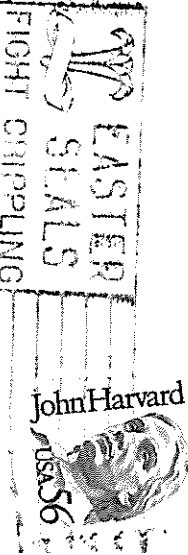


# CEA Conference on New England Archaeology NEWSLETTER

Vol. 6, No. 2 January 1987



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NEA** Conference on  
New England  
Archaeology  
**NEWSLETTER**

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# ANNOUNCEMENTS

## CNEA ANNUAL MEETING

The 1987 Annual Meeting will be held on Saturday, March 21st, at the Campus Center at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. Since the NEAA meetings will be held at U. Mass. before, and concurrently with, the CNEA meeting on Saturday, the CNEA meeting will be listed as part of the NEAA schedule. The topic for the 1987 CNEA meeting is "Archaeological Interpretations of the Structural Form." Five substantive and theoretical papers will be presented during the morning session with time for questions following the presentations. The business meeting will be held for the election of new officers and yearly reports. Since a variety of eating establishments are located nearby, lunch will be 'on your own'. The afternoon session format will be changed slightly from last year's meeting. This year, three workshops on different topics will convene with workshop leaders charged with establishing five key research questions on the topics at hand. These questions will be published in the next newsletter and the membership will be asked to document work towards answering these questions at future meetings or in subsequent newsletters. Later in the afternoon, a social gathering will be combined with an informal discussion of artifacts so please bring any along artifacts that you have for questions or comments.

The Steering Committee hopes that you will find the 1987 conference enjoyable and intellectually stimulating. We welcome your comments and ideas about future conferences and publications.

## 1987 ANNUAL MEETING PROGRAM

### "ARCHAEOLOGICAL INTERPRETATIONS OF THE STRUCTURAL FORM" UNIVERSITY OF MASSACHUSETTS AT AMHERST CAMPUS CENTER SATURDAY, MARCH 21, 1987

Registration, 8:00 am - 9:00 am

Morning Papers, 9:00 am - 12:30 pm

Peter Pagoulatos, University of Connecticut  
"Terminal Archaic 'Living Areas' in the Connecticut River Valley"

Lucianne Lavin, Peabody Museum at Yale University and New York University and  
Harold Juli, Connecticut College  
"Aboriginal Structures in Southern New England and Southern New York"

Dean Snow, University at Albany, SUNY  
"Longhouse Construction and the Detection of Pattern in Archaeological Excavation"

Kevin McBride, Public Archaeology Survey Team, Inc. and University of CT  
"Historic Period Native American House Form and Site Structure"

Myron Stachiw, John Worrell, David Simmons, and Nora Pat Small, Old Sturbridge Village  
"Archaeology from the Ground Up: The Bixby House and Its Neighborhood"

Lunch On Your Own, 12:30 pm - 2:00 pm

Workshops, 2:00 pm - 3:30 pm

1. Issues in Social Organization and Population Studies  
Discussants: Kevin McBride, Paul Robinson
2. Issues in Classification and Pattern Recognition  
Discussants: Peter Pagoulatos, Lucianne Lavin, Harold Juli
3. Issues in Relations of Inequality in Prehistory and History  
Discussants: Russell Handsman and Others

Social Gathering/Informal Discussions of Artifacts, 3:30 pm - 5:00 pm

## ELECTION OF 1987 STEERING COMMITTEE

Four new Steering Committee members will be elected at the Spring Meeting. Deborah Cox and Arthur Spiess will serve one additional term, until 1988. Nominations for the new positions can be sent to Faith Harrington (address inside front cover) until March 20th; additional nominations will be taken from the floor during the business meeting. Write-in candidates will be accepted also during the election.

## PAST CONFERENCES

Submitted by  
David Starbuck

The 1986 Annual Meeting of the Council for Northeast Historical Archaeology was held between October 31st and November 2nd in Troy, New York. Hosted by Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, the conference had nearly 150 registrants, and over 30 papers were presented. Many of the papers dealt with industrial topics, but other popular subject areas were the application of computers to historical sites, ceramic analysis, and military sites. Because of opportune timing, it was possible to have a "Halloween Reception" on the night of October 31st. Next year, the conference will be held in St. Mary's City, Maryland.

## POSITION PAPERS

The following position papers were submitted by Victoria Kenyon and Russell Handsman in anticipation of the March 21st, 1987 conference entitled, "Archaeological Interpretations of the Structural Form." The purpose of these papers is to introduce, and encourage thinking about, the topic of the conference. The Steering Committee thanks Victoria and Russell for their contributions.

### ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE STRUCTURAL FORM IN NEW ENGLAND

Submitted by  
Victoria B. Kenyon

Archaeologists have widely used structural remains to investigate cultural patterning on both the "community" and "society" levels of behavior; structures are often viewed as special kinds of artifacts in subassemblages and assemblages (Deetz 1967: 105, ff). Archaeologists throughout the Northeast have similarly observed variations in structural remains to reconstruct settlement patterns (Trigger 1968) and have made great efforts to describe, detail, and reconstruct structures from archaeological evidence (Ritchie and Funk 1973). The 1983 CNEA conference on archaeology and interpretations of households addressed current attempts by New England historic and prehistoric sites archaeologists to move beyond description to the interpretation of household organization through a variety of data including structural remains (Snow 1984: ii; Yesner 1984: 51-72).

In order to reconstruct past behaviors from structural remains, New England archaeologists must be cognizant of the great variety of structural forms. Structural forms, in the broadest definition, represent human's "built environment." The built environment clearly reflects ways of adapting to the natural situation particularly in providing structures for warmth, protection, resource extraction, or storage. The vast array of structures built by humans can be appreciated through ethnographic accounts or—especially for historic sites archaeologists—by a drive through the historic countryside. Structures include buildings which function as habitation, storage, industrial, military, recreational, or religious facilities. Buildings may enjoy temporary, permanent, recurrent, or seasonal use by one or more individuals. Other types of structures include windbreaks, racks, palisades, weirs, walls, wharves, dams, or animal pens. Structures also may function in either the public or private domain.

Attributes of individual structures and patterns of groups of structures can provide important insight into past behaviors. Select activities may be recognized within buildings or rooms that differ from activities practiced in yards or other structures. Structure size and configuration may reflect number of occupants and social ranking. Structure setting is predictably linked to local ecology and may be useful to extrapolate details on past environmental conditions (e.g. sugar shacks are located where maples prosper and weirs are located where fish are abundant). Structures may also provide information on building techniques, especially in materials selection and construction methods. Additions, alterations, or repairs may be apparent. Finally, the abandonment of the standing feature and its entry into the archaeological context is of ultimate importance in assessing the use-life and chronology of any structure.

The archaeological remains of the prehistoric built environment are frightfully enigmatic

in New England. Archaeologists most commonly seek to define structures through post-mold patterns, recognized as symmetric, dark intrusive stains in subsoil. However, not all structures leave post-molds and post-molds can be confused with such post-depositional traces as rodent burrows (Strauss 1985). Post-molds have been discovered at many New England sites, particularly in southern areas, yet overall numbers are quite low. For example, in his survey of Shawsheen River sites, Bullen only found post-molds at the Foster's Cove site (Bullen 1949: 27). Further, our expectations for discovery of post-molds may be colored by New York State components where post-molds are a common and abundant feature (Ritchie and Funk 1973). Reliance on New York analogs may bias interpretation of temporal, functional, and ecological variation of New England structures much as reliance on New York tool typologies obscures variations found in New England. Not surprisingly, our limited knowledge on structural remains in the archaeological record is partially due to a historic trend to ignore these kinds of data. Indeed, Snow has noted that house remains discovered in Maine and New Brunswick nearly one hundred years ago have been "ignored by archeologists until recently" (Snow 1980: 301).

