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Colonial Contacts and Individual Burials: Structure, Agency, and Identity in 19th Century Wisconsin

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COLONIAL CONTACTS AND INDIVIDUAL BURIALS: STRUCTURE,

AGENCY, AND IDENTITY IN 19th CENTURY WISCONSIN

by

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ABSTRACT
COLONIAL CONTANCT AND INDIVIDUAL BURIALS: STRUCTURE, AGENCY,
AND IDENTITY IN 19th CENTURY WISCONSIN

by

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Individual burials are always representative of both individuals and collective

actors. The physical remains, material culture, and represented practices in burials can be

used in concert to study identities and social personas amongst individual and collective

actors. These identities and social personas are the result of the interaction between

agency and structure, where both individuals and groups act to change and reproduce

social structures.

The three burials upon which this study is based are currently held in the

collections of the Milwaukee Public Museum. They are all indigenous burials created in

Wisconsin in the 19th century. Biological sex, stature, age, and pathologies were

identified from skeletal analysis and the material culture of each burial was analyzed

using a Use/Origin model to attempt to understand how these individuals negotiated and

constructed identities within a colonial system.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Chapter One: Introduction:

Colonialism, Burials, and the Construction of Identities

Previous archaeological studies of colonialism and colonial contact were written from within a firmly dichotomous conception of human interaction. These studies divided Indigenous and Euro-American participants into distinctly different groups and subsumed essentialist and acculturist assumptions of Indigenous decline and passivity in the face of Euro-American cultural practices and materials (Ferris 2009, Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002, Rubertone 2000). This type of discourse both denies individual and collective agency on the parts of Native and Euro-American individuals and communities and encourages over simplistic contrast studies. These studies and the simple interpretive dichotomies they utilize mask the complex ranges of interactions that individuals and groups participating in colonial processes engage in (Rogers 2005).

Recently, anthropologists have engaged in the production of critical colonial archaeologies and anthropologies. In these works colonialism is not seen as a homogenizing process of Western impositions onto local populations; instead, these studies argue that it is more useful to see colonialism as a worldwide phenomenon of heterogeneous contacts between dissimilar groups with economic, political, and ideological components (Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002, Liebman and Rizvi 2008, Guthrapalli 2008). Archaeologists also now recognize that colonial experiences cannot be generalized (Liebmann 2008). Instead, colonial contacts must be contextualized. People engaged in colonial processes acted through complex strategies of accommodation, resistance, creation, and subversion that were informed by their specific historical realities (Ferris 2009).

The emphasis in some of these works is on the use of the archaeological record to examine real people who used material in tangible contexts (Given 2004). Material culture is often used to assist individuals and groups in signaling single and multiple identities and social personas; materials are perceivable and are often entangled in dimensions of social, political, and economic meaning (Tronchetti and Van Dommelen 2005). The artifacts examined in the archaeological record are a physical proof of human engagement in various systems. They are cultural expressions of everyday life that can suggest certain social and cultural relationships (Beaudry et al. 1996). Colonialism ushered in adoptions, rejections, co-options, and shifts in material culture that are especially visible in the archaeological record. There is a temptation to use these highly visible items to attempt to measure levels of acculturation amongst colonial peoples (see Quimby 1966). This assumes a unilateral or bilateral flow of culture that ignores the composite and hybrid identities that often accompany culture contact and different social formations (Russell 2004, Stein 2005).

Identity construction and the assertions of social personas and multiple identities are especially visible in the mortuary record where artifacts and the embodiment of social and economic conditions can be tied to both specific individuals and larger groups. In a broad sense identity is temporally, socially, and geographically bounded. It occurs both within and around individuals and communities; an individual is always both wholly themselves and defined by other social groups or units (White 2009). These tensions between individuality, collectivity, and multiple identities are always bounded by the contexts in which they are visible (Fowler 2004). Burial contexts are intersections of

direct individual and group engagement with materiality and the physical remains of individuals who engaged in social identity construction (Knudson and Stojanowski 2009). The physical remains are as important as the material culture in examining identity. They are a record of lived lives. Physical indicators of resource procurement, overall health, disease exposure, and physical activity are directly or indirectly indicative of social identities (White et al. 2009). The ability of individuals and groups to secure nutritional resources is often tied to social identity. Skeletal analysis can also identify other quality of life issues such as disease exposure and spread that have a relationship to perceived identities and colonial context (Klaus and Chang 2009). Together skeletal remains and material culture can be used to reconstruct and study the identities and personas of persons in colonial contexts and the integrations and negotiations they engaged in.

Research Problem

This project was created to study colonial engagement through individual mortuary contexts. Burials are inherently a reflection of both individual identity and of the choices of those that buried that person (Binford 1971); the agency of all those who participated in mortuary practices is visible to varying degrees. Saxe argued that individuals might have many social personas and identities that are negotiated in mortuary practices (Saxe 1970). Individual burials can be viewed as reproductions of cultural structures that are being constantly modified and changed to include individual and group assertions and claims. Humans collectively and individually make themselves (Kockelman 2007). To study these interactions through the mortuary context it is necessary to examine the ways in which personhood, identity, structure, agency, material

culture, and the physical body converge in colonial situations. In this regard both acculturation and World Systems Theory could be viewed as null hypotheses since they focus on unilateral or bilateral power dynamics rather than structuration and hybridity.

The three burials included in this study represent the social personas, identities, and physical remains of three individuals. Each of these individuals was a person who operated in particular social and cultural contexts and was subject to the effects and constraints of those contexts. Personhood is a constant state of flux and is a process of ongoing attainment that does not necessarily end with death, though death can reconstitute or deconstitute a person through productions of mortuary practices (Fowler 2004). The three burials discussed here represent three very different Native American individuals; a woman of indeterminate age who died between 1853 and 1860 in Calumet County, WI, a man of fifty plus years who was buried in a mound in the middle of a lake island in Vilas County, WI in the early 19th century, and an infant with significant grave goods buried in the same mound. The woman and man and child are, based on geographic and temporal distinctions, not from the same group or community. They are examples of individuals and communities who created hybrid and mutually comprehensible (here I borrow from Richard White's idea of the middle ground, White 1991) identities. They and the people who interred them used their agency to consciously and unconsciously create, affirm, maintain and change the internal and external structures that existed in colonial interactions at the time of their lives and deaths.

Figure 1.1 Map Showing approximate locations of Rantoul in Calumet Co., WI and Rest Lake in Vilas Co., WI. Rantoul is indicated with a red dot and Rest Lake with a red and white dot.

Three Field Approach

As stated previously, burials are always a combination of tangible physical materials, representations, and more intangible customs and practices. Historical and ethnographic documentary evidence is available with regards to the customs, burial practices, health, and materiality of Native communities in 19th century Wisconsin. This material should be treated critically and cautiously, but can provide useful observations of Native life and use of materials. Unfortunately, native narratives of life during colonialism are less common, but are utilized when they do exist.

A three-field approach combining cultural theory, historical archaeology, and physical anthropology is utilized in this study. The body is a crucial concept, both as archaeological evidence and as a part of a larger interpretive framework (Sofaer 2006). This holistic approach recognizes that the materials humans use and the actions that mark

their bodies are always impacted by and impact culture. A pipe stem groove on a tooth is never merely the result of clenching teeth around a small round pipe; there were specific circumstances, choices, and actions that led to smoking being an accepted habit, having the required paraphernalia available, acquiring it, and choosing (both on an individual and collective scale) to smoke it. Such evidence reflects an embodied cultural practice. It suggests the existence of a relationship between material and the individual, material and the society, physical trade offs and physical or emotional gain, and more broadly, structures and agencies that allowed its utilization.

The physical remains and material culture of the three burials discussed in the proceeding chapters are viewed from this perspective. Physical remains were studied to build biological and pathological profiles, materials were identified and placed in categories, and documentary evidence helped contextualize these relationships. Everything was studied through the relationship of structure and agency (based on Gidden's concept of structuration) to individual and collective actions and choices. Bruce Trigger (Trigger 1980) argues that studies of Native archaeology are only meaningful if these people are studied as subjects, not objects. Combining structuration with physical anthropology and standard archaeological practice is a way to center this analysis on individuals and those who buried them as actors who created and maintained their own lives.

Chapter Two: Confronting Identities-Structure, Agency, and the Mortuary Record

Introduction

This analysis combines structuration and identity studies with historical archaeology, post colonialism, bioarchaeology, and mortuary studies. It is critical to examine the relationship between these paradigms and structure and agency, as well as other possible applications of structure and agency theories in this type of individual mortuary analysis. Doing so explores the suitability of structuration theory to a comprehensive study of the burials of colonial persons.

Mortuary studies often include large-scale discussions of organization, social complexity and status for the purpose of social reconstruction (O'Shea 1984). Individual lives were not always a focus of early processual archaeology or mortuary analysis, something criticized by Shanks and Tilley in *Social Theory in Archaeology* (1988). Anthropology on an individual scale, especially in archaeological investigations, has relevance far beyond the psychology and sociality of the individual. Carolyn White points out that individuals, while still being responsible to the societal institutions and co-present interactions with others, ultimately form a social matrix; studying individuals and their roles can provide anthropologists with better estimations of multivocality (2009). Individuality is closely tied to identity (Giddens 1991) and identity and social personas are highly represented in the mortuary record (Saxe 1970). As stated

previously, social personas expressed in the mortuary record are negotiations of various group interests and individual social identities that represent both the individual and the persons who buried them (Saxe 1970) in which multiple agencies and structures are ultimately expressed within one context.

The presence of "European" manufactured items, Native items, and non-local wampum in the burials included in this study suggests that the people represented in them were not isolated products of resistance, isolation, acculturation, or cultural stasis. These items suggest that they were active participants in cultural change that necessitated the assertion of and adoption of multiple social personas and identities. The concept of the duality of structure and agency suggested by structuration is sensitive to the relationship between agency and cultural reproduction and change and will be used to examine the evidence for individuality, identity, and cultural change in the burials of these individuals. Before turning to structuration theory it is necessary to consider other social theories that deal with reproduction and change and examine the aspects of structuration that make it most suitable to this project.

Approaches to Structure and Agency in Social Reproduction

In *Outline of a Theory of Practice* Pierre Bourdieu argues that human action is always a practical matter. Bourdieu's practice theory expands on the sociological concept of habitus. To Bourdieu, habitus is the durable, principled system of regulated improvisations that relate daily life to structure. Habitus is historical; it is bound up in received practices that reinforce structure and are at the same time defined by it (Bourdieu 1977). Practice theory holds that practices are homogenized by similar

conditions that allow the habitus to exist. These practices, enacted by agents, transcend objective intentions and define interaction (Bourdieu 1977).

Bourdieu's emphasis on agency as something ultimately guided by habitus is problematic when analyzing culture contact interaction and the products of that interaction. In Bourdieu's version of practice theory, agency through tactics is subordinate to structure instead of something that can transcend and change it (De Certeau 1984). Tactics are contained within habitus (and Doxa) making practice theory insensitive to the power of the interplay between individual actors and the ways in which this can ultimately impact structural transformation. In many culture contact scenarios, including the colonial projects of the 16th-20th centuries, the structures are more usefully studied as the product of interactions instead of studying interactions as the products of structures. Those "on the ground" interacted in ways that caused changes in colonial policy and ultimately the social structures of areas bounded in time and space (Deagan 1990).

When discussing "on the ground" interaction, it is useful to consider the work of De Certeau in *The Practice of Everyday Life*. De Certeau is interested in the ways in which people "make do" through operational schemas called tactics and strategies. Strategies, as De Certeau defines them, are the recognitions and definitions of power relationships possible through isolated subjects with the will and power to act. Strategies involve general plans and the ability to control and "bank" power, usually in the form of institutions. Tactics are used by the weak and operate in response to strategies as isolated actions; they are defined by the absence of power (De Certeau 1984).

De Certeau's conception of tactics is not completely successful at balancing individual and group autonomy with structure. Tactics are conceptualized in response to strategies; they are defined as the "art of the weak" (De Certeau 1984). Agents who utilize tactics are not acting with true autonomy. Instead, they are a product of the imposition of structure. De Certeau's account of the relationship between the Spanish colonial authorities and indigenous peoples illustrate the problem with this particular conception. He describes the ways in which the indigenous population related to Spanish law as purely a result of Spanish power over their subject populations. By placing the indigenous populations in a position of little power as people who are merely reacting defensively to Spanish authority, he denies the agency of these groups and individuals to act within their best interests. He correctly claims that the indigenous people subverted Spanish authority by integrating "imposed" laws into their own cultural systems (De Certeau 1984). This subversion was both a conscious and unconscious form of resistance; it created space for people to operate and maneuver without completely renovating existing cultural systems. However, he is trapped by the assumption that this was an instance of assimilation into various structures; he argues that this was a result of imposed symbols being "manipulated by practitioners who have not produced them" (De Certeau 1984). Imposition and assimilation as strategies and subversion as a tactic do not fully account for the myriad of responses of indigenous populations to colonialism; these strategies and tactics reduce the colonial project to a series of subjugations in which respondent actors had no power. If that were so, colonial policies would have remained static over the four hundred years of Spanish colonial intervention.

Marshall Sahlins' definitions of agency come closer to accounting for the effects that the actions of individuals can have in relation to cultural reproduction, though he fails to recognize the ability of individuals and events to enact structural transformation, to go from "micro" to "macro". Instead, he sees agency as something that is authorized by structure without being opposed by it (Sahlins 2004). He argues that systemic and conjunctural agency each have a role in the forms and causes of an event but that the relationship between structure, agency, and contingency is limiting to structural order (Sahlins 2004). Contingencies are not determined by structure, but structure determines the outcome of the agents' reaction to contingent events.

The strength of Sahlins' argument in Apologies to Thucydides is his reliance on context to study contingency and agency. The contextualization of Fijian politics is essential in understanding the role of agency and structure in the contingent assassination and subsequent state of Fijian politics. Without historical context structure becomes an all-encompassing totalizing scheme insensitive to micro interaction and contingency; any relationship of these events to larger cultural order is lost. As Sahlins says of the rivalry and assassination of the Fijian royal families " the system may have intensified their contention to the point of murderous hatred, but it could not script who would kill whom" (Sahlins 2004). He contends that while an event can alter cultural reproduction, its outcome will always be structurally ordered (Sahlins 2004). This is only possible if the individual actors are also structurally ordered. It leaves no room for any individual or collective autonomy and argues for complete predictability, even in the face of contingent circumstances.

