

SPECIAL ISSUE: ARCHAEOLOGY AND HISTORICAL MEMORY

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SAA archaeological record

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SOCIETY FOR AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY

PRESIDENT'S BRIEFING ON NAGPRA



Dean R. Snow

Dean R. Snow is the President for the Society for American Archaeology.

The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) has been the law of the land for close to two decades. SAA members helped to write the law and SAA members have contributed to its successful implementation over the years. This has been a largely cooperative and constructive process. Various primary documents and SAA statements related to NAGPRA can be viewed at the SAA website.

By now many SAA members are aware that the Department of the Interior (DOI) published a proposed "Rule," a set of regulations purportedly pursuant to NAGPRA, in the Federal Register on October 16, 2007. This action has caused much controversy and I write this briefing to inform the membership of what has transpired since then, SAA's positions on the issues, and the processes through which those positions have been reached.

When NAGPRA became law in 1990 it left open questions having to do with the proper disposition of culturally unidentifiable human remains (CUHR), remains that could not be shown to be affiliated with a federally recognized Indian tribe (including Native Alaskan) or Native Hawaiian organization. The law directed the President of the U.S. to create a NAGPRA Review Committee whose charge included the adjudication of disputes and the development of recommendations for the disposition of CUHR. It was anticipated that Congress would then use those recommendations as a basis for amending NAGPRA.

On February 7, 2002 SAA notified the DOI through our attorneys at Covington and Burling that NAGPRA clearly indicated that DOI did not have the authority to simply issue regulations respecting CUHR. Our understanding of the law was and is that only Congress, acting on recommendations from the Review Committee, has the authority to address CUHR by way of new law or amendment of NAGPRA. Nevertheless, DOI staff was then contemplating the issuance of regulations

regarding CUHR, claiming that DOI had the authority to do so under NAGPRA.

On October 16, 2007 DOI published a proposed "Rule," regulations regarding CUHR that are purportedly pursuant to NAGPRA. A close reading of the regulations that constitute the proposed Rule reveals that many are radical, mutually contradictory, costly, illogical, and unworkable. Above all they are illegal. Many SAA members quickly contacted me with strong objections.

My immediate concern in October was that the popular press might report the story as a dispute between Native Americans and archaeologists, which it is not. We have taken steps to ensure that reporters do not jump to wrong conclusions, including the issuance of a press release. A few articles have been published, but so far the story has generally not captured the interest of the popular press.

I asked both the Committee on Repatriation and the Committee on Native American Relations to advise the Board regarding the proposed Rule in advance of its regular fall meeting on November 9–10, 2007. With input from those committees the Board drafted a statement opposing the proposed Rule. The statement was subsequently posted on the SAA website. Our position is that the proposed Rule is illegal and detrimental to both the interests of archaeological science and to those of Native Americans.

Some observers initially confused the proposed Rule (which the SAA opposes) with a technical amendment to NAGPRA that is currently before Congress (which SAA supports), erroneously inferring that SAA opposed both. On the contrary, Keith Kintigh spoke for SAA in his testimony supporting the technical amendment before the Senate Committee

➤ continued inside back cover

the SAA Archaeological record

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Beach setting for a Passport In Time petroglyph recording project on the Thorne Bay Ranger District of the Tongass National Forest, Alaska. Photo by Carolynne Merrell.

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[www.saa.org/publications/
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Past issues of the SAA Bulletin can be found at

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EDITOR'S CORNER

Andrew Duff

Andrew Duff is an Associate Professor of anthropology at Washington State University.

This thematic issue of *The SAA Archaeological Record* features six papers on the “Archaeology and Historical Memory” solicited by Jamie Brandon, Associate Editor of “*The Recent Past*” column. Paul Shackel’s introductory article discusses memory studies in historical archaeology, highlights the political nature of remembering and forgetting, and sets the stage for the remainder of the papers. These pieces demonstrate the importance of memory in constructions of the past—and their place in the present—in a variety of historical contexts, an issue relevant to all regardless of the time period we study.

Apropos of the Vancouver meetings, Grier and Shaver’s *Working Together* column discusses the context of collaborative relationships among archaeologists and First Nations in British Columbia, where “archaeology and historical memory,” contemporary politics, and the past intersect regularly. The winning team from last year’s Ethics Bowl provide their insights, and there is still time for teams to register for this year’s competition. Rounding out the issue are pieces on “Archaeological Literacy,” and an update from Lew Binford as part of the “*Where are They Now?*” column. Franklin and co-authors ask the important question, “What does it mean to be archaeologically literate?” This is a concern for all archaeologists and dialog on the issue would benefit from the input of people from throughout the profession. If you are still at the meetings Sunday morning, consider stopping by their session. Finally, one of the discipline’s most prominent figures responded to Hester Davis’s inquiry about what he has been up to.

As you prepare your papers or posters for the meetings in Vancouver, please consider submitting a version of your presentation to *The SAA Archaeological Record*. Contributions are ideally between 1500–2000 words, with a few tables, illustrations, or photographs. Please contact me with any questions or to submit an article (duff@wsu.edu). If you are interested in contributing a paper for the thematic issue “The Pros and Cons of International Cooperative Research,” please contact me or Associate Editor José Luis Lanata. Several people have expressed interest in writing about their experiences on the topic, and this may develop into articles that appear in more than one issue. Finally, high-quality images of people doing archaeology, interesting sites, contexts, features or artifacts, and especially images that might be suitable for covers (2700x3300 pixels in portrait orientation) are always welcome.

Council of Affiliated Societies

I was, of course, elated to see mention of my name in the article in *The SAA Archaeological Record* (May 2007 7[4]:35–36) regarding “The Council of Affiliated Societies.” I am grateful to Hester Davis and Marcel Kornfeld for putting the article together, covering History, Current Status, and Future of the Council of Affiliated Societies (CoAS). I want to say at the outset that my efforts over the years could not have been sustained or successful without the support, quiet inspiration, and encouragement of Hester Davis, certainly an angel among archaeologists. I also want to give credit to Marcel Kornfeld for his work on the CoAS Newsletter, keeping it alive as Hester Davis did before him. I supplied information for the CoAS Newsletter over the years of the activities of the Missouri Archaeological Society (MAS), which formally endorsed the initiatives I undertook. Over the years after the Council was formed I was designated as the official representative of the MAS on the CoAS. I was pleased that at my urging (in recognition of the fact I could not continue much longer) another representative was named. Gina Powell will be a valuable asset to the council as editor of the CoAS Newsletter and as representative of the MAS.

The extensive record, as portrayed in the article, of my involvement with the idea of bringing state and local archaeological societies together to learn from each other and to urge the SAA to take stronger action to accomplish its stated objectives about local archaeological societies, was accurate. It could not, however, have been the whole truth, which is contained in my head and in those of a number of other persons involved over the years, but also in three feet of cabinet drawer space in my basement. I offered those files to the MAS in its new locations at Missouri State University in Springfield, Missouri, and was correctly advised to do as Carl Chapman had done with so many of his personal

papers, that is, turn the files over to the Western Historical Manuscripts Section (of the State Historical Society of Missouri and the University of Missouri). On the other hand, these files containing correspondence with a number of state and local societies in the United States and Canada could go into a repository at the SAA itself, if I am so advised.

The future as proposed by Hester and Marcel is reasonable. Certainly strong, vigorous steps should be taken. More leadership of the SAA would be required. In my mind a representative not only on the Board of Directors but on the staff of the SAA should be provided for a person with the responsibility of establishing and maintaining contact directly with state and local societies, to accomplish objectives stated in SAA statutes. Above all, they should be encouraged to take note in their newsletters of activities of other societies. That degree of contact between SAA and state and local societies does not yet exist. The annual meeting of the SAA is not adequate. I also thought all along that regional meetings of state and local societies, under the aegis to the SAA, would help achieve the most desirable goals set forth for archaeology in the Americas.

I hope the SAA will continue to support the Council of Affiliated Societies and will take measures to strengthen its relations with, and the interrelationships among, state and local archaeological societies in North America.

Earl H. Lubensky, Ph.D.
Adjunct Research Associate—Anthropology
University of Missouri—Columbia

Locations in Need of More CRM Training

I read with great interest the recent article, “Identifying the Geographic Locations in Need of More CRM Training,” by German Loffler (*SAA Archaeological Record* 7:4[24–28]). This and related

studies are critically important for our discipline as graduate programs in Anthropology and related subjects increasingly recognize the need to provide quality training opportunities in public and applied archaeology, which provide the bulk of jobs today for career archaeologists.

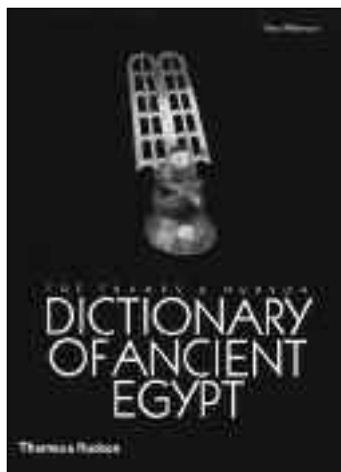
I would like to identify a significant challenge to surveys like Loffler’s that future studies should take into consideration. At the University of South Florida, most of our courses deal with public archaeology or contain components directly relevant to archaeological resources management, yet don’t have the term “CRM” in the title. Similarly, we offer MA and Ph.D. degrees in Applied Anthropology, in which students following the archaeology track focus on CRM (some do so by participating in our formal “Concentration in CRM”). Yet, because the letters “CRM” do not appear in the degree name, Loffler’s system of assigning “training points” likely underemphasized CRM training in our program. Other programs may have suffered the same fate.

At USF, we (and I imagine many other schools) understand CRM as a component of public and applied archaeology. As we have said before in this publication (White et al., 2004, “Academic Archaeology is Public Archaeology,” *The SAA Archaeological Record* 4:2[26–29]), all archaeology is or should be public archaeology. Thus, while it may seem from our course titles that we only offer one or two courses on CRM, most of our graduate program, in fact, centers on this approach. For example, our course in Archaeological Theory emphasizes the role of public archaeology in shaping theoretical discourse and corresponding research design. Many of our students work directly with our local office of the Florida Public Archaeology Network on a range of relevant issues. The lesson is that advertising (especially web advertising) should not be taken to represent

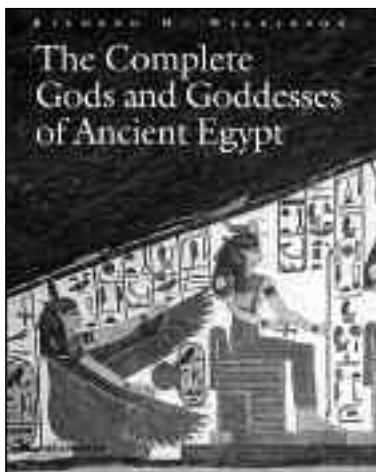
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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

program content adequately (and certainly Loffler recognizes this in his article). I learned this when I surveyed CRM training in graduate programs in 2001 ("Archaeology as a Way of Life: Graduate Studies in Cultural Resources Management," *The SAA Archaeological Record* 1:2[13–14, 44]).

This is an important issue, because Loffler's study concludes that the state of Florida is nationally among the weakest in terms of the numbers and quality of opportunities for students to obtain appropriate skill sets in archaeological and cultural resources management, when, in fact, it is probably one of the strongest. Our program, for example, has been around since the early 1960s and began producing public archaeologists in 1974. Florida's first "CRM" firm was founded and since owned and operated by our first two MA graduates. It is worth mentioning that many other Florida schools are now following suit given the rapid pace of urban development in our state and the growing number of CRM firms.

Perhaps future studies like Loffler's, which are so important for our discipline, can seek additional ways to evaluate the effectiveness of graduate programs in cultural resources management by recognizing the proliferating ways in which public and applied archaeology is expressed in graduate level training.

Christian Wells
Anthropology Graduate Director
University of South Florida

NEW FROM THE SAA PRESS

*Ethics In Action:
Case Studies In Archaeological Dilemmas*
by
Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh,
Dru McGill, and Julie Hollowell



IN BRIEF

Tobi A. Brimsek

Tobi A. Brimsek is executive director of the Society for American Archaeology.

A Taste of Vancouver

The Vancouver meeting, SAA's 73rd Annual Meeting, has been enriched by more submissions than have ever been received for a single SAA annual meeting. You can explore the breadth and scope of the meeting content through the Preliminary Program, which is posted on SAAweb (<http://www.saa.org>) and was dropped in the mail at the end of December. If you already registered as a participant, don't forget to consider registering for events that appear for the first time in the Preliminary Program, some of which are highlighted below.

In addition to the symposia, forums, general sessions, and posters, as a meeting attendee you have an extraordinary choice of activities including:

- Incredible field trips—a boat tour of spectacular Burrard Inlet and Indian Arm, home of the Tsleil-Waututh First Nation; a Sto:lo View of the Upper Fraser Valley; and a Musqueam Tour. For itineraries and details, please check out the descriptions of these tours in the Preliminary Program and register now!
- Enriching Workshops—Introduction to Video Production for Archaeologists; Designing Serious Games for Cultural Heritage Learning; and Project Archaeology: Investigating a Northwest Coast Plankhouse. Register for one of these workshops or all three!
- Stimulating roundtable thematic lunches on Friday, which through the incredible generosity of SAA's sponsors are offered at only \$3.50 per person for lunch and a fascinating hosted discussion. Topics range from "Urban Planning in Ancient Cities" to "Paleoenvironmental Studies and Today's Climate Crisis" to "The Archaeology of Memory" and much more. But, hurry! Roundtable lunch tickets are available through advance registration with any remaining seats to be sold only from 2–5 pm on Wednesday in Vancouver. Sign up early!

And About Meeting Abstracts

The Society tested an enhancement to meeting abstracts in Austin last year—a nonreproducible CD with a searchable pdf file of the abstracts distributed along with the printed version. The popularity of the CD was such that the Society has decided to continue the inclusion of the CD at no additional charge. Please use your meeting evaluation form to share feedback on the availability and utility of the CD.

Volunteering at the Vancouver Meeting

January 23, 2008—Mark your calendars. That is the deadline for volunteer applications for the annual meeting. For complete details and to fill out an application online, visit SAAweb (www.saa.org) and click on the volunteer button on the front page. If you have any questions about the volunteer program, please contact Meghan Tyler, Coordinator, Membership and Marketing, at 202-789-8200 or by email to meghan_tyler@saa.org.

Updated Hotel Information

Complete hotel information and specific reservation cut-off dates for each hotel SAA is using in Vancouver are available both in the Preliminary Program as well as through a button on SAA's home page on SAAweb (www.saa.org). Please note that should a hotel become full or additional properties be needed, that information will be posted on SAAweb. All reservations must be made directly with the hotels. Should you encounter difficulties, do not hesitate to contact the executive director, Tobi Brimsek (tobi_brimsek@saa.org or 1-202-789-8200).



MY RETIREMENT

Lewis R. Binford

Retirement “developed” for me as a two-step process. This was conditioned by academic as well as personal concerns. Academically I decided upon early retirement (1991) from the University of New Mexico so that I would have sufficient time to develop, organize, and write the book that later appeared as *Constructing Frames of Reference* (2001). This decision was made realistic by an offer, from Southern Methodist University, of a faculty position that entailed fewer teaching hours and less time working to develop research opportunities for Ph.D. students. In short, I would have more time to work on the *Constructing Frames of Reference* book and at the same time teach within an anthropological academic context.

