

Kennewick Man

The Scientific Investigation of An Ancient American Skeleton.

The Kennewick Man skeleton was found washing out of a bank of the Columbia River in 1996. Local Native groups felt he was an ancestor and wanted to bury him immediately. The scientific community felt he was part of American human history and wished to examine the remains for answers to the many questions about the early peopling of the Americas. The Army Corps of Engineers dropped tons of dirt on top of the discovery site, thus precluding examination of his body *in situ* spot. It resulted in one branch of the Federal government – the Smithsonian Physical Anthropology section suing another.

A judge held the remains and permitted some preliminary examination; eventually a judge ruled in favor of the scientists in 2004, and the intensive examination began. Studies of the cranium led to the conclusion that

Kennewick Man was not from the population of Native Americans. As early as the 1990s scientists tried to analyze his DNA, but failed.

This new 669 page book, lavishly illustrated, is edited by Douglas Owsley of the Smithsonian Physical Anthropology section and Richard Jantz, director emeritus of the Forensic Anthropology Center, U. Of Tennessee. It has taken many years and the cooperative work of 56 scholars of an immense array of scientific specialties, to coalesce the story of Kennewick Man. The authors note that obtaining his DNA will be difficult because of the way the remains were handled from discovery through storage.

Recent research since 2008 with less expensive enhanced DNA sequencing techniques and more powerful computers by scientists like Eske Willerslev of the University of Copenhagen, Svante Paabo of the Max Planck Institute, Greger Larson of

Oxford University, Joseph Pickrell of Columbia University, David Reich of Harvard University, and others, using the now accessible ancient DNA findings is rewriting most of archaeology's previous beliefs of human origins, the origins of agriculture, the origins of the Indo-European languages, the mass movement of peoples, etc.

This new research has also revealed a much more complex peopling of Siberia, which became a holding ground for thousands of years for varied groups before some moved into North and South America. The Anzick-1 child remains, dated 12,707-12,556 CALYBP, at a site north of Bozeman, Montana, have been identified by the Willerslev group as ancestral to many contemporary Native Americans, but more closely related to Central and South American Native Americans. **Kennewick Man has now also been found to be ancestral to Native Americans living today, and radio carbon dating tests reveal that he died 8,500 years ago.**

Disrupting the Narrative: Labor and Survivance for the Montaukett of Eastern Long Island.

Allison Manfra McGovern, Ph.D. (from her dissertation)

The research presented in the preceding chapters has investigated Montaukett survivance at Indian Fields between ca.1750 and 1885. During that time, Montaukett were continuously constructing and reconstructing their identities through labor, kin networks, and daily practices. They were deeply entangled in complex relationships with whites, who demanded Native land and labor for economic expansion. Yet they were confronted with misperceptions about Native identity, and oppressed by racialized policies that aimed to encumber their ability to survive. Indeed, Montaukett decisions to leave Indian Fields (for employment in whaling, for work in the fields and homes of white East Hamptoners, or to establish a new settlement at Brotherton) or to stay should be considered in light of the complex social, economic and political changes that Montaukett faced in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

But this dissertation is about more than simply describing Native lifeways at and away from Indian Fields. The research presented here is intended to challenge pre-existing notions of Native cultural loss and disappearance. These ideas, which are pervasive in histories of Native North America, are deeply entrenched in colonialism and capitalism. The “noble savage” and the “vanishing Indian” are myths supported by antiquarian notions of culture and constructed to support the ideology of “engines of progress.” These ideals continue to guide local museums, historical societies, and amateur collectors/looters of archaeological sites on Long Island and elsewhere. In fact, archaeological collecting is one of the ways that Native history has been appropriated by non-Native people. It is a form of paternalism that derives from the colonial experience, as the power to present and interpret the Native past remains in the hands of whites. In this process, Native identity has been constructed based on acculturation models, and used to reinforce notions of cultural loss based on material changes. This has resulted in public and governmental challenges to Native authenticity.