Post-molds are the visible remains of structures such as racks, scaffolds, palisades, or houses built of wood. Other kinds of prehistoric structures may also be recognized from quite different archaeological remains. Prominent among these are semi-subterranean houses recorded in Maine. While post-molds are often associated with these houses, cobble hearths, oval floor plans, rock alignments, and gravel floors are diagnostic traits (Snow 1980: 300; Yesner 1984: 61). Other semi-subterranean oval features have been interpreted as wind-break shelters in Massachusetts (Barnes 1980: 103). A stone feature at Shattuck Farm in Massachusetts may have functioned as an integral component of a prehistoric sweathouse (Luedtke 1985: 275, 277).

Perhaps the most unique prehistoric structure in New England is the Boylston Street Fishweir. Here, wooden stakes and wattling, presumably arranged for fishing, have been preserved in clays and silts beneath Boston's filled Back Bay district (Johnson 1942). This structure exemplifies the diversity archaeologists might expect to find in the study of the built environment.

Historic sites archaeologists enjoy a huge and richly varied data base of structural remains that threatens to become overwhelming. The archaeological evidence is highlighted both by written documents verifying sequences of construction and use and by standing structures studied most often by architectural historians. Much as prehistorians, historic sites archaeologists are faced with problems of "focus" and "visibility" when studying remains of buildings and other structural features (Deetz 1977: 94).

New England boasts another type of structure which is one of the most difficult to interpret: the stone chamber. New England's geological setting is conducive to stone construction and a multitude of domed or arched structures have been built from local stones. Stone structures have been variously interpreted as root cellars, lime kilns, ceremonial structures, and astronomical observations. Most defy functional assignment and invite mysterious or romantic interpretations, including ancient visits by Celts, Iberians, or Phoenicians. Neudorfer's (1980) work has set the tone for much new research on these structures by systematically defining their geographic distribution, association with local historic traditions, and role in local conditions. Currently fresh attempts to define the chronology, technology, and function of stone structures are underway. In many cases, "Celtic" structures have been re-evaluated as nineteenth-century features. As Sargent correctly points out, these structures are a part of New England's "rich archaeological heritage" which lend insight into "the social and economic forces which contributed to the shaping of New England culture" (Sargent 1982: 85).

The problem of identification looms large in the study of structural remains. For historic

sites archaeologists, only limited physical remains may be visible and these may not clearly reflect the actual structure which once was standing at the location (Deetz 1977: 94). This problem is magnified through prehistory where less durable building materials (wood, bark, skins, or mats vs. brick or stone) are less likely to leave tell-tale traces in the archaeological context and are almost never preserved intact. While physical and chemical techniques are useful for distinguishing natural phenomena from cultural (Strauss 1985), many traces of prehistoric structures will continue to elude archaeologists. Remote sensing and detailed recording of artifact clusters and spaces certainly are useful techniques for refining identification. Clearly much concentrated effort on structural identification is necessary prior to interpretation. As McManamon has noted, we must clarify the relationship of cultural depositions to single or multiple households even when structural evidence is available (McManamon 1984: 9). In New England, this is an extraordinarily difficult task with slow soil development, poor preservation, and multiple occupancy at individual sites.

Structural remains, however elusive, are present at New England prehistoric and historic period archaeological sites. Through innovative discovery methods and careful recording we should be able to increase our knowledge of the types and varieties of these remains. Appreciation of the diversity of structures which may have existed at any given time in the past will prevent us from hastily misinterpreting the function of remains. Attribute comparisons across the New England region may shed light on social, cultural, and behavioral trends. For example, the distribution of prehistoric semi-subterranean houses may be significant in distinguishing coastal from upland settlements. Theoretical models which explain structural diversity in New England have been slow to develop. Advances in the use of structural data to explain cultural behavior have been made by regional archaeologists. The 1987 CNEA conference will focus on such recent theoretical and methodological issues.

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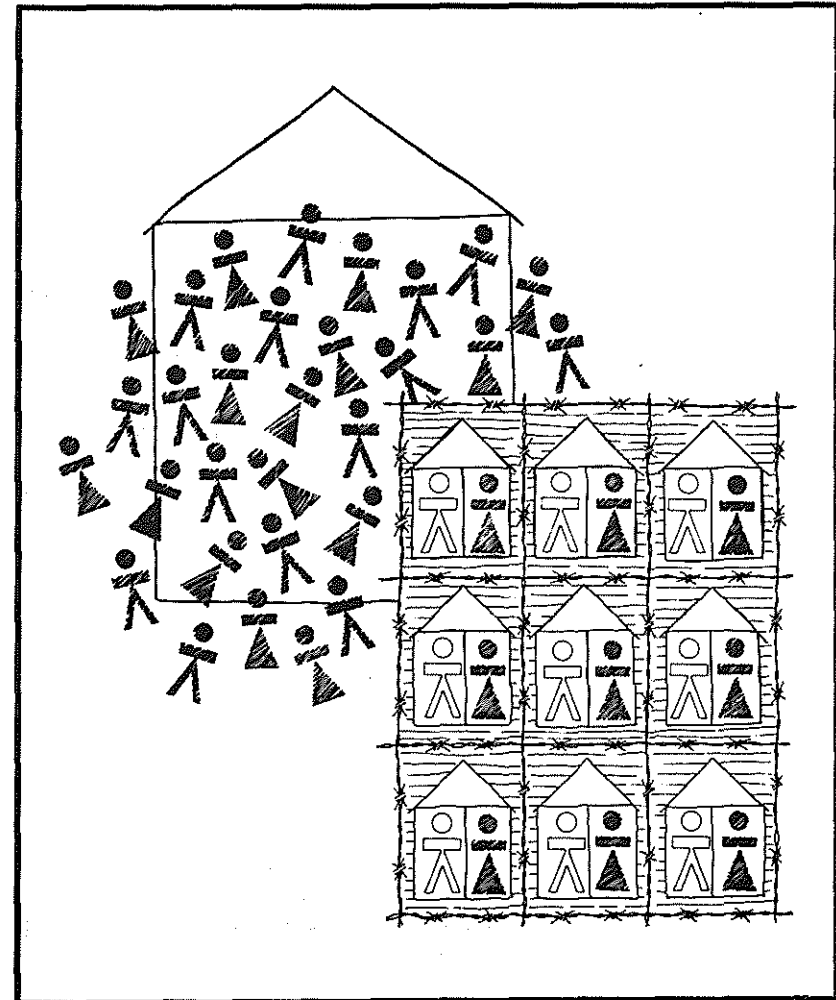
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**MATERIAL THINGS AND SOCIAL RELATIONS:  
TOWARD AN ARCHAEOLOGY OF "ANTI-STRUCTURES"**

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W. Fowler, Narragansett Archaeological Society Graphic



Anti-structures and the private-property relation.  
Pen and ink by Gordon Whitbeck.

