort Wayne from the seat of the former Miami Confederacy and the heartland of Miami identity and spirituality (Mann 1999:413). Two assaults against Fort Wayne failed though, and after a two-week siege, Harrison led a relief force into the fort and dispersed the warriors without firing a shot. Based on testimony from officers at the fort, Harrison determined that the Miami were now “hostiles” and he moved quickly against them, destroying the villages of both the neutral progressives and the belligerent conservatives (Mann 1999:413). On the evening of September 15, American forces entered the deserted Miami settlement at the forks of the Wabash and proceeded to completely destroy it, torching the houses and burning the crops in the fields (Clift 1958:171; Darnell 1854).

Archaeology at the Forks of the Wabash

A portion of the Miami settlement at the forks of the Wabash, called the Ehler site (12Hu1022), was subjected to archaeological investigations in 1994 (Mann 1996). The site is located in northeastern Indiana, approximately 3 miles west of the city of Huntington, in Huntington County, Indiana (Figure 4). The site is situated on a Pleistocene terrace overlooking the Wabash River. The site was covered over and unwittingly protected by the towpath and berm of the Wabash and Erie Canal, constructed in the 1830s. Investigations at the site have revealed evidence of occupations spanning the prehistory of the region (Evans and Mann 1991; Mann 1996:139). But both ethnohistorical and archaeological evidence indicate that the historic period remains stem solely from the early nineteenth century Miami occupation of the site (Mann 1999:415). Following the mechanical removal of the plow zone and most of the towpath, we hand excavated 35.5 units that were 2 × 2 m (Figure 5). These excavations uncovered several subsurface features, including an extensive sheet midden, storage and refuse pits, and the remains of a Miami cabin.

The largest midden (Feature 6) covered approximately 85.63 m². It was an organically rich artifact-bearing layer of very dark grayish-brown silt loam. It ranged in thickness from 11 cm to 25 cm. The charred remains of at least 15 timbers were found resting on top of Feature 6. This indicates that no midden deposition occurred following the charring of these timbers. Therefore, they likely represent the remains of a Miami cabin burned by American forces in September 1812. The larger of these timbers roughly denote the outline of this cabin (Figure 6). Within the walls of this cabin were the remains of a large hearth (Feature 6, Area B and Area C). The hearth consisted of a round fire pit surrounded on three sides by a dense and purposefully placed concentration of unmodified dolomite. A large pit feature was found just out-



FIGURE 4. Map of Indiana showing the location of the Ehler site.

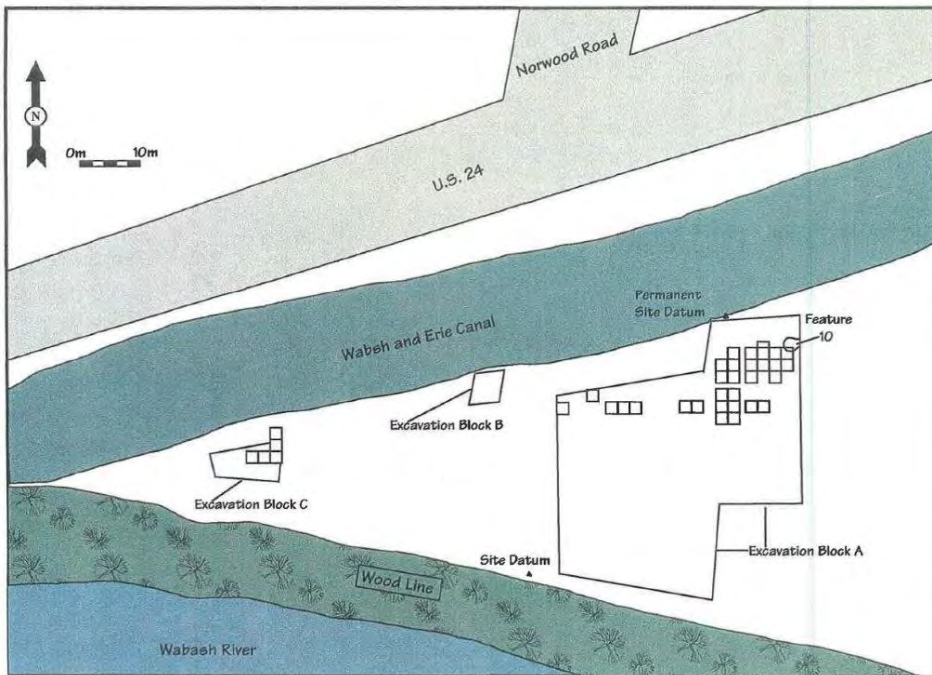


FIGURE 5. Ehler site plan map (Mann 1996).