Constructed categories of difference further complicate public notions of Native authenticity in identity construction. The racialization of Native American and African American people in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was a process that served to construct white and non-white identities in relation to power, status and land. Native, “colored,” black, and white identities were then reinforced in social, economic, political, and cultural practices, producing institutionalized racism that survived long after changing colonial regimes. This means that the categories of difference that were used to identify individuals in government documents, family papers, and historical accounts are not straightforward. They draw on often conflicting notions of what it means to be Indian, black, and white, because these categories were frequently adjusted by people in power to accommodate colonial policies. The colonized probably found ways to take advantage of, adapt to, and resist these changing categories, too. But contemporary public misperceptions of Indian identity are based on these constructed categories of difference. They

are also based on biological assumptions of race that over time have been used to represent cultural/social identity. These processes have led to the myth of Native American extinction on Long Island.

The Montaukett are one of many tribal groups that have survived the myth of extinction, dispossession, and detribalization. This dissertation, which is concerned with their strategies for survival, emphatically replaces the narrative of the “vanishing Indian” with a new narrative of survivance. This is accomplished by investigating the historicity of colonialism, highlighting the power dynamics of capitalism, decolonizing previous anthropological research, critically reviewing historical sources, and re-investigating archaeological collections for clues to indigenous lifeways during rapidly changing social, economic, and political conditions.

Although a number of archaeological collections were reviewed in this work, the Montaukett survivance narrative presented here is based on the archaeological collection from the Indian Fields site in Montauk. This previously-excavated collection was sitting in Suffolk County Parks storage for roughly 30 years. Working with museum and contract archaeology collections like the Indian Fields site can be a challenge. However, their value to contemporary archaeological research lies in our ability to ask new questions of old data sets and challenge existing narratives with new questions. All of the collections discussed in this dissertation were the products of various strategies of archaeological collecting: avocational, culture-historical, and government-mandated. Together, they provide tangible data for investigating broad patterns of Native habitation on eastern Long Island. Furthermore, my work with the Indian Fields archaeological collection will support park interpretation and the narrative of significance for the National Register nomination form for Montauk County Park.

The Indian Fields site provides the material traces for Montaukett lifeways between ca.1750 and 1885, but its interpretation demands our attention to several factors: social and economic conditions, power structures, multicultural interaction, and most importantly, how Montaukett people made sense of the world. Indeed, Montaukett survivance during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was informed by indigenous strategies for subsistence, exchange, and social reproduction that were well-developed before Europeans arrived. Archaeological research at pre-Columbian sites in coastal New York and southern New England demonstrate continuity in settlement and coastal foraging. Social reproduction was facilitated through local and regional networks built on exchange. These practices were disrupted by the arrival of Europeans, who joined pre-existing coastal and inland trade networks, but indigenous people actively negotiated the new exchange systems.

As Europeans began to settle, the relationships between Europeans and Natives changed. The European desire for land and labor gave rise to cultural conflict. Native Americans became racialized as whiteness became a criterion for membership in civilized society. Native subsistence strategies were restricted as whites sought ownership of surrounding territories. By the end of the eighteenth century, the Montaukett (who were

accustomed to a semi-sedentary, coastal foraging strategy) were circumscribed to roughly 30 acres of land in Montauk, known as Indian Fields. Montaukettts who left Indian Fields were encouraged to settle with free black men and women on the outskirts of the white villages in neighborhoods like Freetown and Eastville, and work for whites. They established homes on parcels of land that were too small to farm, and were dependant on the market economy for survival. They sold or exchanged their labor for food, household goods, personal items, and raw materials because they were not permitted to hunt, fish, or collect shellfish on the privatized lands that surrounded their neighborhoods. This patterning marks the beginnings of the working-class. At this time, many Native American men were employed in whaling (through the end of the nineteenth century); others worked in the fields and homes of whites.

Those who remained at Indian Fields, on the other hand, were visibly and geographically distant from the white village at East Hampton. Although they were faced with limitations on hunting, fishing, and owning cattle in Montauk, it seems that they continued to rely on local, wild-caught resources (with some domesticated mammals) for survival. This strategy, which demonstrates continuity of practice in light of forced limitations, is best interpreted as survivance. Yet, the Pharaoh and Fowler households exhibit change in daily practice between the early and the late nineteenth century.