There is another, more appropriate and revealing title for this position paper: why should decorated pots from the Neolithic of Sweden remind us of Greek Revival architectural detail, Mohegan wigwams and Shantok pots, land use and fences around the houses of a merchant class, the mortuary complexes and living spaces of Early Woodland peoples, or black society and material culture in an emerging industrial city? The obvious answer is to say that Neolithic pots do not and cannot remind us of any of these.

Here it is argued that this answer is misleading. The material things, spaces, and societies of prehistoric and historic New England should be like Neolithic pots because all of them are about structure or, actually, anti-structures. In seeing this commonness and by exploring it, we can begin to realize that "structure" or "structural form" are not now taken-for-granted in archaeology. By this I mean only that there is nothing obvious or commonsensible about what is signified by those terms; I do not mean to say that their semantic ambiguity is so open and limitless that there should not be an archaeology of structure. We need such an archaeology (or archaeologies) but only if we are willing to ask: what structures? How structures? Why structures? And, what happened to structures? And asking these questions brings us back to Neolithic pots; it will also eventually get us to anti-structure.

Why Neolithic pots? Because the recent archaeological studies of this material culture (Hodder 1982; Tilley 1984) and its recursive, empowering, and ideological dimensions, reveal that structures (on pots, within societies and space, on land, and in mortuary remains) were not about material things in the past. Therefore structures cannot be discovered and understood through the use of empirical models of systematic observation. All other knowledge claims and theoretical disputes aside, these archaeological works "on structure" were among the first to explore seriously and critically this seminal statement by Claude Levi-Strauss (1963: 279); "The term social structure," he insisted, "has nothing to do with empirical reality but with models which are built up after it."

Countless anthropologists have been confounded by that statement; many of us have simply shrugged and walked away. As archaeologists of structures in New England's past, we cannot continue to marginalize that statement's profoundness by insisting that it tells us little about material things, archaeological inquiry, or social relations and processes.

The statement actually has everything to do with all of these domains, and the proof of that assertion can be found in, among other places, the recent archaeologies of Neolithic pots in northern and western Europe. People such as Ian Hodder and Chris Tilley, Danny Miller (1985, 1986), Mike Rowlands, and Barbara Bender have taken Levi-Strauss's statement seriously and worked out its implications for archaeology, as well as through it. None of them is a structuralist; some of them are historical materialists; one of them talks about a post-processual archaeology (Hodder 1985). All of them share one premise and two insights that we in New England can use as clues to continue working toward an archaeology of anti-structures.

Premise 1: People make history, create and re-create meanings, and construct and re-construct relations within and among societies. It is people, their actions, and their misrepresentations that matter; nature, environment, economy, kinship, and culture cannot be separated from people and their relations of production, reproduction, and control. Yet people are never entirely free to make history, or even to try to make it, any way they choose. The past constrains them.

Insight 1: Structures on pots, in spaces, and in human actions are not about things. They are about the social relations, often contradictory, among people, or the changing separations and alliances among classes, classes in formation, races, nation states, individuals and

communities, individuals and societies, men and women and children, generations, people and a social whole, people and nature, or, people and traditions.

Insight 2: These social relations and processes are about production and reproduction, the organization and control of labor, restricted access to and use of raw materials and finished goods, self-discipline, the emergence of private property, a genealogy of racism, and legitimization. That is, structures in prehistory and history are not simply neutral or natural relations and processes; rather they are about asymmetry, power and domination, ideology and resistance, and social transformation or its prevention (Miller and Tilley 1984; Pearson 1984; Root 1984). Put more simply, as social relations of inequality, structures are about contradictory class processes, even in the absence of classes, and thus are, and were, in reality anti-structures.

Together these clues define a mode of inquiry which is against the empirical discovery of material structures such as house plans and occupation floors, or mental structures such as mind sets, modes of thought, and ideas about proportions and measures. Thus, this archaeology of social inequality and reproduction is very different from an archaeology of mind (Renfrew 1982).

Too it is an archaeology against behaviorism, ecological modeling, and a rationalist logic, and the overly deterministic principles and processes of the New Archaeology. As an approach against the still too common anti-humanism of modern inquiry (Thompson 1978), an archaeology of anti-structures is about society, socialness, and political relations (Hodder 1985). It is therefore an archaeology that is connected explicitly to the origins and efforts of the Conference on New England Archaeology (see especially Bower 1984, Feder 1984, Paynter 1984, Saitta 1984), its earlier themes and presentations on "Social Systems and Material Remains" (1982) and "The Archaeology of Households" (1983), and important theoretical works whose significance and potential have remained unexplored in New England (Bender 1985; Conkey and Spector 1984; Root 1984; St. George 1985).

An archaeology of anti-structures is therefore not new; it simply represents the continuation of an important regional struggle against disciplinary trends. This is also a struggle about making different senses of the past and then using those senses to question the legitimacy of the present (Eagleton 1986). The challenge before us now is one of procedure, the same one that has always existed in CNEA: how might this mode of inquiry, an anti-scientific archaeology of anti-structures, be practiced?

#### Some Outlines for "What Might Have Happened" in the Past

What follows are some open-ended outlines for archaeological research. These outlines are not meant to be formal, closed, "teacherly texts", or narrations; nor should they be viewed as conventionalized models for inquiry. Rather the outlines are fragmentary, discontinuous, and interrupted; there are as many blanks and questions in them as definitive statements. I chose this style of text in order to encourage a dialogue, a plurality of voices in which many would speak and comment upon the social relations, class processes, and observational modes peculiar to an archaeology of anti-structures. Most importantly, these outlines and the short stories that accompany them, may reveal how the premise and insights about Neolithic pots provide a way for us to make different senses from what have become the all too familiar pasts of New England.



Project One: Social Separations and Cultural Transformations in Seventeenth-Century Native New England: Archaeological Histories of Gender Relations and Resistance

Short Story: During the seventeenth-century, Indians along the lower Connecticut River, the Thames River, and adjacent coastlines began to make Shantok pots. The rims and collars of these pots were often castellated and decorated with incised lines, molded lobes, and human faces. Many of the decorations referred to women: to their specific body parts, their ability to give birth, or their role in nurturing children. Why were women so frequently symbolized in Shantok pottery? We think it is an expression of their emergence as leaders in a movement to reject the values, desires, and laws of the colonists. Many native men did not resist European colonization but actively participated in it by trading, signing deeds, and providing furs. Those women who opposed the colonists and native accommodations became known as the protectors of the old ways, or Native Tradition. Through these women and their pots, Mohegan culture and society could have maintained a separateness and an identity, at least for a time. Somewhat later, powerful males attempted to control this gender-situated resistance and protect their positions; women and other traditionalists meanwhile struggled to preserve their critique, as the landscapes around them changed forever.

- I. Against normal narrations about the seventeenth-century
  - A. Sociopolitics of normal narrations
    1. Demographic and cultural extinction
    2. Inevitability and rationality of Indians becoming colonists
  - B. Earlier seventeenth-century landscapes and spaces for resistance; incompleteness of colonial observations and legal controls
  - C. Identify key social relations and processes of the time
    1. Merchant capital and its intrusion
    2. Social transformation and native resistance
- II. An archaeology of Mohegan "class struggles" in the earlier seventeenth-century
  - A. Moments in the initial crisis
    1. Emergence of male individualism
    2. Uneven distributions of wealth, power, and property
      - a. Archaeological evidence
    3. Replacement and transformation of native ways
      - a. Archaeological evidence of accretion
      - b. Evidence from wigwams and spatial organization
      - c. Disruptions of patterns of land use
  - B. Initial resistance during the crisis
    1. Gender situated critiques and the valorization of women
      - a. Shantok pots
      - b. Other data
    2. Archaeological evidence of factional disputes

- C. A period of social reproduction: How the critique/challenge was controlled
  1. Masking of relations of inequality
    - a. Dolores Root's (1984) "storage pits"
    - b. Other evidence
  2. Blurring of the separations between men and women or between traditional and progressive factions
    - a. Women's motifs become used by men and others
    - b. Other evidence
- III. An archaeology of "what happened" to the Mohegan later in the seventeenth-century
  - (or) A. Periods of social and demographic fragmentation
  - B. Period of the social construction of native communes [Resistance becomes shared more widely as the initial women's critique becomes dominant. Emergence of powerful and empowering ideology of community, social identity, and tradition. A nativistic movement?]
    1. Archaeological evidence
  - (or) C. ?