This decision turned out to be a very productive one both academically as well as personally. I had grant support for an assistant to help with the logistics of research required for the new book, as well as the development of computer programming for the hunter-gatherer data. This position was filled by a graduate student from New Mexico. SMU was very kind in that I was later allowed to hire an additional research assistant chosen from among the less advanced graduate students. One new student had greatly impressed me through her participation in one of my classes. Only later did I learn that she had been awarded a nationally competitive fellowship to the graduate department of her choice. Not to anyone’s surprise, I selected her, Amber Johnson, to be my “everyday” research assistant. This meant, that whatever I required, a library search for a given source, etc., I had help. More importantly, discussing with me the tactics of argument, the design of tabular data presentation or relational illustrations, was central to successful book production. We quickly became a research “team.”

2001 was a big year for me: the book was published, Amber Johnson and I became an “emotionally involved couple,” I had open heart surgery during the summer, in the fall Amber accepted a job offer from Truman State University in Kirksville, Mo. I stayed behind to sell my house, arrange my retirement from SMU, and to move all our things to Kirksville, including 17,000 pounds of books and research files—one example of the scale of such a move. Amber rented a very small house. She

started exploring real-estate opportunities and by the end of winter had found a wonderful piece of property in the Oak-Hickory forest just outside of the city limits. In the spring of 2002, I gradually moved pickup truck loads of lawn furniture in need of repair, yard tools, and other odds and ends to Amber’s little house. On my frequent trips to Kirksville, I started working with a local contractor designing our “dream” house on the forest property we had, by then, purchased.

On June 29, 2002, Amber and I were married in Tennessee, on top of Rhone Mountain, while standing among the rhododendron bushes in full bloom. In the fall of 2002 our new house was finished and we moved into our comfortable space, especially designed to meet our needs. We knew before the move that there were deer and wild turkey on the place, but it was not until we were settled into the new house that the wonderful animals were seen daily. Beginning our new life with the animals regularly present, and each of us having work spaces specifically designed for our differing needs, was and is such a wonderful set of research and productivity circumstances. These more academic interests have been wedged between my love of making things, building furniture as well as a potting shed on the edge of our patio, which was in fact the first thing I built after occupying our new house.

I continue to write and am working on a new book which I hope to send off to the University of Arizona Press during the first quarter of this year. It is a series of case studies making use of ethnographic data from the Kalahari and previously unpublished observational material from the Nunamiut Eskimo. In addition there are chapters on research methods for maximizing the learning potential from archaeological and ethnographic data. More recently, I have been writing some articles on the variable patterns among hunter-gatherer systems situated in contrasting settings of physical geography. My more focused interest is on high altitude adaptations relative to lowlands and other topographically varied settings, such as coastal vs. interior, etc.

I guess one could say that in retirement I enjoy the ideal setting for doing what I love to do.





THE SAA ETHICS BOWL

LESSONS FROM A COLLABORATIVE EXPERIENCE

**Lisa Anderson, Cassandra Mesick, Christine Reiser,
Krysta Ryzewski, and Bradley Sekedat**

*Lisa Anderson, Cassandra Mesick, Christine Reiser, Krysta Ryzewski
and Bradley Sekedat were members of the winning 2007 Ethics Bowl team.*

In April 2007, Brown University fielded the winning Ethics Bowl team, which was composed of five graduate students from the Department of Anthropology and the Joukowsky Institute for Archaeology and the Ancient World. The 4th annual Ethics Bowl was held during the Society for American Archaeology (SAA) meeting in Austin. The 2007 competition also included student teams from Indiana University, Michigan State University, Northwestern State University, the University of California-Berkeley, the University of Massachusetts-Amherst, and the University of New Mexico.

The SAA Ethics Bowl is a debate-style intercollegiate competition, the content of which is based on a series of ten case studies pertaining to relevant issues in archaeology today. These hypothetical scenarios are designed both to stimulate discussion and to provide teaching resources across the wider discipline. The scenarios incorporate a broad range of archaeological issues. The cases we addressed, for example, concerned themes of Open Access, ARPA, cultural representation and diversity, archaeology in times of war, museum stewardship, and multiple publics. Though the Ethics Bowl is framed as a competition, for us it was the lessons and benefits from the collaborative experience of preparing for it and participating in it that provided the richest rewards. In this short commentary we share part of our experience and its resonance with our archaeological and graduate training.

Phase 1: Preparation

Beginning in the fall of 2006, interested Brown students gathered as a discussion group and invited specialists to lead bimonthly discussions on key ethical topics, such as NAGPRA, cultural resource management law, underwater archaeology, and looting and the antiquities trade. To facilitate continuous and interactive discussion among group members, we created a wiki (a collaborative website that allows visitors to add, remove, and edit content) on which we posted notes, articles, outlines, and comments. Although our team was limited to five participants during the Ethics Bowl, several additional undergraduate and graduate students of diverse archaeological backgrounds participated actively in these earlier discussions and wiki postings. On March 15, the ten case studies were disseminated to all participating teams. Over the following six weeks, our team met weekly for more focused discussions. Every member participated in the preparation of each case, ensuring that we could all contribute as a team during the Bowl.

Phase 2: The Bowl

While we felt well prepared to discuss the ethical issues raised in the case studies, on the day of the



The Brown Ethics Bowl team during the final round (L-R): K. Ryzewski, B. Sekedat, C. Reiser, L. Anderson, C. Mesick (Photo, L. Anderson)

competition we were uncertain about how the debates would flow in practice, and about the kinds of questions that the judges and other teams would pose. The format of the Ethics Bowl permits only one individual at a time to respond to the judges' and other team's questions. While this structure is necessary for maintaining an orderly debate-style competition, we found it to be especially challenging, having prepared collectively as a team. To facilitate collaboration in this format, our team wrote and shared copious notes on the specifics of the cases. The constant movement of information among our team members provided the opportunity for each individual to respond during the series of questions, a level of participation about which we felt strongly. Although we additionally hoped for a lively discussion engaging both teams, the formal structure limited interaction to dialogue between one team and the judges, with only one occasion per case for the teams to respond directly to each other.

In the course of the debates we discovered that our style of preparation before the Bowl equipped us well for the types of issues we were called on to discuss. For example, in the second round, our main case study dealt with the issue of open access and its implications for peer-reviewed archaeology journals. The case presented a hypothetical situation in which a U.S. Senator proposed an Open Access Act that would require all federally funded archaeological projects that published in a peer-reviewed journal to also provide a reprint of their publication online, or face strict penalties. We were asked by the judges to suggest whether the archaeologists should publicly support the Act. Our initial response considered the pros and cons of the Act, such as the risk of creating an unmanageable data dump, the rapid dissemination of scholarly research, the potential death of the peer-reviewed print journal, and the ability to reach broader publics. In response to the judges' questions we ultimately suggested alternatives that integrated more interaction and participation in the generation and curation of archaeological knowledge via contemporary multimedia interfaces. This discussion resonated with us personally because the wiki had been so integral to our collective training. We used the wiki as an interactive tool and forum; it encouraged the involvement of diverse participants and media formats in our preparation, including audio interviews, newspaper articles, and museum exhibition reviews. Most importantly, the wiki permitted us to extend the scope and timeframe of our Ethics Bowl discussions prior to and beyond the competition itself.



A sample of the many notes scribbled by the Brown team during the discussions (K. Ryzewski, Archaeologist)

Phase 3: Ethics as Collaboration

In a sense, it seems ironic to us that the Ethics Bowl is posed as a competition. On the one hand, the framework of the competition drove us to master the details and fine points of the issues raised in the case studies and to work together as a team. On the other hand, the practice of ethics professionally is a collaborative undertaking—a point that many teams raised throughout the day. It raises the question: does an ethics bowl have to be competitive to be effective? Like most ethical dilemmas, no definitive answer satisfies this question. Instead, the discussion of archaeological ethics can be communicated effectively in a broad range of contexts, whether debated festively, lectured formally, or pursued collaboratively. For our team, the most meaningful aspect of preparing and participating in the Ethics Bowl



The Ethics Bowl moderators, judges, organizers and teams from Brown and the University of New Mexico after the final round (Photo, K. Deslatte)

was the collaborative process. We especially valued the rare opportunity to gather together with our colleagues outside of formal classroom and conference settings to discuss fundamental issues of archaeological practice that transcend our individual archaeological interests and shape our discipline.

At Brown our preparations allowed us to foster new connections among students at all levels and across departments; at the SAAs we shared a common ground with the other participating teams, with whom we enjoyed several post-Bowl discussions. The Ethics Bowl and the preparation process created exceptionally unique collaborative learning environments in which to explore how we think about and communicate ethics across subfields, specialty interests, and public and professional settings. Many thanks to the organizers Julie Hollowell, Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh, and Dru McGill, the teams who participated, our stalwart coach, John F. Cherry, and the Joukowsky Institute of Archaeology and the Ancient World.

The 2008 Ethics Bowl

The experience of learning and debating ethics in professional and collaborative settings was invaluable to our graduate training. We strongly encourage our student colleagues to share in this rewarding process by participating in the upcoming 2008 Ethics Bowl competition at the SAA meetings in Vancouver, B.C.

(A version of this commentary was originally posted in June 2007 on Archaeolog, www.archaeolog.org)

WHAT: THE 2008 SOCIETY FOR AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY ETHICS BOWL

WHEN: THURSDAY, MARCH 27, 2008

WHERE: SAA ANNUAL MEETING, VANCOUVER BC

WHO: GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE STUDENT TEAMS OF 3 OR MORE

WHY: A GREAT WAY TO LEARN ABOUT ETHICS AND MEET COLLEAGUES WHO SHARE YOUR INTERESTS

For more information: contact Dru McGill (dremcgil@indiana.edu) or Julie Hollowell (jjh@indiana.edu). Deadline for teams to register is February 14th, 2008. For additional Ethics Bowl and Archaeological Ethics resources, please visit: www.saa.org/aboutsaa/committees/ethics/ebowl.html

MEMORY STUDIES IN HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

Paul A. Shackel

*Paul Shackel is Professor and Associate Chair in the Department of Anthropology, and
Director of the Center for Heritage Resource Studies at the University of Maryland*

This collection of articles provides examples that show the importance of understanding the way memories are constructed and used to create a particular past. In 1925 Maurice Halbwachs (1980), a French philosopher and sociologist, first developed the concept of collective memory. Contrary to Freud's work where memory is important for psychotherapy, Halbwachs argued that memory needs a larger context in order to establish subjectivity, create recollection, and decide how to interpret these experiences. Our memories are constructed with reference to collective narratives. While Freud's work was popular through most of the twentieth century, Halbwachs's pioneering study helped to develop the ground work for examining the politics of remembering as well as forgetting.

Public historians have been influential in my work to understand the development of public memory and include David Lowenthal (1985), Michael Frisch (1990), David Glassberg (1990), Michael Kammen (1991), John Bodner (1992), Edward Linenthal (1993), and James Green (2000). Their analyses have helped to shape the present discourse in historical archaeology. Critically analyzing how and why memories of places and events develop is important for understanding how the histories become part of the everyday discourse. For instance, anthropologist Michel-Rolph Trouillot (1995:15) develops a compelling argument for taking a critical approach to historical narratives. Examining accounts that range from Columbus Day to the Haitian Revolution for independence, he notes that the past can only be understood in present context. He recognizes that during the production of history, creating the official public memory of the place, power operates in a way that silences subaltern groups.

Memories can validate the holders' version of the past by sanitizing and/or glamorizing an event or a group. Memories can be about a moment in time or they can be about a longer-term event and can incorporate issues like racism, labor struggles, and social movements. Understanding how we remember these events helps us develop a context for understanding the archaeology, and for knowing the politics of these events within contemporary communities. Sometimes there are competing inter-

ests that struggle to create a specific memory of an event. Other times people simply ignore dominant histories altogether and do not contest it on any tangible level. Understanding how and why some groups tend to remember a particular past, while others forget or ignore a past, is an important issue for critically evaluating and understanding the development and meaning of the past.

Michael Shanks and Randall McGuire (1996) remind us that the act of archaeology is a form of commemoration and when we do archaeology we create a memory of the past that is rooted in our present-day concerns. In historical archaeology, studies of memory take on various forms (Schmidt 2006; Shackel 2000; Van Dyke and Alcock 2003). I have outlined elsewhere (Shackel 2001) the different strategies groups and individuals use for creating a memory of the past, and I believe that they are key issues for recognizing how we acknowledge, study, and remember places and events.

First, people can create an exclusionary past. By implying continuity with the past, and sometimes that is a matter of forgetting a past, or reinventing a collective memory, these traditions reinforce values and behavior. Many cases that deal with race and ethnic genocide are often about forgetting a past. Archaeology can counter these exclusionary histories, especially when revealing tragic story of genocide in places like Argentina, Guatemala, Iraqi Kurdistan, and the former Yugoslavia. The forensic archaeology is important for remembering a tragic episode in ethnic hatred with the goal of not repeating the same mistakes (Colwell-Chanthaphonh 2007). In another instance, archaeology in Prince George's County, a Maryland community outside of Washington, D.C., reveals an African-American heritage that has traditionally been overlooked for decades in a majority black county. The archaeology is one way to help develop a heritage of a long-silenced minority group (Lucas 2004). In this collection of papers, James M. Davidson and Edward González-Tennant describe the racism that led to the destruction of Rosewood, an African-American town in Florida that disappeared because of racial violence. The almost all-white county has done everything

it can to erase the memory of the burning and killing that occurred in 1923. Archaeology is seen as a way to commemorate and remember the place and event, while the white community is thwarting any efforts to study and remember the place. In Loudoun County, Virginia, Christopher Fennel worked closely with the descendants of the Demory family on an archaeology project. While performing the archaeology and delving into the historical records, Fennel revealed that the family patriarch, Peter Demory, owned enslaved people to work on his farm. While the generations of family history chose to forget this episode, this new evidence meant that the family had to readjust their story, which is now more complex. The revised family story is now used as a platform for understanding the history of racism in the family and in the region. Hayes's article focuses on the archaeology at the Sylvester Manor, a seventeenth-century provisioning plantation in New York. Archaeologists recovered an Indian-made vessel that may represent a pan-Indian identity that developed when the English threat became insurmountable. The destruction and burial of the item may have been a way of removing the item from the community. However, finding the vessels also complicates the story and the archaeology team had to revise its narrative of the place to create a more inclusive past.

A second strategy is to develop a memory that commemorates a patriotic and/or celebrated past. Historian Eric Hobsbawm (1983:13) writes: "The history which became part of the fund of knowledge or the ideology of nation, state or movement is not what has actually been preserved in popular memory, but what has been selected, written, pictured, popularized and institutionalized by those whose function it is to do so." I find John Bodner's (1992) work useful in discerning the difference between official and vernacular histories. The public memory is developed when those in power as cultural leaders have the time, money and motivation to support a particular past, which is reinforced through commemorative activities. The clash over the control of public memory occurs at some of the most visible places on the landscape and the federal government plays a significant role in creating a memory of the past. While there was a strong movement to remove subordinate memories from our national collective memory, minority groups struggled to have their histories remembered (Nash et al. 1998:103). For instance, the labor movement has long been overshadowed by the celebrated innovations and advancements of capitalism and the industrial revolution. However, archaeologies that focus on labors' struggle, like the Ludlow Massacre, allow people to remember that human cost of these advancements (Saitta 2007). In this collection, Carl G. Carlson-Drexler describes the Americanist interpretation of San Juan Hill when they had control over Cuba. When the Cubans gained control of the site in 1927, the American-celebrated past changed to incorporate the Cuban heroic story, and the official name of the event changed

from "Spanish-American War" to "Spanish-Cuban-American War." Through continuous effort, especially during the U.S. Cold War with Cuba, and the centennial celebration in 1998, the meaning and memory of the event has changed to incorporate the dominant Cuban viewpoint.