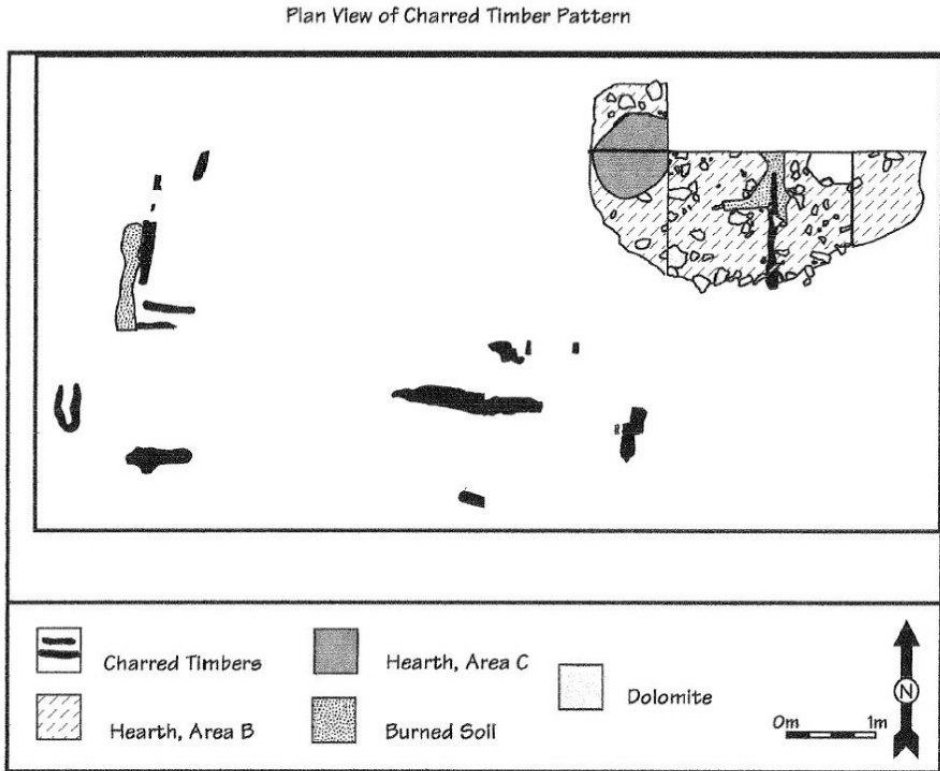


FIGURE 6. Plan view showing charred timber outline and hearth of a Miami cabin at the Ehler site (Mann 1996).

side of what would have been the east wall of the cabin. The pit was filled with daily refuse by the Miami occupants of the cabin and had been filled in and capped over by Feature 6 prior to the abandonment of the site in 1812. Our excavations recovered more than 400 artifacts, over 3,000 faunal remains, and an extensive assortment of archaeobotanical materials related to the Miami occupation of the site (Bush 1996; Mann 1996; Martin and Richmond 1995).

I have proposed here that the settlement at the forks of the Wabash was established by a conservative faction of the tribe that sought to regain access to the material and spiritual power of a place central to “traditional” Miami identity. Elsewhere, I (Mann 1999) have demonstrated that the archaeological record at the Ehler site supports the thesis that the material and ideological conditions of life were consistent with conservative Miami lifeways. For example, evidence for Miami clothing styles and ornamentation recovered at the site (e.g., glass beads, tinkling cones, and silver ring brooches) are suggestive of a “traditional” Miami mode of dress, which was elaborated on as a result of the availability of European cloth and ornaments (Mann 1999:416; see also Mann 2007). Similarly, evidence of Miami foodways recovered at the Ehler site indicates a preference for a fairly wide variety of Native foodstuffs. Faunal and floral materials recovered at the site (e.g., deer, bear, turtle, fish, corn, squash, and a variety of wild nut, berry, and

plant remains) reflect this preference (Bush 1996; Mann 1996:203–205; Martin and Richmond 1995). In keeping with the notion that the conservative Miami were not strict adherents of the nativism of the Shawnee Prophet, there is also evidence for cattle and pigs at the forks of the Wabash village (Martin and Richmond 1995). There is also strong evidence to show that Pakaana and the conservative Miami had rekindled their relations with the British in Canada by 1809. Although American military installations and government agencies were regularly supplied with French-made gunflints at this time, the Miami at the forks of the Wabash were well supplied with British-made gunflints (Mann 1999). A similar pattern of gunflint procurement is found at British-allied Potawatomi and Kickapoo villages occupied during the War of 1812 era (Wagner 2010:123–124, 2011:125).

The materiality of the practices of dress, diet, and alliance at the forks of the Wabash suggests that these Miami sought to reestablish and reproduce a conservative version of Miami lifeways at a time when the legitimacy of those practices was being contested within Miami society and by outsiders, both Native and Euro-American. Equally important, however, is the very materiality of the village itself. It was here at the Maumee-Wabash portage that Miami identity was forged during the eighteenth century (Bottiger 2016; Green and Marrero 2014; White 1991). Here the Miami constructed reciprocal relationships with the rivers, the beaver, and the stones, as well as with the deities that dwelled within this landscape.