Sewing and basketmaking took place at this home site, and there appeared to be a broad range of ceramics for this small household of two adults and one child.

The mid- to late nineteenth century Fowler house, on the other hand, demonstrates a greater degree of struggle between “traditional” and “modern” patterns. The Fowlers were living in a slightly larger wood frame house with a wood floor and depositing their trash in a different pattern than the Pharaohs. This home contained many more people (two adults and a number of children, some of whom stayed until their early 20s), yet demonstrates evidence for much less density and diversity of ceramics.



This home site also contained less material evidence for how the household was sustained economically. Interestingly, the economic struggles at the Fowler household are contrasted by a more direct sense of Montaukett identity construction. In a sense, the Fowlers and their relatives were demonstrating their identity as Montaukett in the continued use of stone tools and production of indigenous crafts, in hunting and gathering (along with market integration), in choosing to remain at Indian Fields, and in naming children after notable Native American figures, at a time of unavoidable economic and social change. This effort was likely a response to impending socio-economic changes (i.e., the arrival of wealthy elite vacationers) which threatened the continuation of their lifeways at Indian Fields.

The late eighteenth-early nineteenth century Pharaoh household demonstrates greater continuity in traditional indigenous foodways, craft production, and discard patterns. The Pharaohs ate fish, shellfish, turtle, and mammals. This is evident in the floor of the structure, where the waste from their meals was deposited.



Bone handled knife with Pharaoh carved on it.





Through archaeological (from the Pharaoh and Fowler households) and documentary (from account books) resources it is evident that the Indian Fields residents employed different strategies for survival than the Native and African American residents of Freetown. Yet, they were employed in the same labor networks, purchased food and goods from the same merchants, and were often part of the same kin networks. Through mapping labor and kin networks, it became evident that Montaukett individuals on and off Indian Fields established family relationships with other Native American and African American people that they knew through work. These networks, too, were strategies for survival, as they facilitated social reproduction while East Hampton whites circumscribed their marital practices.

As time went by in the nineteenth century, the Indian Fields village shrank in size. The search for employment changed the composition of the settlement. Whaling, which employed Montaukett men from the eighteenth through the end of the nineteenth century, resulted in the periodic absence of men from Indian Fields; women were left behind to maintain the households and village life. Some Montauketts left for better economic opportunities (i.e., in whaling, or through working in the villages for whites), while others left for the chance to maintain or redefine their indigenous identity (i.e., through Christianity and the formation of the Brotherton settlement). Yet a few households hung on; this is a testament to Montaukett identity and survival.

Near the end of the nineteenth century, the economic challenges were even greater. Whaling was in decline, and East Hampton society was transforming as extremely wealthy white families began vacationing there. The demand for land was felt again, and colonial land holdings and economic patterns faced modern pressures. As a result, cattle grazing in Montauk came to an end, and the lands that were held corporately were sold at auction to the highest bidder. The Montauketts, who also transformed socially and culturally, were eventually dispossessed from the lands on which they were told they would always have a home.

For many residents of eastern Long Island- white and non-white alike- the Benson purchase of the Montauk lands marked the end of Montaukett tribal life. The memory of dispossession by Benson and his heirs, and subsequent detribalization by New York State, are so painful that the collective remembrances of Montaukett tribal life end there. The loss of Indian Fields was (and is) devastating, as it disrupted long-held cultural patterns. Yet, the Montauketts did survive.

The final goal of this dissertation, therefore, is to demonstrate how and where their story continues. For this, we must re-examine the cultural landscape, social networks, and constructed history of Freetown. The “hidden history” of this neighborhood is illuminated in relation to Indian Fields. It wasn’t simply a place to relocate the dispossessed residents of Indian Fields. It was chosen because of the previously-established relationships that had connected the two neighborhoods (and several others) for roughly 100 years. These relationships were recognized by Native Americans, African Americans, and Euro-Americans, and they were appropriated by Benson’s team of agents when they were shopping for land to relocate the Indian Fields residents.