Conceptualization of Structuration

Structure then, influences the practices and representations of lives of individuals and the societies in which they participate. Bourdieu, De Certeau, and Sahlins see agency as an integral subject of structure that influences culture. This is problematic when the actions of individuals are studied in relation to the larger structural order; the representations of unitary action, choice, and conscious and unconscious creation of identity are obscured under these assumptions. The project of reifying these representations in the material record requires that agency be acknowledged as equal to structure. This is a cornerstone concept of Giddens' theory of structuration. Structuration involves the study of structure and agency as equals in which neither is the prime motivator or praxis behind social reproduction and change. In structuration, Giddens reconceptualizes and almost equates the sociological concepts of "individuals" and "society" as "agency" and "structure". Giddens argues that structure and agency are typically set up as dualisms when it is more useful to study them as dualities that operate in concert (1984). In this way, Giddens places individuals as actors with significant power to affect outcomes (and therefore social change and reproduction) through action. Instead of agency acting through received constructs, agency enacts the constructs and provides individuals with more space to define their own identity (Giddens 1984).

Structure includes dimensions of signification, domination, and legitimation that depend on the ability of actors to use the two main components of structure, rules and resources. Giddens use of structure defines "rules" and "resources" that are bound and bind time-space in social systems and stabilize those systems (1984). Therefore, structure is always bound by context. "Rules" are generalizable procedures of social interaction

that can be constitutive, regulative, and/or habitual in the enactment of reproduction of

practice (1984). Resources can be allocative (transformative capacity of material

phenomenon) or authoritative (ability to harness human action) and are enacted in concert

with rules to form structures (Giddens 1984). In both cases, allocative and authoritative

resources can only be used as the result of human agency; someone(s) has to decide the

how, when, and why of resource exploitation and how to do that by using rules. Structure

can never be independent of agency because it is grounded in the knowledgeable agency

of actors and as such is both constraining and enabling (Giddens 1984).

Agency in structuration theory is a very flexible, holistic concept. Of agency,

Giddens writes:

> Agency refers not to the intentions people have in doing things but to their
> capability of doing those things in the first place (which is why agency implies power: cf.
> the Oxford English Dictionary definition of an agent as "one who exerts power or produces
> an effect"). Agency concerns events of which an individual is the perpetrator, in the sense
> that the individual could, at any phase in a given sequence of conduct, have acted
> differently. Whatever happened would not have happened if that individual had not
> intervened. Action is a continuous process, a flow, in which the reflexive monitoring which
> the individual maintains is fundamental to the control of the body that actors ordinarily
> sustain through their day-to-day lives (1984).

This view of agency and action incorporates both the intended consequences and

unintended consequences of action, and leaves room for the importance of unintentional

actions. Here Giddens separates the "doings" of acts from the consequences of those acts.

He defines consequences as events dependent on an actor's behavior but not within an

agent's power to make happen regardless of intent (1984). To guide actions, human

beings (as purposive agents) use reflexive monitoring and continually monitor their own

actions and the actions of others (Giddens 1984). Structure sometimes constrains agents,

but agents also have the capability to improvise and innovate in ways to reshape structure

(Sewell 1992). This conception of agency gives equal weight to structure; agency is no longer about whether a person makes something happen (what one might have called a victory over structure in more dichotomous discourse) but about the fact that a person was there in the first place. To not acknowledge this broader conception of agency disregards completely the existence of the individual in social life. It incorporates some sensitivity into studying the myriad of ways in which individuals navigate and negotiate social life and use their own social personas and identities to do so (Gillespie 2001).

Giddens also addresses power relations between individuals and individuals and intuitions through what he calls the "dialectic of control" (1984). He argues that even though resources are mostly situated within the nexus of the powerful there is a level of dependence between those externally seen as "powerful" and "weak". This dependence is mutual and gives those who might be defined as subordinate back some resources to influence those who more influentially wield resources and use rules (Giddens 1984). Here he presents a counter argument to De Certeau's concept of the tactics of the weak. De Certeau's tactics argue that the resources and rules of the powerful cannot be harnessed by the weak in ways that permanently influence the acquisition and capitalization of power. The dialectic of control is an important concept in studying colonial interaction with the goal of avoiding categorizing individuals and collectives into dichotomies that favor one-dimensional narratives of oppression and deny individual and collective agency. Some individuals that might collectively be labeled as oppressed (especially with regard to indigenous populations and European colonialism) actually prospered and used the dialectic of control to simultaneously resist, prosper, and gain social mobility that would not have been possible with traditional rules and resources

(one of the most effective descriptions of these interaction comes from literature;
Amadou Hampate Ba's character of Wangrin in The Fortunes of Wangrin is supposed to
embody these interactions).

These smaller interactions are what sociologists term "micro" interactions.
Giddens argues against these because much like structure and agency they create a false
dichotomy that obscures the reality of social life (Giddens 1984). Social integration
happens when individuals interact through co-presence in ways that are influenced by the
systems they participate in (Giddens 1984). This approach argues that systems are
reproduced by this interaction in a way that almost dictates the terms of the co-presence;
it is an inconsistent argument with his concept of dualities (Mouzelis 1997). It is Giddens
attempt to reconcile the micro-macro gap in sociological sciences without falling into the
trap of either micro or macro chauvinism.

Unfortunately, Giddens conception of social and system integration does not
address instances when social integration can influence systems. As part of structuration
theory social and system integration needs to be mutually influential. Social integration,
or many small interactions, can have a significant effect on larger systems. Kathleen
Deagan notes this in her discussion of marriage practices between Spanish colonists and
Florida Natives in early Spanish Florida (Deegan 1990). In this case marriage practices
between Indigenous peoples and Spanish Floridians went through several cycles of social
and political taboo contrasted with approval and encouragement. Marriages were initially
approved only after other overtures in alliance formation failed, and the later disapproval
of the Spanish government of intermarriage was only after the unprecedented success of
alliance making (due to the new familial connections of the Spanish and Indigenous

people). The interactions of individuals ultimately changed colonial policy. If the Indigenous people had acted against their Spanish spouses instead of forming hybrid practices marriage would have been abandoned immediately as a colonial policy. Likewise, if the earlier attempts at alliance had been successful, the Spanish would have had no reason to encourage intermarriage. The approval and disapproval of colonial officials was a secondary reaction to the individual actions of those people.

Agency and Structure in Archaeology

Any study of the human past must include some conceptualization of agency; archaeological representations of past actions and events implicitly represent the actions of human agents (Robb 2010). The archaeological evidence for human practice, structures, relations, cosmology, and materiality was created by purposeful actors who engaged with each other, the landscape, and material culture to form social ties and larger culture. Applications of structuration to archaeological studies are widespread; archaeologists have used structuration to study landscape, production, colonialism, and mortuary ritual. Joyce and Lopiparo (2005) argue that structuration is useful in examining historically situated repeated practices visible in the archaeological record. They apply structuration theory to studies of ceramics from Late Classic period Honduras. They stipulate that the micro traditions visible in otherwise repetitive patterns of ceramic production are the result of "knowledgeable persons with particular dispositions towards actions" (Joyce and Lopiparo 2005). Arnold (2001) uses a similar conceptual approach in her examination of the use of agency in the mortuary archaeology of Iron Age Celtic burials. She argues that burial practices and rituals were largely rigid among these elites with widespread archaeologically visible commonalities. However, there are what she

terms "non-normative" inclusions in some burials that might be evidence of individual preference and choice, deviations from standard patterns that signal visible agency (Arnld 2001).

Structuration has also been used in studies of habitation and domestic sites. Ferris (2009) uses structuration as a conceptual framework for understanding what is termed "Native Lived" colonialism in Ontario. He argues that structuration is useful in examining the social material dimensions of "lived life" by emphasizing the mulitscalar dimensions of material culture and those that created and used it (Ferris 2009). Pauketat and Alt (2005) discuss the application of agency theories to archaeological studies of physicality and construction by examining postmolds. They argue that the creation of postmolds constitutes moments where agents created physical worlds from both inscribed practices and agential adaptation to landscapes and varying social needs (Pauketat and Alt 2005).

Structuration and Post Colonial Studies

Before the introduction of postcolonial studies the literature on colonialism often dichotomized those operating within the colonial project as either "colonized" or "colonizer" (Patterson 2008). This dichotomy was frequently used in conjunction with another dichotomy, "oppressor" and "oppressed", in which the power was always located with the colonizers. Edward Said has been criticized for this approach in his book _Orientalism_, which still remains a foundational volume of postcolonial theory (Mongia 1996). The reactionary psychological studies of Fanon also contributed to late colonial/early postcolonial literature in which the oppressed/oppressor language was solidified in colonial studies (Fanon 1963, 1967). This concept is still often used despite

Homi Bhaba's concept of hybridity and a growing body of research from colonial

scholars that focuses on collaboration, resistance, and participation of the "oppressed".

Structuration is useful in arguing against this sort of dichotomy. In many ways the

problematic dichotomy between "structure" and "agency" as separate unequal forms of

social analysis is amplified when scholars equate colonial practice as a Foucauldian

structural, top-down endeavor where most of the power was located within a few

institutions. It reduces agents to individuals and collectives that passively accepted the

policies, symbolic representations, and rules of colonial powers (Ferris 2009:21) while

discounting the huge range of individual motivations and actions that defined the

interaction of everyone involved in the colonial project. Instead, colonial encounters

should be seen as a constant stream of interaction between individuals using economic,

political, and social resources to negotiate every day life in the face of acute and chronic

culture contact. Using structuration the structures of colonial situations can be studied as

contextually bound and influenced by agential action. The reservations, removals,

conversions, marriages, and alliances were the results of agents (both individual and

collective) attempting to integrate new rules and resources into existing structures.

Agents also are charged with reproducing and changing structures to deal with an influx

of new information while being conservative with prior practices.

One of the central notions of postcolonial studies that respects agency is

hybridity. Hybridity was described by Homi Bhabha in _The Location of Culture_ as a

mutual construction of culture created in a "third space" where the colonizers and

colonized were interdependent. In this third space culture is seen as a much more fluid

process that was created and shared by agents empowered to act in ways that negotiated

various identities (Bhaba 1994). Culture is seen as something constituted by a series of encounters between individuals and collective groups that cannot only temporarily disrupt the social fabric but can create something new (Fahlander 2007).

The hybridity model and structuration augment each other in colonial studies; structuration holds that cultural reproduction is the outcome of agents using rules and resources (structures) to recreate, reinterpret, and reclaim the social fabric. Hybridity explains how interaction and co-presence lead to social changes that have elements of previous structures but yet function in entirely new ways. Structuration, in turn, provides a mechanism for the negotiation and assertion of the multiple identities and personas required in the hybridity model. Agents, in negotiating every day life, create identities and personas that can function in concert with the modified and new structures by reflexively monitoring situations of culture contact and acting in ways that are consistent with their goals. This agency can be personal as well as collective; groups can also reflexively monitor encounters and negotiate space to operate through mutual constructions with other groups and individuals.

Collective agency is not something that Giddens addresses fully in his theory of structuration. William Sewell's expansion of Giddens definition of agency is useful here. On agency he says:

> Agency entails an ability to coordinate one's actions with others and against others, to form collective projects, to persuade, to coerce, and to monitor the simultaneous effects of one's own and others' activities. (Sewell 1992: 21).

Colonial interactions are far more nuanced and meaningful if agency is both personal and collective. Collective agency can be used to study how various symbolic, religious, class, and gender constructions affect identity construction (Dornan 2002). Hybridity should be seen as a crucial portion of these larger group constructions though there is some danger

in homogenizing collective agency by simply describing it as "hybrid". Hybridity should be used to acknowledge the mutual dependence of collectives without denying the individuals that create those collectives. Acknowledging that collective agency and individual agency act in both concert and conflict is crucial in examining expressions of personhood and identity; as previously stated, the mortuary record is a combination of individual and collective identities created through agency.

Structuration, Identity, and Personhood

Identity is culturally, contextually situated in time and space (White 2009) and as such is part of the structuration of everyday life. Giddens argues that time-space intersection is part of context and that social life is constructed within it (1984) and identity/persona is something that is constructed in social life both by individuals and broader culture (White 2009). This construct of identity fits with Bhaba's suggestion that identity should also be viewed as a discursive strategy that is created and recreated as part of the hybrid nature of colonial interactions (Bhaba 1994). In these ways, identity is continually defined, modified, and redefined by agents as they move through time-space based social interactions. When identity is created and maintained in this way it is not the result of only personal agency; it is also the result of the agency of others involved in the social interactions and defines an individual as both a person and a member of one or more groups (White 2009). This is done through agents behavior and the intended and unintended actions and consequences that relate to the behavior expressed during co-presence. Individuals' behavior asserts their own conception of self administered identities and influences the ways in which other individuals and groups define them and recognize them.

A key aspect of identity is the idea of personhood. Distinctive forms of personhood are often negotiated as part of larger processes in defining identity and are an ongoing attainment (Fowler 2004). Personhood is something that can exist after death, making it an important consideration in the study of individual burials. Chris Fowler argues that mortuary practice can mark important aspects of personhood; the treatment of the body and the material chosen to accompany the individual into death are markers of identity but can also describe the status of the individual as a person or as someone who was seen as a person by those left behind (Fowler 2004). The structuration of personhood follows closely with that of identity. Personhood is a production that is never static and always contextual (Fowler 2004). Personhood is a result of co-presence and interaction between the agency of individuals and the rules of culture.

An oft-cited example of the relationship between co-presence, rules, and personhood in the archaeological record is the underrepresentation of infants and children in mortuary contexts. Infants and children may not be found in cemeteries that are otherwise representative of a population, leading some archaeologists to suggest that they have not yet attained personhood or social identities within a culture at the time of death (Gilchrist 2007). If personhood is authored and defined by both individual assertion and interaction (Fowler 2004), it can also be denied by those who participate in co-present situations like mortuary rituals based on the structural rules they employ. This structuration of mortuary ritual re-asserts an important aspect of mortuary practice; burials are both a result of the individuals who die and those who bury them and those who participate in a burial can deny or manipulate personhood depending on an individual's status in life (O'Shea 1984, Brown 1971, Saxe 1970).