A third way to construct a memory of the past is to develop a sense of precedence whereby current social and political circumstances are seen to have a long tradition. Precedence, also seen by many as a form of heritage, creates a useable past to serve our present needs. Heritage connotes integrity, authenticity, venerability, and stability. While "history explores and explains pasts grown ever more opaque over time; heritage clarifies pasts so as to infuse them with present purposes" (Lowenthal 1997:XV). However, as social, political, and ideological conditions change, the collective memory of the past will also change. For instance, archaeologists are working with the Monacan Indians in Virginia, a group that disappeared from the memory of the state and federal government. By recognizing their long-term presence on the landscape, archaeology is helping the Indians reclaim a presence, create precedence, and help in their effort to reclaim their heritage (Hantman 2004). In this collection of papers, Jessica R. Desany shows how archaeology was used as early as the 1890s to connect identity to a place and to establish precedence. When the first Catholic Bishop arrived in Vermont in 1856, he was greeted with hostility in reaction to the region receiving an influx of Irish and French Canadian Catholics. In 1892 the bishop purchased the ruins of a seventeenth-century French fort in Vermont, performed excavations, and created a sacred Catholic space by placing the Stations of the Cross around the excavated ruins. This endeavor established a Catholic presence in Vermont that extended several centuries.

The articles in this collection show the role of archaeology and the different strategies used by communities to claim their heritage. Individuals and groups frequently struggle over the meaning of memory (Teski and Climo 1995:2). Different group agendas often clash causing the established collective memories to be continuously in flux. Some subordinate groups can subvert the dominant memory, other groups compromise and become part of a multivocal history, while others fail completely to have their story remembered by the wider society. The tensions between and within groups who struggle for control over the collective public memory is ongoing, since the political stakes are often high.

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A POTENTIAL ARCHAEOLOGY OF ROSEWOOD, FLORIDA

THE PROCESS OF REMEMBERING A COMMUNITY AND A TRAGEDY

James M. Davidson and Edward González-Tennant

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Historical archaeology is often viewed as a positive act, a means to remember that which has been forgotten. Many archaeological projects have been fostered through local communities, and have drawn often-diverse voices toward the common goal of memory. Less common are contentious archaeologies that deal with controversial or violent events in the past. Events that many don't want to remember. One particularly noteworthy example is the 1914 Ludlow Massacre, where National Guard troops opened fire on a tent encampment of striking miners in Colorado; the result was the death of twenty men, women, and children. Randall McGuire and colleagues have conducted archaeological investigations at Ludlow and documented the material evidences of their lives and the camp's destruction (Wood 2002; McGuire and Reckner 2003).

Even where the past is a difficult and painful one, such as in a plantation context, where enslavement and the insidious legacy of racism was engendered, the common goal of documenting this past is often held by descendants on both sides, white and black. David Babson (1990) has written about how one digs up racism in the past, and suggests that it is easy to imagine the impacts of racism on the lives of individuals within antebellum slavery, and far more difficult to see its effects, materially or archaeologically, in other contexts. Of course racism did not end with the demise of slavery, and in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries such tragedies as so-called race riots, lynchings, and the destruction of black homes and businesses were common headlines.

A spike in racial violence at the close of the First World War was spurred in part by returning black soldiers wishing to exercise the freedoms that they had experienced abroad and a greater white populous grown increasingly fearful of these assertions of equality. For example, during the summer of 1919, often referred to in retrospect as the "Red Summer," there were at least 25 so-called "race riots" throughout the U.S. Around 400

African-Americans were killed or injured in Chicago alone, and whole sections of towns or entire African-American communities were put to the torch. These atrocities were commonplace events well into the 1920s, assisted in part by the Klan's brief resurgence as a mainstream force in America (Williams 1968).

Perhaps the most famous cases known today are the 1921 Tulsa Race Riot and the 1923 destruction of Rosewood, a small black community in Levy County, Florida. In Tulsa, Oklahoma, during the course of only eighteen hours 35 square blocks within the black portions of town were deliberately destroyed in fire, with more than one thousand black homes lost and at least 39 confirmed fatalities. It has been described as one of the worst cases of American civil unrest since the Civil War. Rosewood's destruction, while on a smaller scale, was even more complete (Halliburton 1962; Jenkins 2003; Jones et al. 1993).

Rosewood is located in western Levy County, nine miles from the Gulf of Mexico. Between January 1 and 7, 1923, a horrible sequence of events rapidly unfolded in the black town of Rosewood and the adjacent white community of Sumner. That New Year's Day morning, a white woman, Fannie Taylor, claimed that a strange black man had forced his way into her home and assaulted her. The black community remembers it another way; Fannie had been having an affair with a white railroad employee, and for some reason they had quarreled. With a black eye and bruises to explain, Mrs. Taylor chose an easy lie over the hard truth. But her lie had dire repercussions (Jenkins 2003; Jones et al. 1993).

The white mob in pursuit of this phantom assailant soon encountered Sam Carter, a Rosewood resident. Accused of duplicity, Carter pleaded his innocence but was still tortured and then casually murdered. Fearing further terror acts, Rosewood's women and children took refuge in the home of Sarah and Hayward Carrier. That night a mob of well-armed white vigilantes attempted to enter the dwelling. Two whites were killed, and



Figure 1. A white mob inspecting the charred remnants of black houses in Rosewood, Florida (*The New York /Literary Digest/*, January 20, 1923).

several wounded. Sarah Carrier also died in a pitched gun battle that lasted several hours. Over the next 24 hours, the remnants of Rosewood were able to escape the killing zone, but the entire town was eventually looted, ritually vandalized, and finally burned, save for the home of the white storekeeper. In the span of three days, a town of 200 vanished.

Fannie Taylor's accusation may have been the catalyst, but it was not the reason for the viciousness of the attack. Rosewood was a stable, settled community; these families had been living there since the 1860s. Through decades of diligence and hard work, they had built some measure of prosperity and small visible indicators of wealth. The white town of Sumner, however, was composed of transient labor employed at the local sawmill and living in company housing. Within this recognition of Rosewood's relative prosperity, there was a deep-seated jealousy that these blacks were living far better than most whites in the county.

The residents of Rosewood had taken the words of Booker T. Washington's Atlanta Compromise speech of 1896 to heart, and to the best of their ability pursued economic advancement as a means to achieve some measure of equality in the eyes of white society. As eloquently described by W.E.B. DuBois in 1933 (1996:1020) in the *Crisis*:

In the years between emancipation and 1900, the the-

ory of escape was dominant. We were, by birth, law and training, American citizens. We were going to escape into the mass of Americans in the same way that the Irish and Scandinavians and even the Italians were beginning to disappear. The process was going to be slower on account of the badge of color; but then, after all, it was not so much the matter of physical assimilation as of spiritual and psychic amalgamation with the American people.

But of course, African-Americans did not escape their "badge of color"; DuBois was writing, in retrospect, of what might have been. Forty years before he wrote these words, the promise had already proved to be hollow. The consequence of this betrayal of ideals was that African-Americans with improved economic conditions did not demonstrate their worthiness to join the ranks of greater America, to shake off their badge of color, but instead only brought to greater emphasis many whites' own economic failures and a growing shame that was building toward some horrible conclusion.

What also made Rosewood different from many past acts is that the community fought back, and the price for such audacity was the total destruction of the town. This new strategy of open resistance was seen in other racially motivated acts of violence in the second decade of the twentieth century, and marked a critical turning point in race relations in this country

(Williams 1968).

Remembered only by the perpetrators, the survivors, and their descendants, the story of Rosewood became common knowledge in 1982. This revelation engendered public outrage and prompted survivors and descendants to come forward and tell their story. In 1994 the state of Florida officially recognized the gross violation of the Rosewood community's civil rights and loss of property with a monetary compensation of 2.1 million dollars. Rosewood had achieved such notoriety that a 1997 major motion picture was created by African-American director John Singleton.

But why Rosewood? Why is Rosewood remembered, when so many other communities saw the same kinds of brutality—the same intimidations, murders, burnings, and expulsions? For example, in the town of Ocoee 115 miles away, two African-Americans attempted to vote in 1920, and this act of defiance resulted in the burning of 25 homes, two churches, and the black Masonic lodge, with estimated fatalities at six blacks and two whites (Colburn 1997). And yet virtually no one remembers Ocoee. In the nearby town of Perry, just a month before Rosewood burned, the murder of a white school teacher, believed perpetrated by an escaped black convict, incited local whites to extreme violence. The accused man was dragged from jail and burned alive at the stake. Two other black men were shot and hung, and then the entire black community was attacked, with several homes, as well as their church, Masonic lodge, amusement hall, and school burned to the ground. And yet no one remembers the atrocity in Perry (Colburn 1997).

Rosewood was clearly not a unique event; however, it may have been a unique set of circumstances or timing, with the 1982 newspaper articles acting as a catalyst that ignited an interest that may not have sparked just five or ten years before. Perhaps Rosewood once discovered, easily became that key symbol, that proxy for the literal multitude of sins committed in the senseless name of racism, blind hatred, and envy in the past. Richard Flores (1998) has written extensively about this phenomenon, where past and present meet and create “a memory place.” There are numerous examples of this need for symbols, where events and places, at the time obscure or extraordinary, later become elevated in status or recognized for their uniqueness to symbolize a group identity, or in the case of Rosewood, stand as proxy for all wrongs.

Flores uses the Alamo as an example of a memory place, arguing that the physical site where one of the key battles for Texas Independence was fought in 1836 had soon after the battle become neglected and essentially ignored, with the chapel serving as a warehouse and other mundane uses, until the 1890s, when a state and even national symbol of white pride and supe-



Figure 2. An African-American home set ablaze by a white mob in Rosewood, Florida (*The New York /Literary Digest*/, January 20, 1923).

riority was needed in the transition to modernity. The Alamo, once forgotten, was reborn as a shrine and cradle of Texas liberty. Rosewood may function in the same way, but in the opposite direction; once a place of black pride, viciously and senselessly attacked and destroyed, all but forgotten for decades, now is remembered and revered as a symbol for all the Rosewoods in the past, present, and future.

But what of archaeology? Just what would an “archaeology of Rosewood” resemble? Before its destruction, Rosewood contained two general stores, two churches, a school, a Masonic Hall, a baseball diamond, a railroad depot, a small community cemetery, and of course, dozens of private homes. After its destruction, nothing of substance was built there. For all intents and purposes, it was simply allowed to grow wild again. While there are at least 50 years of living to document, bearing witness to the 1923 event cannot be avoided. The destruction of the entire town in just three days created a virtual Pompeii Effect, leaving *in situ* all durable architectural elements and entire contents of homes of several dozen households. Further, it was at the Carrier house where the 12-hour gun battle took place, and at least 4 people died. Excavating here would be akin to documenting a crime scene, and employing techniques pioneered on battlefield sites might allow some insight into establishing a sequence of events.

Unfortunately, the 1994 reparations bill did not address the return of lost property. Currently all of what was once Rosewood is in the hands of ambivalent or even actively hostile white landowners. Mrs. Lizzie Jenkins (2003), Rosewood descendant

and historian, has attempted to lead tours of Rosewood over the years, with intermittent and limited success, at times being set upon by dogs. Further, recent attempts to contact current landowners by mail, inquiring about the potential of initiating archaeological investigations of their properties, have all been ignored.

This paper—the attempts of the descendants of Rosewood to spread the word—and the proposal to conduct archaeology at the site, are all acts of remembering. But is there also a right to forget? The almost exclusively white population of Levy County (Loewen 2005:7, 382) largely does not want to remember Rosewood. To them, Rosewood really does not exist. Further, some have suggested that the reparations paid to survivors bought the state some kind of official forgiveness, a sort of blanket protection from all past wrongs, and a right to forget. Without a long-term activist archaeological investigation of the former town, the one voice speaking for Rosewood that will touch the most lives will be the 1997 film, although many of the Rosewood families were upset about how their story was dramatized. An archaeology of Rosewood could potentially have similar broad impacts that would not sacrifice historical accuracy in the process.

These contentious pasts must be remembered, or forgotten at our peril (Shackel 2001). It's not enough to say that there's a historical marker there, describing the events of 1923. Common knowledge of Rosewood's destruction didn't occur until 1982, 60 years after it took place. Reparations were not paid until 1994, 70 years later. Governor Bush and Rosewood descendants didn't dedicate the historical marker until May 2004, some 80 years after Rosewood was destroyed. And only three months later, in the dark of night a truck's tow chain was wrapped around it, it was ripped out of the ground, and dragged to the all white town of Cedar Key, some 9 miles away.

Because we can't presently gain access to the property, to re-create the town archaeologically, we are re-creating the town digitally, a virtual Rosewood based on current information as to how it would have appeared in 1923, which can give us some insight into this past landscape. It will be permanently housed on the University of Florida's anthropology server and available for viewing on the Internet. It's not enough to let the memory of this particular past take care of itself, because many in Levy County and elsewhere are actively trying to forget this past, to construct alternative histories about themselves where Rosewood is de-emphasized or erased altogether. Perhaps that is the ultimate value to be derived from such a contentious archaeology; the simple act of remembering in the face of overwhelming and deliberate forgetting.

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EXCAVATING STRATA OF MEMORY AND FORGETTING

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As a historical archaeologist, I have encountered the privilege and challenge of working on a number of research projects that revealed aspects of both forgotten and invented histories. One's ability to engage in such subjects is directly enhanced when archaeology is pursued in the spirit of civic engagement, with researchers working from the outset to collaborate with members of a diversity of interested communities. In this brief essay, I will highlight such experiences from projects located in Loudoun Valley, Virginia and Harpers Ferry, West Virginia.

Enslavement and Witchcraft in Loudoun Valley

The Demory house site in the Loudoun Valley of northern Virginia is located just six miles south of the Potomac River and the Blue Ridge Gap at Harpers Ferry. The shell of a log house stands on the Short Hill Mountain several hundred feet above the valley floor. Documentary and archaeological evidence indicate that this house was constructed by a family of German-American heritage in the last decades of the eighteenth century on land that was leased and then purchased by Peter Demory. The Demory family was of Anglo-American and German-American heritage, and owned several neighboring farmsteads in the Loudoun Valley through the late nineteenth century.

When I undertook excavations of the remains of this log house on one of the Demory parcels, I worked from the outset to broadly disseminate information about the project and the types of research questions I was considering. Utilizing internet web pages and communications by telephone, letters, meetings, and internet exchanges through genealogy forums, I was able to correspond with many members of the local and descendant communities who were interested in the project. Many aspects of my questions, methods, and interpretations of data were significantly shaped by those discussions.

The core research questions I developed in regard to the Demory house site can be described in the following, fairly academic-sounding terms. The study addressed the unfolding and interaction of three cultural processes in the ethnically diverse upper Potomac and northern Shenandoah region surrounding Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, during the period of 1750 to 1865. One process involved the dynamics with which distinct social groups and networks formed, solidified, and dissipated over time. Such social group dynamics included a second process of communication through the stylistic shaping and display of material culture. These two in turn impacted a third set of dynamics that involved regional exchange systems and competing socioeconomic interests deployed across the North Atlantic and within the mid-Atlantic region of America. I explored the ways in which these three processes intersected one another as members of varying social groups created, obtained, used, and displayed objects that exhibited stylistic patterns that could be employed to communicate a person's affiliations with those groups or to express more individual interests. In the course of this study, I examined the influence of elements of German-American, African-American, and Anglo-American cultural traditions in this



Figure 1. Remains of the log house on a Demory parcel in Loudoun Valley, Virginia (Photo credit: Christopher C. Fennell).

region and time period. Particular forms of material culture of religious beliefs, architecture, and housewares were analyzed within this theoretical framework (Fennell 2003, 2007).

In more compelling terms, however, which are relevant to this commentary about aspects of forgotten histories, the research focused on that log house in Loudoun Valley also revealed instances of witchcraft and enslavement. Documentary evidence of census lists and tax records indicate that Peter Demory and his adult sons operated their farming operations during the antebellum with the labor of enslaved African Americans. Unfortunately, I was not able to uncover detailed life histories of those laborers, who were reflected in such documentary sources with the limited information of first names, age groups, and property valuations. The fact of their past lives and work on the Demory farms, however, was a revelation to a number of Demory family descendants.