After 1885, the last remaining Indian Fields residents moved to Freetown. Some of them lived in houses that were moved or rebuilt from Indian Fields. They traveled “ancient” pathways that connected the neighborhood to other villages and to the protected harbors (Devine 2014), and they worked in service for wealthy East Hampton whites (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1900-1930). Their homes are marked on early twentieth century maps and their stories are waiting to be retold. Freetown is one of many American neighborhoods that have yet to be explored for its hidden history of the Native American presence.

In Memoriam – Dean F. Failey, 1947-2015

Dean played a unique role in Long Island’s historical and decorative arts world. He began it while working for SPLIA, which culminated in his germinal volume, *Long Island is My Nation: The Decorative Artists and Craftsmen 1640-1830*. Its publication produced much new information about the antiquities early Long Island settlers had and had taken with them as they migrated south and west, which led to a second edition including the new information – great classics.

Dean also worked for the East Hampton Historical Society, probably the first decorative arts scholar to examine the wealth of early craftsmanship in that area. That scholarship revealed the early makers of spinning wheels, some of which were purchased by Shinnecock women, who could then earn money in the new colonial economy, and much more.

His M.A. was earned at the University of Delaware, where he analyzed the Gardiner silver collection for his thesis, which had later interesting ramifications. He later became the Vice President of Decorative Arts at Christie’s for many years, and often lent his expertise, especially in folk art, to *Antiques Roadshow* on Channel 13.

While at Christie’s, one day his secretary walked in with her arms full of silver objects and said they had been brought in to be evaluated for auction. One look told him they were from the Gardiner silver collection. He called R.D.L. Gardiner in Miami and asked him if he knew where his silver was. Gardiner replied it was locked in a closet in the basement of his East Hampton home.

Investigation found that the home was being worked on, and one of the carpenters saw the locked door, broke the lock, saw the silver, stuffed it into a Gardiner suitcase, and

walked out with it. He found a 'fence' in Queens, who polished out the Gardiner crest on a tankard and sold it in England, and took the remaining collection to Sotheby's for evaluation. Not being familiar with the silver, they were slow in responding, so the man retrieved it and took it to Christie's.

A 'sting' was arranged with the NYC police. As the 'fence' walked out with the silver, and as the police pounced, by happenstance an NBC film crew was on the block for a shoot. Seeing the commotion, they rushed to film it. Dean's expertise had saved the Gardiner silver collection.

This and many other stories were part of Dean's personality. To be in his presence was to be chuckling and enjoying the moment.



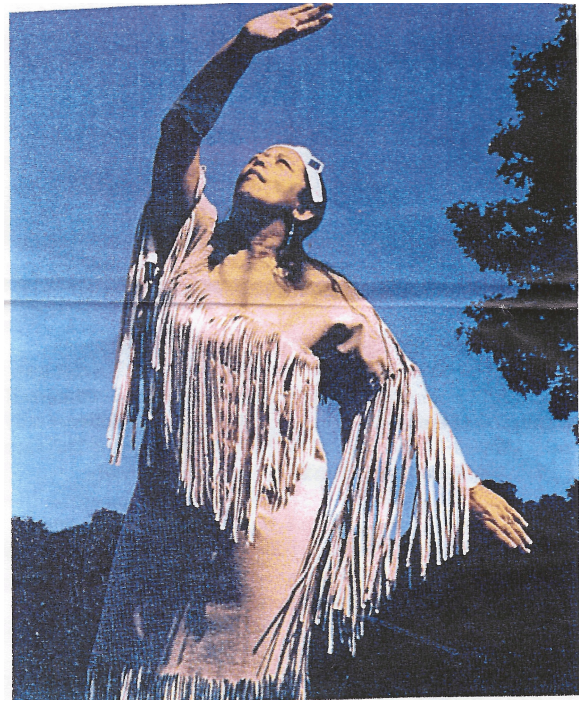
While SCAA was filming various aspects of the Sylvester Manor story in the early 1990s, Dr. Gaynell Stone, the Director, asked Dean if he would meet with Alice Fiske at the Manor house and tell her about the furniture and decorative arts. He gladly agreed, and Alice had a wonderful day (as did we all) learning where and when every object, painting, etc. was made.