Structuration in Mortuary Studies

Mortuary study has always been concerned with the individual in some way. Lewis Binford argued that the social composition of the unit ascribing status to an individual was important, but he also recognized that the social persona of the deceased was equally important in studying the mortuary record (Binford 1971, Chapman 2003). Saxe also proposed that mortuary practices should be situated in the context of social life; Christopher Peebles followed this proposition and added his belief that individual status and treatment in life would be reflected by a differential treatment in death (Peebles 1971, Chapman 2003).

These earlier studies in mortuary archaeology emphasized that mortuary treatment was not the same for every person buried. Patterns could be discerned, and there is a certain "top-down" feeling to many of these studies, but they did connect daily life with treatment in death. Later studies of burials (coinciding with the proposition of postprocessual archaeology) focused on a more multifaceted concept of identity and the intersection between the individual and larger society (Buikstra and Scott 2009). The focus on the relationship between individuals and their societal contexts has encouraged the development of identity studies that emphasize the agency of the individual who was buried and those that participated in the burial process. In *Bioarchaeology and Identity in the Americas* Knudson and Stojanowski summarize the current goal of the study of identity in mortuary and bioarchaeology:

> Rather, we define identities research as not about who people were or where they or their ancestors came from but about who they thought they were, how they advertised this identity to others, how others perceived it, and the resulting repercussions of the matrix of interpersonal and intersocietal relationships (2009:5)

This description of identity is similar to Giddens' concept of agency and identity assertion through reflexive monitoring. There are also similarities in definitions of personhood. Both individuals and collectives asserted identity through agency and these identity assertions, since they were a large part of the social life of the individual, are reflected in the mortuary record. Perceived identities and personhood are reflected in the mortuary record because ultimately, those that perceived an individual in life were most likely responsible for deciding how the individual was buried and what was buried with them. This assumption does not discount individual agency; both the material record of the burial and the human remains are reflective of both. The items buried with the individual could be a reflection of the status that person achieved during life; they could be items he or she purchased, used, and/or needed. These items could have been acquired because of structural constraints or through the enabling properties of structure. The bioarchaeological record is similarly influenced because evidence of disease, trauma and geographic movement from birth to death are all reflective of personal and collective agency and the use of rules and resources to guide action. In addition, while biological sex does not necessarily equate gender and biological age does not necessarily equate social age, both can be important in studies of individual lives, identity, and personhood.

Concluding Remarks: Structuration and Colonialism

Dichotomies of "oppressor" and "oppressed" and "colonizer" and "colonized" reinforce a scheme of interaction in which receiving individuals had little power to resist, collaborate, and actively participate in these systems. The structuration of these interactions suggests that a different approach to studies of culture contact and European colonialism would be more effective. The power and the processes by which individuals

acquired and consumed material goods, symbolic, and institutional rules are more meaningfully explained by recognizing the dialectic of control between individuals and institutions. This dialectic of control exists because structure both constrains and enables agents. Agents use reflexive monitoring to constantly reinterpret rules and resources during co-presence; this then provides a type of coding that helps them to act.

These actions give all individuals some autonomy to act within colonial systems in ways that restructure and create new systems. These systems are hybrid; they are coherent to all the participants without being "owned" by anyone. They are formed through historically informed rules and structures and they ways in which people use reflexive monitory to deal with the contingencies characteristic of culture contact (Ferris 2009). Individuals operating as part of a hybrid system require fluidity and flexibility in order to maintain and renegotiate identities and personas needed to operate in these hybrid systems. The structuration of identity is reified as part of the constant adaption of rules and resources and the reflexive monitoring inherent in hybrid systems. Identity is situated in co-presence; both individuals and society define, redefine, and assert identities and social personas. Behavior and the intended and unintended consequences of that behavior help to define personal and collective identities. The ability to be a knowledgeable agent also impacts an individuals' status as a person. Personhood and identity are both expressed and negotiated during co-presence and require some power to use rules and resources (structures) as part of the dialectic of control.

Multiple identities are expressed in the mortuary record. Burials are not just a product of large scale social ritual (Buikstra and Scott 2009) but are representative of the identities asserted by an individual, identities ascribed to the individual, larger symbolic

life, and "lived" life. Colonial identities were constructed and continually changed

through agential use of rules and resource in co-presence. Co-presence situations create

hybridity and necessitate the creation of identities and social personas to operate in

hybrid systems. These identities, the ways they were asserted, the processes that created

them, and the structures that encouraged them all need to be taken into account when

studying the colonial mortuary record. Colonialism ultimately describes a multiplicity of

experiences of individuals and groups who were not homogenous (Gullapalli 2008) and

any theory used to examine people who were part of colonial projects needs to be

sensitive to this. Structuration can be used to explain how both individual and group

actions were influenced by structures and how those actions in turn influenced and

reproduced structures through agency. The structuration of hybridity and identity is

reflected in the structuration of mortuary behavior. The burials of the individuals

described in this study are the result of how these individuals lived as part of colonialism;

these people were not the product of colonial encounters but drove the system that is

visible in the historic record.

Chapter Three: Context and History of the Milwaukee Public Museum

Burials

The burials included in this study are separately located in distinct geographic and historical contexts. Constructing context is a necessary part of interpretation; contextualizing persons, situations, and materials locate those interactions and allow for discussions of meaning (Beaudry et al. 1996). The Vilas Co. and Rantoul burials are the products of individuals and groups that experienced colonial interaction in different ways, based on their actions, gender, ethnic memberhip/identitiy (whether imposed or individually defined), and the events that occurred during their lives. Any discussion of their lives, identities, personas, or assertions is incomplete without first examining the various structures, events, contacts and settings that they worked and lived with.

Vilas Co. Burials

Description and History of the Vilas Co. Burials

J. Albright of the Wisconsin Archaeological Society and H.F. Jahn (reported as the Vice President of the First National Bank in Ironwood) excavated a burial mound on Fox Island on June 27[th,] 1902. They reported their findings in the October 1902 edition of the *Wisconsin Archaeologist* (Albright 1902), including a description of the four mounds on Fox Island and the burials themselves. Albright states that human skeletal remains and pieces of birchbark were exposed and scattered at the base of the mound. He reports that they opened a trench three feet from the summit of the mound where a tin bucket was protruding outward (Albright 1902). His description of the contents of the burials follows:

"About 3 feet below the top of the bank and imbedded in the same, opening outward, was found a much rusted tin bucked containing a silver tablespoon and a granulated substance, probably some food preparation. About 6 inches to the left of (t)his deposit, we exposed to view a human cranium. Above and below it in the sand, were found indications of the birchbark wrappings employed in its interment, and a few inches to its right, a hexagonal spectacle glass, a hammer stone and an iron hatchet of the well known trade type with a much rotted portion of the wooden handle still fitted into the eye. Beginning about 6 feet to the east of the skull and working toward it, we inserted the spade to begin the excavation of the skeleton, and with the first spadeful of sand secured a second iron hatchet of the same pattern as that before mentioned. After removing the earth a depth of about 3 ½ feet, the birchbark wrappings were brought to view and within them the skeleton. From beneath the bones of the left hand were obtained a rudely carved and ornamented stone pipe of the Micmac type and four gunflints and beneath the bones of the right hand a badly rusted steel knife.

A few feet to the south and at a depth of about 4 feet below the top of the mound, encased in birchbark wrappings were found the bones of an infant of which only the frontal bone of the skull was well preserved.

Within the wrappings were found a pair of German silver bracelets, brooch, and a part of a necklace of the style affected by Wisconsin Indians, a quantity of small glass beads, a fragment of a comb, a small circular looking glass, a knife handle, several flint chips and a china saucer. On the left side of the skull and in contact with it was found a badly rusted one quart tin bucket, having within it a small tin cup. In the bottom of this cup was a chocolate-brown substance, presumably some food preparation"

Unfortunately, not every item listed in Albright's report is held in the MPM collections (for a full accounting of items presently associated with the burials see Appendix A). Albright's son donated many items from the burials to the museum in the 1940s, though Albright stated in his initial report in the Wisconsin Archaeologist that the materials had all been deposited at MPM soon after the excavation (Albright 1902). Museum records indicate that some items from the burials also ended up in the archaeology section of the Wisconsin State Historical Society; these items were later deaccessioned to MPM. According to internal museum communications all of the items used in this analysis that were not originally deposited at MPM were provenienced by J. Albright before the donation.

The NAGRPA inventory of the Vilas Co. Burials determined that they were most likely historic Ojibwe burials from the late 18th – early 19th centuries. This study, based

on an analysis of the materials and documents associated with historically known Ojibwe

settlements in the Vilas. Co. area, concurs that both burials were most likely the result of

Ojibwe mortuary practices. However, analysis suggests a slightly later date for the

deposits based on the known styles of material culture (see chapter five, this volume).

The burials are currently held at MPM and have not been the subject of any other

published analyses.

Geographic Setting

The Vilas Co. Burial was excavated from the Fox Point Historic Mound Site (47-

VI-0007). This site is located on the western shore of Fox Island in Rest Lake in the

Manitowish Waters vicinity. J. Albright originally reported on the site in 1902 as a series

of four conical or oval mounds of mostly sandy soil covered in underbrush and small pine

trees (Albright 1902). This area was revisited twice in 1992 and 1994 but archaeologists

were unable to locate the described mounds and determined that a mound like feature on

the western shore of the island was natural (Bokern et al. 1994). Albright notes in his

1902 description of the island that Rest Lake was, at the time, heavily impacted by

logging and subsequent damning operations and that this was causing significant erosion

around the shores of the island and to the mounds (Albright 1902). Descriptions of early

Ojibwe burial practices might also shed some light on the inability of archaeologists to

relocate the mounds; these descriptions state that Ojibwe were often wrapped in

birchbark or the halves of a canoe and buried in very shallow mounds (Winchell 1911).

The erosion noted by Albright combined with a lack of mound height might mean that

those features are long gone.

Rest Lake is part of the Manitowish Rivers drainage tributary. The Public Land Survey System Interior Field Notes from the 1862 survey note Western Pine, Birch, Aspen, and Hazel Bush undergrowth surrounding the lake and island and soil considered second and third rate (Norris 1862). Norris (1862) also notes the presence of bears and moose and the difficulty of surveying an area of rolling surfaces, marshes, swamps, and creeks. The abundance of waterways, marshes, and lakes in the area was especially important to the native occupants during the pre-contact and fur trade era; it provided the Ojibwe and Dakota who frequented and lived in Northern Wisconsin access to rich rice harvesting areas, wild game and their desirable and tradable pelts, and waterways used to connect villages (Redix 2014).

Indigenous Presence in Northern Wisconsin in the 19th Century

The Ojibwe inhabited parts of present-day northern Wisconsin (including the vicinity of Rest Lake in Vilas Co.), the upper peninsula of Michigan, and the Lake Superior shores of Minnesota and Ontario, Canada in the 18th and 19th centuries (Tanner 1987). Ojibwe subsistence strategies combined trade, wild rice harvesting, medium and large game hunting, fishing, and waterfowl, though access to ricing areas was considered a primary survival strategy (Redix 2014). Ojibwe engagement in the fur trade began in the mid 17th century when Lake Superior bands encountered French explorers and Jesuit missionaries (White 1991, Schenck 2012). The Ojibwe engaged in trade, political negotiation, and exchange of religious ideas with the French, British, and Americans over the next three hundred years (for a summation of regional Indigenous practices during the French, British, and American fur epochs see White 1991).

Recent scholarship suggests that Ojibwe participation in the fur trade was not the result of a high degree of acculturation and imposition of colonial authority (either on the part of the French, British, or Americans) (Redix 2014). Ojibwe autonomy in Northern Wisconsin and the Lake Superior region persisted far beyond the Treaty of Ghent and the beginnings of settler encroachment into Native lands. Bruce White argues that the Lake Superior fur trade operated from within Ojibwe socioeconomic contexts and that the manipulation and adoption of hybrid social personas and identities was necessary for all parties to gain traction in this created system (White 1987). This runs contrary to Richard White's argument that the Middle Ground did not exist after the turn of the nineteenth century.

The U.S. Government began to assert its presumed authority over Ojibwe communities with the treaties of 1825 and 1826. The Treaty of Prairie Du Chien in 1825 set boundaries between the various Native tribes ostensibly as an exercise in peacemaking. Problems with representation actually inflamed Dakota-Ojibwe tensions when the Dakota were assigned boundaries well within Ojibwe territory (Redix 2014). Eventually, the Ojibwe ceded their land holdings in Wisconsin and the Upper Peninsula of Michigan to the United States Government in a series of three treaties in the years of 1837, 1842, and 1854. The 1837 treaty ceded timber rights to the U.S. Government and private lumber enterprise soon moved through Northern Wisconsin (Redix 2014). The 1854 Treaty of LaPointe treaty created the Lac du Flambeau, Lac Courte Oreilles, Bad River, and Red Cliff reservations within former Ojibwe territorial holdings in Wisconsin, as well as reservations in Upper Michigan and Minnesota (Treaty of La Pointe,

September 30, 1854, 10 Stat. 1109). In addition, this treaty provided land grants for the Metis who also inhabited the region.

Treaties between Indigenous people and the United States often included annuities of cash, food, farming equipment, and agreements for training in assimilatory practices. The 1854 treaty set aside $5,000 in cash, $8,000 if household goods, $3,000 in cattle and agricultural supplies, $3,000 for educational purposes, and promised to pay of $90,000 in debt the tribes owed to traders. In addition, the treaty promised to send a blacksmith and farmers to train Native people in "civilized" pursuits (Treaty of La Pointe, September 30, 1854, 10 Stat. 1109).

Missionary work amongst the Ojibwe also certainly bears mention; both Jesuit and later protestant groups established missions at Michilimackinac, Madeleine Island, Sault St. Marie, Green Bay, and countless others. Jesuit missionizing activity was not entirely successful and was often rejected outright or afforded very few converts (Delage and Tanner 1994). Conversion was a complicated process; scholars argue that Native Americans approached and understood religious contact differently than the Jesuit missionaries (Bilodeau 2001). The recently published journals of Edmund F. Ely of his work with the Ojibwe from 1833-1849 (Schenck 2012) speak to deep conflicts between Christianity and traditional Ojibwe religions that were pervasive far after the heyday of Jesuit mission activities. In the journals Ely describes Native participation in both Christian and Ojibwe spiritual and religious practices and expresses frustration at never feeling as though he had thoroughly converted anyone (Schenck 2012). This integration of Christian and Ojibwe beliefs is a strong argument for the existence of hybrid systems

and identities amongst individuals and groups in Ojibwe culture during the nineteenth century.