Project Two: An Archaeology of Racism and Black Cultures of Resistance in Industrial Cities: Anti-structures in Industrial Capitalism

Short Story: What can happen when archaeologists and others report that they have found black cultures, folk pots reminiscent of African forms, or house types that have "survived"? One can believe that blacks, their material things, and social relations have remained intact, despite centuries of systematic oppression and repression. Thus the existence of such cultures can be used to excuse, minimize the effects, and undercut the immorality of racism. Assume instead that black cultures were about social relations of domination and resistance, control and escape, and struggles between ideologies of segregation, separation, and identity. Seen this way, black material cultures and the materiality of black cultures both represented and resisted the multiplicity and reproduction of racism throughout history and even some prehistories.

- I. A genealogical moment in an ideology of racial separation
  - A. Introducing a project for an archaeology of racism
    1. Different historical moments
    2. Focus here on racial separations, racism, and ethnicity in industrial cities (see Bower 1984). Overview of determinant processes: social forces and economic contradictions, theory of surplus value and industrialization
  - B. Emergence of racial separation: the division of the working class into blacks and non-blacks
    1. Evidence from spoken discourse, ordinances, court cases, editorials
      - a. Actions and justifications of the ruling class
      - b. Archaeological evidence
    2. Participation in this ideology by poor whites
      - a. Archaeological evidence of a growing material and social separation
      - b. Archaeological evidence of rejection of this ideology and the continuation of older social relations and traditions

- II. An archaeology of counter-resistance to this initial construction
  - A. Emergence of a "black culture of resistance"
    1. Construction of social and economic networks/black kinship
    2. "Invention of tradition"
    3. Rediscovery and objectification of an African identity
  - B. Towards an archaeology of this counter-resistance
    1. Importance of elders
    2. Role of "ritual" activity and spaces
    3. Archaeological evidence of the formal construction of a black culture
      - a. Craftsmen and the production of "African artifacts"
      - b. Use of traditional artifacts/black folk art
      - c. Foodways in black households
      - d. Landscape designs: the deconstruction and critique of private property; treatments of spaces and boundaries between households
- III. Understanding later moments in an archaeology of racism
  - A. Attempts to control the counter-culture of resistance; what forms did these efforts take?
  - B. Attempts to preserve and extend the ideology of racial separation and domination
  - C. Black responses during these later moments
    1. Archaeological evidence for selectivity in the acceptance and loss of counter-culture
    2. Hiding of the counter-culture; it continued to exist but was made invisible
      - a. Toward an archaeology of that invisibility
        - (1) A material distinction between public and private cultures and inside and outside spaces

**Project Three:** Toward an archaeology of Social Reproduction without Structural Change: The Assertion of Tradition and the Control of Social Inequality throughout Two Prehistoric Millennia

Short Story: Sometime around \_\_\_\_\_ in some settings in New England, social relations began to emerge with premises, methods, and processes of control and organization that threatened an older order. The (leaders, elders, elite, \_\_\_\_\_) of some traditional alliance groups continued to (increase production, reorganize labor, extract surpluses, control access to raw materials or resources, \_\_\_\_\_), thereby beginning to redefine an order of consent, alliance, exchange, and freedom as a system of differentiation, inequality, spatial partitioning, and formal control. The legitimacy of both their actions and positions was challenged and controlled through widely-shared and enacted behaviors and norms for conduct. These removed the obviousness of emerging inequality, dismantled signs of differentiation and power, and diluted the political significance of prestigious artifacts. These social processes against change became overly-formalized through time so that a standardized, self-referencing style of material culture and spatial organization was created over large amounts of space. That is, the historical emergence of new social forms was constrained by style and the active assertion and spread of a tradition that was both old and new.

I. How to make another sense of social complexity and relations of differentiation between

- A. Normal narrations about the emergence of "tribal" relations (see Braun and Plog 1982; Loring 1985)
- B. Against the eco-evolutionary logic of mortuary ceremonialism
  - 1. Alliance groups and the emergence of social differentials and separations
    - a. Emerging relations of control, labor organization, and surplus
  - 2. Contextualizing those histories as critical spaces and points of the landscape
    - a. Sources of steatite
    - b. More productive places
    - c. Other
  - 3. Structural contradictions and the formalization of separations
    - a. An archaeology of emerging relations of inequality in everyday settlements
      - (1) Relations and markings were "individualized", fragmented, inconsistent, and diverse
      - (2) Archaeological evidence

II. Archaeologies of the social control of differentiation and inequality

- A. A model from the Harappan civilization: social control of class processes through homogenization and decentralization (see Miller 1985)
- B. Anti-structures against complexity and inequality (see Root 1984)
  - 1. Ritual leveling and the ceremony of disposal (an archaeology of removal: mortuary sites and elsewhere, pits for removing, pits for masking)
  - 2. Homogenization as systematic behavior
    - a. Deconstruction of signs of differentiation and privatization; archaeological evidence at "sites of crisis"
    - b. Increased and decentralized production of formerly prestigious objects
      - (1) Archaeological evidence of "mass" production
      - (2) Archaeological evidence of rebellions against craft production
  - 3. Standardization as an ideology of involuted style
    - a. Overly formal and recurrent styles of settlement and spatial organization; an archaeological search for evidence of referencing, adjusting the scale of analysis

III. How to theorize what might have happened next

- A. Redefining what was common and what was unique during this period
- B. The unique was about social transformation
  - 1. Where and why did such controls fail?
  - 2. What happened when such controls failed? Toward an archaeology of achieved complexity, inequality, and real transformation in New England

### An Afterword

I do not mean to offer these research projects as an exercise in either anarchy or despotism, yet I do mean to challenge both as they have existed, and are emerging again, in American archaeology. The historical and social roots of the Conference on New England Archaeology have always been defined as a struggle against disciplinary trends. My effort seeks only to continue that struggle against what has become overly-normal. There have been other such studies. This work needs the support and criticism of, as well as a long-term commitment from, working groups inside this Conference. Otherwise this work will remain too fragmented, too preliminary, and too marginalized. And so will the past in New England and an archaeology of it.

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# CURRENT RESEARCH

## CONNECTICUT

LUCINDA McWEENEY is presently analyzing artifacts from the Bradley-Wheeler House excavation in Westport. The site report and interpretations will be written this fall for McWEENEY's Master's thesis. Besides a focus on the architectural sequencing of the house and outbuildings, soil chemical tests are being performed to determine activity areas.