Conclusion

Unfortunately for the conservative Miami, their return to the Maumee-Wabash portage could not revive the human-spirit bonds that had existed during the halcyon days of the Miami Confederacy. In a cruelly calculated coup de grâce following the final defeat of the British and their Native allies, Harrison forced the Miami to return to Greenville in 1814 to sign the terms of peace.

The power of place was not lost on Harrison, who well knew the Miami's reverence for sacred spaces: places where relations were negotiated and where power was either obtained or forfeited. Harrison would make unambiguously clear which was to be the case at Greenville. When he arrived in July 1814, he found that the council house constructed for the proceedings had been “placed about thirty rods southwest of where the council house formerly stood, in which the justly celebrated treaty of Greenville was made and signed by General Wayne” (ASP 1832:I:828). Harrison immediately ordered that the council house be moved to the exact “spot where General Wayne's council house formerly stood” (ASP 1832:I:828). The symbolic power of this place, measured down to the last inch and backed by the material and martial force of the United States, reinforced the fact that the Americans intended to sever the bonds between the Miami and their ancestral homeland.

It is true that *myaamionki* was irrevocably altered after 1812, but the Maumee-Wabash portage is a persistent and powerful place for the Miami. It is a testament to the resilience and survivance of the Miami that, as of 2015, they have returned to the site of Kekionga as equal sovereigns with the government of the United States. In January 2015, the Sovereign Miami Tribe of Oklahoma opened a

Cultural Resources Extension Office in Fort Wayne, Indiana. That “glorious gate” is now once more open to all the “good words” of the Miami Nation.

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Note on Contributor

Rob Mann is currently associate professor of anthropology at St. Cloud State University. He is an anthropological archaeologist with interests in historical archaeology, ethnohistory, and the North American fur trade. Since coming to SCSU in 2013, Mann has developed research interests in the missionization of Native peoples in Minnesota and the civilian fortifications erected across central Minnesota during the U.S.–Dakota War of 1862. He is also a public archaeologist with interests in indigenous archaeology and cultural resource management (CRM). He has recently returned to research involving CRM archaeology he conducted in the 1990s at the Ehler site, a War of 1812–era Miami Indian village.

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A Native's Perspective on Trends in Contemporary Archaeology

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It was with great honor that I agreed to write a discussant paper for this collection of papers originating from the 2016 Midwest Archaeological Conference. The conference and these papers focus on George Irving Quimby's *Indian Culture and European Trade Goods*. In that 1966 work, Quimby articulated a separation of material goods among Natives, after "contact" with Europeans, into three eras, ending in a declension and terminus of Native peoples as distinct communities, with the survivors morphing into a Pan-Indian *meh*. Fifty years later, the authors of these chapters seek to glean from Quimby what might still be useful for archaeological and historical analysis while shedding the outdated and unsustainable speculations and conclusions in that original work.

First, please allow me, as Potawatomi tradition and etiquette suggests, to introduce myself. This is not an academic tradition, I know; however, as a way of decolonizing this chapter, I am going to do it the old way. I am an enrolled citizen of the Pokagon Band of Potawatomi Indians and grew up in southwest Michigan. I grew up within that community and have served as a tribal council member and tribal attorney. I trace my Potawatomi roots back four generations to the early 1800s. My great-grandmother Sarah White was full-blooded Potawatomi, and *Maw Ne Do Gwe We Sause* (roughly translated as "little bright spirit") was her father. Sarah was "educated" at the Mount Pleasant Indian Industrial Boarding School in north-central Michigan. My grandmother Goldie White helped raise me; my uncle Howard Clark was the first Pokagon Band tribal member to serve as a tribal attorney (I was the second). My childhood was spent in a home across the river from the location of Leopold Pokagon's 1830 village. (His village moved to nearby Sisters Lakes, Michigan, after 1833). I now serve on the Traditions and Repatriation Committee for my tribal nation and participate in the social, political, and ceremonial life of my community. I am *Néshnabe* (a human being). I am an ethnohistorian by training and an indigenous storyteller by intent. It is important for me to introduce myself in this traditional Potawatomi way if I am to claim an active role in decolonizing and indigenizing the academy. You should know who I am, where I come from, and the background that informs my perspectives and opinions.

“Resilience and Survivance: Frameworks for Discussing Intercultural Interactions”

An Introduction by Heather Walder and Jessica Yann

The Native peoples of the Great Lakes have never been static; they have always interacted with their neighbors, both before and after the arrival of peoples of European descent (PEDs). The authors of this introduction rightly point out that human interaction was/is never as flat as “contact” would imply. Rather, it is more accurately understood as a series, in varying degrees and duration, of interactions, entanglements, and/or encounters. Individual and community identities were altered for both Natives and Europeans in the years following the arrival of the latter. As historian Michael Witgen writes,

Algonquian bands that hunted in the western interior and traded at the French posts in the Lake Superior region were central to a new and evolving set of situational identities at the heart of this relationship between the French and their native allies. By the late seventeenth century these bands, when in the *pays d'en haut*, increasingly assumed identities as Ottawas and Sauteurs. Even as these “national” identities took shape, however, they remained flexible and even interchangeable [Witgen 2007: 641].

