

CHAT 2007 SHEFFIELD
ABSTRACTS

Friday 23rd November 2007

DEATH & COMMEMORATION
Part 1 (10.45am-12.25pm)

Dr Sarah Tarlow
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A little world or a stinking jakes? Faith and the dead body in the sixteenth century

What did people really believe about the dead body in the sixteenth century? In the theological literature, both Catholic and Protestant, the body is most frequently discussed as a foil for the soul. Whereas the soul is eternal, beautiful and divine, the body is only “animated clay”, “mudde walls and condensed dust” or even a “stinking jakes.” Didactic and devotional literature emphasises the vanity of caring for a body which is ultimately destined to rot in the ground. Although belief in the resurrection of the body constituted part of the orthodoxy of both Roman and Reformed churches, no religious writer maintained that the material preservation of the corpse was necessary for the resurrection. Rather, God’s ability to reconstitute even bodies that had been eaten by animals or consumed by fire was regularly rehearsed.

Given this intellectual context, one might expect that the apparently despised body, when the soul had left it, would not merit much funerary attention. Protestant doctrine of salvation by faith alone, and the disappearance of Purgatory, would seem to render burial in sacred ground unnecessary and to discourage much emotional or actual expenditure on funerary obsequies. Yet the archaeological evidence from sixteenth-century Britain shows that people continued to prioritise burial in the most holy Catholic spots - around the church altar for example - and sometimes went to considerable trouble to protect and preserve the corpse by the use of the wax-impregnated wrappings called cere-cloths and interring bodies in lead-lined coffins in vaults.

Other textual discourses of the time, however, such as the widespread metaphorical evocation of the body as a microcosm of the universe or of civil society, did not use a register of corruption, filth, stink and mud, but gloried in the perfection and harmony of the human form.

These apparently contradictory discourses - in poetry, didactic text and material practices - were not produced by people who took different positions on the question of the body, but exist in parallel. Sometimes rationally incommensurable ideas even appear in the same texts and contexts. An examination of beliefs about the dead body in the early modern period ultimately takes us beyond questions of whether people ‘really believed’ what they said and makes it necessary for us to examine the nature of belief itself.

Dr Annia Kristina Cherryson
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Charity in death: institutional burial in hospital and workhouse cemeteries, c. 1750-1850

Tradition has it that a pauper's grave, paid for by parish, workhouse or hospital, and was something to be avoided in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In a period, where funerary provision had become a mark of wealth and success, the pauper burial could be seen as indicative of complete failure. Families with limited means would delay interment of the body until sufficient funds had been gathered or go into debt to ensure a suitable funeral was provided. For those who died in the workhouse or hospital and were unclaimed by their family, a grave in the institution cemetery was often the final destination, in some cases via the dissecting rooms. The limited expenditure on these interments is reflected in the nature of the burials excavated from the cemeteries associated with workhouses and hospitals. Funerary provision was very basic, often taking the form of simple wooden coffins lacking the adornments and fittings which characterise most burials of this period, with multiple interments in either burial pits or single grave cuts common.

Yet was there really much difference between some institutional burials and private burials of some of society's poorer elements? Problems of over-crowding in many urban burial grounds often made multiple interments necessary and not all of the occupants of common graves were paupers. Similarly the cost of coffin fittings and adornment meant that some could only afford a plain wooden coffin. This paper will examine the nature of institution burial in Britain and Ireland between c. AD 1750-1850 and how the nature of interment compares with that seen in contemporary parish churchyards, non-conformist burial grounds and private cemeteries. It will investigate what constitutes the minimum acceptable funerary provision in this period and the degree of separation or overlap between institutional and private burial. Finally, it will consider what this says about the nature of charitable provision and attitudes to death and the body.

Dr Emily J. Weglian
Cuyahoga Community College, Cleveland, Ohio.

Casket, Shroud, and Grave: Folks Songs, Emotion, and the Material of Death

Some of the most poignant and profound expressions of faith, hope, love, and despair can be found in folk music, songs that were written and transformed by many singers and performers over space and time. In this paper, I will examine themes of death and mortuary practices found in British and American folk songs. My expertise in folk music is not a scholarly one, but instead comes from having grown up listening and singing folk songs with my family. This paper is not necessarily systematic or exhaustive, but it explores songs that deal in some way, shape, or form with death, and the emotional expressions of hope, of grief, or faith present in the songs. Folk songs were at one time songs that virtually everyone in a region knew and could sing, and as such can be thought to reflect some prevailing attitudes of a particular time and place. Folk songs provide an immediate and visceral access to the emotion of the past; often emotions experienced and empathized by ordinary folk, something that is frequently difficult for the archaeologist or the historian to recover from other

documentary sources. The emotion of the songs is often their driving purpose, but buried within tales of heroism or woe, one can also find mention of the material culture that surrounded the people who wrote and sang the songs. My primary research focuses upon the materiality of graves in 17th and early 18th-century Britain and British colonies, particularly the Chesapeake region of North America. Very little documentary evidence of this time period survives that relates directly to the materiality of graves and burials, and documents that address the attitudes towards death are often those of ministers or high status members of society, not the “folk”. This paper will serve as an initial foray into scrutinizing folk songs as an underutilized documentary source to inform archaeological research.

Dr Harold Mytum
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University of York.

Faith in Action: theology and practice in commemorative traditions

Theological developments in faith during the historic period greatly affected the literate population. The debates and controversies were argued out in pulpits, sitting rooms and coffee shops, and profoundly influenced people’s aspirations and actions. Commemorative monuments though their texts and symbolism revealed but were also designed to enhance and reinforce attitudes to faith. It is important that those with Christian faith today, or those with none, realise the theological context in which particular monuments were erected. This paper will examine certain theological debates and how they were worked through in different denominations, using data from New England, Britain and Ireland.

The New England data will focus on assessing the interpretations of theology represented in 18th-century Puritan funerary art, particularly concentrating on work in the last 15 years, well after the innovative studies of Deetz and Dethlefsen. Comparisons will be drawn with Scottish Presbyterian churchyard monuments as the theology underlying these show more similarities than most other British assemblages. Theological variation in Ireland between Protestants and Catholics are also well represented on 18th-century memorials, particular through the use of similar mortality symbols for different purposes in a society strongly divided by religion and class.

West Wales offers the opportunity to examine the varied emphases exhibited in burial grounds of Anglican and a number of different nonconformist denominations during the 19th and early 20th centuries. Language, symbol and monument form all may be seen to create complex physical manifestations of faith within a contested environment. In particular, epitaphs were powerfully used to attest key eschatological themes during the 19th century, to be replaced with more banal and less sophisticated phrases in the 20th century.