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GEORGE NICHOLAS of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst and the American Indian Archaeological Institute conducted additional excavations at the Carlson 1 Site (100-032), located within the Robbins Swamp Project area in northwestern Connecticut, during late fall of this year. This work was undertaken to aid in the interpretation of several of the large features at this site associated with workshop areas. At this site, there is evidence that local jasper and jasperoid was extracted and possibly further modified by heat treatment. This material, which is deposited in boulder trains derived from outcrops located in nearby Massachusetts, is part of the Dalton/Poughquaag/Lowerre Formation that runs northeast/southwest from New England into Pennsylvania. Detailed analysis is currently underway on artifacts, features, and thousands of kilograms of production debris recovered.

One major problem yet to be resolved concerns the age of the site, or whether or not more than one component is present. Dating was based on the recovery of an Early Archaic projectile point and several other early tool forms during initial testing in 1984 and subsequent excavation in 1985; two C<sup>14</sup> dates on charcoal associated with two different features, however, provided dates of 1320 +/- 180 BP(GX-10871) and 3685 +/- 200 BP(GX-11570) radiocarbon years. The relative and absolute dates are all very different (Early Archaic/Late Archaic/Late Woodland) and suggest strongly that some of the charcoal on the site may be associated with late prehistoric or historic forest fires and land clearing. A series of thermoluminescent (TL) dates on fire-modified jasper and quartzite matrix, and fire-cracked rock are currently being prepared and hopefully will help resolve this problem.

NICHOLAS is also continuing his analysis of early postglacial land-use in Robbins Swamp, where over 40 Paleoindian and Early Archaic sites have been positively or tentatively identified. He is presently concentrating on identifying evidence of two behavioral variables, high site frequency and redundancy, in early land-use in the project area.

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The Farmington River Archaeological Project, under the direction of KEN FEDER of Central Connecticut State University (CCSU), conducted an extensive archaeological survey in Peoples State Forest in Barkhamsted (in the northwestern section of the state). Peoples State Forest contains a small section of the Farmington River floodplain, but is primarily uplands reaching a maximum elevation of 1200 feet. Previous, small-scale surveys have been conducted in Peoples

as part of the archaeological field school at CCSU. In 1983-5, a group of eight sites (the Beaver Meadow complex) was identified along the major drainage stream in the forest uplands. The 1986 survey of the entire forest was funded through a Department of Interior Survey and Planning Grant, administered by the Connecticut Historical Commission. Twenty-one previously unknown prehistoric sites were located in the approximate 3000 acres surveyed. Sites located in the 1986 survey include a wide range of types from small lithic scatters to large sites with features and a wide variety of tool types. Sites were consistently found in topographic saddles and flat promontories overlooking streams or upland wetlands. Five of the sites discovered this past summer can be added to the Beaver Meadow complex. Previous C<sup>14</sup> dates on Beaver Meadow complex sites were restricted to Middle and Late Woodland time periods. However, a C<sup>14</sup> date derived at one of the newly discovered sites indicates a Late Archaic provenience.

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The Albert Morgan Archaeological Society, under the direction of LUCIANNE LAVIN and DAVID COOKE, have continued excavation of the Morgan site (6-HT-120), a floodplain site in the lower Connecticut River Valley at Rocky Hill. The site appears to be a Late Woodland village occupation with lithic and ceramic data suggesting a date between AD 1400 and 1600. The site contains numerous hearth and pit features, including earth ovens, and also containing marine shell and a pit feature with a cache of antler. Faunal and floral remains were also recovered. Field identification of fauna include deer, bird and fish remains; flora include nut fragments, seeds, and what appears to be charred maize kernels and/or beans. Laboratory analyses have not yet been initiated.

## MASSACHUSETTS

BETH ANNE BOWER recently submitted a final report summarizing the 1975-76 excavations at the African Meeting House to the National Park Service for review. Three mitigation reports on the Southwest Corridor Project have been submitted to the Massachusetts Bay Transit Authority: "The Metropolitan Railroad Company Site," co-authored by BOWER, SHEILA CHARLES, CONSTANCE CROSBY, WOODARD OPENO, and BYRON RUSHING; "The 'Stone Jail' Site" report, co-authored by BOWER, CHARLES, CHENEY, and OPENO; and "The Elmwood Street Pumping Station Site" report, co-authored by BOWER, CROSBY, OPENO, and RUSHING. BOWER also is working with LENNY LOPARTO, JANE CAROLAN, AND HERB HEIDT on a reconnaissance survey for the MBTA Blue Line extension to Charles Street under Cambridge Street.

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DARCIE MacMAHON writes that the National Park Service has completed the Archaeological Collections Management Project (ACMP) for the collections at Minute Man National Historical Park. This three year project undertook the organization, inventory, and re-analysis of archaeological collections from 19 sites at the Park. The goal of the project was to make these collections accessible for both curatorial and research purposes, and to provide current interpretations of the sites. The sites were primarily rural house sites/farmsteads which were occupied during the 18th-century and have been excavated by a number of archaeologists over the last 25 years. Each chapter reports on a separate site, including discussions of: data problems, site historical background, previous archaeological projects and their results, an ACMP re-interpretation of the data, and recommendations for future research. Each chapter also includes summary quantitative data for the artifact collections. Volume 4 of the four volume project report is currently available, and Volumes 1 through 3 should be available early this year.

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ELIZABETH A. LITTLE continues to research Nantucket Indian history and ethnohistory, shell middens, and to search for Nantucket's sources of iron, timber, cedar, etc., during the initial part of the island's rise to prominence as a whaling port (1690-1740).

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In June of 1986, Boston's City Archaeology Program initiated the first phase of an archaeological survey of the Boston Common in downtown Boston. The Common is considered to be the nation's earliest public park, set aside by the town of Boston in 1634 as a pasture and military training ground. It also served as a site for military encampments and as a setting for duels, executions, and public celebrations. Since the 1830's, the Common has been developed by the City as a wooded park for public recreational use.

Archaeological sampling of the Common revealed that it had never been plowed. Archaeological resources identified during the survey included prehistoric camp sites ranging in age from Middle Archaic to the Contact Period, colonial period refuse deposits which may represent military

encampments, and evidence for the 19th and 20th-century landscaping activities of the Olmsted Company.

Boston City Archaeologist STEVEN PENDERY, Field Supervisors JAMES KENCES and CHRISTY VOGT conducted a public volunteer program in archaeology at the site, which received more than 10,000 visitors. Excavations will resume in the spring of 1987, and interested volunteers or visitors are invited to contact the City Archaeologist at 617-725-3850.

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Excavations at the Boylston Street Fishweir are currently underway, 100% underwritten by the developer, Gerald Hines Interests and New England Life. This project incorporates a strong paleoenvironmental focus along with the archaeological research. The project is run by TIMELINES, INC. and directed by its President, MICHAEL ROBERTS. Project Senior Scientist is Professor DENA DINCAUZE at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

As of December, a number of sample units have been excavated and elements of the fishweir documented and collected. In addition, a number of stratigraphic samples have been taken including one massive column sample from the bottom of modern fill into the blue clay base. These data have combined to allow the project team to target several locations for concentrated excavation. The sample units are designed to evaluate the vertical distribution of site features and sedimentation across the site. The excavation units are designed to evaluate the structure of the cultural features as well as to extract samples for detailed archaeological analysis. Field work is expected to extend through February with analysis to be accomplished in spring and summer of 1987.