I led a tour of the archaeological site for over 40 members of the Demory descendant families in 2003, an event which corresponded with a family reunion and a wedding nearby. This site is in a remote, barely accessible location, so conducting such a tour was no easy feat. After clearing away a number of fallen trees from a dirt track on the Short Hill Mountain that morning, I returned to a spot on the valley floor to talk with the assembled group about their family history. We later traveled to the site with three generations of family members piled into a caravan of four-wheel drive vehicles bouncing over mountainside tracks. It took all day and three trips of that caravan for all family members to have a chance to tour the site and discuss their heritage.

Many had previously learned of a history of frontier pioneers and the tough, frugal lifeways of German immigrant families and their subsequent successes as Virginia farmers. Their view of family heritage and history grew more complex, however, as I described the details of the schism of Union and Confederate sympathies within Loudoun County at the start of the Civil War, and the investment of their forebears in the institution of slavery. Confronting facets of history that had been forgotten by many, they now engaged in a more nuanced and complicated reckoning



Figure 2. This excerpt from a photograph taken in the autumn of 1862 shows St. Peter's Church and School House in Harpers Ferry. The roof-top cupola of the School House is visible immediately behind the Church. Larger versions of this photographic record, which provide a panoramic view of the town, are available in the Library of Congress' "American Memory" archives.

of their family heritage. Yet, as a number of them expressed to me, they found a complex truth far more valuable and compelling to their sense of moralities than a history reduced by elisions.

The archaeology of the log house on the Demory parcel revealed another aspect of forgotten histories. A small, sculpted figure of a skull, with cross marks and inscriptions of initials upon it, was located under the floorboards of the structure, half-way between the north and south doorways. After years of extensive research to determine the context, function, meaning, and significance of this artifact, I found the most persuasive interpretation to be that this object was a material composition as part of a malevolent curse in the German-American practice known as *hexerei* (Fennell 2003, 2007). This curse was likely composed in the antebellum decades by a German heritage resident of the vicinity and was intended to target one or more members of the Demory family. Such artifacts of malevolent spiritual invocations are rarely uncovered, because they were typically created and deployed in secret.

The histories of German Americans and Anglo-Americans in Virginia usually focus upon the religious belief systems that fit within one of the dominant Christian denominations of the day. The robust history of an independent belief system among many residents, employing non-Christian traditions of spiritual invocations, is far less of an ingredient of local and state heritage. Yet, in an astounding development, the Virginia Historical Society Museum in Richmond now presents this skull figure in a custom display case, just feet from the portraits of Jefferson and Washington, in a permanent exhibit entitled "The Story of Virginia: An American Experience." Moreover, the display is not intended to exoticize German-American heritage, but rather emphasizes the pervasiveness of such belief systems among numerous European-American and African-American ethnic groups, and highlights the multivalent character of the symbolism deployed in such compositions.



Figure 3. Armory wall capstone on the ground outside the west doorway of St. Peter's School House in Harpers Ferry, next to its original position (Photo credit: Christopher C. Fennell).

Legends of the Civil War in Harpers Ferry

St. Peter's Catholic Church, which is listed on the National Register of Historic Places, was built in the early 1830s and has been an important religious institution and social center within Harpers Ferry for over a century and a half. The site includes a standing Church, Rectory, nearby privy structure, and the surrounding grounds. The Rectory building was originally a School House which served as a nondenominational educational center from 1854–1889, when it was converted into use as housing and offices for the clergy and their staff. Harpers Ferry had been established in the 1790s as a site for a federal armaments facility, which became the target of John Brown's failed raid in 1859.

From the 1950s through the mid-1990s, the National Park Service conducted extensive archaeological and historical research on many of the properties located throughout Harpers Ferry and nearby Virginus Island. However, due to their location on private property, no such archaeological investigations of the grounds of St. Peter's Church and School were undertaken in the course of those investigations. The Church and School grounds potentially offered a wealth of archaeological data on the daily lives and material culture of the Church pastors, support staff, teachers, students, parishioners, and neighbors, for the time period of 1830 onward.

Regular services at St. Peter's Church were curtailed in 1995, as part of a reorganization plan of the Diocese of Wheeling-Charleston. This plan called for the preservation of the Church in view of its historical significance. St. Peter's remains open to the public, and receives hundreds of thousands of visitors a year, many of whom come to tour the surrounding Harpers Ferry National Historical Park. I conducted excavations on the grounds of the Church and School in the summer of 2000. I undertook this project in cooperation with Reverend Father Brian Owens, the Pastor of St. James Church in Charles Town and of St. Peter's, who was working to coordinate restoration work on the buildings and surrounding grounds. This work included improvements of the landscape and repairs to the Church, Rectory, and the stone retaining walls that surround them. I organized archaeological investigations to coincide with those efforts in order to preserve the record of artifacts and features located on those grounds. The excavations were conducted with volunteers, including individuals from as far away as England, California, and Minnesota, as well as volunteers who were also civil war re-enactors and remarkably knowledgeable about the material culture of union and confederate soldiers' uniforms and personal kits.

Harpers Ferry changed hands between Union and Confederate control 14 times during the years of the Civil War. St. Peter's was the only church in the town that was not severely damaged or destroyed by the heavy bombardments and destruction leveled on Harpers Ferry by both northern and southern forces. The drama of the War left St. Peter's with a number of local legends. Two ghost stories are applied to the Church. In one, the ghost of a priest walks the path along the north exterior wall of the Church, reading a book, and then turns abruptly, disappearing into the wall, at a spot where the original 1833 Church's front facade likely stood. In another story, the stone steps leading into the east entrance of the Church are haunted by the cries of a baby who was killed there by a falling mortar shell.

Archaeological excavations in the summer of 2000 dispelled a third belief (Fennell 2001). A large capstone from the Armory wall rests in the ground just outside the west, exterior door of the old School House. This stone weighs approximately 500 pounds. In view of its weight, the labor it would take to move it up to the School House yard, and the likely use of the Church and School House as makeshift hospitals in the Civil War, some Harpers Ferry residents believed that this stone might cap and memorialize a burial of limbs amputated from unfortunate soldiers. We were careful in moving the stone so we could excavate beneath it, and we were ready to contact the State Historic Preservation Officer of West Virginia in the event we uncovered any human remains, so we could obtain guidance on how best to proceed. No such remains were found beneath the capstone. One might learn from this experience that we should not underestimate the industriousness of past residents in preserving and utilizing such tangible artifacts of the town's armory history. The rich history of St. Peter's Church and School grew somewhat more mundane, but also more accurate, in the course of those investigations.

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MEMORY'S MATERIALITY

Katherine H. Hayes

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The 2003 University of Massachusetts, Boston excavation season at Sylvester Manor, a seventeenth-century provisioning plantation in Shelter Island New York, yielded an unexpected object in an unlikely place. In the midst of a large waste pit, we encountered the primary deposit of a ceramic vessel, with a heavy decorated collar in a tradition consistent with a Native American historic period style known as Shantok. Broken at the bottom, it appeared to have been dropped and left in place. When the various pieces had been reassembled we found it also featured a handle attached vertically to the side, virtually never seen in Northeast Native tradition ceramics. This rather beautiful item in a mean and startling location encapsulates the central trajectory that I struggle with in archaeological interpretations at Sylvester Manor: that the documentary records identified the early plantation's labor force as enslaved Africans, while the archaeology of the central working areas has given us apparently Native American materials (for a more complete description of the project to date, see Hayes and Mrozowski 2007). In our despairing moments as archaeologists asking "what happened here?" we often think that the answers were only recorded in the memories of long-gone actors. Yet memory is not so impenetrable to us, if we consider the numerous modes of memory's operations, particularly as it is embedded in the material world—such as this ceramic vessel. As Henri Bergson (1991 [1896]:13) pointed out, "memory... is just the intersection of mind and matter."

The material power of memory was suggested by Michel de Certeau (1984:77–90), who argued that narration and practice are fundamentally associated. Narration itself is a practice, wherein one's history and actions are made coherent to oneself through a performative act. The point of the narration is not what it describes, but the act of giving structure to that which is learned or experienced. This concept fits comfortably with post-structuralist notions of history, especially Hayden White's narrative emplotments (White 1978:58–63, 84–99). For de Certeau, the strategic or tactical element in narration is the conversion of minimal force to maximal effect through the "mediation of a body of knowledge" which is drawn from *memory* and made to

be performative action. He describes memory as "the return of a time" and "that silent encyclopedia of singular acts" (de Certeau 1984:86), comparing it to the craft and wisdom of *metis* in Greek mythology. Thus the "art of memory" is in its tactical and transformative employment. The application of memory-knowledge at the "right moment" can create sources of power for those who use it with craft, to rupture a stable field of relations. As powerful as memory is in our everyday practice, however, it is seen as fragmentary and incapable of existing long outside of its mobilization, "in decay when it is no longer capable of this alteration" (de Certeau 1984:86).

In the present, the ceramic vessel at Sylvester Manor has acted as such a rupture to our stable expectations for the spatial setting. As archaeologists we regularly employ memory in our work, in the classification of features and materials based on prior knowledge. Gavin Lucas has explored this practice further by semantically linking the notions of *collecting*, as something which (in crude terms) archaeologists do, and *collective* memory (Lucas 1997). Archaeological collection stems in part from the desire to bring structure and order through classification, just as the performative act of narration structures our understanding of past experiences and one's life history. Collection and recollection imply that something is lost or forgotten that needs to be reacquired for completion, and a desire for possession, so our collection and reconstitution of the past makes it belong in part to us. The addition of the vessel to our collection immediately began to alter our collective constitution of the past, pressing us to revise the narrative told to ourselves and to others.

In the prior context of action of the vessel, the rupture to the field of relations was likely of different character. Perhaps most bluntly, the vessel may have been a physical testament to the presence and tradition of the Manhanset, indigenous to Shelter Island, in a new colonial context where they were in danger of losing their authority. Interestingly, though, this was not a straightforward representation of tradition. The ceramic tradition in which the vessel was made is termed Shantok, featuring dramatic decorative elements and dense, fine shell temper, named after the first

examples recovered from Fort Shantok in the Mohegan territory of Connecticut in the Contact or early historic period. For many years, the distribution of this ceramic type was presumed to be the result of population movements following the 1637 Pequot War against English colonists (Rouse 1947; Smith 1950). Others have considered it solely Mohegan, with its dispersal indicative of postwar Mohegan confederacy (Johnson 1999). More recently, however, closer analysis of these ceramics has shown that the clay composition and manufacturing techniques employed are highly variable. In light of this, an alternative explanation of the Shantok tradition would be that the pottery was being produced by many different Native American groups while utilizing a distinct, emblematic decorative style. Rather than being representative of one group, Shantok may have been the material expression of a broader pan-Indian identity, a *collective* appeal emphasized at a time when the English threat became overwhelming (Goodby 1998, 2002; Lavin 2002; Rubertone 1989). Thus the memory invested in this ceramic vessel may have been meant to evoke an artfully reconstructed collective memory, in an appeal to political and traditional values.

A corollary process involved is forgetting. Scholars have framed the “art of forgetting” as a process that operates materially at several levels (Forty 1999), such as separation, exclusion, or iconoclasm. These are cast in terms of power imbalances, as in ideological constructions of social memory. Consider that the Sylvester Manor vessel was dropped into a trash pit, and one could imagine that its destruction and burial were European strategies of forgetting through exclusion and iconoclasm. There may have been a process of forgetting on the part of the Manhasset, by subsuming their tribal identity in favor of a broader pan-Indian identity as suggested above (Goodby 2002; Lavin 2002). Forgetting in such a case as this may have been necessary; it was Maurice Halbwachs’s view that collective memory often must be forgotten or changed in order for a society to survive (Halbwachs 1992; see also Spyer 2000).

Given that memory is an active process, it is necessary to also explore the particular material *modes* for this action. The most salient scholar on this is Paul Connerton, who outlined the distinction of inscribed and incorporated practices in the “sedimentation” of social memory (1989). Intended as a heuristic device for the analysis of social memory, he describes *inscription* practices as those that are written or recorded in some fashion perhaps outside the body (as in text or images), or verbalized in repetition and mnemonic reference. Inscribed practices emphasize the sedimentation of ritual in repeated and constant forms that can be made portable as ideological coda (see also Rowlands 1993). As the sedimentation of a collective political memory, the Sylvester Manor vessel could be viewed as just such portable coda, literally inscribed (incised) with emblematic designs. Perhaps it was the case that the inscription was made



Figure 1. Handled Shantok-style vessel, partially reconstructed (photo by author).

by the Manhasset to be given to the Africans working at the plantation. Consider that the handle may have been suggested by an African laborer as a useful addition. Poetically, it recalls Georg Simmel’s description of handles as bridges between worlds, and as invitations to engage (Simmel 1959).

Incorporated practices, on the other hand, are centered in the body, as postural or behavioral ritual, but without being “permanently” inscribed so that the memory of such social identifications must be carried in the person. Connerton wrote that “bodily practices of a culturally specific kind entail a combination of cognitive and habit-memory” (1989:88), or in other words, knowledge and information as well as the embodied understanding of how to move through the landscape and posture the body. The incorporation of social memory in a ceramic vessel might be read in its craft of manufacture, embodied skills that can be identified by the knowledgeable actor but not by outsiders. To investigate the way in which skill-memory has been incorporated in this vessel and similar ceramics at Sylvester Manor, I have been conducting a series of tests on those materials, to assess chemical composition, type and processing of aplastic inclusions, and firing temperature. Taken together, the results suggest an intriguing possibility. The abrupt change to finely crushed, dense shell temper would have also meant a change in firing temperature and conditions (see Feathers 2006:91–93). The skill suggested in these results is fine control of those conditions, which may have been contributed by the enslaved Africans of the plantation, if they carried with them the memory of iron-smelting practices common among many West African communities. This raises an interesting question vis-à-vis the debated interpretations of Shantok pottery: if the consistent forms and decorative styles embodied a collective pan-

Indian political network, were the variable manufacturing techniques and base clay compositions a subtle albeit recognizable expression of local identity? Could enslaved Africans have been incorporated into those networks as well? And what does this suggest about the role of women (as potters) in such expressions (Goodby 2002)?

Such an interpretation would indicate that these modes of memory sedimentation are not mutually exclusive. In some instances a combination of inscription and incorporation may be in operation (Connerton 1989:78–79). Inscribed practices obviate the need to carry information purely as memory, as the memory is materialized and made more broadly available, but there may also be a limit to who one wishes to broadcast to in the community. Incorporated practices are more malleable and capable of transforming as needed because they are held within a closer community (perhaps by gender), while inscribed practices can be viewed as giving a fixed and naturalized character to social memory. Michael Rowlands (1993) has noted that incorporated practices often engender secrecy and exclusion, for example, in closely held memory of certain places in the landscape. Thus memory resides in discourses of absence and re-presenting. We should perhaps begin with the assumption that any place or object is implicated in memory both overt and covert, and the shifting between these is part of their tactical use. Here we begin to reconfigure the apparent contradiction between documentary and archaeological evidence at Sylvester Manor.

The re-presenting of memory is also an effect of archaeological practice itself. This is particularly true in the understanding of materialized memory, as archaeology could be thought of as a set of inscribing practices. As Lucas notes, “[t]he nature of archaeology... might be described as a presenting of absence—or making discursive the nondiscursive. . . For our world is not transparent; it is not fully constituted: there are gaps, shadows, silences, and absences which are not simply outside of discourse, but are often structurally excluded by discourse” (Lucas 2004:117). This, I believe, is what I am trying to do with the material analyses at Sylvester Manor: identify the places and practices where unspoken, or at least unwritten, memory may have been embedded. The gaps and silences surrounding the lives of Native Americans and enslaved Africans at Sylvester Manor—an almost palpable silence, in the documentary record—might be thus finally refilled, made memory anew.