These various studies reveal how faith was manifest in people’s lives and in their attitudes to death and commemoration. These monuments do not represent some postscript to life, but were active in providing exemplars of lives lived and evidence of faith in action. They need to be read as those reading at the time would have read them, imbued with Christian faith that was vibrant and central to many lives at that time.

Friday 23rd November 2007

DEATH & COMMEMORATION (Continued)
Part 2 (1.40pn- 3.20pm)

Ross J. Wilson
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A landscape of faith on the Western Front

This paper will explore how a landscape of faith was created on the former battlefields of the Western Front through the monuments and cemeteries of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission. Examining how faith, whether religious, secular or nationalist was central to the ideology and construction of the memorial landscape, the paper will examine how faith shapes the world in which we live. Faith is the bulwark which prevents people slipping into despair; faith in the future, in humanity, in reason and in society. This paper will show how faith is constructed, rather than being an instinctive quality of the pious, it represents a means of carrying on, of making sense, of understanding. It is an ideological tool, a way of being-in-the-world: it is the key to our continuance. By forwarding the archaeological study of faith, this paper suggests that far from being an ephemeral human quality, faith can be defined, described and explained by archaeologists. Faith can be contested, it is a mode of dissent against repression and authority, and it is a vehicle of expression and identity. Faith manifests itself in architecture, in material culture and in the actions of individuals. Using the cemeteries and monuments of the Western Front, this paper will demonstrate how issues of faith were debated at the time of the construction of this memorial landscape, how faith both individual and collective were demonstrated in the eventual designs used, and how faith created and re-created the meaning of the landscape from the post-war period to the present day. The cemeteries and monuments to the dead of the First World War play a significant part in British national identity. They were to become sites of pilgrimage and memory immediately after the war, and remain so, as tours to these areas of Northern France and Belgium remain ever-popular. Understanding how faith underpins this landscape illustrates how in Britain these sites are used to express desires and wants. Faith is materially manifested in the memorial landscape of the Western Front, through a study of the history of its construction, and how individuals used and appropriated these structures, this paper will propose an agenda for the archaeology of faith

Sam Walls PhD candidate
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University of Exeter.

The Changing Memories and Meanings of World War One Expressed Through Public Commemorations

The commemoration of conflict is frequently expressed in public locations in monumental forms. The choices made in both commemorative form and location help to determine how the conflict was viewed, justified and remembered. Archaeology offers a unique opportunity to understand the memories which these commemorations attempted to construct and preserve, through the investigation of

the details of monument context and form. Public commemorations often take monumental forms, which express the views of the social elites, particularly landowners, industrialists and politicians. These groups often use the commemoration of conflict as a means not only to express the ideals of honour, bravery and sacrifice which they wished the public to follow, but also justifying their own roles and to express other desires. For example, monumental commemoration can serve as a means of regenerating public space, or for more utilitarian purposes such as hospitals or town halls. Therefore, public monuments that commemorate conflicts can be investigated to understand not only the memories of the conflict, but also the social realities of those wishing to negotiate and evoke memories of the war dead. The shifting 'biographies' of particular monuments inform us of the instabilities that often persisted after the end of conflicts.

In order to investigate how public monuments embody a variety of commemorative strategies, I will be discussing the commemoration of the First World War which occurred within the city of Exeter, Devon. A variety of memorial practices were utilised, and the nuances of choice in location and form can be seen to provide details on how the war was continually reinterpreted and re-remembered in different ways as time progressed. The variety of commemorative monuments can be seen as reacting not only to each previous monument and other commemorations, but also to the changing memories of the conflict in relation to the present political and social situations. The monuments were also utilised by the elites to express a variety of other concerns and objectives, which themselves changed over time and these can also be fruitfully investigated to understand the memories these public monuments embodied. This detailed and contextual appreciation of the deployment of monumentality from an archaeological perspective can shed new light on a seemingly well-studied aspect of twentieth-century memorialisation.

Dr Enrique R. Gil Hernández & Dr M^a. Paz de Miguel Ibáñez

Prehistory, Archaeology and Ancient History Department
Biotechnology Department
Alicante University, Spain

Mass Graves and Spanish Civil War: an archaeological research on the fascism repression in Eastern Spain.

In this paper we present the results of the research project about the social and political repression caused by the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939). Our study is focused on the localization, excavation and documentation of the Mass Graves due to summary executions of social and political leaders. This research is part of a more general framework based on the social movement named "Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica" -*Recovering the Historical Memory*-. The aim of this movement is the historical analyze and the social recognition of the men and women disappeared due to the political violence in the disturbing period of the War and After-War. Our study is centered in the Eastern region of the Iberian Peninsula, in the town of Almansa (Albacete) where 117 executions were produced in 1939. As a result of our study we have archaeologically and historically analyzed five mass graves where was buried thirty people that suffered hard torture and post-mortem damage. This data confirm the intensity of the conflict in this regional area.

Friday 23rd November 2007

URBAN TOPOGRAPHIES
(3.50pm-5.30pm)

Dr Chris King
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University of Leicester

Radical topographies in the early modern city: the cultural landscapes of faith and politics in Norwich, 1580-1780

Our existing narratives of landscape and architectural change in English cities are predicated on a simplistic rendering of the medieval corporate community bound together by a common faith that underpinned both secular and religious authority, and the impact of new forces of confessional division and political conflict unleashed by the Reformation. The dichotomy of course cannot be sustained; medieval urban landscapes were bound up in a complex and ongoing process of change that was intimately involved in the constitution of social and political relationships, and there were strong elements of continuity as well as significant shifts in the political and religious discourses underpinning civic life in the early modern city. Nevertheless, in the wake of ongoing challenges to civic authority in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a new relationship between urban spaces and political and religious identities was forged. The creation of a vibrant yet contested Protestant civic culture, in the wider context of sustained factional and political conflict and the prominence of urban nonconformist communities, created a cultural space in which urban landscapes and buildings were implicated in new discourses of authority and community, faith and belonging. This paper will explore the development of a distinctive cultural landscape for urban political and religious dissent in Norwich, England's second city, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Urban public and religious buildings and spaces were re-defined and incorporated into a series of conflicts over urban jurisdiction, religious radicalism and political divides in this period, and in turn served to constitute the nonconformist religious and political communities that were shaping urban culture in new ways. In Norwich the meanings of urban spaces were also affected by the presence of a large and culturally distinct population of Dutch and Walloon immigrants who formed one-third of the city's early modern population. The paper will address the changing topographical and architectural context within which factional divisions were played out, and which created a 'radical topography' within which alternative networks of social interaction and urban identity were forged. It re-embeds cultural variability and conflict at the heart of our understanding of early modern urban culture, moving beyond the perspective of 'polite' urban landscapes of the eighteenth century to approach the contested meanings of urban space in the intersections of politics and faith.