Quimby, in his work, explicitly and by inference, dealt with identity—the more non-Native material culture an Indian used, the more generically Native (s)he was. I have been confronted with issues of identity and “authenticity” my whole life: There are so many markers—geography (“the only ‘real’ Indians live west of the Mississippi”), phenotype (“I thought you would be brown, coppery, or dusky”), conduct (“you are so *white* in your dress, home, education, etc.”), religion/spirituality (“How can *real* Indians be Christian? Do you do sweats, longhouse, etc.?”), and, more recently, language (“the only real Potawatomi *speak* Potawatomi”). Those questions/issues come from both inside and outside the community.

This introduction sets the stage for the subsequent work by scholars of Great Lakes region archaeology, outlining the ways the subsequent papers address issues of agency and identity. Early on, authors Walder and Yann discuss whether the papers are postcolonial and/or decolonizing in methodology and message. Ultimately, they conclude that these papers do not all reflect a truly decolonizing effort. I agree. Good scholarship regarding indigenous peoples and communities, I believe, demands decolonizing methodologies, understandings, and critique *whenever possible* (see Smith 2012). Mark Schurr, a respected archaeologist from the University of Notre Dame (and previously cited in this book), provides a strong example of decolonizing methodology. When he excavated Leopold Pokagon’s village of 1830, he did so only with the consultation of the Pokagon Potawatomi and included tribal members in the fieldwork and interpretation (Schurr 2006).

It is important to note that many of the essays in this volume do reflect collaboration with indigenous descendant communities, and they provide valuable examples of the ways archaeology can work. The articulation of community-based participatory research (CBPR) is very similar to the Community-Engaged Scholarship

(CES) advocated by ethnohistorian Steven Warren (2017). Both are movements toward decolonizing research and a move in the right direction, in my opinion.

An exciting segment of this book is the articulation of Native responses to settler colonialism as varieties of resilience and survivance. I have earlier called these “strategies of survivance” and “acts of survivance” (Low 2016:12), and I wholeheartedly endorse the notion that resilience is reflected in many indigenous responses to settler colonialism over the last 500 years. The authors are correct that focusing on “continuity and change” is a rabbit hole since everyone and everything changes; to judge American Indians by how much we have “stayed the same” is an odd way of measuring our “authentic Indian-ness.” In this collection, the authors focus on lived experiences rather than on mere assemblages of artifacts. Furthermore, these scholars reflect a willingness to interrogate artifacts and events in new ways and offer counter narratives to the timeworn stories of vanishing American Indians in the Great Lakes region.

“Communities, Survivance, and Acts of ‘Residence’ in the Late Eighteenth-Century Fur Trade in Minnesota”

Dr. Amélie Allard

Dr. Amélie Allard provides an insightful discussion of the use of residency in analyzing interactions between Ojibwe and Europeans in the latter half of the eighteenth century in Minnesota. Expanding on Gerald Vizenor’s “survivance” (Vizenor 1999: vii) and Richard White’s “middle ground” (White 1991:50) as theoretical frameworks, she explores the ways in which Indians and PEDs each actively engaged in the dynamics of intercultural contact and adjustment. The author breaks her essay into three sections, first providing historical context, then analyzing previous models and narratives of interaction, and concluding with specific examples of what she identifies as the use of residency as an act of resistance.

Included in her scholarship is a thoughtful discussion of George Quimby’s and others’ models of acculturation that were proposed in the 1950s and 1960s. Dr. Allard recognizes the problematic “old school” anthropology and shares with the reader a nuanced understanding of the nature of relations between indigenous and settler peoples in the “Northwest Territory.”

My 2016 book, *Imprints: The Pokagon Band of Potawatomi Indians and the City of Chicago* (Low 2016), makes the argument that, through rhetoric, writing, memorials, claims-making, and activities, the Potawatomi deployed strategies of survivance to resist removal and erasure from Chicago. Allard makes a similar argument that centuries earlier, the Anishinaabeg of northern Minnesota were using residency as resistance. In a conclusion with important potential consequences—political, representational, historical, and the like—the author convincingly explains how the Ojibwe’s residences close to trade posts and other places of settler habitation represent a refusal of the First Peoples to concede *the rest of the territory*, rather than evidence that the Native peoples were assimilating to Europeans ways.