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MONUMENTS AND MEMORY AT SAN JUAN HILL

ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE SPANISH-CUBAN-AMERICAN WAR

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Battlefields are very forceful structuring agents of memory. Understood here as socially produced images of the past (Halbwachs 1992), memory can be deployed in different contexts to pursue distinct social, political, and economic goals. By manipulating the memorial landscape of San Juan Hill as a framework of memory, both American and Cuban governments have sought to broker various forms of social and symbolic capital on the island since the end of the Spanish-Cuban-American War. This *lieu de mémoire* (Nora 1989) is inextricably linked to the century-long struggle between Cuba and the United States over control of the island, its resources, and its people.

The United States spent little more than a month fighting in Cuba in 1898. Putting ashore along the southern coast in late June, the major battles around Santiago, including San Juan Hill, were over by mid-July. American troops remained on the island for several years and returned during times of political and social unrest through the 1930s, and American business interests became entrenched in Cuba up through the early 1960s. Many Cuban leaders during this time received substantial support from the United States government and private sector. Since that time, political relations between Cuba and the United States have obviously not been amicable. Many of the most divisive issues are rooted in the Spanish-Cuban-American War, or at the very least indexed by it.

Between 1898 and 1927, the land that is now the battlefield park remained under U.S. military control. Veterans and government officials in the United States funded and erected monuments throughout this period, including an obelisk (pre-1902), a miniaturized reconstruction of the Spanish blockhouse taken by U.S. troops (1906), plaques at the Peace Tree surrender site (1906), and monuments to two different American units. These last include the 2nd Massachusetts Infantry (1923) and the 71st New York State Militia (1927). Taken as a whole, these monuments reflect a highly Americanist interpretation of the conflict. The first marker erected, the pre-1902 obelisk, commemorates the land to the U.S. soldiers who died in “America’s War with Spain.” The fact of Cuban contribution to the conflict is wholly

overlooked, a great irony given that the marker stands on Cuban soil fought over by American and Cuban forces.

Though ironic, it is not surprising, as American military and political officials actively sought to reduce Cuban claims to sovereignty during and in the wake of the fighting in hopes of incorporating the island into the American sphere of influence (Pérez 1998:85–86). By highlighting America’s role in the conflict and denying Cuba’s long struggle for freedom from Spain, the United States argued that Cuba owed it a debt for providing freedom. That purported debt became the basis for American power on the island. The fact that none of the monuments erected by American officials acknowledge Cuban soldiers, officers, or civilians is testimony to this motivation. Further, all inscriptions are in English only, suggesting that they were meant to present the Americanist position to the non-Cuban tourists and government functionaries who passed through Cuba during this period, and not meant for Spanish-speaking Cubans. In so doing, the battlefield became a locus of legitimation for America’s neocolonial presence on the island and a piece of American soil, won through force of arms (Pérez 1999).

The site transferred to Cuban control in 1927, and quickly acquired Cuban monuments. Three monuments to the Cuban army were erected within a decade. These were followed by a plaque regarding a name change for the conflict in 1945 and a centennial marker in 1998. During Castro’s rule, the bronze inscription plaques from American monuments were removed from San Juan Hill, and were only restored in the run up to the centennial celebrations. Both monument construction and alteration were part of the changing memory of the conflict as it responded to the changing political climate between the United States and Cuba.

The flurry of monument construction that accompanied Cuban takeover of San Juan Hill put Cubans on the memorial landscape for the first time. The three monuments constructed in 1927, 1929, and 1934 are all dedicated to the Cuban Army en masse. Unlike the American monuments to distinct units, or

monuments that list unit names, the Cuban Army is memorialized as a group, either by name or by the term *mambi*, an Afro-Cuban term for a soldier in the Cuban Army. In 1945, the Cuban government passed a resolution stating that since Cuban soldiers bore such a heavy burden of the fighting throughout the war, which began three years before the United States intervened, the name of the conflict should not be the “Spanish-American War” but the “Spanish-Cuban-American War.” A plaque to this effect was placed directly athwart the main public access to the monuments.

In the placement and composition of monuments, Cuban officials bracketed the explicitly Americanist interpretation of the conflict offered by the American monuments. The Cuban monuments ring the earlier U.S. ones, and are adjacent to the main footpaths into the park, controlling access to the American monuments. By any prepared access point, a visitor coming to the park encounters a Cuban monument before an American one. Though the Americanist interpretation was left standing, it was now encased within a profoundly Cuban memorial landscape.

The American monuments bear inscriptions that are completely written in English. This suggests that they were more focused toward the American tourists who flocked to Cuba throughout the early twentieth century to rest, relax, and do business. It was, until 1927, a space that helped legitimate American control over the island and was most hospitable to American visitors. When Cuban monuments appeared, they were primarily written in Spanish. The reinsertion of Cubans into the memorial landscape of San Juan Hill was thus a double move, the first being the representation of Cuban soldiers through monuments, and the second being the opening of the park to Spanish language interpretation, clearly more geared toward Cubans than to American visitors (none of the first three Cuban monuments bear English text).

These monuments were constructed at a time when direct American dominance over the island waned and Cuban claims to political self-determination were becoming more forceful. The second quarter of the twentieth century saw the emergence of a group of Cuban historians born and educated under American rule who were critical of America’s aims upon intervention and the legacy of the war (Pérez 1998). This group of scholars, including Herminio Portell Vilá and Emilio Roig de Leuchsenring, developed a Cuban interpretation the conflict that was not beholden to the Americanist position. Cuban historians focused on the near success of Cuban arms in the period between the commencement of the war in February 1895 and the arrival of U.S. troops in June of 1898. Shifting away from the previously dominant Americanist position that the war could not have been won without the presence of American troops, Portell Vilá

(1949) and Roig de Leuchsenring (1950) saw the war as essentially won by the time the U.S. intervened, and that American contributions were unnecessary and ultimately a pretext for American neocolonial occupation. The Cuban monuments erected between 1927 and 1945 were part of the growth of this movement, and became material manifestation of it. In so doing, they helped to shift Cuban memory of the conflict away from the Americanist orthodoxy of Cuban incompetence and necessitated hegemony and toward a nationalist sense of liberation subverted by the intercession of the United States.

The ascendancy of Fidel Castro brought further changes to San Juan Hill. American plaques were removed, thus rendering the monuments mute and creating a memorial landscape where only Cuban viewpoints were presented. During the 1960s through the 1980s, the site did not receive many visitors and became unkempt (San Martín 1998). This was one of the most frigid periods in Cuban-American relations, a period that is home to the Cuban Missile Crisis and the invasion of the Bay of Pigs. In a time when the United States was not in favor and had little control over the island, monuments that hinted to its presence in Cuba were held in disfavor.

Since that time, conditions between Havana and Washington have cooled somewhat. Cubans and Americans have begun to accommodate each other in their interpretations of the war (Pérez 1998). Seeking to counteract the “political hysteria” that occasioned the removal, Cuban officials restored the battlefield park to its previous condition (San Martín 1998). The reinstatement of American plaques gives attention to the role played by the American soldier in the conflict, which Cubans readily acknowledge. They also play a subtle role in support of the most recent addition to the monuments of San Juan Hill.

The Centennial Marker, erected in 1998, is the final addition to the memorial landscape. This simple granite obelisk bears three sentences. The first memorializes the fighting that occurred around San Juan Hill in 1898. The second reminds visitors that the aftermath of the battle saw the rise of American neocolonial power on the island. The marker concludes by stating that it is only through the efforts of the Cuban government that those intentions were ultimately thwarted. While the Cuban position on the contribution of American soldiers may have softened, the aims of the U.S. government during the 1890s and early twentieth century are still clearly a source of bitterness. Given the long history of American designs on control of the island, these statements are neither surprising nor without merit. The American monuments that flank the Centennial Marker, preserving a now century-old Americanist interpretation of that conflict, substantiate the text of the Centennial Marker. As a mechanism for affecting the way that Cubans today remember the conflict, this is a powerful framework indeed.

As archaeologists interested in studying conflict, our analyses can and must extend beyond bullets and buttons. The monuments erected on battlefield sites are forms of material culture as open to archaeological analysis as any artifact deposited during the battle. In addition to providing significant insight into the way that conflict interlaces with other elements of social life, memory studies offer a bridge between archaeology, cultural anthropology, and other realms of the social sciences that have engaged in plumbing the way in which we interact with the past.

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THE ENSHRINING OF FORT STE. ANNE

FORGOTTEN MEMORIES AND SELECTIVE RECONSTRUCTIONS OF VERMONT'S EARLIEST EUROPEAN OCCUPATION SITE

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An archaeological site endures in the public consciousness as a connection between place and memory. The history of a site is kept alive through its physical link to the past, an association that is important in creating and maintaining shared memories of that past for those living in the present (Halbwachs 1992:182; Van Dyke and Alcock 2003:2). These shared memories, referred to as collective memories, help to maintain and reinforce national and group identities (Halbwachs 1992:80; Hodgkin and Radstone 2003:169). In addition, collective memories help define a unified historical narrative that can lead to archaeological sites becoming politically and culturally charged spaces as can be seen with the recent celebration of Jamestown as the birthplace of America.

Not only do remembered sites play a role in defining a unified narrative, forgotten sites also emphasize a cohesive historical narrative (Halbwachs 1992:182–183). Sites that do not serve to reinforce, convey, or strengthen the identity of a group in physical or political control of that history often become forgotten. Though archaeological excavations of these sites largely allow forgotten pasts to be remembered, selective interpretations by archaeologists and the public have the potential to redefine and leave out past histories in the collective memory (Shackel 2000). These memories and interpretations hold the potential to change the landscape of a site, further altering the history of the landscape.

The history of Vermont's earliest European occupation site, the seventeenth-century French Fort Ste. Anne, illustrates how components of a site's history are selectively remembered or forgotten in order to reaffirm identity through connection to place. Today the fort's history has become distorted with its present location within St. Anne's Shrine, a Catholic shrine complex that was created around the fort ruins in the late nineteenth century. The Catholic Diocese of Burlington, Vermont accentuated the current collective memory of the fort as a Catholic site through archaeological excavations in the 1890s.

The Military Past of Fort Ste. Anne

Fort Ste. Anne, built by the French in 1666, is located on Isle La Motte, Vermont: a small island located along the northern end of Lake Champlain near the Quebec border. At the time of European contact in the early seventeenth century, Lake Champlain and the Richelieu River was a main north-south trade route for Native Americans and French fur traders (Calloway 1991:162; Haviland and Power 1994:212, 219; Richter 1992:55; Thwaites 1899a:253–265). By the mid-seventeenth century the Lake Champlain/Richelieu River route became a battleground for control of the fur trade between Iroquoians and Algonquian and their French allies (Richter 1992:98; Thwaites 1899a).

In 1665 King Louis XIV sent nearly 1,200 Carignan-Salières Regiment soldiers to New France to quell the escalating Iroquois attacks (Steele 1994:73; Trigger 1985:283; Thwaites 1899a:213, 217–225; Verney 1991:7, 15–16). That summer the regiment began to secure the colony by rebuilding Fort Richelieu and constructed three new forts along the Richelieu River, named Fort Ste. Therese, Fort Ste. Louis, and Fort Ste. Jean (Thwaites 1899a:161, 171, 265–267). The following July, the regiment completed construction of the fourth and final fort on Lake Champlain, named after the July 26 Catholic feast day of Saint Anne (Thwaites 1899a:173, 255). Fort Ste. Anne, built as the southernmost fort in New France, provided a staging area for raids into Iroquois territory until it was abandoned sometime after 1668 (Thwaites 1899a:255, 1899b:141–147, 203). The construction of these four new forts marked a major transition in the history of New France that led to eventual peace with the Iroquois and expansion of the colony throughout the eighteenth century (Verney 1991:91).

Forgotten Histories

The ruins of Fort Ste. Anne remained visible on the land as Isle La Motte was transferred from French to English control during the mid-eighteenth century (Coolidge 1994; Crockett 1909:29;

Guttin 1916:21–23; Sbardellati 1977:4). The memory of Fort Ste. Anne would continue to fade throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century as Vermont historians tried to establish the state as part of the American national identity (Butler 1846; Calloway 1984:161; Palmer 1983; Read 1871). During this period, Vermont's role in the Revolutionary War was emphasized in written histories, the creation of monuments, and the preservation and commemoration of sites of American or English historic significance within the state. These tributes left non-American sites, such as Fort Ste. Anne, all but forgotten.

A debate surrounding the name of Isle La Motte, named after Pierre de St. Paul, Sieur de la Motte (la Mothe), the French Captain in charge of building Fort Ste. Anne illustrates the region's desire to separate from its French past. After a successful petition in 1802, Isle La Motte was officially renamed Vineyard as "the people of the island are generally of English and Scottish descent" (Child 1883). By changing the name from its French origins, the petitioners were trying to represent the present populace on the island, and in doing so remove the French association with the island's history. However, for unknown reasons, the island name was officially returned to Isle La Motte in 1830 (Guttin 1916:14).

Enshrining the Past

The French connection to Vermont would be revitalized during the mid-nineteenth century when the history of Fort Ste. Anne would become important to group identity. During this period, an unwelcome influx of Catholic French-Canadian and Irish immigrants came to Vermont in search of jobs and fertile farmland (White 1991). Bishop Louis DeGoësbriand, the first Catholic bishop of Vermont, was at the forefront of this revitalization (Harlow 2001; Kerlidou n.d.:6). When the newly appointed Bishop first arrived in Vermont in 1856 he was greeted by Nativist mobs protesting the Catholic presence (Harlow 2001). In an effort to legitimize the Catholic presence in Vermont, DeGoësbriand researched Catholic priests and bishops who came to the region during the colonial period, especially those who traveled to Fort Ste. Anne (DeGoësbriand 1890; Kerlidou n.d.: 9). Through published and oral accounts, DeGoësbriand reestablished public memory of Catholics as the first Europeans in Vermont (DeGoësbriand 1890; Kerlidou n.d.:1).

In 1892 DeGoësbriand purchased the ruins of Fort Ste. Anne in order to create a shrine around what he believed to be the site of the first Catholic mass in Vermont (DeGoësbriand 1890; Kerlidou n.d.:9–12, 39). Church ownership of the fort ruins allowed DeGoësbriand control of the site's public memories in order to reinforce and legitimize early Catholic connections to Vermont. By creating a shrine at the ruins of the fort, DeGoësbriand provided Catholics with a tangible place to reaffirm group identity

through the site's early Catholic history. In an effort to further connect the shrine to the site's early history, the Diocese named the new shrine St. Anne's Shrine, after the fort. Catholic ownership of French colonial archaeological sites can also be seen in the histories of Fort Pentagoet in Castine, Maine and St. Marie among the Huron near Midland, Ontario. The French Catholic history of these colonial ruins also became important to Catholic identity during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Faulkner and Faulkner 1987, 41; Jury and Jury 1954).

The creation of a shrine around the ruins of Fort Ste. Anne further emphasized the Catholic associations with the fort while distancing the military nature of the site. In 1895, Reverend Joseph Kerlidou, the first director of the shrine, began excavating the mounded ruins of Fort Ste. Anne while creating the shrine landscape (Kerlidou n.d.:27–67). Kerlidou excavated for two summers, hoping to locate remains of the church, a common structure within French forts (Burlington Free Press 1895; Kerlidou n.d.:25–30). The location of a church would be physical evidence of the first masses delivered in Vermont and would also provide a concrete place on the landscape for present Catholic pilgrims to connect with the sites religious past. Though Kerlidou recorded descriptions of palisade remains, chimneys, and bastions, he did not mention locating any possible church structure (Kerlidou n.d.:24, 27–67). However, in a pamphlet published a decade later, Kerlidou claimed he had located the church altar during initial excavations, further reinforcing the Catholic nature of the site (Guttin 1916:15; Kerlidou and Couture 1976).