Rantoul Burial

<u>Description and History of the Rantoul Burial</u>

The Rantoul Burial is referred to as "Rantoul Woman" in the various museum documents and NAGPRA notification, and will be referred to as such in this study for the purpose of consistency. This history of this burial and its relationship to the Milwaukee Public Museum is complex and often contradictory.

Henry Hayssen collected the Rantoul Woman in September of 1877 from the farm of John Berg in Rantoul, WI. Hayssen was a physician and businessmen from near by New Holstein who was well known as a collector and naturalist (Kletzien 1991). The nature of Hayssen's collecting practices is a matter of some debate, but it is clear from the Rantoul burial that he was selective in the material he took from graves. In the case of this burial the majority of the skeletal elements were not recovered. The contents of the Rantoul Woman burial held at MPM should not be taken as a complete representation of her burial, as this selectivity might have extended to the material culture. The museum purchased the contents of the burial from Hayssen in 1897.

Figure 3.1 Photo of Henry Hayssen used with permission from the New Holstein Historical Society

The total contents of the burial held at MPM can be viewed in Appendix A. Skeletal elements include the right ulna and radius with the intact fragments of a blouse sleeve, portions of the right and left hand, and the left occipital condyle of the skull. The skull was evidently donated to the museum intact in 1893, but it could not be relocated for the 1998 NAGPRA inventory or this study. The hair and part of the scalp still exists and is included in the collection, as well as desiccated tissue from ears. The grave also included ornamental tinkling cones, German silver brooches, thimbles, coins, thousands of seed and octagonal beads, a picture frame, pocket mirror, pieces of a petticoat, a kaolin pipe, matches, beaded charm bags, toy china teapot and sauces, and other personal items.

The original museum NAGPRA inventory listed the probable burial date as 1850 to 1866, however this was partially based on an incorrect attribution of the grave to a reported archaeological site nearby (47-CT-38, see below). New analysis of the material

culture and documents dates the burial as between 1853 and 1856 (see Chapters Four and Five).

Geographic Setting

The Rantoul Woman was collected from the Rantoul Township sometime in 1873. Rantoul Township is located in central Wisconsin within the Eastern Ridges and Lowlands region. The most significant geographic feature in the area is Lake Winnebago approx. ten miles to the west. Lake Winnebago is part of the Fox-Wolf River drainage basin. It has a surface area of 206 square miles and is the largest inland lake in the state of Wisconsin (WIS DNR).

The land was surveyed in 1840 as part of the federal land survey of Wisconsin. The original survey notes mention two brooks with Elm, Maple, Oak, and White and Black Ash trees in section 16 (Bannister 1840). The surveyor, John Bannister, described the land as first rate (Bannister 1840).

NAGPRA Affiliation and Site Attribution: Pottawatomie, Menominee, or Stockbridge?

Current museum records, ASI database records, and the Notice of Inventory Completion of the burial attribute it to the Riedel Cemetery (47-CT-38), a known Pottawatomie cemetery near Rantoul, WI first reported in 1908 (Notice of Inventory Completion: Federal Register: May 3, 2001 Volume 66, Number 86). This is inconsistent with the original information obtained from Hayssen when the museum purchased the burial and required further investigation. Hayssen clearly stated that the Rantoul Woman burial came from the farm of a J.Berg in Rantoul, WI when he sold the contents of the burial to the Milwaukee Public Museum. There is no indication in the museum's original

records that he described the burial as being connected to any known Pottawatomie cemetery or from any other property.

The connection between the Riedel Cemetery and the Rantoul Woman first appears during the paperwork created during the museum's required NAGPRA inventory. The folder contains a Wisconsin Archaeologist article written by Louis Falge on Native American burials in Manitowoc and Calumet Counties (Falge 1915). The article includes a description of the Riedel cemetery that follows:

> *56. Riedel Cemetery. On the farm of August Riedel*
> *(SE} of NE. i of Section 28) about 3| miles northwest of*
> *the Forks, was an Indian burying ground. When the family*
> *moved on this land, in 1866, there were seven graves each*
> *covered with bark. One day while the family were at*
> *church, a well known collector from New Holstein with*
> *a force of men dug up the graves and rifled them of their*
> *contents.*

In the margins of the museum's copy someone had written "not J.Berg……but?". This seems to be the origin of the attribution of the Rantoul Woman to the Riedel cemetery.

The "well known collector" is almost certainly Henry Hayssen. Area residents were very aware of Hayssen's interests and collecting activities (Kletzien 1991). His collections were extensive and exhibited as part of the Archaeology Section of World's Columbian Exhibition in Chicago in 1893 (The Official Directory of the World's Columbian Exposition, 1893). It seems that this was the end of the museums investigations into the matter, and the ASI records and NAGRPA inventory reflect the decision that the "Rantoul Woman" must be connected to the Riedel Cemetery.

This discounts Hayssen's original claim that the Rantoul Woman came from the farm of J. Berg in the 1877. It is certainly plausible that Hayssen was active and collected from multiple sites in the Rantoul area during the 1860s and 1870s. Rantoul is

located approx. twenty miles north of New Holstein and it is possible that Hayssen knew

the area and people well enough to frequently collect their based on local

communications and finds. The specificity of his claim that the remains came from the

Berg property are somewhat bolstered by the museum's archaeology catalogs. In the

records Hayssen is specific about the location of several sites where he collected items. A

review of the tax and census records show that a John Berg was present in Rantoul, WI

from 1869 until his death in 1889, at which time the land passed to his son, also John

Berg. Berg owned the NW ¼ and SW ¼ of the SE ¼ of section 16 of Rantoul Township

(T 19N R 20E) according to the tax rolls (1869 Rantoul Township, Calumet County tax

rolls). The Riedel property was located approx. two miles south in section 28 of Rantoul

Township. August Riedel first appears on the town tax rolls in 1867 (1867 Rantoul

Township, Calumet County tax rolls). The Berg property was vacant until purchased by

John Berg. Town tax records show that the land was designated as a potential school site

and held by the state from 1856 (the first year taxes were collected for the township) until

1869 (1856-1869 Rantoul Township, Calumet County tax rolls).

    The documentary evidence suggests that the Rantoul Woman originated on the

Berg farm, not the Riedel Cemetery, and that the ASI information is incorrect. This calls

into question the NAGPRA affiliation with the Potawatomie, since the only connection to

the historic Potawatomie was through the Riedel Cemetery. The Potawatomie were

present in Southeastern and central Wisconsin in the early to mid nineteenth century, but

were far less so after the final Potawatomie land cessions (Sasso and Joyce 2006). The

1833 Treaty of Chicago saw the Potawatomie cede all lands on the western shore of Lake

Michigan and most were forcibly relocated as part of the Jacksonian removal policies

(Tanner 1987). The removals were delayed until 1837-1838 when most Potawatomie were removed to the west; Sasso and Joyce note that not all Potawatomie left Wisconsin and some (referred to as the "strolling Potawatomie") remained in the Northern part of Wisconsin and occasionally moved into southern Wisconsin to winter (Sasso and Joyce 2006).

It is more likely that the Rantoul Woman was Menominee or possibly Stockbridge. Rantoul is located in known former Menominee territory near the Lake Winnebago Stockbridge reservation. There was a known Menominee presence on Lake Winnebago in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Tanner 1987). The Menominee were heavily involved in the fur trade in the early nineteenth century; the American Government established a fur trade at La Baye (modern day Green Bay) in 1815 and immediately made contact with local Menominee leaders (Keesing 1987). By this time the Menominee were deeply entrenched in French and British fur trade practices; Menominee women often married traders and the American government struggled to form relationships with the bands (Keesing 1987).
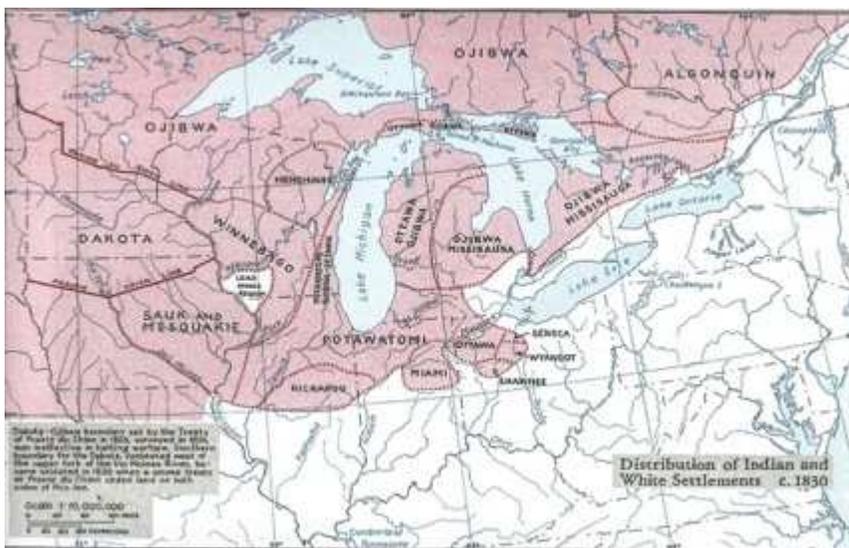
Figure 3.2 Map of Indigenous settlements including the Ojibwe, Menominee, and Potawatomie c. 1830 adapted from Tanner 1987

The land surrounding Lake Winnebago was subject to a series of treaties and negotiations between the US Government, Menominee, and Stockbridge and Brothertown Natives between 1820 and 1831 (Beck 2002). The New York tribes wished to remove to the Green Bay area following a series of encroachments and conflicts with American settlers. In 1821 the Menominee and Ho-Chunk signed a treaty selling a large swath of land bordered by the Fox River and Lake Winnebago to the New York tribes. The treaty was immediately controversial; only one principal Menominee chief was present and the Menominee did not recognize the legitimacy of the agreement (Beck 2002). Subsequent treaties in 1822 and 1827 failed to resolve the issue. Treaties in 1831 and 1832 resolved the situation and allowed acreage for the New York Indians on the eastern shore of Lake Winnebago. The Menominee also ceded the western shore of Lake Michigan but remained in the area. The 1831 treaty, much like the 1854 Ojibwe treaty, provided the Menominee with a blacksmith, farmers, grist and saw mills on the Fox River, agricultural equipment, and women to teach the Menominee women housewife skills, as well as reserving hunting and fishing rights (Treaty of Washington, 1831, 7 Stat. 342).

More aggressive attempts at removal from the area between Lake Michigan and Lake Winnebago commenced in 1848. In 1848 the Menominee signed the Treaty of Lake Poygan. This treaty required them to give up any claim to their Wisconsin lands and move to a reservation in Minnesota after a two-year grace period (Keegan 1939). Newspaper articles from Chilton and Manitowoc newspapers in the early 1850s mention agreements between in Menominee and federal government that allowed the Menominee

to remain in Wisconsin after 1850 (The Weekly Wisconsin, Wed, Aug 6. 1851). Most

Menominee moved to their current reservation on the Wolf River near Shawano, WI in

1852 after successfully lobbying against removal (Keesing 1987). Despite the mass move

north, there is evidence of Menominee presence in central Wisconsin post the 1852

removal. A Berlin Messenger article from Dec. 15th, 1852 reads:

> The Menominee Indians, or at least a large number of them,
> have returned to this region and are again prowling about here
> among us. A large sum of money, we believe $25000, was
> appropriated to pay the expenses of removing them-a few
> weeks ago they were removed, but now they are here again,
> evidently with the intention to remain as long as they please –
> Berlin (Marquette Co.) Messenger, 7th inst.

Accounts from Manitowoc and Chilton newspapers also mention the movement of

Native people through the area after removal to the reservation. This establishes

Menominee presence near Rantoul around the time of the Rantoul Woman burial.

The Stockbridge also continued to live in the area, though land speculators

acquired much of the former Stockbridge reservation near Lake Winnebago after the Act

of 1843 (Oberly 2005). The 1843 Act of Congress granted the Stockbridge U.S.

citizenship and ordered communal reservation land to be allotted to individual members

(An Act for the Relief of the Stockbridge Indians, in the Territory of Wisconsin, 3

March, 1843). This deeply divided tribal members; two political parties, the Citizen's

Party and the Indian Party formed and lobbied for membership and congressional action

against each other. The Citizen's Party members supported and wished to retain U.S.

citizenship, while the Indian Party was concerned with the maintenance of tribal political

structures and identities. In 1846 Congress repealed the 1843 act. This nullified the sale

of Indigenous lands to Euro-American settlers and land speculators while still allowing

Stockbridge to retain US citizenship if the so wished (Oberly 2005). Newspaper

advertisements from the 1850s show that land claims and illegal sales of Stockbridge land continued to be investigated at least a decade after the 1846 act (Chilton Times, June 24, 1858). In 1856 the Stockbridge (mostly members of the Indian Party) successfully negotiated with the US Government and obtained a reservation adjacent to the Menominee Reservation on the Wolf River.

The Stockbridge were not heavily involved in the fur trade after their arrival in Wisconsin, unlike the Menominee. They self identified as mostly Christian farmers; one of their major concerns during the negotiations with the Menominee had been to find land suitable for farming (Oberly 2005). Early survey maps of Wisconsin tellingly label them "civilized Indians" from New York. They had an organized cemetery directly north of Stockbridge that is now on the National Register of Historic Places. The presence of the Rantoul burial far outside the cemetery and its significant material culture associated with the fur trade makes a Stockbridge affiliation unlikely.

Figure 3.3 Author's photo of the Stockbridge Cemetery near Stockbridge, WI. Most graves are marked with formal headstones; the stone in the image lists all the individuals buried in the cemetery (according to tribal rolls) who are missing headstones.

Chapter Four: Methods: Context, Material Culture, and Osteology

The analysis of the contextual, skeletal, and artifact content from the three burials required a variety of methods and approaches. Every burial was thoroughly inventoried, including artifact counts, skeletal data, and associated museum paperwork and documents. The museum conducted a previous inventory during the NAGPRA review of 1998 but internal paperwork shows that several items were relocated in related collections during and after this period. Changes in museum collection management practices since the approx. time of acquisition (1890-1900) had resulted in several items possibly being separated from the individual archaeology collections for the purposes of display, cataloguing, etc. A few items had been altered (cleaned patinas on bracelets and brooches, mounting apparatus in the mandible, etc.) for the purposes of display. The material culture and skeletal materials were carefully evaluated to ensure that provenance information could reliably connect those materials to their attributed burials.

