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European Metals in Native Hands: Rethinking Technological Change, 1640-1683. By Kathleen L. Ehrhardt.

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nations" (163; my emphasis). He argues that the fair instructed visitors through images, something that allows him to distinguish the fair at Muscogee from the world's fairs. "At Muskogee," Denson suggests, reflecting on ways in which Cherokees represented themselves and other indigenous nations, "the United State's position as the vanguard of civilization did not confer upon white Americans the right to control Indian people" (168).

The same might be said about the class of Cherokee people on which Denson relies—those individuals who addressed non-indigenous peoples through the "Cherokee literature of Indian nationhood." Their confidence in engaging with political culture in the United States left them in a position of failing to represent scores of Cherokees, as well as non-Cherokee Natives. In *Cultivating the Rosebuds: The Education of Women at the Cherokee Female Seminary, 1851–1909* (1997), which Denson fails to cite, Devon Abbott Mihesuah has shown us that many Cherokees did not favor assimilation. Those in charge after Removal, for instance, may have desired to make their little darlings over into Victorian ladies. Others were furious about such efforts. Relying on English-language political literature to build his case prevents Denson from substantially addressing the internal differences and dynamics among citizens of the Cherokee Nation.

Despite their diversity, since 1785 the citizens of the Cherokee Nation seem to have expressed themselves with a remarkable consistency through their representatives to the government of the United States and in their domestic politics. As Denson acknowledges in his epilogue, those members of the Cherokee Nation who participated in ratifying the 1999 constitution continue to demand a place for their nation in political relationships with the United States.

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**European Metals in Native Hands: Rethinking Technological Change, 1640–1683.** By Kathleen L. Ehrhardt. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005. 253 pages. \$29.95 paper.

The historical outcomes of Native American and European interactions remain grist for the mills of scholarly inquiry. Theoretical frameworks sensitive to indigenous points of view, coupled with methodologies that draw on multiple lines of evidence, allow researchers to probe familiar ground to obtain new results. Questions surrounding the dialectic of change and continuity, the dynamic relationships between Natives and Europeans, the role of human agency and technological innovation, and the encoded meanings of material culture are integral to understanding how Native peoples responded to their social, political, economic, and ideological entanglements after European contact.

In *European Metals in Native Hands*, Kathleen L. Ehrhardt examines these and related issues by focusing on the acquisition, distribution, production, use, and perceptions of the mid-seventeenth-century Illinois in their experience

with one popular type of European-introduced material—copper-based trade metal. Her work falls within the revisionist (now mainstream?) camp that rejects acculturation scenarios and views Native peoples as active agents who made informed decisions that molded their histories. Of course, sorting out how their actions were influenced by prior conditions, external forces, and unintended consequences is at the heart of the anthropological enterprise of examining the rich tapestry of the human experience. In this review I summarize the author's approach, results, and conclusions before elaborating on several important threads that run through the study.

One of the distinguishing characteristics of this work is the author's ability to integrate information from archaeology, documentary sources, and material analysis in order to analyze and interpret a sample of artifacts, reconstruct the technological system, and place the materials in their social and historical context(s). By employing multiple lines of evidence, Ehrhardt contributes to a growing body of ethnohistoric literature that elucidates the lives of peoples at the margins of history (in Eric Wolf's sense). In this study these data sources are complementary and help to create a fuller picture of a society in flux.

The Illinois appear to have been relative newcomers to the Western Great Lakes and the Mississippi Valley, having migrated from the areas surrounding Lake Erie in the early- to mid-seventeenth century. Population movements in the mid-continent triggered by European activities in the Northeast have made it difficult to identify early-contact-period archaeological sites with known ethnic groups. However, the discovery of a Native occupation site associated with European objects, coupled with supporting geographical, historical, and archaeological evidence, ties this location and its archaeological remains to the Illinois. Subsequent archaeological investigations of the so-called Haas/Hagerman site (also known as the Iliniwék Village historic site) have yielded information about community layout, domestic life, subsistence strategies, and—particularly significant for this study—an assemblage of trade goods, notably copper-based metals in various stages of production.

Ehrhardt takes an explicitly technological approach in her analysis—she aims to identify the technological “style” of the Illinois, namely the behaviors, activities, processes, and patterns involved in making objects in specific cultural contexts. Technological style, in turn, is seen as an important aspect of the broader technological system that consists of material acquisition and distribution, design, manufacture, product distribution, reception, perception, and use, as well as reuse and discard. In short, hers is a holistic approach to the analysis of making and using things.