After excavating the ruins, Kerlidou placed numerous artifacts from the fort excavations openly on display at the Shrine (Kerlidou n.d.:66–67). Over the ensuing decades hundreds of artifacts from his excavations were lost and or stolen due to insecure display and storage. Though the excavations of the fort gave credence and publicity to the shrine, the mainly secular artifacts did not appear important in contributing to the Catholic memory of the site. For the Diocese, the act of excavating and re-landscaping the fort ruins was important to the creation of the shrine, while the artifacts were mere curiosities.

The transformation of the memory of the site from military ruin to sacred Catholic space was completed through the placement of the Stations of the Cross. The Way of the Calvary, as it is also known, is a series of 14 crosses on the landscape used as prayer stations at many Catholic shrines. Kerlidou used the outline of the fort ruins as the location of the Stations at St. Anne's Shrine, placing a cross on each excavated ruin (Kerlidou n.d.). In addition, Kerlidou used stones from the fort ruins to create the bases for each cross, figuratively and literally transforming the site into a sacred Catholic landscape. These acts of excavating and re-landscaping inscribed the ruins with religious symbolism,



Figure 1. Reverend Joseph Kerlidou standing next to a station of the Cross on the site of Fort Ste. Anne c.1900. Note the cut fort stones used for the base of the cross. (Photo Courtesy of Celine Paquette).

helping to re-identify and reinforce the Catholic history of the site in the regions memory.

Reconstructing the Past

The history and excavations of Fort Ste. Anne provide a study of the way groups remember or forget components of a site's history to reaffirm identity through connection to place. Through exploitation of the archaeological ruins of Fort Ste. Anne, the Catholic Diocese was able to reinvent the site as a sacred Catholic shrine. Consequently, the memory of the fort is lost to a public that often perceives the site as having been a mission rather than a fortification. Interest in the French presence in Vermont has been revived in preparation for the upcoming 400th anniversary of Samuel de Champlain's exploration of Lake Champlain. As the Diocese used archaeology to revive the Catholic connection to the land, archaeologists may once again help reinvigorate the memory of this site in hopes of protecting it for the future and to further our understanding of interaction of peoples in this region.

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FROM THE INCOMING EDITOR OF *LATIN AMERICAN ANTIQUITY*

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I am pleased to introduce myself as the incoming editor of *Latin American Antiquity*, and Luis Jaime Castillo, of the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, as the journal's new coeditor. We will be working with editorial assistant Kari Zabler, a graduate student in Andean archaeology at the University of Illinois. William H. Isbell (SUNY-Binghamton) will serve as the book reviews editor. We will make the editorial transfer with outgoing coeditors Mark Aldenderfer and José Luis Lanata on March 1 after which all manuscripts should be sent to us at laaeditor@gmail.com. We are going to be strict with a 6-week turnaround time for peer reviewers and authors revising their manuscripts.

We invite colleagues to consider creating occasional themed sections (3 or 4 articles) within the journal that would generate a closely engaged dialogue across areas (e.g., Maya, Mochica, Marajoara) around topics of shared interest, such as water management, urbanism, the built environment as text, and isostatic processes of state formation. We hope all manuscripts will consider, when feasible, the contemporary context of archaeological practice, including problems of heritage and the representation of identity. We welcome critiques of museum exhibitions. Rather than publishing obituaries we want to be proactive and would like to commission interviews of senior archaeologists working in various Latin American countries that will consider the state-of-the-art nationally, thematically, and theoretically. We welcome inquiries from colleagues who wish to propose an interviewee and conduct the interview (by any means suitable). We especially hope to receive manuscripts concerning parts of Latin America that have been less visible in the journal. Finally, there will be no distinction made between “articles” and “reports.”

Luis Jaime, Bill, Kari, and I look forward to seeing you in Vancouver and will be happy to discuss any of the above with you (or email us now).



THE ROLE OF ARCHAEOLOGISTS AND FIRST NATIONS IN SORTING OUT SOME VERY OLD PROBLEMS IN BRITISH COLUMBIA, CANADA

Colin Grier and Lisa Shaver

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Amidst the myriad of fronts on which archaeology operates, the political realities of archaeology in British Columbia, Canada stand as unique. The province is home to some of the most renowned and ethnographically referenced societies, including the Haida, Kwak'waka'wakw (Kwakwaka'wakw), Nuu-chah-nulth (Nootka), Tsimshian, and Coast Salish. Many of these First Nations (their recognized title within Canada) are currently engaged in a process of negotiating and specifying the meaning of treaties signed with the fledgling nation of Canada over a century ago. The process of modernizing these treaties includes reaching agreements that will [re]establish aboriginal title to traditional lands and resources. Most profoundly, the ultimate result will be an entirely new relationship between First Nations and Canada, whereby aboriginal Nations will become self-governing entities within the political structure of Canada.

This process is a monumental challenge, and certainly is unparalleled in the terms of the engagement it represents between the parties now sitting at the Treaty Table. The process draws upon knowledge of the past, and archaeology has been brought, understandably, into the discussions. Statements concerning what constitutes traditional territories and how precontact economies were organized are questions ripe for archaeological investigations and political negotiations alike. It is within this reality that archaeologists and BC's First Nations build meaningful projects and relationships to support First Nations' efforts to generate a future more of their own making. In what way has this political milieu fueled collaborative projects between First Nations and archaeologists? How have we been able to work together to achieve mutual objectives? Below we highlight some productive ways in which archaeologists and First Nations have been "making it work," and comment briefly on prospects and directions looking into the future.

Archaeological Partnerships as Capacity Building

Many First Nations take a remarkably proactive stance in employing the past to pave the way for a future that is being con-

tested in the present. Amongst these are the six Hul'qumi'num Salish Nations of the southern Gulf Islands and southeastern Vancouver Island of coastal British Columbia. The territory of the Hul'qumi'num peoples remains in some respects remote, yet much of their traditional lands lies in the midst of the most heavily developing areas of BC, including the Vancouver, Victoria and Nanaimo metro regions. Unfortunately, this means that the record of the past that they can employ to establish precontact land-use patterns is being increasingly lost—often rapidly and in large chunks—to development, logging, recreation, and natural coastal erosion. With archaeological investigations driven by these forces, archaeological knowledge tends to accumulate in piecemeal fashion, driven by objectives other than those of First Nations or researchers. The need that First Nations have for systematic, extensive surveys of their traditional territories has fueled a number of collaborative initiatives with research archaeologists that bring together pragmatic outcomes and interesting problems. This collaboration can in fact promote creativity; considering similar problems from multiple perspectives can open up new range of research questions and approaches.

Collaboration also generates novel opportunities for funding field research. In the "post-treaty settlement" era, First Nations will obtain significant autonomy in the governance of their own affairs. One key element of self-government will be a greater role for First Nations in managing archaeological sites. This management responsibility will require a solid inventory of the heritage resources within their territory. An avenue for building this inventory was provided by the Department of Indian Affairs—the Federal Department set up by treaty in the late nineteenth century to manage aboriginal lives—which made available funds for First Nations to undertake projects that build the institutional "capacity" for self-government. Almost a decade ago, Coast Research, an anthropological research consulting enterprise, formulated a proposal in partnership with the Lyackson First Nation (one of the six Hul'qumi'num Tribes) to acquire Capacity Initiative funding to complete an archaeological survey of Valdes Island—the core area of Lyackson traditional territory.

A sizeable grant was obtained, sufficient to complete the survey and obtain radiocarbon dates to establish a basic chronology of occupation and resource use. A similarly funded and organized capacity initiative was launched in 2003, again with Coast Research partnering with another of the Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group members—the Penelakut Tribe. Little to no pre-existing or systematic archaeological information existed concerning Penelakut heritage sites and land use in the precontact past within their core territory. The situation is primarily a result of the main reserve area, Kuper Island, having had Indian Reserve status over the last century, making it Federally administered land. Most archaeological surveys in the Gulf Islands have not included Federal lands, leaving large gaps in the most key areas of Penelakut settlement.

Within the context of these Capacity Initiative projects, all Penelakut Reserve coastline and much of Lyackson traditional territory was surveyed, identifying numerous new sites and providing a sound footing from which to implement potential management strategies. These data have also provided archaeologists with a basis for reconstructing long-term settlement patterns and shifts in those patterns over millennia. Beyond the archaeology itself a key element of the two capacity initiative projects was to involve younger members of the Nations in the fieldwork—those who will likely live most of their lives in a post-treaty age—so they could connect with the land, come to a broader understanding of what heritage sites represent, and get acquainted with the practices of archaeologists and their methodologies. Few Hul'qumi'num Salish people are pursuing university degrees in anthropology or archaeology, and while there is much that can perhaps be done to change that, it is critical to recognize that alternatives to universities as the loci of training in heritage stewardship must be developed.

These capacity-building projects represent but a few examples of the numerous projects that involve substantive and meaningful collaboration between archaeologists and First Nations in BC. More broadly, the Hul'qumi'num Tribes have been supportive of and active participants and collaborators in household research at large ancestral villages sites in their traditional territories (e.g., Grier 2003, Matson 2003). Their understandings of “ancient place” have helped shape the direction of the research. Likewise, multiple projects bringing together First Nations along the Lower Fraser River and researchers from the University of British Columbia and Simon Fraser University have involved extensive collaboration and cooperation in defining project goals, obtaining funding, carrying out fieldwork, and publishing results. As part of these projects, academic researchers and First Nations have jointly mounted public interpretation programs, providing multiple voices in the reconstruction of ancient sites, landscapes, history, and identity.

In the Meantime...

While new relationships have been generated through efforts to move the treaty settlement process forward, few treaties have been signed between Canada, the Province of BC, and First Nations. The process is moving slower than many find ideal, and it appears that the era of a fully settled treaty reality is quite a way off—perhaps decades. Some are skeptical that such an outcome will in fact be achieved given the complexity of the process. How does archaeological stewardship and heritage management proceed in the interim? How are archaeologists and First Nations engaging the current process and working to effect change for the better?

Much is being done to promote better implementation of existing heritage legislation and to promote changes in both legislation and practice that make archaeological research and heritage management on ancient sites more consistent with Hul'qumi'num cultural values. A comprehensive statement of Hul'qumi'num customary laws that guide their own heritage conservation principles was assembled as part of research into the Protection and Repatriation of Cultural Heritage in Canada (McLay et al. 2004). In this document, Tribal Elders' narratives provide a moral compass for making changes to the way heritage management should be structured, and their views are developed by the report authors into detailed recommendations for implementing changes to heritage management policy and practice.

Such political efforts intermesh with the substantial amount of archaeological research proceeding collaboratively between archaeologists and the Hul'qumi'num Nations. Data generated by Capacity Initiative-funded archaeological projects have fed into a more comprehensive approach to documenting and assessing the heritage resources that exist on the landscape, and to generate better management tools for those resources. GIS-based predictive models have been developed by the Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group to generate testable models for site location prediction within their territories, and archaeologists have been involved in ground-truthing these models. Such proactive research reflects an increasing sophistication in the management of heritage resources and a basis for transitioning to self-management of these resources.

The ultimate goal of all this collaborative work is to create a more First Nations-driven management model at the political and pragmatic levels. Such a model considers the broadest suite of significant sites and heritage resources, including sites highly significant to Hul'qumi'num peoples (for example, spiritual sites) that may not contain actual heritage objects and are therefore not objectively defined as “archaeological.” Indigenous models go beyond the predictive models currently used by industry and Government in the context of development plan-

ning, which tend to reflect the “objectified” view of prior land use. Data generated by archaeologists and the methodologies they bring to the table (predictive models, settlement pattern studies, GIS analyses) have in many respects helped pave the way for the implementation of an indigenous approach to heritage management. Such initiatives seem like they might, in the spirit of a “new relationship,” be well received, even in the pre-treaty settlement era. This summer, Stan Hagen, British Columbia’s Tourism Minister, signed a memorandum of understanding with the Hul’qumi’num Treaty Group that expands their role in managing development on known archeological sites. Changes in current heritage management systems appear to be developing out of strategies initially conceived to address the Treaty Process and the Post-Treaty Era.

Many currents in the province of British Columbia appear to be building in the direction of a new relationship between aboriginal peoples and the Province. This new climate was referenced by the Premier of British Columbia Gordon Campbell, who emphasized his own interest in seeing new solutions to old problems. Part of any credible new relationship must include a revamping of the existing heritage management legislation, which remains lamentably inadequate as currently implemented. The politics of renewing the Heritage Conservation Act are complex and challenging, and will require the consistent and persistent combined efforts of archaeologists, First Nations, and other interested parties and organizations. A lot of unanswered questions remain concerning how the future of the past will unfold. Given that we all will participate in that future, our successes will be directly correlated with the extent that we can “make it work” together.

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IF YOU CAN SEE THE PAST IN THE PRESENT, THANK AN ARCHAEOLOGIST

GETTING SERIOUS ABOUT ARCHAEOLOGICAL LITERACY

M. Elaine Franklin, A. Gwynn Henderson, and Jeanne M. Moe

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If *You Can Read This, Thank a Teacher!* Have you seen this bumper sticker? This simple statement effectively reminds the reader of the debt owed to teachers for the ability to perform such fundamental skills as reading and writing. What would an archaeological version of the bumper sticker say? What basic concepts and knowledge should an archaeologically literate citizen possess?

Defining Archaeological Literacy

In the early 1990s, a number of professional archaeological, anthropological, and historical organizations formed a coalition known as the Education and Archaeology Work Group. The group drafted a statement recognizing the need for public education and outreach in the field of archaeology. According to the statement, "This group seeks to strengthen and deepen the public's knowledge and understanding of archaeology" (The Education and Archaeology Work Group 1991). At the time the statement was written, it would have been common to hear archaeologists say, "I would be happy if they (the public) just knew that we don't study dinosaurs."

In the 17 years since the Work Group documented its goals, objectives, and actions, there has been an explosion in the number and types of programs, materials, and initiatives that address public archaeology or archaeology education. One might conclude that this enthusiastic response has resulted in a better informed, more archaeologically literate public. Perhaps it has, but the truth is that we don't really know for sure. It is still common to hear archaeologists say, "I would be happy if they just knew that we don't study dinosaurs." And it is still common to see this misconception about archaeology in the popular media. Although the confusion between archaeology and paleontology might seem benign, it reflects the lack of even a basic understanding of the discipline.

Determining what the last two decades of archaeology education have accomplished in regard to developing an archaeologically literate citizenry is difficult for a number of reasons. Central to the problem is the need to identify what it means to be archaeologically literate. Efforts to measure accomplishments in archaeology education are hampered by the lack of a shared understanding of what an archaeologically literate citizen would "look like." One is reminded of the parable of the blind men and the elephant. Because each man only touched one part of the animal, each had a different notion of what the elephant was like. To a certain extent, many of the research, assessment, and evaluation efforts in archaeology education have been similar. They have helped us understand how specific program goals are being met or, in other cases, have looked more broadly at deep structures of historical cognition (Davis 2005) but a large body of

research that indicates whether the general public has a better understanding of archaeology than it did twenty years ago does not exist.

In 1985, the members of the American Academy for the Advancement of Sciences (AAAS) recognized the need to identify the essential understandings that a scientifically literate citizenry would possess. These were outlined in *Science for All Americans*, first in a series of publications that together are known as Project 2061 (AAAS 1990). The AAAS launched this long-term initiative during the last time Halley's Comet was visible from earth; the next time it will be seen is the year that the project is named for—2061. In the words of the AAAS and the developers of the project, "Today's young people will, as adults, greatly influence what life on earth will be like in 2061 when Halley's Comet returns. Being literate in science is a condition for doing so responsibly as well as for living a full and interesting life" (1990:Back Cover). Would a focused collaborative effort, similar to that of the AAAS in its development of Project 2061 prove useful for identifying the essential understandings that comprise archaeological literacy?