Context and Historical Research

This study required three stages of contextual, historical, and background research. The first stage of research involved documents relating to the original excavations/collections of each individual burial. Only the Vilas Co. Burials were excavated archaeologically and the literature readily available concerning these early excavations is extremely limited. The Rantoul Woman has even less associated documentation. As described in Chapter three, this burial was collected unsystematically in the late nineteenth century. As such, significant research into the collector, Henry Hayssen, his collections, and his relationship to the Rantoul area was necessary. Analysis of this burial

required certain assumptions, namely that the material culture and human remains in the museum collections were from one individual as opposed to a representation of many items collected by Hayssen during his life. Museum records show that Hayssen was specific as to the date and location of many of the items he collected. Further investigation into Hayssen's life showed that he had some scientific training. Census records and biographical sketches from New Holstein describe him as a physician and dedicated collector. His training and history, combined with the museum information implies that he might have kept some sort of records and that the provenance information he provided during the accession of his collection to the museum is likely accurate.

The second stage of research involved verifying the history of the collections at the museum. This required a thorough examination of the various NAGPRA paperwork, internal documents related to both collections, and early land records from collection/excavation sites. Several items from the Vilas Co. Burials were previously attached to some material from Green Bay, though museum staff correctly affiliated them with Vilas Co. based on the records related to Albright's excavations. The affiliation of the Rantoul Woman and related investigations were discussed at length in the previous chapter (see Chapter Three). The process of investigating the origins of the Riedel attribution and connection to J. Berg were part of this stage. The museum's file on Rantoul woman included several notes questioning the relatedness of certain bracelets that were found with the ethnographic material to the burial. Many of these had old Hayssen accession numbers attached to them and matched the bracelets included with the burial, and were included in the study. Three others did not have any reliable provenience

information and had been reassociated with the burial based on patina and general appearance. These were not included in the following analysis.

Contextual information to interpret and analyze the burials was gathered from a variety of sources. Sources include memoirs, early ethnographies, histories, similar archaeologically and non-archaeologically reported sites and the vast accessible information related to the Great Lakes fur trade and nineteenth century treaty era. Historical archaeology treats the documentary record much like any other artifact; documents must be evaluated critically alongside material culture (Hume 1969). The early ethnographies and journals are as much colonial artifacts as the materials themselves and the interpretations of ritual, interaction, and negotiation they contain are not free from rhetoric.

Material Culture

There are many artifact classification systems for historic sites associated with colonialism and the fur trade. Stanley South (1978) created a three-tiered hierarchical system to classify and categorize colonial sites in the Carolinas. He used the relationship between at site locations and artifact variation to make predictions about spatial pattern distribution and possible site use. Deagan later used a similar classificatory scheme in her studies of ethnic distinctions and hybrid identities at St. Augustine area sites (1983). Lyle Stone created a system for use at Michilimackinac that focused on the relationship between behavior and function (1974). This system includes artifact classes that are grouped by "Behaviour Contexts" like personal, household, activity, etc. These systems are usually applied to large habitation sites. They are not appropriate for examinations of

individuality and identity in single mortuary contexts because the emphasis is placed on patterning and the comparison of multiple activity zones.

The Quimby-Spoehr model (1966) was also created to examine identity during the fur trade. Quimby attempted to measure the level of acculturation of Native Americans during colonial contact based on simple artifact category designations (Quimby 1966). Artifacts were designated as either Euro-American or Indigenous; Quimby then examined the relative frequency of artifacts in either category and argued that these frequencies were indicative of both acculturation and "Pan-Indianism". Pan-Indianism was part of Quimby's argument that colonial interactions largely divorced Indigenous people from prior lifeways. The homogenous nature of the material culture supposedly was evidence of the decline of differing communities and economic, social, and political tribal autonomy (Quimby 1966).

This type of model is not suitable for the examination of hybrid and multiple identities. The assumption of acculturation oversimplifies actors and the unique spaces that individuals consciously and unconsciously created to navigate colonial situations. Acculturation studies often presume a linear, unequal power relationship that results in unidirectional cultural change from Native to European (Rubertone 2000). This discounts Gidden's dialectic of control and the concept of co-presence. Interactions are not unidirectional in the dialectic of control, nor are there terms completely located with the "powerful". These acculturation studies also reinforce false dichotomies and deny the critical consumption and exchange agents use when monitoring their worlds. There is

also a lack of sensitivity to selectivity in material culture and co-option of Euro-American

materials for subsumed purposes.

It was necessary to create a classificatory scheme to meet the goals of this study.

Expressions of identity through material culture cannot be understood in dichotomous

terms because they are often co-opted for new uses by colonial people (Lyons and

Papadopoulos 2002). In many cases archaeologists cannot know precisely how users

reinterpreted object meanings from the original intentions and they ways the used co-

opted or hybrid material to signal identity (Nassaney and Brandao 2009). The

combination of documentary sources, physical remains, and material culture utilized to

study the Vilas Co. and Rantoul burials mitigates this slightly. In some cases the materials

were very clearly used in co-opted or hybrid fashions. The Rantoul Woman has US three

cent silver coins and thimbles braided and tied into her hair (see Chapter 5 for discussion).

This is clearly a reinterpretation of the best way to utilize this material. In other cases, like

the trade axes present in the adult Vilas Co. burial, there is no way to definitively state

whether the axes were used as such (though one shows signs of having been sharpened).

Any categorical model has to be flexible enough to accommodate multiple uses of

material while still using meaningful distinctions to illustrate expressions of identity.

The classificatory scheme created for this analysis addresses both the use(s) of an

item and the origin of that item. Possible uses for an item are multifaceted, and the

categories reflect this. Use categories include religious and ritual (R), medicinal (M),

gustatory (G), decorative (D), subsistence activity (S), architectural (AR), mortuary (MT),

adornment (A), payment (P), clothing (C), entertainment (E), and warfare (W). The

abbreviations used in the tables are included in parentheticals. These categories can

overlap based on documentary evidence, accepted use, and the nature of the items in the burial. An item can be both religious in nature and used for adornment and economic purposes, such as the Jesuit rings that were widespread amongst Native populations during the fur trade (Mason 2010). They classify the ways that individuals and collective groups used material culture in static, different, or inventive ways. Uses of material culture are reflexive and indicative of the constant process of identity formation and assertion of social belonging (Casella and Fowler 2004).

Origin is a necessary category; it tracks the creation and transmission of material culture without implying or assigning social or cultural ownership/ hegemony to an item. Origin categories include Indigenous (1), Settler (2), Indigenous adoption of Settler item (3), Settler adoption of Indigenous item (4), Indigenous co-option of Settler item (5), Settler co-option of Indigenous item (6), and Indigenous Transformative (7). The numbers used in the tables are included in parentheticals. In this case, adoption occurs when an item or idea is used with its manufactured intent. Adoption does not signal acculturation. Instead, adoption happens when agents subsume material culture into previously held or hybrid belief systems. It is an example of agents using multiple resources and rules to best utilize objects. Co-option occurs when an item is used for a purpose other than that is was originally made for or when economic, social and political situations create new hybrid meaning for items. Items in the transformative category differ slightly; these have been created by using European manufactured items as raw materials to create something meaningful to Indigenous systems. This concept follows the work of Walder (2013) who noted several glass pendants recovered from Native sites in Wisconsin. These pendants were produced by grinding glass trade beads into raw material

form and remaking them into more desirable pendants (Walder 2013). All of these active

uses can be accompanied by the accommodation, reification, resistance to, or adoption of

certain ideas, principles, and values. These categories do not reinforce dichotomies;

instead they address co-option and hybridity in visible ways. Settler adoption and co-

option were included for two reasons. Future research could include Euro-American and

Metis burials. It is also possible that items of Native origin were exchanged with Euro-

American individuals who then co-opted/adopted them and exchanged these new uses

with their Native brethren.

Osteology and Human Remains

The osteological contents of the three burials were assessed based on availability

and completeness. An intensive osteological analysis of the remains was not completed as

part of the museum's NAGPRA inventory, and it was necessary both to this study and for

museum records to analyze the remains as part of this study. Skeletal remains were

analyzed when complete enough to facilitate this type of analysis. The metric and non-

metric analysis of the Rantoul Woman was not possible due to the absence of useable

skeletal material. The skull was originally accessioned when Hayssen sold the burial to the

museum but efforts to relocate it in 1998 and 2014 were unsuccessful. A small portion of

the skull (left occipital condyle and a portion of the left zygomatic) exists with the

collection. It is possible that the skull disintegrated or was damaged sometime in the last

one hundred and twenty years and that this was not noted in the official museum

paperwork. The right radius and ulna are present, as well as the right hand, but attached

skin tissue and fabric prevent full visual analysis. The Vilas Co. infant burial contains a

frontal bone that is in fair condition and can be aged. Metric and nonmetric analysis was

possible on the Vilas Co. adult burial due to the recovery of a significant portion of the skeleton. Biological sex, age, and stature parameters were collected for this individual and observations of pathological conditions were included in the analysis (see Chapter 5). All metric measurements were taken with a Ward's osteometric board and Mitutoyo digital calipers.

Biological Sex

Nonmetric

The pelvis has several landmarks that exhibit reliable sexual dimorphism (White 2011). Phenice (1969) described methods for determining biological sex based on a non-metric scoring system for pelvic landmarks. This system was revised in the 1994 Standards for Data Collection from Human Skeletal Remains by Buikstra and Ubelaker to include an ambiguous category. The landmarks scored include the ventral arc (scored as either 1-female, 2-ambigous, or 3-male), subpubic concavity (scored as either 1-female, 2-ambigous, or 3-male), and the medial aspect of the ischipubic ramus (scored as either 1-female, 2-ambigous, or 3-male). The greater sciatic notch is also a reliable predictor of biological sex. Walker tested the scoring procedures described in Buikstra and Ubelaker (1994) in a 2005 publication to test, among other things, the reliability of this test in relation to ancestry. He found no significant difference in greater sciatic notch morphology between African and European populations that would impact the use of this system in diverse populations (Walker 2005).

The skull can also be scored using a nonmetric system to estimate sex. The scoring system was originally proposed Acsadi and Nemeskeri (1970) who identified five sexually dimorphic scoreable traits. Walker (1994, 2008) later refined this system but

patterned the scoring similarly. Scoreable traits include the nuchal crest (scored as either 1-female, 2-probable female, 3-ambigous, 4-probably male, or 5-male), mastoid processes (scored as either 1-female, 2-probable female, 3-ambigous, 4-probably male, or 5-male), supraorbital margin (scored as either 1-female, 2-probable female, 3-ambigous, 4-probably male, or 5-male), glabella (scored as either 1-female, 2-probable female, 3-ambigous, 4-probably male, or 5-male), and mental eminence (scored as either 1-female, 2-probable female, 3-ambigous, 4-probably male, or 5-male). Walker tested this system on groups of diverse ancestry in 2008. The findings of that study indicated that when more of the crania traits are scored and combined the potential for accuracy is increased (Walker 2008). The study also concluded that prehistoric Native American populations exhibited greater general robusticity and less sexual dimorphism related to the supraorbital margin and nuchal crest. Despite this, Native American crania were still sexed correctly 78% of the time when all five attributes were scored (Walker 2008).

Metric

Humeral and femoral head measurements were collected with a Mitutoyo digital calipers. The vertical diameter of the humeral head was assessed by Stewart (1979) as a valid technique in the determination of biological sex. Stewart found that a vertical measurement of greater than 47 mm was most common among males, while 44-46 mm was indeterminate and less than 43 mm was indicative of females. Stewart also assessed the maximum diameter of the femoral head, finding that a measurement of greater that 47.5 mm was indicative of males, 46.5-47.5 mm probable male, 43.5-46.5 mm indeterminate, 42.5-43.5 mm probable females, and less than 42.5 female. Dittrick and

Suchey tested this technique (1986) for applicability to Native American populations using a sample N-370 prehistoric individuals from California and found it to be reliable.

Age

Nonmetric

Widely accepted techniques for nonmetric age assessment in adults include the evaluation of the pubic symphyseal surface, auricular surface of the illium, and scoring of the cranial sutures. Iscan et al. proposed a method for aging adults based on the 4th sternal rib end based on six stages however the method is problematic in archaeologically recovered remains due to poor preservation and the difficulty of ascertaining positive identity of the fourth rib (White et al. 2012). Neither the pubic surface nor the ribs of the Vilas Co. adult were well preserved, making aging based on those surfaces inappropriate in this case. Lovejoy et al. published the results of their study of aging techniques based on the auricular surface in 1985 (Lovejoy et al. 1985). Buckberry and Chamberlain revised this method in 2002 to include different scores for five different auricular surface characteristics. Each of these characteristics (transverse organization, surface texture, microporosity, macroporosity, and apical changes) is scored separately and a composite score is used to age the individual. The adult cranium was recovered intact allowing a second age estimation based on cranial suture closure. Cranial suture closure was scored according to the system proposed by Buikstra and Ubelaker (1994).

Stature

Stature can be accurately estimated based on femoral and tibial maximum length. An osteometric board was used to measure the maximum length of the tibia and femur according to the standard measurement techniques described by Buikstra and Charles

(1994). The stature estimate regression formula utilized here is based on Neumann and

Waldmen's study of Hopewellian and Middle Mississippian Native American

populations (1968).

Chapter Five: Analysis of the Vilas Co. and Rantoul Burials

The Vilas Co. and Rantoul Burials contain the skeletal remains and material culture of three individuals. These burials are each a nexus; they are spaces where materials, society, mores, embodiments, individuals, and collectives combine (Rakita and Buikstra 2005). The material culture in these burials was analyzed using the Use/Origin classification scheme introduced in the preceding chapter and contextualized using known typologies and similar archaeological sites. Items and skeletal material were inventoried and complete tabulations of the contents of each burial are available in Appendix A.

Vilas Co. Adult Burial

Osteological Analysis

The Vilas Co. Adult burial contains the remains of one individual (MNI=1). The skeleton is in good to fair condition with some damage to portions of the ribs related to taphonomic processes and excavation. Most of the skeleton was recovered during the 1902 excavation; missing portions include the right radius, sternal portions of the left and right ribs, the bones of both hands, and the navicular, lateral cuneiform and phalanges of both feet, with the exception of one right phalanx. The right medial cuneiform is also not present.