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THE GREAT HOUSE FOUNDATION, INC. is a new, non-profit organization dedicated to the study and preservation of archaeological sites in New England. Its major project is helping to develop a plan for reconstructing the Great House/Three Crane Tavern Site located in City Square in Charlestown. This site, which dates to 1629, was the home and seat of government for John Winthrop, the Massachusetts Bay Colony's first governor. Discovered by STEVEN PENDERY during excavations conducted by the INSTITUTE FOR CONSERVATION ARCHAEOLOGY, the site has been intensively excavated by the PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY LABORATORY, INC. and they will salvage the complete foundation of the Great House/Three Crane Tavern before highway construction in City Square. THE GREAT HOUSE FOUNDATION, INC. will develop a plan for rebuilding the site on or near its location for public interpretation. Anyone interested in helping, please contact PETER THORBAHN, The Great House Foundation, Inc., Box 443, West Barnstable, MA 02668.

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OLD STURBRIDGE VILLAGE has completed its third year investigating the domestic, work, and community life of an early 19th-century Barre, Massachusetts blacksmith and farmer, Emerson Bixby. The multidisciplinary research project is part of a larger study, funded by the National

Endowment for the Humanities, of the social and economic transformations affecting the country towns of central New England during the early 19th-century.

DAVID SIMMONS and JOHN WORRELL directed the 1986 archaeological fieldwork, including the 8th annual OSV Field School in Historical Archaeology, and a 7-week staff and volunteer fall season. Through test probing at suspected outbuilding sites on the Bixby homelot, archaeologists were able to identify tentatively the location of an early blacksmith shop, the location and probable orientation of an English barn, and the location of an early fence row which once enclosed the barnyard.

Investigations in the front yard of the house revealed evidence for a wooden doorstep, dry-laid cobble post supports, the "ghost" of stone foundations and sill remains, and another stone foundation which pre-dates the house. At this point, the precise relationships between, and the functions of, these features are unclear. However, there is no doubt that the rear and side yards yielded considerably more sheet refuse than did the front yard area. More of a stone-lined cellar drainage trench was exposed this season, as well as at least one area where natural ledge outcrops were quarried, possibly for use during house construction.

Prior to the removal of the house from the site, a recording system was adapted to describe the phases of change in architectural fabric and tie these to soil changes. Construction phases and decorative details of the Bixby house are being compared with those of a number of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century houses in the Barre Four Corners region surveyed by MYRON STACHIW and NORA PAT SMALL. After the house was moved to the Museum in early September, the opportunity arose to dig the early yard spaces preserved under the floor of the ell, rear bedroom, and woodshed, allowing stratigraphic connection between the front, rear, and side yards. Work continued in the Bixby blacksmith shop area where residue from shoeing--Bixby's major smithing activity--was revealed atop a prepared cobbled pad in front of the shop.

Information about the excavated material culture from the entire Bixby site continues to be entered into several computer files. Spatially segregated by one-meter subsquares and vertically by soil strata, data entry and manipulation will help immensely with an interpretation of changes through time and across space at the site. The ninth annual OSV Field School is planned for June 22nd through August 7th, 1987, and will involve students in excavation, survey, measured drawing, conservation, computer, and other types of activities. Participation is limited to 20 students; application deadline is June 1st. For more information, contact DAVID SIMMONS, Archaeology Field School, Old Sturbridge Village, Sturbridge, MA, 01566 (Telephone: 617-347-3362).

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Excavations at an urban backlot in Lowell, Massachusetts were undertaken during July of 1986 by BOSTON UNIVERSITY CENTER FOR ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDIES and funded by the CITY OF LOWELL SCHOOL SYSTEM. This project was part of a cooperative agreement between Boston University and the National Park Service. MARY C. BEAUDRY, Assistant Professor of Archaeology and Anthropology at Boston University, acted as Principal Investigator, and EDWARD L. BELL, a graduate student in the Department of Archaeology's B.A./M.A.

program, served as Assistant Archaeologist. The area that was tested included the backyard of a house occupied by mill agents of the Massachusetts and Boott Mills, from 1845 to 1901. After this date, the property was occupied by tenants until 1929 when the building was used, at different times, as an annex for the nearby high school, a health clinic, and a drug rehabilitation center. The only historical research that focused on this structure was contained in an architectural report prepared by John Robbins in 1979. Further documentary research on the occupants of the Kirk Street Agents' House is being carried out by BELL. Renovation of the Lowell Magnet School immediately east of the site would have directly impacted the backyard area. For a number of reasons, this area was considered to have a high potential for significant archaeological resources. Excavations at the nearby Boott Mills boarding house area and related documentary research by BOSTON UNIVERSITY in 1985 yielded important data on the lifestyles of the millworkers. Archaeological information from the Kirk Street Agents' House would provide comparable data on the lifestyles of the managerial class. At the boarding house area, directly under the blacktop surface of a parking lot, a number of well-preserved features were encountered. The backyard area at the Kirk Street Agents' House was also covered by a blacktop surface, and it was hoped that features similar to those found at the boarding house area would be preserved underneath the asphalt.

At the Kirk Street Agents' House, archaeologists used heavy machinery to expedite their efforts. The asphalt surface and underlying parking lot bedding were removed with a bobcat; shovel-shaving and limited testing resulted in the identification of a number of 20th-century trenches associated with construction work. The areas of the site undisturbed by 20th-century construction work included a garden tended by 19th- and early 20th-century residents of the Kirk Street Agents' House. Deep strata of loam proved rich in artifacts, including many large ceramic sherds (including redware and stoneware flowerpots) and a great deal of faunal remains--a situation with an analog in the 18th-century planting beds at the Peyton Randolph House in Williamsburg, Virginia. Also recovered were a number of personal goods (clothing fasteners, a possible make-up compact, marbles, tobacco pipes), and household items. The range of artifacts suggest that trash was utilized for compost and drainage of the garden area. Only a few features that are tentatively identified as planting or root holes were observed. Soil samples were taken from almost all areas of the site, and will be analyzed by GERALD K. KELSO (National Park Service). Preliminary artifact cataloguing has been completed by LORINDA B. RODENHISER, an undergraduate at Boston University and BELL; further artifact analyses are now underway.

The fact that the mill agents and their families had access to a garden is significant. This landscape feature suggests yet another material expression of class differences, in addition to those suggested through documentary and archaeological research in Lowell. Gardens were not present in the boarding house yards used by millworkers. If the Kirk Street Agents' House garden proves to have been used to grow foodstuffs, the economic advantages of homegrown vegetables can be compared with the millworkers' practice of paying board. A final report on the research, excavation, and analyses will be available by late spring of 1987.

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During the 1986 field season, the PUBLIC ARCHAEOLOGY LABORATORY, INC. (PAL, INC.) located and exposed a section of the Town Dock wharf in Charlestown, Massachusetts. The

fieldwork was conducted as part of the ongoing data recovery phase of the Central Artery North Reconstruction Project, on behalf of the Massachusetts Department of Public Works. As part of this investigation, the Laboratory's field crew uncovered structures that are believed to be part of the first dry dock built in North America. According to Massachusetts Bay records of the General Court, a dry dock was established in 1677 for the purposes of ship reconstruction and repair. The General Court specified that the dry dock have the capacity to accommodate a ship weighing up to 300 tons. Because the Town Dock wharves date from the period 1645-1834, they are considered highly significant for the data they can provide at the local, regional, and perhaps even higher, levels concerning maritime adaptation of the Charlestown community during this period.