The Austin 2007 Workshop: What Would an Archaeologically Literate Public Look Like? What Should They Know?

These questions opened the *Education Programs Evaluation Workshop* sponsored by the SAA's Public Education Committee (PEC) at the 2007 Annual Meeting in Austin. The goals of the workshop were to:

- Explore reasons for evaluating education programs;
- Discuss the theoretical underpinnings and kinds of research opportunities that evaluation provides;
- Provide concrete suggestions for how to carry out effective evaluations and assessments.

Participants in the workshop were asked what an archaeologically literate public should know and understand. The purpose of this was to show that meaningful evaluation of archaeology education programs and materials begins with having clearly defined learning goals. Although the participant responses were not gathered through a formal scientific survey, they can serve as a starting place for defining what an archaeologically literate public would look like.

Twenty-two women and seven men attended the Austin workshop, representing 18 different states from across the U.S. These individuals worked in a variety of contexts (Table 1). Colleges, universities, or organizations based at these institutions were most frequently represented, followed by offices or programs affiliated with state government, such as State Historic Preservation Offices, state museums, archaeological parks, or education networks; and private organizations, such as education centers, museums, or archaeology firms. Federal government organizations rounded out the list. Although the diversity of contexts within which archaeology education takes place was represented in this workshop, university contexts were probably over-represented and this may reflect the workshop's association with the Annual Meeting. Participants were divided into seven groups to discuss the questions posed by the workshop leaders; there was no attempt to assign them to specific groups based on predetermined criteria. The groups were instructed to write their responses on flip charts but were not asked to rank the responses.

The 40 responses gathered through this method were assigned to ten categories; responses not fitting any of the categories were labeled miscellaneous. The categories emerged from the data, meaning that they were not determined prior to data collection but were designed to logically sort the data. Participants had many different ideas about what an archaeologically literate public should know, ranging from the very specific and tangible, such as "Archaeologists don't do dinosaurs," to the conceptual, "Context is important," to the ethical, "Stewardship of the past is important for everyone to do" (Table 2). Interestingly, no single response was listed by all groups.

Three key points that were listed by over half of the groups reflect the interdisciplinary nature of archae-

Table 1. Work Context of Austin Workshop Participants.

Work Context	Frequency
Universities/colleges	14
State government	7
Private organizations	6
Federal government	2
Total	29

ology and its inseparable connection to the sciences as well as the humanities. These responses also represent archaeology as a discipline that embodies elements of active citizenship. These points include:

- Understanding how archaeology is conducted. This was the most frequent response. This consisted of not only knowing how archaeologists collect data but a broad understanding of how archaeological research is grounded in scientific methods.
- Understanding that archaeology is about people and past cultures (that it's not just about artifacts).
- Understanding that archaeology involves stewardship (site preservation, laws, ethics, and that archaeological resources are non-renewable).

Four additional points listed by three groups touch on broad concepts or values. These include understanding that: archaeology is about a shared past—everybody's past—and in that way, archaeology is democratic and doesn't leave anyone out; the past is about a diversity of groups and that archaeology studies this diversity, it doesn't just focus on prehistoric peoples or groups; context is important; and misconceptions exist concerning what archaeologists do and do not study, especially dinosaurs and how past peoples lived. Other points noted include: knowing about the value and benefits of archaeology; understanding that the past is not static; and understanding that archaeology provides content about regional prehistory and history, is one way of knowing about the past, is a way to confirm heritage, is the only way we can get at the deep human past, involves critical thinking and is fun.

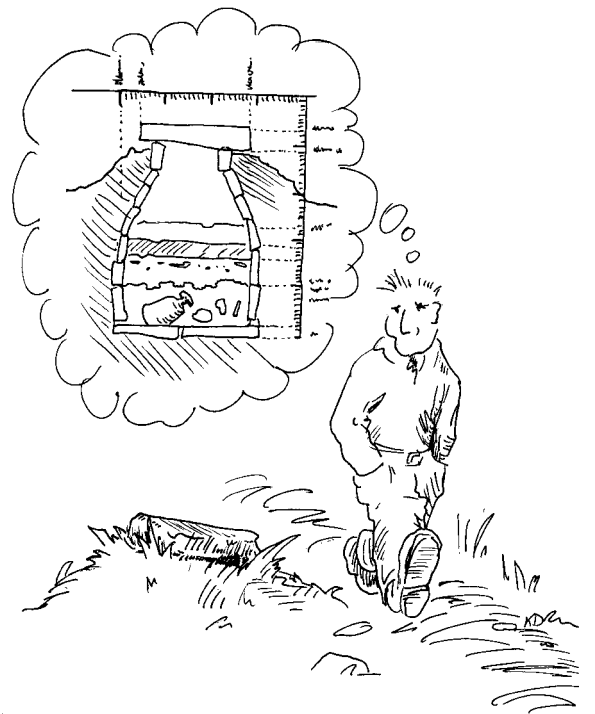
The participants attending the Austin workshop offered a variety of responses but their main ideas closely correspond to goals identified by some prominent archaeology education programs. For example, two of the three major points these participants listed as important for people to know about archaeology are considered among the primary learning goals, or enduring understandings, identified by two carefully developed, award-winning, archaeology education programs: the Bureau of Land Management's Project Archaeology—a national comprehensive archaeology and heritage education program (Project Archaeology 2007), and the Crow Canyon Archaeological Center, a private not-for-profit research and education institution located in Cortez, Colorado (Crow Canyon Archaeological Center 2007).

Next Steps: Getting Serious About Archaeological Literacy in Vancouver

Data collected at the Austin workshop suggest that there may be a degree of consensus among archaeologists about what an archaeologically literate public should know and understand. To provide a forum for exploring this topic further, Moe and Franklin have organized a symposium to be held at the Annual Meeting in Vancouver, BC, titled *Developing Archaeological Literacy: What is It? How is It Taught? And How Can We Gauge What is Learned?* (the session is Sunday morning.) There are 11 papers from the United States, Canada, and Australia. Three discussants that have made

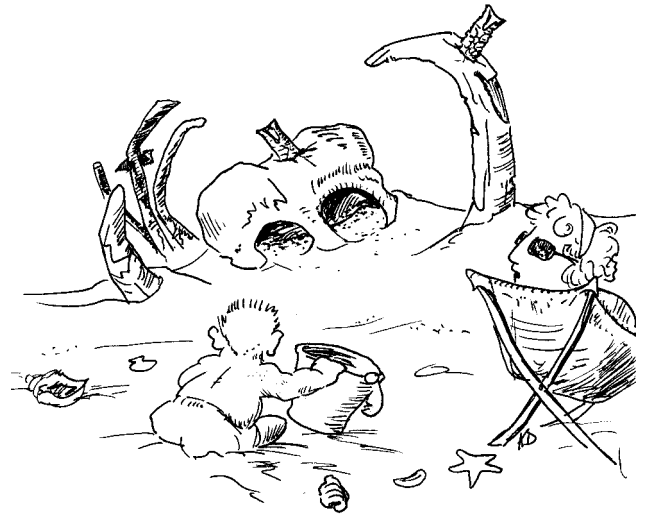
Table 2. Austin Workshop Group Responses.

Response	Number of Groups That Included the Response	Frequency
Process of archaeology	5	5
Archaeology is about people	4	5
Stewardship	4	4
Shared past/heritage	3	3
Diversity of groups in the past	3	4
Context	3	3
Dispel myths and misconceptions	3	4
Value and benefits of archaeology	2	2
Content	2	2
Archaeology is a way of knowing about the past	2	2
Miscellaneous	4	6



Perceptions of the archaeologically literate

significant contributions to public archaeology will provide their reflections on the papers, as well as their own insights. In the symposium's opening paper, Franklin will explain the need for working collectively and collaboratively to identify the enduring understandings that form the foundation of archaeological literacy. Some papers will discuss projects that have included research and evaluation efforts, such as a meta-evaluation of previous assessments of established archaeology education programs and the results of recent evaluations of programs that teach for deep conceptual understanding. Others demonstrate how community archaeology education projects, as well as formal education at the undergraduate level, can be better utilized to build archaeological literacy. Contributions from colleagues in Australia and Canada will, respectively, explore the social context for learning about the past through archaeology and will compare what the public actually understands about archaeology to what professional archaeologists hope they understand.



Remember, dear, collect just the shells....

Closing Thoughts

Imagine a bumper sticker that reads, *If You Can See the Past In the Present, Thank An Archaeologist!* Now imagine that everyone who reads it understands what it means. To achieve this goal, additional dialogue among archaeologists and educators about what constitutes archaeological literacy is needed. There is also a need to develop a better understanding of how different kinds of activities develop different understandings. Or, conversely, we need to recognize that some educational activities may contribute little or nothing toward the goal of an archaeologically literate citizenry. Finally, we need to conceptualize a vision for achieving archaeological literacy and identify the concrete steps that will most effectively allow that vision to be realized.

Acknowledgments

Original artwork by Ken Duerksen, Oxford, Ohio.

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GET READY FOR VANCOUVER IN MARCH 2008

Dana Lepofsky, Sue Rowley, Andrew Martindale, and Alan McMillan

Dana Lepofsky, Sue Rowley, Andrew Martindale, and Alan McMillan are the members of the 2008 Local Advisory Committee.

Vancouver promises to be an exciting venue for the next annual meeting of the SAA. Here are a few suggestions for getting ready and making the most of your trip. An immediate step is to find your passport and check the expiration date. All U.S. residents traveling to Canada require a valid passport. If you need a new passport, apply immediately as there is a considerable wait time. Make your travel plans to Vancouver early in the year. If you live within driving distance consider carpooling with your colleagues. Plan to stay long enough to take in some of the sights of this region. For some of you, this could be a great opportunity to bring your family and make a vacation of it. Make your hotel reservations early. The cut-off date for reservations at the headquarters hotel is March 5. And, of course, register for the conference, if you haven't already. While you are doing that, check out the three great tours that have been planned. These offer a chance to see something of the local area and to be introduced to local First Nations cultures. Each tour prominently features a different First Nation from the Vancouver area.

When the time comes, pack your memory stick, travel mug, toothbrush, and raincoat (we'll hope for sunny weather but late March is often wet). As you arrive at the Vancouver airport don't forget to check out the wonderful large-scale carvings and weavings by Musqueam artists as you come into the customs hall and the Bill Reid bronze masterpiece, "The Spirit of Haida Gwaii," just above the arrivals area. Once you are settled into Vancouver, take time to visit the Museum of Anthropology, with its great Northwest Coast collection, on the University of British Columbia campus. Show your conference badge to get the group rate for admission. Also take some time to browse in local galleries featuring Northwest Coast art. Sample some of the great restaurants from a guide to local eateries prepared by board member Jon Driver. All attractions are accessible by public transit for \$2.25. The local arrangements committee looks forward to welcoming you to our beautiful coastal city in March 2008.

The National Endowment for the Humanities announces a 2008 Summer Institute: Andean Worlds: New Directions in Scholarship and Teaching

June 29 – July 26, 2008

Application Deadline: March 3, 2008

The National Endowment for the Humanities announces a new Summer Institute for twenty-four faculty participants from community and four-year colleges and universities to be held from June 29 to July 26, 2008 on the topic of "Andean Worlds: New Directions in Scholarship and Teaching." This four-week Institute, sponsored by The Community College Humanities Association and held on-site in locations in Peru, is an in-depth survey of Andean culture and history, focusing on pre-Columbian, colonial and contemporary manifestations of Andean culture. Based in Lima, Chiclayo, Pisac, and Cusco in Peru, and with field trips to archaeological and cultural sites in northern Peru, the institute will feature eight U.S. scholars and local Peruvian speakers from a variety of disciplines. The guest scholars will offer seminars and as well as conduct on-site study visits to archaeological sites and contemporary villages for specific ethnographic-related concerns focusing on cultural continuities, particularly in the areas of health care, weaving and textiles and agricultural techniques. Participants will receive all lodging, internal travel and site-visit costs for all scheduled activities during the Institute, as is specified in the detailed Daily Schedule. Participants are responsible for meal expenses, for personal expenses and for their own round trip travel arrangements to and from Peru, arriving by Sunday, June 29, 2008.

Project Directors:

Laraine Fletcher, Anthropology, Adelphi University
George Scheper, Humanities, Community College of Baltimore County-Essex

Visiting Faculty: **Richard Burger** (C.M. MacCurdy Professor of Anthropology, Yale University); **Chris Donnan** (Professor of Anthropology, Anthropology Department, UCLA, Director Emeritus, The Fowler Museum of Cultural History UCL); **Regina Harrison** (Comparative Literature Program, and Department of Spanish and Portuguese, and Anthropology, University of Maryland); **Sara Castro-Klarén** (Professor of Latin American Culture and Literature, The Johns Hopkins University); **Michael Moseley** (Distinguished Professor of Anthropology, University of Florida); **Susan deFrance** (Anthropology, University of Florida); **Jeffrey Quilter** (Deputy Director Curatorial Affairs and Curator, Intermediate Area Collections, Peabody Museum, Harvard University); **Frank** (Professor of Anthropology, University of Wisconsin)

For Application and Information Packet applicants may download the Institution Application Packet directly from our website at

<http://www.ccha-assoc.org/andeanworld08/index.html> or contact project manager David A. Berry, Executive Director Community College Humanities Association
c/o Essex County College
303 University Ave., Newark, NJ 07102-17998
Tel: (973) 877-3577, Fax: (973) 877-3578
Email: berry@essex.edu



POSITIONS OPEN

POSITION: DIRECTOR, UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY ARCHAEOLOGICAL SERVICES

LOCATION: LOGAN, UTAH

Utah State University, Logan, Utah seeks a Director for a new CRM service. The position begins March 2008. The Director must be an RPA with at least 5 years experience in the archaeology of the American desert west and cultural resource management. Applicants should have experience as a Principal Investigator or at a minimum as a Project Manager, and show potential for professional growth. This is an opportunity to shape a new company whose mission is to provide opportunities for students entering or advancing in CRM. For additional details and requirements, and to apply, go online at <http://jobs.usu.edu> and search for Director, USU Archaeological Services. Review begins January 15, 2008 and continues until filled. For information contact: Steven Simms s.simms@usu.edu or (435) 797-1277.

POSITION: ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF ANTHROPOLOGY

LOCATION: LOGAN, UTAH

Utah State University, Logan, Utah invites applicants for a tenure-track Assistant Professor beginning August 2008. We seek an archaeologist focusing on the western United States, especially the Great Basin, Colorado Plateau, and Intermountain regions. Theoretical and methodological specializations should complement our current strengths. Experience in CRM and capabilities in GIS and quantitative analysis are desirable. Applicants must show potential for effective teaching, and for a research program including fieldwork, refereed publications, and external funding. The successful applicant will join a strong undergraduate

program with plans to begin a Masters program specializing Archaeology and Cultural Resource Management in 2009. Must have Ph.D. in hand by August 2008. Applications only accepted online at <http://jobs.usu.edu> Search for: Assistant Professor of Anthropology. Review begins February 1, 2008 and continues until filled. For information contact: Steven Simms, s.simms@usu.edu or (435) 797-1277.

POSITION: POST-DOCTORAL FELLOW

LOCATION: LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

The Cotsen Institute of Archaeology at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) announces a new 2-year Postdoctoral Fellowship with research and teaching components to begin in the Fall Quarter of the 2008-2009 school year. Applicants will be considered from any research area or theoretical orientation within archaeology, including topics beyond those traditionally represented by the five core departments of the Cotsen Institute (Anthropology, Art History, Classics, History, and Near Eastern Languages and Civilization). For additional information on the Cotsen Institute please visit our webpage (<http://www.ioa.ucla.edu>). Applications are due February 1, 2008 and the complete posting is available at: <http://www.postdoc.ucla.edu/node/1264>.