Biological Sex

The skeleton's completeness allowed metric and nonmetric determinations of biological sex, age, and stature. The determination of biological sex was made using metric analysis of the femoral and humeral heads and nonmetric analysis of the cranium and pelvis. The skeleton was ultimately determined to be male, though metric analysis

suggests an individual with smaller than normal femoral and humeral head measurements. The maximum diameter of femoral head of the left femur was 44.96 mm, placing it in the indeterminate category according to Stewart's 1979 work. The vertical diameter of the right humeral head (the left could not be measured due to the state of preservation) was 45.72 mm, also indeterminate. However, the nonmetric analysis of the pelvis and skull were consistent with male indicators. The cranial features were scored as follows: nuchal crest = 5 (male), mastoid processes (left and right) = 4 (probable male), supraorbital margin (left and right) = 5 (male), glabella = 5 (male), and mental eminence = 4 (probable male). The pelvic features were similarly examined, and the left side was scored as follows: ventral arc = 3 (male), subpubic concavity = 2 (ambiguous), medial aspect of ischiopubic ramus = 3 (male). The greater sciatic notch was scored as a 5, also indication of being male.

Age

Age was determined based on the iliac auricular surface and closure of the cranial sutures. Though widely used in osteological analysis (White et al 2012) the pubic symphyseal surface was not used to determine age due to its state of preservation. The iliac auricular surface composite score (see Chapter 4) was 14. This corresponds to stage 5, with a mean age off 59.94 ± 12.95 years, median age of 62, and age range of 29-88 years. The cranial suture vault composite score (see Chapter 4) was 12, which corresponds to a median age of 45.2 ± 12.6. The cranial suture lateral anterior composite score (see Chapter 4) was 11, which corresponds to a median age 56.2 ± 8.5. The three aging scores do not match perfectly but are in the same range. Given this, it is reasonable to assume that the Vilas Co. adult was over fifty years of age at death.

<u>Stature</u>

The left femur and tibia were measured using an osteometric board. The left femur had a length of 446 mm, while the tibia length was 365 mm. Using Neumann and Waldman's regression equation for prehistoric Native American populations, the calculated height of this individual was approximately 166 to 168 cm, or between 5'4" ft. and 5'5" ft.

<u>Observed Pathologies</u>

<u>Cranium</u>

Few teeth are present and most show signs of heavy attrition, calculus, and caries. The left first maxillary molar is impacted. Small lamdoidal ossicles (also know as wormian bones) are present at Lambda. Though not pathological, it should also be mentioned that there is significant green staining usually associated with the presence of copper in the burial.

<u>Joint Disease and Skeletal Trauma</u>

Osteophytic lipping is associated with Degenerative Joint Disease, lifestyles that include heavy manual labor, and the aging presence (White et al 2012). The skeleton of the Vilas Co. individual exhibited mild osteophytic lipping on the inferior surface of the right clavicle, cervical vertebrae, and lumbar vertebrae. The cervical and lumbar vertebrae also exhibited mild asymmetry and schmorl's nodes. Lytic activity was observed on the posterior surface of the sternum and manubrium.

The two most significant pathological anomalies are a seemingly related bilateral widening of the acetabular fossa and asymmetry of the pelvic girdle. This is combined with bilateral osteoblastic activity of the medial distal tibias, significant asymmetry with

increased robusticity and lesions on the medial distal portion of the left tibia (see

Appendix B, pg. 89), and a flattening deformation of the distal portion of the right fibula.

These anomalies are most likely related to a single orthopedic injury that caused

compensatory injuries and asymmetry. Ortner (2003) describes compensatory injuries as

those that are the result of additional strain on the musculoskeletal system as the result of

movement and stress compensations. In this case the atrophic state of the right tibia and

fibula suggests that the initial injury was likely on this side of the body. The increased

robusticity and osteoblastic activity of the left tibia suggest that it was subject to

increased strain that eventually caused the lesions observable on the skeletal material.

Material Culture

A total of sixteen of the items recovered from the Vilas Co. burials are curated at

with the museum's collections. Of these, seven items can be positively connected with

the adult male burial. Each of these items is discussed below. One item, a bucket with

parts of the body, handle, and riveting, cannot be associated with either burial since both

had buckets according to Albright's description.

Trade Axe # 1

Axes were extremely common trade items and were often used as a form of currency.

Axes associated with the fur trade have been found during excavations at

Michilimackinac, Fort St. Joseph in lower Michigan, British Fort St. Joseph in Ontario,

and many other sites (Stone 1974, Roache-Fedchenko 2013). Quimby (1966) reports that

trade axes were among the items recovered from the Bell Site, a previous Fox village

(occupation of 1680-1730) on the south shore of Lake Butte des Morts in Winnebago

County, WI. Trade axes of several different styles and from a variety of European and

American sources were found at these sites. The Vilas Co. adult burial contained two axes. A trade axe with remains of the wooden haft was found with the burial (Appendix B pg. 89). This axe or hatchet is made of iron and is thoroughly rusted; it represents the typical "French" style in type (Roache-Fedchenko 2013). This type was widely available and produced for a significant time, making dating based on type alone implausible. It is intact and shows signs of being sharpened along the heel. There is no visible maker's mark.

Trade Axe # 2

The second trade axe was also found with the adult burial. This axe is typical of the "American" style (Appendix B pg. 90). It is badly rusted, shows no sign of sharpening, and does not have a visible maker's mark, making a definitive date impossible.

Knife

A badly rusted knife blade with a wooden handle was recovered with the burial (Appendix B pg. 90). The knife handle and blade have characteristics similar to trade type blacksmith created knives described by Garrad (1969).

Rectangular Spectacle Glass and Arm

One rectangular spectacle glass and arm was found in the burial (Appendix B pg. 90). The spectacle shape is similar to several at the Museum of Vision in San Francisco, CA. These spectacles were all created between 1800-1840 (MOV collections). While not definitive, the spectacle style suggests that this individual was buried after the turn of the century, slightly later than the museums' original estimated date of burial.

Micmac Pipe

Two Micmac pipes were included in the original museum collection (Appendix B pg. 91).. One was ultimately determined to be a cast. The original is most likely the one mentioned by Albright as being situated next to the hand in the adult burial. Stone Micmac pipes were widely used in Native communities during the fur trade, and are mentioned in several early Wisconsin Archaeology Society articles (West 1905).

Sandstone Pipe

One red sandstone pipe was found with this burial. The pipe has crudely incised geometric patterns and is ovoid in shape. This pipe resembles the heel pipes described by West (1905). Albright does not mention this pipe in his report, though he does mention a hammerstone of a similar shape.

Birchbark Wrappings

Several native communities and cultures were known to utilize birchbark wrappings in burial traditions. The Ojibwe seem to have been especially partial to the mode of burial (Wilford 1944). The birchbark from the adult burial was recovered and brought to the museum as part of the burial collection.

Discussion

The Vilas Co. adult male burial is fairly typical of other Ojibwe male burials from the 18th and 19th centuries. Busnell's (1920) account of the burial practices of Indigenous people east of the Mississippi includes a description of Ojibwe burials practices adapted from early travelers journals. In this account, Ojibwe people are buried with many items used/owned by the individual in daily life. Clear distinctions are made between male and female burials. According to this account males are buried with guns, blankets, strike a lights, gunflints, and kettles (Bushnell 1920). Edmund Ely's missionary journals from the

1830s (Schenck 2012) describe similar practices, but he notes that male individuals are almost always buried with axes and dishes of food and wrapped in birchbark or cloth. It is significant here to point out that Albright's original description of this burial included a metal bucket, spoon, and four gunflints. Though not included in the analysis due to their absence from the museum collections, these are also consistent with the above relations on mortuary customs. Quimby (1966) describes a Late Historic Ojibwe burial recovered and curated at the Escanaba Historical Museum with a "Siouan" style stone elbow pipe, beads, silver ornaments, silver brooches, oval pocket mirror, brass ring, and medicine bottle.

Many of the items buried with this man were trade items. Most of them are Indigenous adoption of European materials that were used in similar ways in Ojibwe practice (Figure 5.1). This suggests that the individual and the group he represents both adapted practices from Euro-American culture and enveloped material culture originating from Settler cultures into pre-existing practices. There are similarities here with Bourdieu's sense of habitus (1972); adoption suggests durable structures that are flexible yet ultimately internalize new ideas and experiences. Yet items that are also of Native origin and Co-option are also present. The Micmac and sandstone pipes exist at sites created well before European contact, and were used even after the influx of white clay and Kaolin pipes from Europe and American suppliers (Trubowitz 2004). The trade axes are more complicated. Trade axe # 1 shows evidence of sharpening implying that it might have been used for chopping, splitting wood, or building. The second axe shows no sign of sharpening; its meaning was not necessarily related to its original intent. Since axes

were also used as a form of payment and status symbols it was included as a co-opted

artifact.

Artifact	Use	Origin
Trade Axe #1	AR, P, MT	3
Trade Axe #2	P, MT	5
Knife	P, G, MT	3
Rectangular Spectacle Glass and Arm	A, C, MT	3
Micmac Pipe	E, R, MT	1
Sandstone Pipe	E, R, MT	1
Birchbark Wrappings	R, MT	1

Figure 5.1 Table of artifacts from the Vilas Co. Adult Burial analyzed with the Use/Origin
Scheme

Vilas Co. Infant Burial

Osteological Analysis

The only portion of the infant skeleton that was recovered with the burial was the

frontal bone. The right and left portions of the frontal bone are separate in neonates, and

fusion is usually at least partially completed by the first year of life (Baker et al 2005).

The metopic suture has almost completely fused in the Vilas Co. infant, indicating an age

at death of at least one year. Slight cribra orbitalia in the left orbit might be an indication

of iron or other nutritional deficiency.

Material Culture

Albright specifically noted several items in the infant burial, many of which are housed in

the museum's collection. Of the eleven items included in his report, six are still with the

burial and are described below.

Bracelet # 1

Bracelet # 1 made of extremely thin German silver and still has portions of a piece of string meant to hold the two ends together. It is decorated with etched lines.

Bracelet # 2

Bracelet # 2 is almost identical to bracelet # 1. It is made of extremely thin German silver with the same linear decorations (Appendix B pg. 91). These bracelets were ubiquitous during the fur trade and are frequently found in mortuary contexts (Quimby 1966). They were worn as decorative pieces by both men and women on the wrists and higher on the arms as bands (Skinner 1884, Karklins 1992, Martin and Mainfort 1985).

Necklace

The necklace found with the burial has three large red glass jewels and a metal chain (Appendix B pg. 92). References to glass (or paste) jewels in archaeologically recovered burials is scarce. Karklins (1992) makes mention of Native use of "costume" jewelry in the 19th century as a replacement for silver. However, trade in ceramic and glass beads was a well known aspect of the economics of the fur trade; these beads were used mainly for jewelry and decorative purposes (Quimby 1966).

Pocket Mirror

A silver and glass circular pocket mirror with a decorative back and attached hanger was found with the burial (Appendix B. pg. 92). Burial with a mirror does not seem uncommon; Martin and Mainfort report mirrors among the burials and the Battle Point Site, a late historic Ottawa cemetery in Michigan (Martin and Mainfort 1985) and investigations into a Menominee cemetery (47WN815) by the Great Lakes Archaeology

Research Center in 2005 also yielded mirrors in burials. Karklins reports that Ojibwe people often hung small mirrors around their necks (1992).

China Saucer

A small white ironstone saucer was recovered from the burial. It was in three pieces and has no maker's mark.

Tin Cup

A portion of a tin cup with a rolled rim is present in the burial collection (Appendix B. Pg. 93). This type of cup was typical of the mid nineteenth century (Greene and Scott 2004) and implies a slightly later date for the burial than the museum's original estimate of 1770-1800.

Silver Brooch

A large silver brooch identified as belong to the infant burial is present with the remains (Appendix B pg. . The brooch is made of German (or trade) silver, thin, punctated, and approx. 10 cm in diameter (Appendix B pg. 93).

Discussion

The presence of such a variety of material culture in the infant grave might imply that this individual was recognized as a person (Fowler 2004) despite its young age. The Ojibwe believed that children would enter the afterlife much like adults. There were specific mourning rituals for infant and child deaths, including speeches advising children on the correct path to the afterlife and the carrying of empty cradleboards for a number of months (Vecsey 1983).

All of the items in the infant grave were either adopted or co-opted by Indigenous people from "settler" origins, with the exception of the unrecovered birchbark wrappings

(figure 5.2). This is not surprising given the probable consistency between the people responsible for burying the Vilas Co. adult and this child. In this case the pocket mirror is co-opted; the mirror was likely hung around the neck as a form of adornment.

Artifact	Use	Origin
Bracelet # 1	A, MT	3
Bracelet # 2	A, MT	3
Necklace	A, MT	3
Pocket Mirror	A, MT	5
China Saucer	G, MT	3
Tin Cup	G, MT	3
Silver Brooch	A, MT	5

Figure 5.2 Table of artifacts of the Vilas Co. Infant Burial Analyzed with the Use/Origin Scheme

Rantoul Woman

The Rantoul Woman burial is likely a single inhumation. Hayssen's original information addresses this collection as coming from a single grave and the extreme green staining on the skeletal remains is consistent with the remaining tissue and the patina on much of the material culture. The recovered portions of the burial include skeletal remains, human hair and tissue, and a wide variety of material culture.

Osteological Analysis

Most of the skeleton was not recovered during Hayssen's collection of the grave. Museum records indicate that the skull was present and intact when the burial was purchased, but efforts to relocate it in 1990, 1998, and 2014 were not successful. A small bag including a left occipital condyle and portion of the left zygomatic is present and not mentioned in the museum's inventory. The presence of these portions of the skull, if truly from Rantoul Woman, might imply that the skull was damaged or destroyed sometime in the last one hundred and twenty years.

The right radius and ulna are present; they are stained green and still articulated due to the presence of skin tissue and a fragment of blouse that are still attached (Appendix B pg. 94). Elements of the right hand include the third metacarpal, third and fifth proximal phalanges, second, third, and fourth intermediate phalanges, and fourth and fifth distal phalanges. The left hand is also mostly present and articulated due to dessicated tissue and some sort of animal hide covering it (Appendix B pg. 94). Present elements include the second, third, and fourth metacarpals and corresponding proximal phalanges, second and third intermediate phalanges, and a distal phalanx. The hand also has a ring, though it is unclear whether it was present during recovery or added later.