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The PAL, INC. conducted archaeological data recovery at the Parker-Harris site, the documented location of a Charlestown pottery between 1715 and 1775. It is one of several located within the corridor of the Central Artery North Reconstruction Project in Charlestown. Excavation at the site demonstrated that while extensive 19th-century disturbance had severely impacted its integrity, a small area of the original 18th-century yard, overlying an earlier, possible 17th-century wall, remained intact. Analysis of the redware sherds, wasters, and kiln furniture is now in progress.

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The PAL, INC. also completed a reconnaissance-level archaeological survey of the Camp Edwards Military Reservation. The project area, located in the westernmost part of Cape Cod, in Bourne, is characterized by a predominantly upland terrain. Five areas of high archaeological sensitivity were identified, with each containing one or more prehistoric depositions in close proximity to a fresh water wetland. The sites ranged from small intensively occupied areas to large areas containing low density scatters of lithic materials. Diagnostic artifacts included: a stark-like, small stem, Squibnocket triangles, Jack's Reef, and Levanna projectile points. Aboriginal ceramics and faunal remains were also recovered. These sites are among the first identified from this part of Cape Cod.

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The PAL, INC. completed intensive archaeological surveys for the Attleboro Wastewater Treatment Facilities and the Meadow-Wood Condominium project in Bellingham. One small prehistoric deposition was located during the Attleboro survey. The Roy Street site contained a low density of primarily Attleboro red felsite chipping debris and overlooks the Sevenmile River. Two prehistoric sites were located in Bellingham. Both the Arnold Field and Schafer sites contained a low density of quartz chipping debris. A small stem projectile point was also recovered from the Schafer site. These sites appear to be small temporary camping locations.

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FRANCIS P. McMANAMON's new address is: Chief, Archeological Assistance Division, National Park Service, P.O. Box 37127, Washington, DC 20013-7127. McMANAMON announces three new reports are in preparation: one dealing with the completion of the survey and site examination efforts, metallographic and faunal reports, and the 1983 excavations at Fort Hill (19BN308); another describing the fieldwork and analysis of a data collection project at Coast Guard Beach (19BN174); and the third a synthesis of the data-laden reports in the series.



## NEW HAMPSHIRE

The NEW HAMPSHIRE STATE COOPERATIVE REGIONAL ARCHEOLOGY PLAN (SCRAP) has been discontinued due to lack of federal funding from the National Park Service. The SCRAP program had been operating since 1981 by the NEW HAMPSHIRE HISTORICAL SOCIETY as a sub-grantee to the New Hampshire State Historic Preservation Office. The program was well known for training adult avocational archaeologists and conducted extensive studies of prehistoric and historic sites throughout the state. Inquiries on the future of New Hampshire archaeology may be directed to GARY HUME, State Archaeologist, New Hampshire Division of Historic Resources, Concord, NH, or JUSTINE GENGRAS, President, New Hampshire Archeological Society.

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Before its closure, the New Hampshire State Cooperative Regional Archeology Plan conducted a survey of several coastal towns over a four week period during the summer of 1986. Survey efforts focused on New Hampshire's coastal zone because of the rapid rate of development there and additional risk of water erosion to sites. Results of the 1986 SCRAP Coastal Sites Survey, a combined prehistoric and historic sites evaluation and recording project conducted by VICTORIA KENYON and FAITH HARRINGTON, will be published in the next bulletin of the New Hampshire Archeological Society.

KENYON, former prehistoric sites archaeologist for SCRAP, performed field inspections and evaluations on the 39 prehistoric sites that had been recorded in the state survey files over the past 30 years. HARRINGTON, former historic sites archeologist, assisted by PERRY HOPF, performed field evaluations and provided further documentation (including photographic) for the 24 historic sites which were recorded in the state files. The second phase of the survey involved recording and entering new sites in the state historic properties file. Over 153 new sites of historical archaeological and architectural properties were discovered, recorded, and photographed through combined documentary research and interviews with local inhabitants and historians.

Several observations can be made from the data collected during the survey. First, those sites closest in time to the present are not necessarily the most well preserved nor the most numerous; factories, quarries, shipyards, and sites relating to tourism are poorly represented in coastal New Hampshire. Second, the ubiquitous farms, forts, taverns/inns, and craft shops of early coastal New Hampshire are under-recorded as *types* of historic sites. Third, churches, meeting houses, burial grounds/cemetaries, garrisons, mills, schools, stores, railroad stations, and homes of well-known citizens are the most numerous types of sites recorded in coastal New Hampshire. In part, this reflects the intent of the 1986 survey to concentrate on "public sites" or those sites that served large numbers of the community in the past. A final aspect of the coastal survey this past summer entailed reconnaissance survey testing at the Isles of Shoals, a cluster of nine islands located six miles off the New Hampshire coast.

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The NH State Historic Preservation Office, the NH Department of Transportation, and the NH Federal Highway Administration held a seminar to address mitigation of adverse effects on historical and archaeological resources by the NH Route 101 bypass project in the Harrisville Rural District. Archaeologists, historians, and researchers present at the seminar included CHARLES BOLIAN, LUCINDA BROCKWAY, JAMES GARVIN, DOUGLAS GEORGE, STEVEN HAMBURG, FAITH HARRINGTON, BILLEE HOORNBECK, DAVID JAFFEE, VICTORIA KENYON, MARTHA PINELLO, MICHAEL ROBERTS, WILLIAM TAYLOR, RICHARD WALDBAUER, SHIRLEY ADAMOVICH, BRUCE ELBERLE, GARY HUME, THOMAS KING, R. STUART WALLACE, and LINDA WILSON. Researchers generally agreed that the Harrisville Rural District could serve as an illustrative model for the transformation of social and economic systems during and after the Industrial Revolution. Study of the District could permit a heightened awareness of the interplay of natural resources and social development over time. Specific topics of interest included: evolution of road systems, history of community relations, land use patterns, rural participation in industrialization, social networks, market systems, and the role of resources in economic adaptation. An integrated study approach drawing on archaeological, historical, and ecological methods was suggested. The validity and feasibility of conducting multidisciplinary research was discussed.

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Archaeologists in New Hampshire have the rare opportunity to investigate lifeways in the Early Woodland period as analysis of the excavations accomplished at Sewall's Falls in Concord during May and June of 1986 continue. The field work was co-directed by DAVID STARBUCK (Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute) and DENNIS HOWE and TONI HOWE (avocational archaeologists). Laboratory analysis is presently continuing and should be completed in the spring of 1987.

An Early Woodland component was suspected on the west bank of the Merrimack River at Sewall's Falls when testing in 1984, and controlled excavations into a deep deposit of artifacts and features in 1985, revealed a wide horizontal distribution of Vinette-I type ceramics sherds. In one of the controlled excavations in late 1984, below the thin plow zone, approximately 530 sherds were found *in situ* adjacent to a possible hearth feature. TONI HOWE reconstructed these sherds into about half a complete vessel which measured 26 cms. in rim diameter and 28 cms. in height. A charred substance adhering to the inside surfaces suggested the vessel had been used for cooking. The vessel was found to have three small, drilled holes aligned with a vertical crack which were probably placed there in an attempt to repair it. Excavations and testing of Middle and Late Archaic deposits at the site in 1985 also revealed a wide scatter of Vinette I type sherds (much like those found in 1984) in undisturbed upper strata. Based on these ceramics, it was thought that an intact Early Woodland settlement might be present, and the work in 1986 would address this component.

A team of NEW HAMPSHIRE STATE COOPERATIVE REGIONAL ARCHEOLOGY PLAN (SCRAP) volunteers began excavations on the low alluvial terrace adjacent to the falls in late May and continued for a period of three weeks, excavating a total of 41 one-meter square units. Adding the controlled meter square units excavated during 1984 and 1985, a total of 67 square meters were excavated into the Early Woodland stratum.