POSITION: CURATOR OF ARCHAEOLOGY

LOCATION: KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE

The University of Tennessee, Knoxville announces a position in the Department of Anthropology for a Curator of Archaeology. This position is a permanent full-time (12 month) administrative appointment. We are seeking a specialist in Southeast U.S. archaeology with general knowledge of curation procedures for both prehistoric and historic material culture; a person who is

familiar with computers and database management; and who has strong communication skills with the public and scholars alike. The Curator is responsible for all aspects of collections care and management for the Department, will be involved in NAGPRA compliance, is expected to be an active grant seeker and researcher, and will promote and encourage research on the Department's extensive prehistoric, historic, and biological collections. Some teaching at both undergraduate and graduate levels is possible. Ph.D. required. Review of applications will begin January 1, 2008 and continue until position is filled. Send letter of application, vita, and list of three references to Curator Search, Department of Anthropology, UTK, Knoxville, TN 37996-0720. The University of Tennessee is an EEO/AA/Title VI/Title IX/Section 504/ADA/ADEA institution in the provision of its education and employment programs and services. All qualified applicants will receive equal consideration for employment without regard to race, color, national origin, religion, sex, pregnancy, marital status, sexual orientation, age, physical or mental disability, or covered veteran status.



NEWS & NOTES

AD Sponsorship of Symposium at the SAA Meetings. The Archaeology Division (AD) of the American Anthropological Association is pleased to sponsor a symposium annually at the SAA meetings. In Vancouver, the AD will sponsor *Inalienable Possessions in the Archaeology of Mesoamerica*, organized by Brigitte Kovacevich (Avatar Company) and Michael Callaghan (Vanderbilt University). Proposals for AD sponsorship at the 2009 SAA meetings in Atlanta, Georgia, should be submitted by August 25, 2008. A decision will be made by September 1, 2008, before abstracts are due to the SAA program committee. Information about AD sponsorship should be included with the submission to the SAA program committee by the September deadline. A proposal should include: title and abstract of symposium, complete list of participants and titles of papers, as many abstracts of individual papers as possible. The major criterion for selection for AD sponsorship is how well the proposed symposium exemplifies a holistic anthropological approach to an archaeological topic. Please check the AD's web page for more details: http://www.aaanet.org/ad/awards.html#SAA_sponsorship. Please send proposals as an e-mail attachment, in either MS Word or plain text format, to President-elect Ben Nelson at bnelson@asu.edu, with the words "SAA-AD session" in the subject line. Organizers will be informed of the selection before the September deadline for SAA abstract submissions.

Alfred Vincent Kidder Award: Call for Nominations. Established in 1950, the Alfred Vincent Kidder Award for Eminence in the field of American archaeology was given every three years to an outstanding archaeolo-

gist specializing in the archaeology of the Americas. The award has been given alternately to specialists in Mesoamerican archaeology and the archaeology of the Southwestern region—areas that were both central to the pioneering and exemplary work of A. V. Kidder. This award, presented by the American Anthropological Association but selected by the Archaeology Division, is now given every two years. Nominations are now being sought for a Mesoamerican Archaeologist for the 2008 Award. Nominations are due February 15, 2008 to AD Secretary Rani Alexander, raalexan@nmsu.edu. Materials should include a cover letter of nomination, describing explicitly the qualifications and accomplishments of the nominee, and a CV. They will be reviewed by a specially selected Kidder Award Committee. For more information, please see <http://www.aaanet.org/ad/awards.html#Kidder>.

Debates in World Archaeology. *World Archaeology* solicits contributions for its next *Debates in World Archaeology* issue. *Debates* issues are forums for discussion of controversial archaeological topics and for responses to papers previously published in the journal. Topics need not have a North American theme or context. Papers may respond to earlier contributions, but we also welcome joint submissions that consider a problem from different perspectives. Contact issue editors Elisabeth Bacus (eabacus@msn.com) and Michael Shott (shott@uakron.edu). The deadline for submission is April 2008 for the December 2008 publication.

Call for abstracts: The First International Congress on Afro-caribbean Roots and Trajectories.

The International Congress on Afrocaribbean Roots and Trajectories, organized by the Autonomous University of Yucatan/Facultad de Ciencias Antropológicas, will be held from November 3 to 7, 2008, in Mérida, Yucatan, Mexico. Its central goal is to bring together scholars from different fields to discuss current topics on afrocaribbean studies. This first edition will focus specifically on the origins, arrival and integration of afrocaribs during colonial times. These issues will be discussed from an explicitly interdisciplinary perspective in the following sessions: Roots, arrival and geographic mobility; three worlds join-creolization and cultural integration; ideology, spirituality and syncretism; living conditions, health and disease; mortuary traditions blend; Afrocaribs as subjects—theory, reflection, validation and legal frameworks; African labor forces and colonial economies; and suppression, freedom and social upheaval. The organization committee invites all those interested to submit abstracts before April 26, 2008. Presentations will be accepted in English and Spanish. Abstracts may not exceed 150 words and should include a title, the authors' name, affiliation and e-mail. Please submit in electronically (Word attachment) to: Dr. Genny Negroe: nsierra@uady.mx; Dr. Vera Tiesler: vtiesler@yahoo.com; Dr. Pilar Zabala: pzabala@finred.com.mx; or Mtr. Roxana Quiroz: rquiroz@uady.mx.

Call for Abstracts for WAC Session. The ICOMOS Scientific Committee for Archaeological Heritage Management (ICAHM) (<http://www.icomos.org/icahtm/>) has organized a theme for the Sixth World Archaeological Congress (WAC-6) on *Emerging Global Archaeologies*. The

theme will include four, core sessions on *Ethical Standards for Global Archaeologists*, *Global Interpretations*, *Landscape Preservation*, and *Standardization*, as well as ancillary sessions, including *The Archaeology of the Village*. A description of the ICAHM theme and sessions can be seen by going to <http://www.ucd.ie/wac-6/>, then clicking on "Themes," and scrolling down to *Emerging Global Archaeologies*. Abstracts for papers that might be presented within the *Emerging Global Archaeologies* sessions should be submitted through the WAC-6 website by 22 February 2008. To do this, go to the <http://www.ucd.ie/wac-6/>, click on "Abstracts," then on the online form accessible via the Submit Proposals page of this website. At the end of the online form, you will be asked if you would like to attach your paper proposal to a session abstract, and to identify the session to which you would like it attached. Questions may be sent to rsales@culturalsite.com.

A rizona Archaeological and Historical Society Awards. The Arizona Archaeological and Historical Society presented its 2006 Byron Cummings and Victor Stoner awards this past August at the 2007 Pecos Conference and at the Society's September meeting, in Tucson. The Cummings Award honors outstanding research and contributions to knowledge in Southwestern anthropology, archaeology, ethnology, or history. The Stoner Award celebrates the promotion of historic awareness and is presented to someone who brings Southwestern anthropology,

archaeology, ethnology, or history to the public over an extended period of time.

2006 BYRON CUMMINGS AWARD: POLLY SCHAAFSMA. Polly Schaafsma is one of the most prolific and influential researchers of Native American petroglyphs and pictographs. Her contributions include the most comprehensive descriptions of the rock art of the northern Southwest and northwestern Chihuahua, the definition of many regional styles that make synthetic discussions possible, a ground-breaking article addressing theory and method in rock art studies, and investigations of ancient social phenomena (including religion and warfare) associated with rock art. She has also inspired a generation of avocational archaeologists to record and preserve rock art.

2006 BYRON CUMMINGS AWARD: EMORY SEKAQUAPTEWA. Dr. Emory Sekaquaptewa, Professor of Anthropology and Research Anthropologist (Bureau of Applied Research in Anthropology), has been affiliated with UA since 1972 and was Acting Director of American Indian Studies 1987-88. His major scholarly focus has been on the development of a comprehensive dictionary of the Hopi language. He served as Cultural Editor for the Hopi Dictionary Project and teaches anthropology courses on Hopi language and Hopi culture. Recently, his research efforts have centered on Spanish Colonial accounts of Hopi life (as Senior Consultant for the Arizona State Muse-

um's Hopi History Project) and the use of traditional songs as a source of insight into ancient lifeways. Dr. Sekaquaptewa's audience reaches beyond academia, however, to include Hopi youth and the general public. He has published bilingual (Hopi and English) presentations of traditional Hopi tales and has used these and other materials to further his goal of preserving the Hopi language.

2006 VICTOR STONER AWARD: MARY ESTES. Mary Estes, Resource Protection Specialist at Arizona State Parks and State Coordinator for the Arizona Site Steward Program, has nurtured her volunteer program over the last 16 years, with truly spectacular results. Throughout her tenure, she has gone above and beyond what is expected of a state agency employee, often contributing her own time and financial resources toward the preservation of Arizona's heritage. Under Mary's leadership, training became standardized statewide, and person-power expanded from 200 volunteers in 1991 to more than 800 in 2007. Though she may argue this point, it is largely to Mary's credit that the Arizona Site Steward program has become a model for similar programs in other states and countries. She has also spearheaded innovative and successful partnerships with state and federal agencies, as well as private sector organizations, to train law enforcement professionals in archaeological resource protection.



CALENDAR

2008

FEBRUARY 15–17

The 2008 Maya Symposium, "Sacred Cenotes, Hidden Caverns: Rituals, Beliefs, and Everyday Life Relating to Caves and Cenotes among the Maya," hosted by the Stone Center for Latin American Studies, will be held the weekend of February 15-17, 2008 on the Uptown campus of Tulane University in New Orleans. Through a series of lectures, workshops, and a roundtable discussion, specialists at this year's symposium explore the physical and sacred geography of the Maya region. The history, geology, stories, beliefs, and rituals surrounding caves, cenotes, and mountaintop shrines from across the Maya area are among the topics that will be discussed. For further information, please contact Denise Woltering (crcrts@tulane.edu) at the Stone Center. Because New Orleans is hosting the NBA All-Star game the same weekend, we encourage you to make plans soon to attend! Please visit our website at <http://stonecenter.tulane.edu/MayaSymposium/> for the 2008 program, registration, lodging information, and a retrospective of the 2007 symposium.

MARCH 8

Symposium on Ohio Valley Urban and Historic Archaeology, The Hermitage, Nashville, Tennessee. Contact: Kit Wesler at kit.wesler@murraystate.edu. For information: http://www.murraystate.edu/qacd/cos/geo/geos_fac/Wesler/Ohio_Valley_Historical_Archaeology/OVHA_2008.doc.

MARCH 26–30

The 73rd Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology will be held in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada. For more information, please visit SAAweb at <http://www.saa.org/meetings/index.html>.

APRIL 23–26

2008 Northwest Anthropological Conference will be held at the Marriott Hotel, Victoria, BC. NWAC includes anthropological research in northwestern North America, and the research of Pacific Northwest anthropologists working elsewhere in the world. A centerpiece of this year's conference will be a special symposium based on the findings of researchers investigating Kwäday Dän Ts'ınchi, the remains of a man preserved by glacial ice in northwestern British Columbia. Topics for the conference should fall under the following general themes: cultural anthropology or archaeology in the Northwest, physical/biological anthropology, indigenous anthropology or archaeology, cultural anthropology or archaeology in other areas, or cultural resource management. For additional information, please visit: <http://nwac.2008.googlepages.com/> or e-mail: nwac2008@gmail.com.

MAY 19–23

The National Park Service's 2008 workshop on archaeological prospection techniques entitled *Current Archaeological Prospection Advances for Non-Destructive Investigations in the 21st Century* will be held May 19-23, at the Kelly Inn, Fargo, North Dakota. The field exercises will take place at the Biester-

feldt Site, a protohistoric village site on the Sheyenne River. Workshop co-sponsors include the National Park Service, the Archaeological Conservancy, Minnesota State University-Moorhead, and the State Historical Society of North Dakota. This will be the eighteenth year of the workshop dedicated to the use of geophysical, aerial photography, and other remote sensing methods as they apply to the identification, evaluation, conservation, and protection of archaeological resources across this Nation. The workshop will present lectures on the theory of operation, methodology, processing, and interpretation with on-hands use of the equipment in the field. The workshop will have a special focus on the soil magnetism and on the effects of plowing on geophysical signatures and site integrity. Tuition is \$475.00. Application forms are available on the Midwest Archeological Center's web page at <http://www.cr.nps.gov/mwac/>. For further information, please contact Steven DeVore, Archeologist, National Park Service, Midwest Archeological Center, Federal Building, Room 474, 100 Centennial Mall North, Lincoln, Nebraska 68508-3873; (402) 437-5392 x141; fax: (402) 437-5098; email: steve_de_vore@nps.gov.

OCTOBER 8–11

The 2008 Great Basin Anthropological Conference will be held in Portland, Oregon, October 8-11 at Portland State University. For information contact Virginia Butler, program chair: butlerv@pdx.edu; 503-725-3303; <http://gbac.whsites.net/meeting.html>.

from inside front cover ↩

on Indian Affairs on July 28, 2005. Our positions have been clear and consistent.

There are many things wrong with the proposed Rule. In general, if adopted it would illegally amend and expand NAGPRA, thus violating both NAGPRA itself and ARPA. The proposed Rule ignores the prerogatives of the NAGPRA Review Committee and Congress, and it was apparently drafted without consultation with agency archaeologists. Our many objections to its specific regulations are too numerous, too lengthy and too technical to be stated here, but a preliminary list is contained in the Board statement that is posted online.

On Nov. 10th the Board also created a task force comprised of the chairs of six SAA committees to gather and collate our detailed objections to the proposed Rule. The task force will draw upon the views of the members of all six committees, ensuring the broadest possible input from the membership in the short time available. The Board will review

the task force report, use it to produce a detailed SAA statement, and submit those comments to the Department of the Interior by its January 14, 2008 deadline for receipt of comments.

Our objectives are to save NAGPRA and to force the Department of the Interior to comply with the law. The long-term consequences of the proposed Rule for NAGPRA would be grave. I ask members to remember that these words were finalized on January 2, 2008, in time for their insertion into *The SAA Archaeological Record*. Political controversies can change quickly and this brief report cannot anticipate events postdating January 2. The staff in the Washington Office will do their best to keep the membership informed of future events by way of up-to-date postings on the SAA website.

Dean R. Snow, President

IT'S TIME TO SUBMIT YOUR ARCHAEOLOGY MONTH POSTER!

The SAA Public Education Committee and the Council of Affiliated Societies invite states to participate in the Archaeology Week /Month poster competition at the 73rd annual meeting in Vancouver, BC. The submission deadline is March 1, 2008. All posters produced between April 2007 and March 2008 that we receive by the March 1 deadline will be displayed at the meeting. All those attending the conference are invited to vote! (The ballot is in your registration packet.) Awards will go to the top three "best" posters as determined by a vote of participants at the meeting.

To enter the contest, please complete the steps below by **March 1, 2008**.

And check out the new Archaeology Month section of the web pages at <http://www.saa.org/public/resources/ArchMonthfor-public.html> where you'll find a history of the SAA contest, resources for creating posters, and a complete archive of Archaeology Month poster winners dating back to the first contest held in 1996.

1. Cover sheet with contact name, title, mailing address, email, and phone number. Information must be typed and printed out on a white 8½ x 11 inch piece of paper. Please include written permission to display images of the winning posters on the SAAweb and in the annual CoAS newsletter.

2. Two copies of state poster. Posters must be clean, unmounted, and unfolded.

Mail two copies of your state archaeology week or month poster that was produced between April 2007 and March 2008 to:

Maureen Malloy, SAA, 900 Second St. NE #12, Washington, DC 20002

3. Email a digital copy of the poster to Maureen_malloy@saa.org



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