Using the Réaumes Leaf River Post site as a specific example, Allard notes the use of tropes, like palisade outposts and forts, as both physical representations and metaphors for keeping savage Indians out of the civilized places of European work and habitation. But, indeed, as is true with *civilization*, *frontier*, *wilderness*, and the like, the meanings depend on perspective. For the Europeans, they may have indeed seen themselves as safely ensconced within wooden walls, but for the Anishinaabeg it may have seemed that the PEDs were safely contained within small parameters away from the rest of their Native world. Forts, for Natives, did not necessarily mean claim to the space within the walls, as much as, a lack of claim of everywhere else and acknowledgment of the claims of First Peoples to everything outside those small enclosures. For Allard, sharing stories about a place is included in acts of residency—an important matter, for residence is not just about physical presence but connection to the place by other means as well. As Allard concludes, moving from models of continuity and change to “historical questions regarding politics of place” (this volume) opens a doorway to a richer understanding of the complexities of Native histories in the context of the colonial experience of the Great Lakes region and beyond.

“From Wendake to Chequamegon: Bridging the Wendat Diaspora in Quimby’s Early Historic Period”

John Creese and Heather Walder

In this chapter, authors John Creese and Heather Walder document the 2016 Chequamegon Bay Archaeological Survey (CBAS). After outlining the limited historical and archaeological record, which informed their choices of sites, methodology, research agenda, and so forth, they go on to explain that the landscape has been so altered over the last century and a half that it made it difficult to do a survey. Their goal was to locate a village attributed to the Odawa and Wendat-Tionnantate peoples of the mid-seventeenth century that was believed to have existed in what is now northern Wisconsin. Unfortunately, the area has suffered clear-cutting of nearby forests and rising water levels, creating a situation wherein significant archaeological finds were nearly impossible.

Of course, the entire upper Midwest has been dramatically degraded by settler colonists. Frederick Jackson Turner celebrated it with his iconic “frontier thesis,” whereby the essential American (read *settler colonist*) character was created in a battle between humanity and nature, ultimately won by the former with the use of the ax and plow (Turner 1894:Chapter 1). William Cronon wrote about the alterations to the ecosystem after arrival of Europeans in *Nature’s Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (1992) and Pokagon Potawatomi author, activist, and sometimes tribal leader Simon Pokagon lamented these changes as well:

The cyclone of civilization rolled westward; the forests of untold centuries were swept away; streams dried up; lakes fell back from their ancient bounds; all our fathers once loved to gaze upon was destroyed, defaced, or marred, except the sun, moon and starry skies above, which the Great Spirit in his wisdom hung

beyond their reach. Still on storm cloud rolled, while before its lightning and thunder the beasts of the field and fowls of the air withered like grass before the flame—were shot for love of power to kill alone, and left, the spoil upon the plains. Their bleaching bones, now scattered far and near, in shame declare the wanton cruelty of pale-faced men. The storm, unsatisfied on land, swept our lakes and streams, while before its clouds of hooks, nets of glistening spears, the fish vanished from our shores like the morning dew before the rising sun. Thus our inheritance was cut off, and we were driven and scattered as sheep before the wolves [Pokagon 1893:8].

However, the real power of this paper, for me, is not in the archaeological discoveries in the field (or the lack thereof) but rather the authors' collaborative efforts with the descendant communities of the Odawa and Wendat-Tionnantate—specifically the Tribal Historic Preservation Offices (THPO) of the Bad River Band of Chippewa, Red Cliff Band of Chippewa, Wyandotte Nation of Oklahoma, and the Wyandot Nation of Kansas. Although restricted by funding and distance, the archaeologists attempted “community-based participatory research” (CBPR) at times. The archaeologists and the tribal nations partnered in significant decisions about the dig—including field methods; low impact methodologies were emphasized as the default for fieldwork when possible. At the request of the Red Cliff Band of Chippewa THPO, the site was also closed with the offering of tobacco—presumably as a gift to Mother Earth and as an apology for disturbing her.

The authors note that tribal members often feel a sense of significant loss when materials are taken from an archaeological site never to be returned (this volume). I have firsthand experience with this “black hole” syndrome of archaeology. While a graduate student at the University of Michigan in 2006, I completed an experiential component of a graduate certificate in museum studies. The fieldwork I engaged in involved providing visitor outreach and a public face for the work being done by two major universities at the Homol’ovi archaeological dig just outside Winslow, Arizona.

As I entered the finds from the day before into the database, I was shocked to see that all the cultural artifacts were being taken *away*. None stayed with the descendant Hopi. I have a vivid memory of a beautiful piece of pottery being unearthed. The pot was there, everyone was excited, the pot was gingerly removed leaving only a deep impression behind, and the pot was promptly packed up and taken away to one of the universities. The empty impression of the pot was all that remained. The irony is that Homol’ovi State Park had been created in response to pot thieves desecrating the area and stealing the buried material culture; but were the archaeologists any different? They had degrees and a research agenda, but the bottom line was that the artifacts were still being *taken away*. No Hopi museum existed when I was there, and no one from the Hopi Nation was being trained in curation or fieldwork. In contrast, here the authors describe their efforts as a “catch and release” of many items recovered from the dig after making appropriate notations of their significance.