Dr Megan E. Edwards,
Department of Anthropology
University of Chicago

“... Now there, they're packed aff to hell, An' banish'd our dominions...”
Ideological Reformation and Material Re-formations in Early-modern Perth, Scotland

On 11 May 1559, in Perth's parish kirk of St. John the Baptist, the firebrand of the Scottish Reformation, John Knox, preached an impassioned sermon railing against the wanton idolatry of the Church of Rome. His words stirred the assembled crowd, drawn from the length and breadth of Scotland, to fever pitch. Surrounded, as they were, by the medieval religious trappings of an ancient burgh kirk, in a burgh itself surrounded by no less than four medieval friaries, the former priest's words proved too much. No sooner did the session break, than the crowd-turned-mob set to stripping St. John's of its subsidiary altars and papist ornament. With this accomplished, attention was turned to the religious houses and chapels of the burgh. Entire religious orders were hastily cast out of the town, as the very roofs were stripped from over their heads. In the ensuing centuries these defunct religious foundations became quarries, mined towards the material realization of post-medieval, Presbyterian Perth.

More than a tale of reclaimed buildings and revised Sunday worship, this often violent ideological Reformation was itself accompanied by a re-formation of material ethos and practice that, on a much more mundane level, ushering in what has come to be known as the 'early-modern' age. The following paper proposes to take a closer look at the material implications and interpersonal impact of this ostensibly ideological shift. One particular urban trade, that of flesher, has been chosen as a means of tracking the changing ethos of the centuries leading up to and following on from the Reformation. The guiding ethics of this craft- focused on converting beasts 'on-the-hoof' into viable foodstuffs- come across readily upon close reading of the burghal records of the day. When integrated with period cartographic sources, and playing off faunal analyses of materials excavated from the medieval burgh over the past twenty years, these texts paint a picture of the flesher's trade as practiced from the late-medieval through Enlightenment periods in Perth.

In that this trade historically focused on the needs of fellow townsfolk, provisioning a staple of the Scottish urban diet, developments in the flesher's trade provide unique insight into those ideas and practices of benevolence and belief in such flux from the 16th through 18th centuries in Great Britain. Medieval religion and belief had been an important point of articulation for craft production- through guild and burgess, with both also figuring prominently in local government. These guilds not only regulated craft quality, they defined communities- taking upon themselves the social welfare of members and dependants through funds received by church altars. This begs the question of how communities came to be redefined in the wake of the Reformation- as private benevolence was rearticulated into public charity. This re-formation of town-life in Scotland thus contains, as will hopefully be drawn out, much wider implications for contemporaneous movements as seemingly disparate as Enclosure and Improvement, the institutionalization of public Charity, and the missionary impulse of Colonialism.

Timo Ylimaunu Lic. Phil
Archaeological Laboratory
Department of Art Studies and Anthropology,
University of Oulu, Finland

Discipline, church and landscape: material culture of social hierarchy in a small town, Tornio Northern Finland, during the 17th and 18th centuries.

In this paper I discuss the role of the church and the part played by urban maps in maintaining the social hierarchy in a small northern most town, Tornio, just below the Arctic Circle. Tornio was established on the Torniojoki river island, Suensaari, in the river mouth in 1621. The town stayed small, with some 500-700 residents during Swedish period 17th and 18th centuries. The first church in Tornio town was built up during the 1640s. It was destroyed by a fire in 1682. Work on building a second church started some four years later. Three different plans of Tornio have survived from the 17th century, and four plans from the 18th century.

The town church was an arena for the display of the social hierarchy, as seen through the position and use of seating. Everybody had their own place, which was ordered by their wealth and position in the urban social hierarchy. The King's officers sat in the first bench from the altar, and then came the town's wealthiest traders and civil officers; the poor sat or stood by the church door. The town residents were buried with the same order of precedence under the church floor, with the wealthy being placed closest to the altar in stone made burial chambers, with the next row comprising timber chambers for the wealthy traders. The poorest townsfolk were buried outside the church.

Tornio had three almost north to south aligned streets and the plots beside these streets had strong social value and meaning, which reflected the origins of the town as a trading place. Plots beside the Rantakatu Street, along the harbour, had highest social value, and residents along this street paid two copper dalers to town council per year. Residents from the middle street, Keskikatu, paid 1,5 copper dalers. The poorest residents lived on the third street from the harbour, Kolmas katu, and paid 1 copper daler. The size of the plots reduced from the Rantakatu Street to the Kolmas katu Street, where the smallest plots were found.

I will discuss how the church was used by the Swedish Crown as important medium to establish social control within the town Tornio. The church was also, however, an instrument to impress the Crown's domination of the surrounding landscape. New churches created a visible network of landmarks establishing the new border between Russian Empire and Sweden, and because of this the Russian tsar Alexander I later financed new churches and chapels along the eastern side of the Torniojoki River in Karunki, Ylitornio, Pello, Muonio, Kolari and in Kemi at the beginning of 19th century.

Saturday 24th November

ARTIFACTS OF FAITH
(8.45am-1.00pm)

Travis G Parno PhD Candidate
Boston University
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Catholic Artifacts in a Protestant Landscape: A Multi-vocal Approach to the Religiosity of Jamestown's Colonists

Artifacts excavated in a colonial context inherently present ambiguities with regard to identity, function, and symbolism. Moreover, religious artifacts can problematize perceived paradigms of post-medieval life and, moreover, they can call into question how those religious cosmologies were translated in the colonial project. In 1607, when English colonists set foot on the island that would be called Jamestown, issues of faith were mired in doubt, deception, and uncertainty. While officially the colony was designed to be a bastion for Anglicanism in the New World, the discovery of Catholic artifacts some four hundred years later has revealed that the faith of the colonists was anything but one dimensional. This paper seeks to understand the religious atmosphere in England prior to and during the settlement of Jamestown and how this turbid faith-struggle affected the colonists who made the journey across the Atlantic. With the recognition that there likely is not one 'real' story, this paper focuses on multiple strands of evidence and presents five possible interpretations of the appearance of Catholic artifacts that are not mutually exclusive. The religious icons are considered as objects of trade, personal adornment, private and public Catholicism, and conversion. At its core, this discussion is informed by a framework that recognizes the colonial moment as an amalgamation of both 'traditional' and pragmatic circumstances. Moreover, this theoretical milieu highlights the often unstable dichotomy between the prescribed and the enacted. By weaving the historical, socio-political, and archaeological records, the muddy picture begins to clear somewhat and we can attempt to untangle this ambiguity. The creation, adaptation, and renegotiation of faith by Jamestown's colonists illustrates the religious, personal, and public complexities of the colonial experience and its understanding moves us one step forward in our studies of colonial endeavors and faith in the larger Atlantic World.