It is not possible to evaluate the age, biological sex, or health of this individual given the paucity of the skeletal remains. It is assumed that it is, indeed, a female burial based on the other associated human remains and grave items (see below). There is no sign of periosteal reactivity on the available skeletal material. The distal ulnar and radial epiphyses have fused indicating an age of at least seventeen (Schaefer et al. 2009).

Human Remains

The Rantoul Woman's hair, parts of the scalp, and both ears are present with the burial (Appendix B pg. 95). The hair is black, brittle, and heavily decorated; glass faceted beads, ermine tails, coins, and thimbles were tied in with narrow strips of cloth. Several parts of the hair are still braided as well. The ear tissue is dessicated and stained green. Each ear has several piercings of sphere, ball and tinkler earrings.

Material Culture

The Rantoul Woman burial contained a great variety of material culture, and it cannot be assumed that every item was recovered and included in the museum's

acquisition. Descriptions, possible dates, and photographs of these items are provided below.

Picture Frame

The picture frame is of rough wooden picture and measures approx. 20 x 16.5 cm. There is a wood backing and cracked glass surface.

Miniature China Items

There are three small miniature items (possibly intended as toys) with the burial. Two are a matching pitcher and saucer with pink flowers, green leaves, and gold paint accents (Appendix B pg. 96). Another is a white china teapot; this has rusted with a miniature iron kettle. None of the items have maker's marks.

Kaolin Pipe

One kaolin pipe, mostly intact, is present in the burial collection (Appendix B pg. 96). These pipes were common trade items originally manufactured by primarily by Dutch and British companies (and later Americans) and introduced into Native smoking culture in the 16th century (Trubowitz 2004). The pipe has red staining or paint that might have been decorative. It has no visible makers mark. The pipe does not correspond perfectly to any of the general types in Oswald's (1975) simplified general typology, but it is closest to types twenty four (approx. dates off 1810-1840) and twenty nine (approx. dates 1850-1900). This is consistent with the known burial date of at or post 1852.

Rings

The burial included several rings. Nine are simple brass bands, but two are more decorative. One is brass with an anchor in the bezel and hearts decorating the sides, and another has a crude etching of a book on the bezel. Brass rings with cast or engraved

designs are commonly recovered in the Great Lakes region, and hearts are a common motif. Decorative rings became common during the early Jesuit period; these "Jesuit" rings were used as religiously themed rewards and later currency by Jesuits and traders (Hauser 1982). Mason's study of Jesuit rings from the Rock Island site illustrate the wide variety of decoration and craftsmanship present in existing Jesuit ring collections (Mason 1976). Mainfort (1979) describes a number of brass finger rings (both plain and decorated) recovered from the Fletcher site, a mortuary site in Bay County, Michigan utilized by the Ottawa and Ojibwe from 1740 to 1765. The main thrust of the Jesuit missionary activities in the Great Lakes had slowed considerably by the mid 1800s (White 1991). It is more likely that the rings were a conscious choice in Native adornment that was adopted from these earlier interactions.

Pocket Mirror

A circular pocket mirror was also in the burial. Similar mirrors were present in the Menominee burials reported by GLARC in 2005 (GLARC ROI 581).

Petticoat with Ribbon Trim and Brooches

Two portions of a ruffled petticoat with turquoise ribbon and German silver brooches are present with the burial (Appendix B pg. 96). Both are decorated with ribbon; one has nine silver brooches and the other has seven along with four ball and tinkler cone ornaments. These decoration were a common addition to "traders" cloth. Skinner (1911) describes German silver brooches of Native manufacture and ribbon as two common additions to cloth skirts, capes, and blouses (Skinner 1911, 1921). The brooches are pierced, convex brooches with geometric designs (Mainfort 1985, GLARC ROI 2005).

German Silver Brooches

Two silver brooches of a size and design similar to the ones described above are also

present. They appear to have been cleaned at some point, as they do not have the same

patina as the other brooches.

Length of Fabric

This length of fabric is 81 cm long with decorative stitching and white seed beeds.

It is stained, but was most likely originally white or light colored. It is possible that this

was part of a collar.

Iron Vessel Pieces

Fragmented pieces of an iron container or vessel and red ochre staining are

present in the burial. The vessel appears to have been decorated originally; the remnants

of fabric with attached seed beads, four blue octagonal beads, eight clear octagonal beads,

one clear circular bead, and eleven wampum beads are attached or seem to have been

attached originally owing to the presence of red staining.

Matches

There are nine wooden matches present in the burial. The matches are in excellent

condition with the match heads completely intact.

Bracelets

Nineteen bracelets were included in the burial (Appendix B pg. 97). Another four exist in

the museum's inventory for the burial, however these four cannot be conclusively linked

to the Rantoul Woman. They were included from the ethnology catalogs based on similar

design and patina. The nineteen bracelets are brass. They are slim, with decorative

combinations of wire wrapping, floral, and geometric patterns. These bracelets were likely used for personal adornment (Skinner 1884). Copper and silver bracelets of similar designs, including ones with heavy gauge wire wrapping, were popular in the late 18th and early 19th century (Karklins 1992). Similar bracelets are described in Skinner (1921) as usually of German (trade) silver and made by Native smiths.

Needles/Awls

The burial also includes four needles or possible awls. They are iron, heavily degraded, with a fabric covering on the blunt end.

Hooks

There are two small iron hooks with the burial. They are in poor condition and about 2 cm in diameter.

Musket Ball

One .50 cal musket ball is included in the burial. By the 1850s, firearms had been adopted by Native people and used both for subsistence, protection, and warfare. American, British, French, Dutch, and Belgian firearm makers were engaged in the production of firearms and ammunition specifically intended for Native trade and gift exchange (Hanson 2011). The firearms and ammunition trade was second only to cloth on the Pennsylvania frontier in the 18th century (Johnson 2009).

Cowrie Shells

There are five white cowrie shells in the burial. They were sewn onto a cardboard backing (probably for display) sometime after museum acquisition. These shells were often used in necklaces by both men and women (Skinner 1921). Martin and Mainfort (1985) noted their presence in Ottawa and Ojibwe burials at the Battle Point Site.

Karklins (1992) states that cowrie shells were used amongst Aboriginal Canadians as embellishments on clothing and in hair.

<u>Tinkler Cone, Sphere and Ball Ornaments</u>

Tinkler or tinkling cones were commonly cut from brass, though the presence of silver and iron tinklers at archaeological sites is also noted (O'Shea 1992). Tinklers usually adorned clothing and were usually Native made from cut brass (Karklins 1992). Schoolcraft (1847) notes that copper tinklers may have been present as adornment before native contact with Europeans. O'Dell (2001) notes that many tinkler cones appear to be the result of recycling practices, and that it appears scrap metal was often used to create them. The Rantoul Woman has eighty three brass tinkler cones. Two bunches of these are attached with sphere and ball loops to cloth; it is reasonable to assume that these may have been affixed to clothing, especially given the presence of a tinkler on parts of the petticoat. Others are attached to the ear tissue and hair (see below).

<u>Eyelet Screw</u>

One eyelet screw is present. It has a blue-green patina.

<u>Brass Ornament and Beads</u>

One unidentified small (2 cm in length) brass decorative ornament with attached blue opaque glass beads is present in the burial. Similar ornaments have been found at the Battle Point Site (Martin and Mainfort 1985).

<u>Thimbles</u>

There are twenty nine thimbles associated with this burial. These thimbles, made of trade silver, are most likely decorative in purpose. Eight exist as part of hair decorations (see Human Remains for a discussion of the hair) and twenty one are loose.

These each have a piece of string tied into the top, most likely to aid in attaching the

thimbles to clothing or the hair. These thimbles, when made of silver, were probably not

intended for use as sewing implements (Mann 2007). They were commonly used for

both decorative and adornment purposes on clothing, hair, drums, and as piercings

(Karklins 1992). Martin and Mainfort not the presence of similar thimbles with

perforated tops, associated with beads and ribbon, in the burials at Battle Point (1985).

Glass Beads

Thousands of small blue, white, and green seed beads exist with the burial, along

with burgundy, blue, green, black, and clear faceted beads. GLARC reports similar

amounts and types of beads present in the burials at the Winnebago Rapids Cemetery and

Neenah Waterworks Site (47-WN-815) including the same transparent blue, burgundy,

and

black beads (GLARC ROI 518). These beads were likely used as decoration on clothing,

in hair, and as part of necklaces (Karklins 1992). Several of the larger faceted beads were

combined together with ermine tails and thimbles as hair decorations.

Coins

Several small, heavily corroded coins are present in the Rantoul Woman's hair

and on her ears as items of adornment (Appendix B pg. 97). It is impossible to ascertain

the exact number due to the fragile nature of the hair and scalp, but there are at least six.

Closer inspection of the coins revealed at least three of them to be U.S. three cent coins.

These coins were minted between 1851 and 1873 (though rarely after 1862) with several

design and alloy changes and were the lightest coins ever struck by the US mint

(Hudgeons et al 2009). Two coins have visible faces; one has a visible date of 1853. This means that the burial deposits could not have been created previous to this date.

<u>Beaded Bags</u>

There are six beaded "charm" bags with the burial. Bag # 1 is made of burgundy and blue seed beads woven in a geometric pattern with twine or hemp. Bag # 2 is made of white, green, blue, and pink seed beads woven in a geometric pattern with twine or hemp (Appendix B pg. 98). This bag is attached to a length of chain, possibly for use as a necklace. Bag # 3 is only partially complete. What remains of the bag are red, pink, green, and white seed beads woven in a geometric pattern with twine or hemp. A small comb and chain are attached to the bag. Bag # 4 is also made of pink, green, red, and white seed beads woven in a geometric pattern with twine or hemp. It has a leather thong attached to it. Bag # 5 is different. Instead of twine or hemp, the bag is constructed of commercially produced fabric (black on the outside, blue with polka dots on the inside) with the seed beads sewn into it. Bag # 6 is perhaps, the most intriguing. Unlike the others it is made of hide (Appendix B pg. 98). Inside is a piece of fibrous reed stem stained with red ochre.

The red ochre staining and presence of the reed might be an indication that this bag should be associated with healing or ritual purposes. In <u>Material Culture of the Menominee</u> Alanson Skinner notes that these woven bags were commonly used for adornment, charms and "spells", and healing and medicinal purposes, and that medicine bags were more likely to be made out of hide (Skinner 1921). He also mentions that reeds and roots were often gathered for medicinal purposes. Skinner's 1911 article *A*

Comparative Sketch of the Menominee mentions these small charm bags as being used for both decorative and medicinal purposes (Skinner 1911).

<u>Wampum Beads</u>

There are two hundred and sixty eight tubular wampum beads with the burial, thirty-eight of which are black/purple. Wampum served many functions before and during the fur trade including currency, adornment, and status recognition (see Snyderman 1954). White shell wampum could be produced from a variety of quahog and freshwater shells, while the black or purple wampum was only produced on the Atlantic coast, making it scarce and of greater value (Herman 1956). European commodification of wampum by the Dutch and later the English and French created vast exchange networks; purple wampum was "worth" double that of the white (Loren 2008). Wampum was fashioned into necklaces, hair ornaments, belts, bracelets, and adornment for clothing (Karklins 1992). The presence of black or purple wampum in the burial is intriguing. It suggests some contact, likely through intermediate trade networks, with the Atlantic coast. Purple wampum was often transported inland from the eastern seaboard to the Great Lakes region (Loren 2008) as part of the networks of exchange common during the fur trade. It also might be a marker of high status, given its higher economic and exchange value.

Discussion

The Rantoul burial is exceptional when compared to other recovered burials from the 19th century. The textile and fiber preservation is rare; this is most likely due to the short amount of time (approx. 15-20 years) that the burial was in the ground. In addition,

the quantity of material culture from the burial is well beyond that of sites from similar periods (Martin and Mainfort 1985, Quimby 1966, Mason 1981, GLARC ROI 581).

The Rantoul Woman burial includes a number of items that represent Indigenous adoptions, co-options, transformative practices, and items of Indigenous origin (Figure 5.3). The only examples of transformative practices in this study come from this burial in the form of tinkling cones. The tinkling cones are not completely manufactured by either Natives or Euro-Americans. Instead, tinkling cones were often made of scrap brass or brass cut from kettles that were traded especially for this practice.

The best examples of the utility of co-opted material culture come from this burial. This woman, in ways far different from the original intent, used coins, thimbles, and a pocket mirror for adornment purposes. The coins are especially interesting; they are clearly circulating U.S. currency with economic value. Their use as hair ornaments could be signaling many social personas and identities depending on interaction with others. To some, they are silver ornaments in line with other form of Native utilization of trade silver. To others, she is quite literally wearing money.

The one of the closest temporal, geographical, and contextual analogs to the Rantoul Woman burial is the Winnebago Rapids Cemetery and Neenah Waterworks Site (47-WN-815) excavated by the Great Lakes Archaeological Research Center (GLARC ROI 581) in 2005. This site is located in Neenah, WI on the western shore of Lake Winnebago. The cemetery was associated with the Menominee mission at Winnebago Rapids created by the Treaty of Washington in 1831. This treaty set aside land at Winnebago Rapids for a "civilizing" mission to the Menominee. The federal government provided farmers, blacksmiths, housekeeping instructors, and grist and sawmills and

block houses were built for the Menominee at the mission (GLARC ROI 581). The Menominee abandoned the mission two years later after further land cessions.

Burials from a small formal cemetery with an MNI=6 individuals were excavated. GLARC reports that the individuals were placed in coffins in extended, supine positions (2005). Burial 1 is especially relevant; this burial was a young woman buried with two German silver brooches and thousands of seed beads. Burial 2, a prenatal, was buried next to her and was interpreted as her child. Burial 3 was an adult male buried with brass bracelets, German silver brooches, an eagle whistle, shell beads, a pocket mirror, buttons, gunflint, and metal tin (GLARC ROI 581). The amount of material culture in this grave was interpreted as symbolic of status achievement (GLARC ROI 581).