Portions of this most interesting time are in the film, *The Sugar Connection: Holland, Barbados, Shelter Island*. In the library, Dean exclaimed, "a bed hanging from the 17th century!" as Alice told him it was from the Gardiner Manor, as seen in this picture from the film. Those of us who were privileged to know Dean will miss his wonderful sense of humor, encyclopedic knowledge, and quiet charm.

In Memoriam – Elizabeth Thunderbird Haile, 1930-2015

Elizabeth, known as Chee Chee on the Reservation, was a beloved and respected elder who died August 21st. A moving Native American and Christian memorial was held at the Southampton United Methodist Church to a crowd overflowing the space. Elizabeth was a teacher, a ceremonial dancer, an educational consultant, and served on the Tribal Council and the board of directors of the Shinnecock Nation Cultural Center & Museum.

She had a B.A. from SUNY-Oneonta, an M.A. from New York University, and an honorary doctor of humane letters from Southampton College.



When SCAA was producing the volume, *The Shinnecock: Indians: A Culture History* in 1983, the first scholarly book about the tribe, Elizabeth was very helpful and supportive.

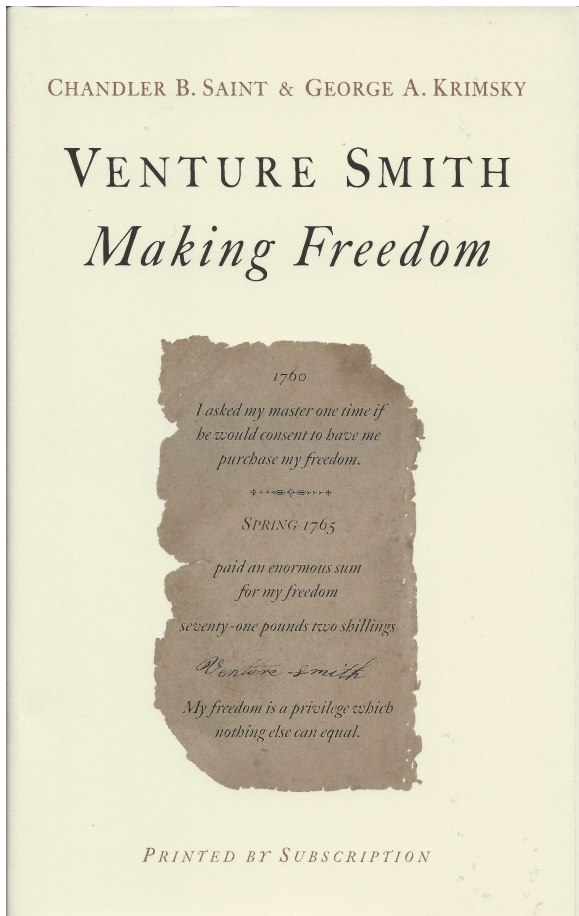
She and Dr. Gaynell Stone often conferred about questions of Shinnecock material culture, and worked together on projects of the Southampton Historical Museum. She was a pleasure to be with and work with. She will very much be missed!

Resources

Venture Smith: Making Freedom, published in New London in 1798 – the oldest account of a slave's life written by himself, is now back in print, thanks to Chandler B. Saint & George A. Krinsky. The son of an African chief, he was kidnapped as a youth and sold into slavery in New England. He spent a number of years as a slave on Fishers Island, then escaped and spent more years on Ram Island, off Southampton's north shore. He purchased his freedom for 71 pounds, 2 shillings in 1765, then after 10 years of selling his produce from a farm he had purchased on Stonington Point, CT, purchased his wife's and his children's freedom. The Barn Island farmsite of Venture Smith is now marked by a Connecticut State sign in a ceremony hosted by a Connecticut senator and legislator.

Exhibits about this remarkable story have been seen in Hull, England, Anomabu, Ghana (the port where slaves were held before shipment to America), the Hartford Public Library, and other venues.

Contact chandlersaint@gmail.com for book purchase and more information.



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- Map: *Native Long Island* (26x39"-3 colors) 14.

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