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The Modernisation of the North in the Emerging Swedish Empire – a Mercantile Bubble

The Kingdom of Sweden developed and expanded to be an influential force in European politics during the 17th century. This era is called the Swedish Empire. The basis of the Empire was created already since the late medieval from the seizure of King Gustav Wasa and his successors. The Empire period remained short as the Swedish troops were eventually defeated in the Great Nordic War in 1700-1721.

Although the time of Swedish Empire could be described as an era of continuous wars, the rise of the kingdom was not just a matter of a supermodern and disciplined army. A number of administrative reformations were planned and executed simultaneously. By the end of the 16th century the mercantile ideology and central administration had strengthened, and towns were seen as an important centerpoint in this network. However, the state of urbanisation in late medieval Sweden was low and it was concentrated on the southern part of the Kingdom. The corrective action to this defect led to so-called urbanisation boom of Sweden.

In the spirit of mercantile ideology the actions were emphasised towards the exploitation of natural resources control of trade, thus the mining industry and towns. The town founding process started at the late 16th century and the main concern was to take over the control of the Bothnian Gulf trade. The Gulf trade dated from at least the early medieval period and was basically in the hands of peasants. Trading was operated by seasonal market places along the coast. The Crown had a clear vision of the network of towns as a generator of wealth and glory both in the local scale and in the new emerging empire that they were building. This objective appeared to be highly overestimated and unrealistic as was soon seen from the results of the process during the later half of the 17th century.

The Gulf of Bothnia was encircled by towns during the first half of the 16th century eventually reaching Tornio, at the top, by 1621. The founding of Tornio was preceded by a dispute that lasted more than 35 years between the growing central power and the local peasants. Peasants naturally saw the strengthening of Crown power as a threat to their independence and resisted the system by refusing to found a town.

The mining industry did not redeem expectations in the north. The introduction of mining to exploit iron, copper and silver resources was characterised by the same somewhat unrealistic and alienated expectations that were attached to northern urbanisation. It became evident that the administrative apparatus was generally unaware of the actual potential and requirements for infrastructure needed for the reforms that they planned. Mines suffered, and in overall terms the towns remained small and humble village-like environments which were frequently mocked and disregarded in upper class discussion. Most of these towns were nevertheless able to continue in their own humble way and in later centuries grew to become important regional and even national centres.

Greig Parker PhD Candidate
Department of Archaeology
University of Sheffield

Articles of Faith and Decency: the Huguenot refugees

During the mid-sixteenth to the early-eighteenth centuries, several hundred thousand Protestant refugees fled religious persecution in France and the Low Countries. The refugees primarily migrated to neighbouring Protestant territories where they established their own churches and communities. These churches subsequently provided a vital support network for the second wave of Protestant refugees who arrived in the late-seventeenth century, following the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. This Edict effectively banned Protestant worship in France. Despite the risk of imprisonment and extreme hardships, hundreds of thousands of Protestants chose to leave France rather than abjure their faith. Many of the refugees were destitute upon their arrival and relied upon the charity and support of both the French churches and the host community. The refugees were composed primarily of artisans, professionals and the nobility. They brought with them skills, techniques,

and fashions that have been credited with having played an important role in the economic and cultural development of their host countries. This paper discusses how an analysis of Huguenot material culture can help us understand their beliefs and social practices. In particular, it examines how, in their popularisation and dissemination of French culture, the Huguenot refugees contributed towards to the erosion of the very values that they were trying to uphold. Huguenot artisans involved in the production of luxury items popularised the extravagant and ornate designs created by the court of the Catholic king Louis XIV. They increased the availability and affordability of fine cloths, ornate furniture and personal adornments. In so doing, they promoted and spread the ownership of styles of material culture that were disapproved of by their faith. This can be seen to have been a cause of friction within congregations, and to have also led to disputes between different Reformed Churches. In addition, these changes in the fashions and standards of decency of the wider society resulted in the modification of understandings of decency within the refugee communities themselves. This can, perhaps, be seen as a contributory factor in explaining the relatively rapid assimilation of the refugees into their host society. In exploring these issues, this paper aims to examine the recursive nature of the inter-relationships between material culture, social practice, and identity.

Claire Strachan PhD Candidate
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University of Leicester.

Pulling the wool over their eyes?

Protestant dissent and social identity in the South West woollen industry 1760-1860

Marx once termed religion as the '*opium of the people*', a drug controlling the working classes, influencing them to accept their positions in the material world, however unjust. Social historians such as E.P. Thompson and Elie Halévy have developed this further by considering it to be the reason there was no revolution in England. Halévy argues that, in order to revolt, the English working class required the leadership of the middle classes and the elite working classes, but these groups had been so consumed by the evangelical revival that no revolutionary leaders could be found.

However in recent years, sociological approaches have begun to challenge this by attributing the rising confidence of the working classes, in part, to the Evangelical Revival, not as previously argued, stunting it. This paper aims to develop these still limited theoretical foundations by assessing when, and to what extent, protestant dissent contributed to developing a new social identity amongst the working classes. It also aims to evaluate whether this 'new' identity affected the group behaviour of these workers in periods of increasing economic and social distress. Previous studies of identity have been delimited by notions of class, ethnicity and gender but by considering identity as a *socio-religious* concept this paper aims to illustrate the value of restructuring traditional identity parameters in order to more fully evaluate social archaeological landscapes.

Through looking at the religious landscapes of the South West woollen industry the paper aims to identify the physical manifestations of this 'socio-religious' identity through the spatial analysis of religious buildings, and their architectural forms. This approach aims to not only to identify religious observance as a valuable method in understanding social identity within industrial communities but also to more fully

contextualise its role in the social archaeology of the period which is so desperately needed.

Dr Carolyn L. White
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University of Nevada, Reno.

Faith in the Familiar, Hope for Change: Trans-Atlantic Perspectives on 18th-Century Clothing

Clothing is one of many venues within which people express individual and group identity. The physical appearance of a person is the result of a series of restricted and unrestricted choices that an individual makes based on a host of economic, social, cultural, temporal, and locational factors. This paper reflects on the manipulation of physical appearance through clothing in 18th and 19th century England and America, particularly as a way to explore rationales behind dramatic shifts in fashion and maintenance and conservatism of selected styles. The preservation and alteration of clothing as it relates to nationalism—both overt and restrained—is of special interest.