I have another memory from that summer of an afternoon when I was out at the dig. A graduate student was standing inside an excavated kiva and lecturing

to a group of undergraduates gathered around the rim. As the grad student spoke about an architectural feature within the kiva, and shared her speculation that it had once served as an altar, a Hopi elder made his way to the gathering. (This was unusual in itself because I rarely saw any Hopi at the site during my ten weeks there.) The elder listened to the student for a bit and then cleared his throat and spoke. The undergraduates turned to listen as he explained that the feature was not an altar but rather a bench for participants to sit, based on his knowledge of contemporary kivas. The graduate student, obviously annoyed at an interruption, ignored the information from the elder and spoke louder to reclaim the attention of the students as she explained how the “altar” had been used. The Hopi elder stayed for a minute, looking rather dismayed and perplexed, and then left. Although this was only one incident, I was struck by the lack of respect, much less the missed opportunity for real collaboration with a tribal member of the First Peoples of the region. “Science” seemed to override indigenous knowledge; I am afraid the lesson was not lost on the undergraduates.

Therefore, it is with great excitement that I read that the discipline is evolving and that a fresh attitude is being embraced regarding tribal and academic collaboration. I believe that the CBPR referred to in this chapter represents a real opportunity for not just consultation or collaboration but *partnership*—and a new kind of decolonizing archaeology: One wherein the research questions and methodologies emerge not just from the academy but from the tribal community as well and reflect the needs of that community; one wherein community members are trained and given the opportunity for hands-on work alongside non-Natives; and the material culture ultimately returns to the community of origin. While the authors acknowledge that this dig represented only a midway point between CBPR and traditional archaeological consultation, nonetheless, it is an important beginning.

“Revisiting Dumaw Creek”

Kathleen L. Ehrhardt and Jamie Kelly

In this essay, authors Kathleen Ehrhardt and Jamie Kelly share their insights into, and experience with, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) and its impact on museums, specifically the Field Museum of Natural History (FMNH). Back in 2001, my thesis for my master’s degree at the University of Chicago was “The Native American Graves Protection & Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) and its Impact upon the Field Museum of Natural History” (Low 2001). In researching and writing that thesis, I had the opportunity to focus on the Field Museum, and what I discovered was that, in the first 10 years, the act had had very little impact on the institution. The aspect of NAGPRA that was preventing much repatriation of ancestral remains and funerary items was the “unaffiliated category” that so many remains and objects fell into if not connected with a (post-contact) historic tribe. This “loophole” meant that almost all the collections of remains and objects were exempt from repatriation because no tribe could prove an affiliation.

The authors correctly point out that this situation was finally corrected in 2010, with implementation of NAGPRA regulations pertaining to “culturally unidentifiable human remains” (CUHR). In 2011, tribal nations in Michigan, including the members of the Michigan Anishinabek Cultural Preservation and Representation Alliance (MACPRA), made a request to the Field Museum and others for repatriations pursuant to the new regulations. This arose out of a broader request for unidentifiable human remains and associated funerary objects filed by the 12 federally recognized tribal nations of Michigan and submitted to 19 museums and institutions around the country. I participated in coordinating the request and subsequent repatriation as a member of the Pokagon Band of Potawatomi Traditions and Repatriation Committee. Unfortunately, I can report that some museums and institutions are not as diligent, forthright, and forthcoming as has been the FMNH. There is much room for improvement. Peer pressure from fellow museums and institutions will help, as will the example provided by the FMNH.

As a model of a successful repatriation, the authors detail the return of ancestral remains and associated funerary items from the Dumaw Creek archaeological site with which George Quimby was associated. According to the authors, repatriations were coordinated with the three Potawatomi tribal affiliates of MACPRA. The Pokagon Band of Potawatomi (not a MACPRA member) was the physical transfer recipient, and Pokagon citizens wrapped the ancestors before their remains and items were turned over to the Nottawaseppi Huron Band of the Potawatomi (NHBP) community and reinterred at the Pine Creek Cemetery. At the time of the reburial, NHBP’s director of the Cultural and Historic Preservation Office, Jeff Chivis, stated,

Since almost all of these remains date to before European contact, we cannot say for sure whether or not they are affiliated with the Potawatomi, Odawa, Ojibwe, or another specific tribe. But we are confident in saying that they are the ancestors of all modern Anishinaabek. In recognition of this, we worked with many other Anishinaabek Tribes in Michigan and throughout the country to bring these ancestors home. This reinterment was the product of this collaboration and we were honored to have completed this work on behalf of not only our Tribe but all of the Tribes in Michigan and those Tribes ancestral to the region as well [Chivis 2017].

Tribal cooperation has been one of the great hallmarks of implementation of NAGPRA, and while the authors focus on the due diligence and good faith of the FMNH, it is just as important to celebrate the willingness of tribal nations to work together in securing the return of these items to *Nokmeskignan*, Grand Mother Earth. For naysayers of NAGPRA, who thought the tribes would descend into fighting and bickering, these success stories must come as astonishing news.