The initial results show that approximately 250 more Vinette I type sherds were found *in situ*. These were distributed in clusters approximately 7 meters apart and probably represent at least 7 different vessels. Many of the sherds were large rim sherds. Lithic debitage was sparse, as were projectile points which included a small chert triangle (as yet unidentified) and five quartz small-stemmed II types. Three quartz scrapers and two perforators were found. All of the lithics were found in the southern one-third of the site. Most of the ceramics and all of the large rim sherds were found in the northern two-thirds of the site. Quartz small-stemmed points have normally been assigned to the Late Archaic period, and although they were not found in close association with the ceramics, they were in the same stratum. Other artifacts were a small number of hammerstones and anvil stones, along with several polished cobbles.

The single feature identified in 1986 was a pit-type or baking hearth. It measured approximately 70 cms. in diameter and extended in a bowl shape to a depth of approximately 30 cms. All of the material within the hearth feature, including charcoal for radiocarbon dating, was recovered for laboratory analysis. Vinette I type sherds were found at the edge of the hearth rim but have not as yet been identified within the hearth material.

When excavations began it was assumed that an Early Woodland settlement would probably resemble a Late Archaic pattern with closely associated features and multiple activity areas. The Early Woodland site at Sewall's Falls did not. It appears to be a single activity area, possibly for processing vegetable materials. It also appears that there was no hunting or fishing activity as suggested by the lack of cutting tools. Further interpretation at this time is speculative, but DENNIS HOWE writes that it is tempting to suggest that the culture had a division of labor and may have had discrete places for sleeping, butchering, and the processing of vegetable materials.

Extensive archaeological survey and excavations have been conducted on both sides of the Merrimack River at Sewall's Falls from 1981 through 1986. The area has had repeated Indian settlements dating to as early as the Middle Archaic period (c. 6000 BC) and evidence suggests a continuous use without interruption from that time until the Contact period. The west bank site is exceptionally deep and well stratified. There have been few opportunities, before now, to excavate a sizable Early Woodland site in New Hampshire.

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Analysis of a small lithic reduction station on the Cocheco River in Dover is currently being undertaken by ROBERT GOODBY at Brown University and CHARLES BOLIAN at the University of New Hampshire. Analysis of this site and of survey results from the area will serve to clarify the role of the Cocheco drainage in regional prehistory. At present, issues of lithic resource procurement (particularly of large quartz blocks recovered from the site), site formation, and relationships with other regional sites are being explored. Lithic recovered at the site suggest an emphasis on locally available vein quartz, possibly obtained from bedrock outcrops in the river itself.

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VICTORIA KENYON reports that seven radiocarbon dates have been obtained on charcoal samples collected at the Eddy site at Amoskeag Falls. Samples were taken from features and charcoal-bearing strata through the stratigraphic column. The dates are compatible with those recorded by DENA DINCAUZE for the Neville site across the Merrimack River. The dates will enable the refinement of culture chronology at Amoskeag Falls. The dates range from 7830 +/- 100 BP for a charcoal bearing stratum (GX sample no. 12388) to 3315 +/- 90 BP (GX sample no. 12385) for a firecracked stone feature with pottery. A grant from the Norwin and Elizabeth Bean Fund of the New Hampshire Charitable Trust made the dating possible.

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An archaeological reconnaissance survey will continue during the summer of 1987 at the Isles of Shoals, a cluster of islands located six miles off the coast and shared by both New Hampshire and Maine. The Shoals feature prominently in the early history of New England because of their importance in the international cod fish trade. FAITH HARRINGTON will direct the project which is funded by CENTER FOR FIELD RESEARCH/ EARTHWATCH and scheduled for August 17th through September 12th, 1987 at the Shoals Marine Laboratory on Appledore Island. Participants can sign up for one or two of the two-week sessions.

Last summer's testing focused on the coastline in search of the early fishery, and at the site of Fort Star (1653-1775) which protected the Shoalers during the Indian War period but was closed down during the Revolution in the belief that British agitators might gain a foothold to the mainland by overtaking the fort at the Shoals. Although no evidence was gleaned on the 17th-century fishery, architectural and archaeological data verified the location and relative intactness of the fort. Ground search survey and limited intensive excavation will continue from August 17th through September 12th, 1987 and several features dating from the 17th- and 18th-centuries will be surveyed and tested this summer. Interested individuals can contact HARRINGTON directly (address on front cover), or call or write EARTHWATCH at: 680 Mt. Auburn St., Box 403, Watertown, MA, 02172 (Telephone: 617-926-8200).

## RHODE ISLAND

The PAL, INC. recently completed a Phase I survey of the Big River Reservoir project area in central Rhode Island (West Greenwich and Coventry). This survey was carried out for the RI Water Resources Board. DUNCAN RITCHIE, the Principal Investigator for prehistoric cultural resources, reports that 40 sites were identified during the survey, ranging from small loci/activity areas to larger more complex sites expected to contain evidence of numerous occupational episodes. The density and distribution of these sites clearly shows that this upland, interior area was part of land use/settlement systems throughout the prehistoric period. The Late and Terminal Archaic (c. 4500 to 2500 BP) appear to have been particularly intensive periods of activity in this section of the upper Pawtuxet River drainage. The sites with evidence of Terminal Archaic occupation are expected to be a potential source of information for contrasting settlement and resource use in coastal versus upland, interior settings during this time period. The lithic assemblages from some sites in the Big River Reservoir include significant amounts of non-local materials (volcanics) from source areas in eastern Massachusetts (Boston Basin area). More detailed investigations of patterns like this should provide information on how non-local lithic resources were used by prehistoric groups in this part of Rhode Island.

MARSHA KING and RICK GREENWOOD, co-principal investigators for the historical archaeology component of the Big River Reservoir Project for the PAL, INC., report that during the four months of Phase I fieldwork, completed in November, 25 previously unknown historic sites were found. This brings the total inventory of historic sites in the project area to 52. Sites were located during a random reconnaissance survey and as a result of judgemental survey based on cartographic evidence. The inventory includes: 13 industrial sites (simple mills and mill complexes), 7 commercial sites (stores, inns and hotels, blacksmith shops, and a turnpike toll gate), 31 domestic and/or agricultural sites (including 9 standing structures), 3 water control sites (an isolated well, a dam and associated waterhole, and a possible cranberry bog), 2 foundations of undetermined function, and 18 cemeteries or burials. Several of the sites served multiple functions, including combinations of a mill and store, toll gate and hotel, and blacksmith shop and house. Sites were mapped and site integrity was examined through excavation of judgemental test pits and/or random test pit transects.

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CURRENT RESEARCH

Please submit a brief paragraph on your current New England Archaeological Research for inclusion in the Summer 1987 CNEA Newsletter. Also submit any new bibliographic titles for books, articles, reports, etc. in *American Anthropologist* format. Thank you.

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The Steering Committee regrets to announce that dues have had to be raised this year to keep up with the increasing costs of publishing and mailing the newsletter and holding the annual meeting. Membership dues for 1987 are \$10.00. Membership covers the period from March 1, 1987, through the end of February, 1988 and includes two issues of the Newsletter. Use this form to send in your membership dues only. All conference costs are payable at the door.

No pre-registration for the Conference is available this year because of the combined NEAA-CNEA Conference.

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