There are similar elements between these burials and the Rantoul Woman. The presence of trade silver, brooches, bracelets, shell hair ornaments, a pocket mirror, and seed and faceted glass beads is common to these burials and Rantoul. The presence of coffins at the Winnebago Rapids Cemetery was interpreted as an attempt to "Christianize" the Menominee (GLARC ROI 581). It is significant that no items of obvious Christian paraphernalia were found with Rantoul Woman. One brass ring has a book etched on its surface that might represent a bible but this is highly speculative. She also appears to have been buried outside a formal cemetery. It is clear that the vast amount of material culture in the Rantoul burial is uncommon when compared to these Menominee burials from slightly earlier time period. This might imply that Rantoul Woman was a very high status individual or someone who had unique access to trade items.

Artifact	Use	Origin
Picture Frame	E, D, MT	3
Miniature China Items	MT, E	3
Kaolin Pipe	MT, E	3
Rings	MT, A	3
Pocket Mirror	MT, A	5
Petticoat with Ribbon Trim and Brooches	C, A, MT	3
German Silver Brooches	MT, A	3
Length of Fabric	MT, C	3
Iron Vessel Pieces	MT, G	1
Matches	MT, E	3
Bracelets	MT, A	3
Needles/Awls	MT, C	3
Hooks	MT	3
Musket Ball	MT,	3
Cowrie Shells	MT, A	1
Tinkler Cone, Sphere, and Ball Ornaments	MT, A	7
Eyelet Screw	MT	3
Brass Ornament and Beads	MT, A	3
Thimbles	MT, A	5
Glass Beads	MT, A	3
Coins	MT, A	5
Beaded Bags	MT, M, A	3
Wampum Beads	MT, A	1

Figure 5.3 Table of Artifacts from the Rantoul Woman analyzed with the Use/Origin Scheme

Chapter Six: Conclusions: Individuals, Identities, Structuration, and Colonial Studies

This study focused on the intersection between agency, structure, post-colonial theory, and mortuary studies in relation to individual burials during the colonial period in North America, specifically 19th century Wisconsin. The three burials included in this study are representative of three individuals and of the social and economic groups that participated and interacted with them both during their lives and after death. These people were all agents who used material culture in a variety of ways that signaled identity, impacted interactions, and created/maintained everyday practices.

The three burials each represent a different individual without commonality regarding biological sex, age, or group affiliation (in the case of the Rantoul Woman). The Rantoul Woman burial is of an adult woman over the age of seventeen. Skeletal remains and tissue are sparse, most likely resulting from the unscientific practices of the physician who collected her in 1877 and sold her to the museum in 1893. The only human remains are the right radius and ulna, articulated left hand, left occipital condyle and zygomatic bone, elements from the right hand, dessicated tissue from both ears, and a portion of the scalp and hair. The material culture associated with the burial is significant in both variety and volume; other burials from that period and geographic area in Wisconsin have similar items but do not come close the volume of this burial. The burials contains large quantities of german silver trade brooches, thimbles and three cent coins sewn through her hair, portions of the blouse and petticoat, thousands of glass seed beads, a kaolin pipe, wooden picture frame, circular pocket mirror, matches, bracelets, strung white and purple wampum, and many others listed in the preceding chapters.

The Vilas Co. adult burial is of an adult male over the age of fifty excavated under archaeological conditions in 1902. The skeletal remains are in good condition and almost complete, meaning that age at death and biological sex could be assessed. He was also buried with a variety of items fairly common to the Great Lakes fur trade. Items included in his burial were American and French style trade axes, a blacksmith created knife, spectacle glass and arm, Micmac pipes, tin bucket, and birchbark wrappings.

The third burial, an infant was also excavated in 1902 from the same mound as the adult male. This infant was approx. a year at death- the only skeletal remains recovered was the frontal bone. There was a significant amount of material culture present in the burial, including a tin cup, bucket, german silver brooch, pocket mirror, and necklace with glass jewels.

The categorical schema created to analyze the material culture present in these burials attempted to address the relationship between colonial materiality and identity without encouraging dichotomies. Materials related to colonial interaction are highly visible in the archaeological record; colonialism produces stark disjunctions in visible/material representations of practices over time (Joyce and Lopiparo 2005). This can encourage colonial scholars to study the relations between colonial peoples as simplistic dichotomized interactions that assume homogeneity between both Native participants and Euro-American settlers.

This approach, as argued in this text, discounts the incredibly complex, varied responses of most culture contact situations. This is especially true in regards to colonialism when collectives, individuals, and interest groups are creating space to wield power for economic, political, and social benefits. To assume that material transmission

is directly related to acculturation denies the many forms that social power takes in these situations, and the many mechanisms for wielding it. The focus on individuals relocates agency and power and contextualizes colonial interactions in ways that emphasize agential responses to structural change.

Colonial people created, maintained, and negotiated social personas to successfully navigate interaction with other individuals and groups who were under similar pressures. The relationship between the physical body, identity, and material culture is chronic; it is a nexus where personhood is created and expressed. Individual identity is expressed in a variety of ways, including language, material culture and participation in social, political, and economic systems (Knudson and Stojanowski 2009). Social actors are constantly engaged. They deploy material culture as visible representations of affiliations and engagement to communicate identities and social personas (Casella and Fowler 2004).

The Use/Origin scheme makes these material deployments more visible and maps the ways in which individuals used materials to signal economic relationships, social affiliations, and move fluidly between personas. The Rantoul Woman was buried with a significant amount of material culture anomalous to other Menominee burials from the previous decades. As mentioned previously, Arnold (2001), has suggested that deviations from normal burials practices may signal agency and individual preference beyond those that participated in the mortuary rites. It is possible that the large amount of co-opted, transformed, and adopted material in this burial is indicative of this woman's status and individual access to materials associated with Euro-American trade. Her identities might have been quite fluid depending on daily interactions. What is clear is her ability to use

material culture according to personal and cultural preference, even outside of any rigidly prescribed norms.

The Vilas Co. adult male also interacted and used materials in a variety of ways depending on situational need, access, and identity construction. His access to the trade axes is indicative of engagement with the North American fur trade and all of the contacts and negotiations that accompanied it. Ojibwe burial practices adopted Euro-American trade materials to reinforce beliefs regarding death and the afterlife. The bucket and possible food described by Albright (1902) are an example of pre-contact practices existing into colonial contact while utilizing new materials.

The two adults should be assumed to be purposeful actors who were agents in their own right. They created hybrid and negotiated lives, and these actions are reflected in the burials they are associated with. Both the Vilas Co. adult burial and the Rantoul Woman contain objects that were co-opted, adopted, transformed, and some that originated with Indigenous people. In the case of co-opted items they took materials and chose to use them in different ways and make them their own. This fits well with Bhaba's (1994) concept of hybridity in which space is created for agents to manipulate resources and social mores into the creation of identities other than "other". This challenges widely held notions of colonial power; one group did not impose identities over another (Bhaba 1994). Instead, colonial participants created space to wield new social powers and manipulate symbols, meanings, and materials in ways that made them useful to them (Givens 2004).

The infant burial is likely the truest representation of purely collective action. The infant itself was too young to decide which items to utilize in daily life, adorn itself with,

and what was important enough to be taken to the grave. The items in the infant burial were both co-opted and adopted from Euro-American materials. The one exception to this is the birchbark wrappings. These were not recovered with the remains and other materials but were most certainly a wholly native invention. The co-opted and adopted materials are indications that the Ojibwe of the early 19th century were not acculturated nor assimilated. Instead they appear to have used items like the tin cup, bucket (not present in the collection), and saucer to continue previous Ojibwe mortuary traditions. Leaving food for the dead was described in detail in Ely's journals (Schenck 2012) as an established tradition predating European contact. In this case, they merely adopted these items into the practices that made the most sense.

Collective social action is never wholly collective; individuals make up collectives and their motivations and agency impacts larger, more visible "macro" situations (Rogers 2005). Colonial contact cannot be studied without considering the place of the individual and of smaller collectives. Each of the three burials in this study represents a person with agency who acted using various structures to form/maintain identities and a comprehensible world. At the same time, there actions were constricted by political, economic, and social considerations. Wisconsin in the 19th century was no exception; the complex interactions between Euro-American Settlers, the United States Government, and various Native communities restricted Native movement and resource utilization. During the lifetime of the Rantoul Woman, the Natives of Wisconsin ceded significant portions of ancestral land to the United States Government, including the area around Rantoul, WI.

Social identities do not go extinct; instead they change and leave ephemeral connections to the past (Stojanowski 2010). The Vilas Co. and Rantoul Woman burials are not representatives of static cultures yielding to the pressures of colonial contact. Instead, each of these burials represents someone(s) with agency who made decisions based on personal preferences, cultural ideals, events, and participation in colonial systems. The structuration of these actions actively reproduced the patterns of material utilization that are seen in Native historic mortuary contexts. These individuals are not to product of colonialism; colonial laws, economics, and society are a result of their interactions and their agential ability to wield enough power to define and challenge relationships to the material and social world.

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Appendix A: Inventories

Inventory of the Vilas Co. Adult Skeletal Elements

Element	Count
Crania	1
Mandible	1
Right Scapula	1
Left Scapula	1
Right Clavicle	1
Left Clavicle	1
Right Humerus	1
Right Ulna	1
Left Humerus	1
Left Ulna	1
Left Radius	1
Sternum	1
Manubrium	1
Cervical Vertebrae	5
Thoracic Vertebrae	12
Lumbar Vertebrae	5
Sacrum	1
Right Os coxa	1
Left Os coxa	1
Right Femur	1
Right Tibia	1
Right Fibula	1
Left Femur	1
Left Tibia	1
Left Fibula	1
Ribs	10
Right Talus	1
Right Calcaneus	1
Right Cuboid	1
Right Intermediate Cuneiform	1
Right Metatarsals	5
Left Talus	1
Left Calcaneus	1
Left Cuboid	1
Left Intermediate Cuneiform	1
Left Metatarsals	5
Phalanx	1

Inventory of the Vilas Co. Adult Burial Material Culture

Artifact	Count
Trade Axe # 1	1
Trade Axe #2	1
Knife-Blacksmithed with handle	1
Rectangular Spectacle Glass with Arm	1
Micmac Pipe	2 (one is a plaster cast of the original)
Sandstone Heel Pipe	1
Birchbark	Fragments

Inventory of the Vilas Co. Infant Burial Skeletal Elements

Element	Count
Frontal Bone	1

Inventory of the Vilas Co. Infant Burial Material Culture

Artifact	Count
Bracelet # 1	1
Bracelet # 2	1
Necklace	1 (with three paste jewels)
Pocket Mirror	1
China Saucer	1
Tin Cup	1
Silver Brooch	1

Inventory of the Rantoul Woman Skeletal Elements and Human Remains

Element	Count
Crania	Left Occipital Condyle (1), Left Zygomatic (1)
Right Radius	1
Right Ulna	1
Right Metacarpal	1 (third)
Right Proximal Phalanges	2 (third, fifth)
Right Intermediate Phalanges	3 (second, third, fourth)
Distal Phalanges	2
Left Articulated Hand	Metacarpals (second, third, fourth), proximal phalanges (second, third, fourth), Intermediate phalanges (second and third), proximal phalanx (second)
Right ear-dessicated tissue with piercings	1
Left ear-dessicated tissue with piercings	1
Hair with scalp	1

Inventory of the Rantoul Woman Material Culture

Artifact	Count
Picture Frame	1
Miniature China Items	3 (Pitcher and Saucer, Teapot)
Miniature Iron Kettle	1 (attached to Teapot, above)
Kaolin Pipe	1
Brass Rings	7 plain, 1 anchor and heart bezel, 1 book etched bezel
Pocket Mirror	1
Petticoat with Ribbon Trim and Brooches	2 (one with 9 attached silver brooches and turquoise ribbon, one with 7 silver brooches, four tinkling cone and ball ornaments)
German Silver Brooches	2
Length of Fabric	1
Iron Vessel Pieces	6
Matches	9
Brass Bracelets w/ patina	19
Needles/Awls	4
Hooks	2
Musket Ball	1
Cowrie Shells	5
Tinkler Cone, Sphere, and Ball Ornaments	83
Eyelet Screw	1
Brass Ornament and Beads	1
Thimbles	29
Glass Beads	thousands
Coins	At least 6
Beaded Bags	6
Wampum Beads	230 white, 38 purple
Oval Milk Glass Beads	6

Appendix B: Photo Appendix

Presented below are selective photographs of human remains and material culture from the Vilas Co. Adult, Vilas Co. Infant, and Rantoul Woman. These photographs are meant as a sample of each burials, and as such not every item from each burial is included.

Vilas Co. Adult

Human Remains

Lesion on the medial distal portion of the left tibia, most likely caused by a series of orthopedic injuries.

Material Culture

Trade Axe #1- "French" style trade axe associated with the Vilas Co. adult burial.

Trade Axe #2- "American" style trade axe associated with the Vilas Co. adult burial.

Knife association with the Vilas Co. Adult burial

Rectangular Spectacle Glass and arm dated from 1800-1840 and associated with the Vilas Co. Adult burial.

Stone Micmac pipe associated with the Vilas Co. Adult burial

Vilas Co. Infant Burial

Material Culture

Bracelet #1- German Silver bracelet associated with the Vilas Co. Infant burial

Necklace with red glass jewels associated with the Vilas Co. Infant burial

Pocket mirror with hanger associated with the Vilas Co. Infant burial

Tin cup with rolled rim associated with the Vilas Co. Infant burial

Large German Silver brooch associated with the Vilas Co. Infant Burial

Rantoul Woman

Human Remains

Right ulna and radius with skin and blouse fragments from Rantoul Woman

Left hand with fabric, hide, and ring

Hair and scalp from Rantoul Woman decorated with thimbles, glass beads, ermine tails, braids, and coins

Dessicated ear tissue with cone and ball tinkler decorations, chain, and coins

Material Culture

Miniature China Items associated with Rantoul Woman

Kaolin pipe associated with Rantoul Woman

Petticoat fragments with ribbon, german silver brooches, and tinkling cones from Rantoul Woman

Brass bracelets from Rantoul Woman

U.S. three cent silver coin used as decoration in Rantoul Woman's hair and clothing

Beaded charm bag (Bag # 2) from Rantoul Woman; made with seed beads, and twine/hemp

Beaded charm bag (Bag # 6) from Rantoul Woman. This bag is made from hide and seed beads and contains a reed with red ochre.