The issue that remains unaddressed in this paper is a complicated one: What about the *unassociated* funerary objects? Many museum collections are full of such items. There is a general fear among museum personnel that tribal nations are going to begin demanding the return of those items as well and that museum storage shelves and display cases will be emptied as a result. Many of those items, without argument,

represent high achievements in aesthetic form and function. They are beautiful and inspiring. We, as Native peoples, are very proud of the artistic accomplishments of our ancestors, and I suspect, for many, a part of us does not want those to be forgotten. However, there is no getting around the fact that many of us believe these objects of art were meant to be buried with the dead. Do we not return them to the earth where they were intended to be? Yet, if we do, will we all forget, in a generation or two, the artistic and aesthetic achievements these items represent?

I do not have an answer. However, I can suggest that, as a start in this ongoing process of decolonizing and indigenizing archaeology, museums begin the process of repatriation to tribally controlled and accredited museums, whereby each community can then decide if, when, and how the items are exhibited, stored, or reburied. I know that most museums do not like this answer, but the status quo perpetuates the oppression of the First Peoples of this nation. It is time to let go and give back.

“Embracing Anomalies to Decolonize Archaeology”

Michael S. Nassaney

In this chapter, Dr. Michael Nassaney returns the reader to the themes of resilience and survivance, as well as community-based participatory research. As an example, he describes the dig at the Fort St. Joseph site in Niles, Michigan. To the credit of the author and other researchers from Western Michigan University, they have attempted to include the peoples they describe as stakeholders in their project.

As I mentioned at the beginning of this paper, I grew up a few miles south of Niles, and as Nassaney notes, the dig site is in the service area and ancestral lands of the Pokagon Band of Potawatomi Indians. Niles, as a community, has always had an ambivalent relationship with the Pokagon Potawatomi. I remember going on a field trip in the third grade to the Fort St. Joseph Museum (Niles’s city museum) and seeing display cases full of the human skulls of my ancestors presented like curious trophies. The memory still nauseates me, although the ancestral remains were repatriated quite some time ago.

In public school, I learned about Johnny Appleseed and Daniel Boone but not a word about Leopold or Simon Pokagon. I never sensed that the Potawatomi were considered the equals of their settler counterparts by folks in the region. We were good laborers, first in fields and later in factories. We were tourist attractions, a staple at nearby Deer Forest in Coloma, Michigan (a place to pet deer, picnic, play, and listen to Potawatomi elders tell stories). Our efforts at restoration of our status as a federally recognized sovereign tribal nation were never treated very seriously in the local newspapers, although coverage for the powwows the tribe began in the 1970s was positive. Niles calls itself the “City of Four Flags” to celebrate the fact that four flags have flown over it: French, Spanish (for a few hours), British, and American. But the erasure in this city motto of the First Peoples of the area is striking. What about the eagle staff “flags” of the Miami and Potawatomi? When I have asked about it, city officials usually look at me as though I am a crank. So long as we do not cause trouble, we are tolerated. Those are my memories of Niles.

The Fort St. Joseph archaeological project has an advisory commission, and I sat on that board some 10 years ago. To be honest, there was never a sense of collaboration between the academics and the Indians, despite apparent efforts by both sides. The emphasis in the meetings I attended was the partnership between Western Michigan University and the city of Niles. After my departure from the area to teach, other members of the tribe continued to attend meetings on an infrequent basis. There have been some consultations with our tribal historic preservation office (THPO), but that has been irregular as well, and it seems the fault for poor communication lies with both the archaeologists AND the tribe.

The city hopes to develop the site into a tourist attraction. The website for the project barely mentions the Pokagon Potawatomi (<https://wmich.edu/fortstjoseph/outreach>. Accessed December 7, 2017), and a video available on the website makes clear that the focus is on French colonialism (https://www.youtube.com/v/RK4imdXWkMQ&hl=en_US&fs=1&. Accessed December 7, 2017). There is an annual open house at the site, and it hosts reenactors, but I do not think tribal members participate in any of that. However, the tribe did build a wigwam for an open house some two years ago. To their credit, the Ojibwe archaeologist Sonya Atalay (cited in Nassaney's essay) was an invited speaker at the dig in 2017, according to their website. Sadly, I do not think there has ever been anyone from the tribe invited to speak. I also do not know of any efforts by members of the project to share their work and findings with the Pokagon Potawatomi community.

Therefore, while I would not see this project as a strong example of CBPR, I am glad to read the insightful conclusions being drawn from the items of material culture retrieved from the site. As author Dr. Nassaney notes, "Social and political considerations always impinge on our understandings of colonial pasts" (Nassaney, this volume). I might add this is also true of the very ways in which research is conducted in the present. Let this be a challenge then, for both the archaeologists of the project and the Pokagon Potawatomi to improve their communications with each other; to make an effort to determine the needs, wishes, and expectations of the other; and to seek out, in both public and private ways, opportunities for meaningful collaboration and partnership.