One of the key aspects in trans-Atlantic comparison between England and the colonies is how the use and manipulation of material culture—in this case clothing—compares across a divide. How are the clothing and accessories worn by men, women, and children the same? How are they different? What do these similarities and differences mean? This paper engages three research tracks. First, I present preliminary analysis of the use of personal adornment on domestic sites in England in order to look at the ways that people expressed individual identity and social groupings through clothing and personal appearance. Second, I present American personal adornment in order to examine the kinds of materials worn by Americans and assess the degree to which Americans followed British clothing practices. Third, I compare the assemblages to highlight and interpret the parallels and variations in the construction of physical appearance in cross-national perspective.

A focal point of this paper is to examine the ways that the American colonies retained or shed their attachment to British fashions. During the Revolutionary War and the years following Americans were encouraged to use locally manufactured goods in order to reduce the colonies' reliance on imported commodities. The pressure to abstain from imports came in the form of legal strictures as well as popular movements, such as the homespun movement in which people were urged to wear clothes made from cloth woven at home. Personal adornment artifacts excavated at ten domestic sites in Portsmouth, New Hampshire provide evidence that Americans complied with and took up this patriotic ideology only selectively—maintaining a link to European visual identity via an affinity for European fashions while forging a new national American identity.

Personal adornment artifacts held in archaeological collections curated by the London Archaeological Archive Resource Centre (LAARC), Bristol Museum and Art Gallery, and Strawberry Banke Museum, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, are the principal sources for this analysis.

Kim Christensen PhD Candidate
Department of Anthropology
University of California, Berkeley.

Houses of Action: Hope and Faith in Archaeologies of Household-based Activism

Household sites are a common focus of archaeological investigation, both for their ubiquity and their potential to link life experiences at the small-scale to the broader sociohistorical constructs which we seek to understand. In this paper, I present an examination of two household sites that are the object of my dissertation research – the Gage and Cheney Houses, located in the northeast and west coast regions of the United States respectively. Both sites provide powerful opportunities to interrogate notions of the household as a political sphere, and locate faith, hope and charity in the past as well as the present.

The Gage House was home to Matilda and Henry Gage and their four children for the latter half of the nineteenth century. Located in Central New York State, this household was deeply enmeshed in the abolitionist and woman's rights movements, and was in fact used as a safe house on the Underground Railroad. Although appearing to be a 'typical' middle-class context, the historical and archaeological records suggest that this locus was in fact a place of profound hope as well as charity. Archaeological investigations have been undertaken here as part of the ongoing restoration of the house and property in preparation for its opening as a historic house museum. The continuation of meaning-making at the site by its feminist operators emphasizes the strength of historic precedent as grounding for continued hope and faith while struggling for equality and social justice.

The Cheney House, located on the campus of the University of California Berkeley, presents a very different scene for research. Home to May and Warren Cheney and their family from the late nineteenth to early twentieth centuries, this property is currently owned by the University and used as office space. Excavations have been undertaken on the property in advance of the historic house's planned removal by the University as part of a larger campus expansion plan. In this case, it is we as excavators and researchers that have had hope and faith in the potential for our research to contribute something meaningful to an understanding of early University history, as well as do justice to the progressive Cheney family's lives. The setting of this research within the wider context of political activism, which seeks to prevent damage to historic and natural resources in the planned campus expansion, illuminates the multiplicity of stakeholders that development projects are entangled with.

Both of these households, then, provide us with examples of the hope and faith represented by progressive political activism in the past as well as the present. Amid ongoing attempts for archaeological practice to successfully shed its imperialist past, this research provides, perhaps, a means of participating in such efforts. At the same time, however, how we construe ideas such as charity and hope requires critical examination regarding the ways in which these terms are laden with value.

Stacy Kozakavich PhD Candidate
Department of Anthropology
University of California, Berkeley.

Colony Mill Road: Two Generations of Hope

Eighteen miles of road leading from the valley bottom of the North Fork of the Kaweah River to the pine forest of Sequoia National Park in Tulare County, California connect two historical communities devoted to hope for the improvement of the working classes. Originally constructed between 1886 and 1890 by members of the Kaweah Co-operative Commonwealth Colony, the Colony Mill Road represented material progress toward economic and social goals of this socialist intentional community. The hope of the experimental community was to build a society in which laborers earned the fair value of the time and energy expended in their work. Colony members planned to haul timber to market from their sawmill at the height of the road until their access to the resource was blocked by the 1890 formation of the national park. In the early 1930s, enrollees in the Civilian Conservation Corps worked on and alongside the Colony Mill Road repairing and moving portions of the grade as they participated in a federal program designed to provide employment and skills to unemployed laborers. The Corps' goal was to create a physically and intellectually strong work force from the legions of unemployed workers in a depression stricken America, while undertaking large-scale conservation and public works projects.

This paper presents an archaeological approach to the cultural landscapes of aspiration created by the Kaweah Colony and Civilian Conservation Corps. For both of these groups, the practice of labor in constructing the road represented their progress toward an ultimate goal of personal and societal improvement. As such, this archaeological perspective engages with the road as the product of cumulative practice by active agents whose purpose transcended the facilitation of wheeled transportation. It addresses the tensions among the ultimate goals of the communities who materially and philosophically sponsored the work, and the experiences of the members who interacted daily with the landscape through their labor. Finally, it explores the ways that workers' interaction with the landscape changed the very shape of their shared hope.

Nick Hanks
University of Bristol and English Heritage
Yvonne Aburrow
Bath Spa University

Archaeology and Paganisms: a clash of cultures?

Both science and religion involve a form of faith; the former involves faith in reason and the scientific method; the latter involves faith in the unseen or spiritual realm. However, the purview of science extends only to the material realm, as science chooses to exclude the spiritual realm from consideration.

Archaeology is sometimes claimed to be a science, sometimes an art, and perhaps even a craft. Its practitioners range from rationalist scientific materialists to post-modern theorists. Both ends of the spectrum look down on the other.

Paganisms are sometimes thought of as religions, sometimes as spirituality, art or craft. Pagans range from counter-cultural festival-goers (the ones most visibly encountered by the heritage sector) to academics and professionals (including archaeologists) attracted by the intellectual and spiritual heritage of ancient paganisms, and the post-modern attitude of contemporary Pagans, who acknowledge the multivalency of truths. There is sometimes conflict between the two ends of the spectrum in Paganisms.

Both archaeology and contemporary Paganisms have their origins in the modern and post-modern discourses of the last three hundred years. Both are misrepresented by the media (as explored in "Archaeology is a Brand", Holtorf 2007). Despite this, both are proving to be highly popular. Both Archaeology and Paganisms have an institutional, organised aspect (IFA and Pagan Federation). Both have an experimental aspect which is often misunderstood (the recent excavation of the Ford Transit, and Chaos Magicians who perform Tellytubbies rituals). Both have a maverick anti-establishment fringe from which they seek to disassociate themselves (metal detectorists and Stonehenge protestors), but which those outside the discourse regard as the same group.

Ironically, the two extremes (hardened rationalists among archaeologists and counter-cultural holists among Pagans) have more in common with each other than they do with the rest of their respective discourses, in that they are disinclined to listen to others' perspectives. Sadly it is these who generally get the media attention. The more moderate in both discourses are inclined towards compromise and dialogue – an example of hope and charity.

There has sometimes been conflict between archaeologists and Pagans (in the areas of human remains and access to sacred sites), but due to their shared origins, there has more often been considerable mutual influence between Paganisms and archaeology; for example landscape archaeology drew on the earth mysteries tradition for ideas of phenomenology; and contemporary Pagans have revised their foundational myths in response to developments in archaeological and historical theories. This paper developed from the research and personal experience of the two authors in both Paganism and Archaeology. Both practice Wicca and Druidry.

Saturday 24th November

CONTESTED LANDSCAPES & REGENERATION
(2.20pm-5.40pm)

Craig Cessford
Cambridge Archaeological Unit
University of Cambridge.

Faith, Hope and Charity in Contract Archaeology? The Grand Arcade, Cambridge

Although contemporary and historical archaeology has been a vibrant field for some time it is gradually becoming more generally accepted in mainstream British contract archaeology. It is no longer unusual to excavate late 18th, 19th and even 20th century assemblages, particularly in urban contexts, even if the time lag inherent in publication means that this is not yet readily apparent. Arguably this offers a great opportunity with the possibility of much larger data sets. It may also challenge the

current nature of contemporary and historical archaeology by introducing agendas that see 19th and 20th century archaeology as simply the most recent part of the *longue durée* on urban sites.

This paper will look at recent work by the Cambridge Archaeological Unit at the Grand Arcade site in Cambridge, where as well as the Medieval and early Post-Medieval phases a number of large assemblages of material spanning the mid 18th to early 20th century assemblages were recovered. Nearly 500kg of pottery was recovered, most of it from just over 30 large groups, as well as large assemblages of other types of material. These include some very obvious examples of the immaterial concepts of faith, hope and charity being made material. The most obvious are pieces of 'moralising' or educational china, such as children's cups with the text *'For I have food, while others starve, Or beg from door to door'*, from the song *'Whene'er I take my walks abroad'* part of a collection of *'Divine and Moral Songs for Children'* by Isaac Watts (1674-1748). Such items are rare, but it will be shown that a consideration of their context and associations can shed significant light upon them.

Many of the large mid 18th to early 20th century assemblages can be linked to particular communities, such as families, households and businesses. There are often multiple mass produced vessels with identical or related form and decoration that form services and must relate to community activities. Alongside these are other more individual and unique items, which indicate how the larger communities that created these assemblages were themselves composed of individuals. It is at this interface where the community meets the individual and the interaction between the two that I believe themes such as faith, hope and charity are most clearly revealed. This point will be developed with regard to a number of assemblages, particularly the material in an early 20th century cellar fill associated with the department store Robert Sayle's and largely related to the staff who 'lived in' at the business.

Dr David Gatsby
Center for Heritage Resource Studies
University of Maryland

"Believe, Hon": Markets, Faith, and Archaeology in 21st Century Baltimore

True faith operates in spite of overwhelming contradictory evidence. The re-development of the "de-industrialized" city of Baltimore's is predicated on a deep and abiding faith in markets, and particularly in the real estate market. Even as moldering artifacts of the "past" industrial era serve as reminders of decades of depression and decay, the city's government urges its citizens to "believe" in the city's future through a multi-million dollar advertising campaign. Even as neighborhoods, such as the historically working class Hampden, market themselves through heritage, developers demolish historically significant buildings in the name of urban renewal, and indeed, the market. With seemingly boundless optimism, the "architects" of the city's new, consumption-driven landscape simultaneously celebrate and destroy its industrial past as the public memory of the industrial heritage, embodied in area museums, and murals, actively encourages citizens to forget the role of the working class in the construction and subsequent near-destruction of the city.

Throughout the city, pedestrians encounter the signs not only of destruction and decay – industrial ruins, litter piled high, demolished and neglected buildings and properties – but also seemingly endless, unstoppable creation, and rampant

consumption of the market-faithful. While its poorest citizens endure (and fail to endure) the relentless danger of a remarkably violent drug market, the richest build monuments to themselves in now-demolished housing projects, factories, and working-class neighborhoods.

These neighborhoods become sites for encounters between wealthy and working class, material and ideological, new and old. Many such encounters are played out as competitions for control of public resources and spaces. In Hampden, a former textile mill village absorbed into the city in 1889, heritage celebrations, commercial activities -both legal and illicit- and other competitions for the attentions and funds of the neighborhood's residents feed ongoing class-based competition over the resources, history and character of the place. Developers, merchants and petit-bourgeois free-market acolytes manipulate spaces and discourses in accordance with their faith in the power of markets. At the same time, members of the working class, who have abundant reason to be skeptical, place faith in longstanding institutions, churches, community networks and organizations⁹ Despite their faith, a burgeoning real estate market helps to transform and even to dismantle those institutions.

Within this context, archaeology of the recent past, called the Hampden Community Archaeology Project, operates on a kind of faith-logic of its own. That faith posits that traditional communities are worth "saving" and that archaeology can help to preserve them. This archaeology seeks to resuscitate members of working class as historical agents and foils for the new consumer-driven market faith. Along with discoveries of working-class agency and power come discoveries that point to shame and decay. Along with increasing interest from community members comes increasing apathy, and even antipathy from developers and free-marketeters. I examine the role of the material world, and the objects recovered during archaeological excavations in these various faiths as the city and neighborhood continue to "develop".

James Dixon PhD Candidate
Bristol School of Art, Media, and Design
University of the West of England.

Art, archaeology and local identity in changing urban places

Urban regeneration is meant as an expression of hope. A statement on the future in response to the past, it aims to replace a perceived lack of purpose and loss of memory with new focal points, identities and people. Conversely, communities local to regeneration projects are often resistant to proposed changes, seeing them as imposed from outside or above and erasing physical places that are in fact rich with memory and valuable daily experience. In the context of urban regeneration, 'public' becomes a contested term and hugely conflicting values emerge from and around our streets, shops and houses.