"People, Portages, and Powerful Places: Miami Indians at the Forks of the Wabash during the War of 1812 Era"

Rob Mann

Rob Mann's contribution on the Miami Indians at the beginning of the nineteenth century provides very useful information, analysis, and conclusions for the reader concerning the Miami of what is now Indiana. I particularly enjoy his discussion of space for the Miami as having a holistic character—full of physical, spiritual, political, and economic power. For me, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the "Northwest Territory," including what would become the state of Indiana, was a frontier. It reflected the physical and mental landscapes in which local and global imaginaries met and interacted; a space filled with transcultural practices, mentalities, relationships, and belief systems. Each side of this "frontier" was inhabited

by the “Other,” Native and settler colonist, who represented radical challenges to acceptance and cooperation and real sources of rejection, marginalization, violation, hatred, and annihilation. In this paper, it is the strife that the author chooses to focus on.

Mann also writes about water, and for Algonquian peoples, the importance of water cannot be overemphasized. It is the lifeblood of Mother Earth. It sustains the people. It also served in the past as a highway for Native peoples—allowing for the exchange of material culture, information, ideas, ideology, and trade. It continues to this day to serve as a spirit path and the residence of various supernatural entities. On page 92, the author writes of the “agency” of water and the ways in which the water at the Maumee-Wabash portage exemplify the ways in which culture and nature “flow” together. He continues by discussing the rituals involving prayer and the offering of tobacco before traversing water. The Miami, along with other Algonquian peoples, believed, then and now, in reciprocity and the requirement that prayers be accompanied with an offering, lest the person offering the prayer be viewed as someone asking for something for nothing. They also believe in the cleansing power of water and many of their creation stories begin with a great flood. There are strong spirits in the water. Algonquian peoples have always had specific ceremonies for the beings living in the water; the performance of those ceremonies ensured safety and balance for all. Women were then, and remain, charged with the care of the water—tasked with making the necessary prayers and offerings.

The traditional belief of Algonquian Indians in the Underwater Panther has been well documented. In 1923, ethnologist Alanson Skinner recorded the belief in the water panther during his study of the Prairie Band of Potawatomi in Kansas; the concept predates European arrival. According to Skinner,

There is an evil power in the water, who possesses the ability to pass through the earth as well as its natural element. This is the great horned Water-panther called *Nampe'shiu*, or *Nampeshi'k*. It is at constant war with the Thunderbirds. When one appears to a man he will become a great warrior. Such panthers maliciously drown people, who are afterwards found with mud in their mouths, eyes, and ears [Skinner 1923:47–48].

James H. Howard also noted in his study of the panther that depictions are evident in carvings, pictographs, effigy mounds, and other representations of the spirit being in the Midwest. Howard interviewed Prairie Band Potawatomi medicine person James Kagmega, in 1959. Kagmega was, at that time, the keeper of the Underwater Panther ceremonial bundle and told Howard that the rite was an ancient one, one essential to the well-being of the people. The teachings of the Underwater Panther included the following:

We are taught that there is continual warfare between the Powers Above (Thunderbirds and their bird allies) and the Powers Below (Underwater Panthers and their snake and fish allies). Their conflicts affect the lives of the different Indian tribes here on the earth. When they are quiet and at peace, the Indians are peace-

ful too. When there is battle in the heavens and at the bottom of the waters, then there is warfare among mankind too (Howard 1960:220).

As Mann notes, the Miami were careful to honor the water spirits of their homeland and well positioned to take advantage of the portage near their village of Kekionga, until the arrival of and displacement by the U.S. military.

Mann is right to assign a lot of importance to this place, and I suspect that the author is correct that the Miami were quite disrupted by their dislocation from the area by the U.S. military. Yet, I suspect that the Miami were able to secure alternative routes to the spirit world, and as for the economic benefits of the portage, their loss was one of thousands that Native peoples in North America had to adjust to and accommodate. Even though many Miami were later forcibly removed to Oklahoma, they never ceased being Miami, and I am confident that their Creator blessed them with new ways of entering into and communing with the spirit world. I am not suggesting, of course, that what happened at that portage was easy or right, but, as Mann notes in his conclusion, the Miami have persevered.

Lastly, the author acknowledges the support of Miami of Oklahoma THPO Diane Hunter, George Ironstack of the Myaamia Center, and Miami Tribe Cultural Education coordinator Joshua Sutterfield. In the spirit of this collection of papers that seek to articulate ways of community-based participatory research, I would have very much appreciated articulation by the author of the ways in which his work represents CBPR.

Conclusion

There is much to praise in this collection of papers. Every author has shared stories of his or her efforts at contributing to the discipline while (usually) including Native peoples and communities in the projects. Important changes are happening in archaeology and the methodologies and theoretical frameworks articulated in this book are as important as the archaeological findings themselves. I congratulate the organizers and participants of this publication for jobs well done and thank each of them for an opportunity to comment on their work. *Wé wé na* (Thank you)!

Note on Contributor

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