It is common today to see not just an archaeological consideration in the project design for any large urban development but also a provision for public art. However, this often takes monumental form ("We will put some public art here, here and here...") or involves artists in the design of buildings, sometimes with reference to historic people, events or structures. Likewise, the archaeological component of projects is generally limited to the signing off of an imposed condition, occasionally with public dissemination through display boards or an open day.

What has not been explored fully is the potential for art and archaeology to combine and become greater than the sum of their parts. Using the current redevelopment of Broadmead in central Bristol as a case study, this paper will look at the potential of public art as a research method in trying to understand historic and changing places and how such research can usefully feed back into heritage and development legislation. Using the two together can potentially lead to both greater public involvement in regeneration and a greater developer consideration of particular local circumstances, identities, histories, memories and concerns. Perhaps it can even offer a glimmer of hope to distinct local communities in the face of increasingly homogeneous city centre hell...

Eve Campbell, Finbar Dwyer, Franc Myles
Rossport Solidarity Camp

Rossport, County Mayo – Solidarity and archaeology in a contested landscape

Resistance to the Corrib Gas project in northwest Mayo is rooted in sense of place, community and hope for the future. It is an assertion of the strength of community, an acknowledgement of the way in which the people have survived in this demanding landscape and a statement of their determination to be the ones who shape their own futures and the future of the land that has sustained them.

We propose initially examining how power relations are played out in the Rossport area by looking at the way the will of a multinational corporation and the might of the state are physically expressed in the landscape. While we'll ostensibly be looking at the site of a proposed gas refinery and the fences, compounds and haul roads associated with the project, we'll also be looking at the way Shell E&P Ireland Ltd. (the leading partner in the Corrib Gas consortium) has tried to redefine the landscape for its own purposes by means of mapping and its use of the legal process (where all their maps show the area to be uninhabited, with no people and no community and where the very shoreline itself has been legally moved several kilometres inland to facilitate the construction of an 'onshore' refinery).

We will be concentrating on how the community has expressed resistance to the project in the landscape through signs, graffiti, murals, installations, place names and the preservation of rights of way. We'll then look at the foci of resistance such as the Rossport Solidarity Camp(s) and the *Shell to Sea* trailer, which serve a vital function in the community resistance to Shell as places of organisation, meeting, exchange and sustenance.

We'll then consider how people in the area view their landscape and how this has changed since the beginning of the Corrib saga.

Dr Jonathan Prangnell & Dr Kate Quirk
School of Social Science
University of Queensland

Methodists in Paradise

Methodism played an important role in the creation of the culture of Victorianism in Australia. These Australian evangelicals preached temperance, piety, the rejection of vice, and emphasised the importance of the 'home influence'. In the late nineteenth

century Wesleyan lay missionaries spread out across the Queensland frontier creating Home Mission Stations designed to combat the lack of religious and moral order evident in the Colony. This was driven by the Reverend Webb, the President of the Wesleyan Home Mission Society who believed that 'every duty they owed to the foreign races they owed still more to their own people' (*Queensland Christian Witness and Methodist Journal* Vol 7 No 2 30 March 1895:11).

The first Home Mission was built in 1891 in the frontier gold mining town of Paradise on the Burnett River approximately 300km north of Brisbane. Paradise was a town of 700 people with seven hotels and no church. The archaeological evidence suggests that the missionaries and their families lived in one of the most basic and cramped of all the buildings on the goldfield yet possessed some of the finest ceramics and other artefacts. The Methodists quickly established a Sunday School, a Band of Hope, a mixed choir, and a Mutual Improvement Society with up to 40 members, aimed to teach social graces to the young men of Paradise. There was never very much gold in Paradise and although the town struggled on until 1904 the Missionaries moved on in April 1896 to the larger town of Gin Gin. This paper explores the role the missionaries played within the social fabric of Paradise, the character of the relationships that they established across the township and their attempts to bring piety, temperance and 'family values' to the Queensland mining frontier.

Sunday 25th November

CONFINEMENT & RESISTANCE
(9.30am-1.00pm)

Vicky Oleksy
AOC Archaeology Group, Midlothian, Scotland.

Parliament House Void: A Victorian Prison Cell

During building works at Parliament House in Edinburgh in 2000 workmen removed a wooden panel from the back of a cupboard revealing a void strewn with artefacts. The artefacts made up an odd collection including women's clothing and children's toys, along with a number of items from apparently domestic and office contexts.

Individually the artefacts do not represent anything out of the ordinary; all dating from the mid to late 19th century with the void apparently being closed off, or at least disused sometime around c. 1900. However, on the whole the assemblage represents something of a time capsule. Recent historical research has indicated that the void was in use as 'lock up' cells for the courts, holding prisoners awaiting trial. The textiles recovered from the void indicate that these cells, in particular, were used to hold female prisoners; and indeed analysis of the textiles has identified fragments a red and white striped stocking, a garment, through documentary evidence, shown to have been a supplied as standard to convicted female prisoners.

This assemblage allows insight into the lives of women whose lives have been generally over-looked in the historical record. Through the material culture that has survived in the void we may glimpse their lives and perhaps understand what was important to them. Did they carry toys, a small carved wooden ship, a spinning top, a miniature lead cup from a doll house, in hope that they would see their children again soon? What privileges were they allowed? Fragments of clay pipe and a Guinness

bottle were recovered from the void. This paper will examine the lives of women prisoners in Victorian Edinburgh, through the void assemblage and documentary resources.

Dr Gillian Carr
Department of Archaeology
University of Cambridge

Silent resistance and the V-sign campaign in Channel Islander internee camps in Germany during WWII

During the German Occupation of the Channel Islands in WWII, around 2,200 Islanders were deported to internment camps in Germany, selected for the 'crime' of being English born, or freemasons, former WWI officers or for having upset the German administration in some way. This paper explores the silent resistance expressed through material culture recycled from Red Cross parcels during this period. The parcel string, cardboard, tins, cellophane packing material and wooden crates were all used by the internees to make a variety of objects, all geared around passing time and bringing hope of one day returning to the Channel Islands. Red Cross charity was instrumental in helping internees through the long years of captivity, both by keeping them alive with food and by providing the raw materials, which were used to make artefacts, which in turn helped to boost morale. Chief among these items were those which expressed a silent resistance against the Germans, using the V-for-victory sign, which sometimes played upon cultural referents which were visible and meaningful to other islanders in the camps, but were otherwise invisible to the German guards.

Jeff Burton,
National Park Service
Manzanar National Historic Site, U.S.A.

Faith, Hope, and Charity in America's World War II Internment Camps: Japanese American patriotism and defiance at Manzanar.

During World War II, the U.S. government violated its own Constitution by incarcerating over 120,000 people, most of them U.S. citizens, without trial, without evidence, and without cause. Men, women, and children of Japanese ancestry were taken from their homes and forced into ten "relocation centers" in remote and isolated parts of the country. The wholesale incarceration of Japanese Americans was ultimately determined to have been the result of wartime hysteria, racism, and failed leadership. But to the people affected, it was a devastating event, with economic losses estimated (in today's values) at billions of dollars worth of homes and businesses. Social and psychological losses resulting from the destruction of existing neighborhoods and family organization and the inculcated shame of incarceration are incalculable.

Allowed to take with them only what they could carry, the internees lived in harsh conditions, in flimsy barracks surrounded by barbed wire and guard towers. Communal mess halls and latrines eroded family life and community traditions. However, even in this climate of prejudice and discrimination, features and artifacts at one of the confinement sites, Manzanar in California, indicate that faith, hope, and charity persisted.

This paper presents the results of archaeological work at Manzanar as seen through the framework provided by the conference theme of Faith, Hope, and Charity. The Manzanar Relocation Center is now a National Historic Site, and the National Park Service has conducted investigations at the site to learn more about the daily life of those imprisoned there. Remnants of victory gardens, factories that made camouflage nets for the war effort, and baseball fields suggest that internees maintained faith in their country and institutions. Charity was expressed in the creation of public gardens and public schools, to ameliorate the prison environment and maintain a semblance of normality, and to prepare the children for the day when they would be released.

But in the archaeological record at Manzanar, hope is paramount. Schooled in the American values of equality and fairness but imprisoned for their ethnicity, many of the Japanese Americans embraced their Japanese heritage, in defiance. They created Japanese gardens and ponds, played Japanese games and sports, and practiced Japanese arts and crafts. Fragments of Japanese dishes signal the protest against the heavy institutional ceramics of the camp mess halls. Hidden Japanese characters and American graffiti express a longing for home and justice.

In retrospect, the faith and hope maintained by the Japanese Americans and manifest in the material remains of daily life was justified. Some 50 years later, the U.S. government issued an apology for the internment, and Manzanar and other sites have been set aside to tell the story so that it is not repeated. Nevertheless, the lessons learned from the Japanese American internment still resonate and merit discussion, as the United States attempts to protect itself from today's threats without diminishing the principles it stands for.

Laura McAtackney PhD Candidate
Department of Archaeology & Anthropology
University of Bristol.

Manifestations of faith and hope in a place of fear: Long Kesh/Maze prison site, Northern Ireland

Long Kesh/Maze prison in Northern Ireland has long been considered an icon of the Troubles. From the local to international stage it is widely conceived as a place of confinement, conflict and even injustice, which is intimately connected with the course of the Troubles. Long Kesh/Maze is unusual in that it a public place, most widely visualised through media aerial images of grey and desolate H Blocks, but it remains a place apart that continues to fascinate and repel in equal measures.

Although a high profile site since it was opened as an internment camp in 1971, it became synonymous with conflict and violence through its intimate connection with the death and misery of the Hunger Strikes of 1980-1981. However, it is this connection with such a high-profile Republican endeavour that provides a surprising focus for faith and hope in some ex-prisoners' relations with the site since that time, through closure in 2000 until present day.

That the Hunger Strikes are still remembered is not a surprise, but the sheer depth of feeling that they continue to manifest, may shock those who have no contact with the Republican movement. In recent fieldwork, conducted at this now derelict site, it

became apparent that the association that many Republican prisoners feel with this place of imprisonment was palpably stronger and of a different nature in one particular section: the prison hospital. I propose to focus on this building, as the place of death for the 10 hunger strikers, and its myriad meanings and associations.

Through use of oral testimonies, fieldwalking, artefact and building analysis and theoretical engagements with concepts of memory, sacredness and commemoration I aim to discuss the changing relationships between Republican prisoners and this building through the course of the life of this site. The focus of this exploration will be to examine how this place of death has continued to evolve into a symbol of hope, and a place of almost sacred reverence. This will encompass an examination of the relationship of the wider community to this place through analysis of wall murals, especially those dating from the 25th anniversary of the Hunger Strikes in 2006. Finally, this paper will conclude with a discussion of the potential that this place of faith and hope has for exploring conflicting associations, heritage creation and future uses of the site.

Dr Jeff Oliver
Department of Archaeology
University of Sheffield.

Between Two Faiths: Acculturation, Resistance and the Construction of Aboriginality

The colonization of western Canada in the nineteenth and early twentieth century had a devastating impact on local Indigenous cultures. Two factors in particular – the institution of the Indian Reserve system and the establishment of the wage labour economy – had significant repercussions on the connective tissues of pre-contact society. While scholars more or less agree on the major causes of indigenous cultural change, the effects are much less clear and opinions are divided by two faiths.

The conventional view has tended to juxtapose 'traditional' indigenous cultures that survived up until European contact, with their 'colonized' cousins. Influenced by an abiding belief in the moral and technological superiority of European culture, contemporary observers, such as colonial officers and later scholars, tended to view the evidence of the contact period as a sharp tipping point, after which indigenous peoples experienced a demise of the 'old ways', followed by rapid European acculturation.

More recent interpretations have made a palpable shift away from the sweeping generalizations of acculturation towards more nuanced and localized forms of analysis which emphasise indigenous strategies of resistance. Informed by the new orthodoxy of the post-colonial critique, revisionist accounts often suggest that indigenous peoples had a good deal of power in contact situations and that despite massive realignments in the colonial landscape, they were able to maintain an important degree of cultural coherency.

Which of these versions is closer to the mark, or is the history of cultural contact an altogether more complicated narrative?

Drawing inspiration from the notion that cultural contact can also be considered a creative phenomenon, this paper takes a radical departure from the above accounts and suggests that our understanding of cultural contact needs to be responsive to

the different contexts in which material culture became entangled in the transformation of indigenous communities, and sensitive to the ways in which this process played out at different scales of analysis. Using historical, ethnographic and archaeological evidence from Indigenous reservations and other settlements in the emerging capitalist landscape, I suggest that the active influence of material culture contributed to new 'hybridized' traditions, practices and identities, opening up what Richard White has called a new cultural 'middle ground'. Moving beyond traditional devotions to the grand narrative or the new fanaticism of the local, the paper offers a more balanced way of thinking about human agency within the politics of colonial encounter.