Ehrhardt employs compositional and microstructural examination methods on an archaeological sample of ornamental artifacts recovered from the site. These include finished artifacts such as beads, clips, tinkling cones, rings, coils, tubes, and triangular pendants; unfinished or partially processed artifacts such as tubing segments and solid wire; and scrap. An awl and a small bipoined object were the only utilitarian objects examined from the collection. Her analysis is designed to characterize the compositions and sources that the Illinois selected and to define the range of production processes they used to transform raw materials into finished products. Sophisticated,

albeit appropriate, techniques include metric analysis, low-power microscopy, proton-induced X-ray emission spectrometry, instrumental neutron activation analysis, and metallography, which allows for microscopic examination of polished sections of the artifacts.

According to Ehrhardt, there was no preference for either European copper or brass for producing most artifact forms, though copper was used more frequently for tubing. The two utilitarian artifacts in the sample were fashioned from Native copper. European copper-alloy metal was manipulated to form finished ornaments using techniques known by Native workers for millennia, including annealing and cold working by hammering. Secondary techniques included different types and degrees of bending, such as rolling and folding, combined with grinding and polishing. Differences in the way in which copper and brass were worked as revealed by the metallographic analysis, however, remain unexplained.

Ehrhardt integrates the results of the archaeological, documentary, and laboratory analyses to assess how technological style is expressed in action. While we gain a better sense of the ways in which the Illinois were using imported metals, it is difficult to determine from the data at hand a number of critical components of the technological system. For example, the author states that we have no idea how the Illinois used copper before contact. Thus, patterns of continuity and change in working with this medium remain intractable. We are also told that data are lacking on the form of the metal when it arrived in Native hands, why copper and brass were worked differently, how metal use affected social relations, and the value that the Illinois placed on copper-alloy metal. When data specific to the Illinois are unavailable, the author draws inferences based on related neighboring groups.

The extent to which broader pan-regional patterns fit the Illinois may be questionable. For instance, Ehrhardt notes the symbolic significance of copper among many Native societies of the Eastern Woodlands. Yet it remains paradoxical that such a valued object would be indiscriminately discarded in trash pits and domestic refuse contexts throughout the village site. This may suggest that, even in early encounters, European copper was perceived as somehow different than Native forms. Or perhaps the Illinois, who had limited experience with this medium before coming into the region, associated copper with more secular activities that were unencumbered by the cosmological frameworks of other groups. Parallels from southeastern New England suggest that indigenous and imported tobacco were not regarded as equivalent based on their different contexts of use.

There is also likely to be significant variation in technological systems across cultural boundaries. For example, the Iliniwek Village site contained no examples of hair pipes, which are large beadlike tubes of copper that were worn on the hair as ornaments. Yet, hair pipes were common at Dumaw Creek, an early-seventeenth-century Potawatomi (?) site on the eastern shores of Lake Michigan. In contrast to Iliniwek Village, the Dumaw Creek specimens were all made of Native copper, and many were recovered from mortuary contexts. This decorative treatment appears absent among the Illinois, despite the sites' proximity in time and space.

Variation in cultural practices also raises the important issue of change and continuity in Native society during this tumultuous period. Given the central importance of the material world in any archaeological study, we must examine the conditions that led Native peoples to acquire foreign objects and the consequences of these adoptions for social structure. It is apparent that metals were used for adornment among the Illinois; this is not inconsistent with earlier notions that some metals were technologically superior to, or served as replacements for, their Native counterparts. European tools such as scissors, knives, and chisels likely made the adoption and expansion of a copper-alloy industry feasible, if not desirable. Elsewhere in New England we see traditional Native media such as stone and shell elaborated with the introduction of iron files and drills in the seventeenth century, particularly in the production of smoking pipes and wampum. Changes in the allocation of labor brought about by the introduction of foreign technologies, the increased demand for commodities, and their new patterns of distribution likely had a profound impact on social relations that are worthy of further study.

Understanding the social and historical context of Native adoptions is arguably an intellectual agenda that will long generate smoke, heat, and fire. Ehrhardt's study is valuable because she underscores many of the crucial issues surrounding future debates in the field. Of course, it will remain important to place Native peoples at center stage as agents who negotiated their positions in a complex and rapidly changing world. It is incumbent upon researchers to exhibit greater self-reflexivity and a critical appreciation of the relationship between our reconstructions of the past and contemporary political action.

The book's subtitle, "Rethinking Technological Change," is a poignant metaphor that gently prods the reader to rethink Native history: who wrote it, what they wrote, how they said it, and how we have learned it. It opens up new possibilities for envisioning the past by bringing together theory, method, and data. *European Metals in Native Hands* is nicely produced and clearly written in a style that is accessible to historians, anthropologists, archaeologists, and students with an interest in technological transfer, colonialism, material analysis, and Native Americans.

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**Keeping Heart on Pine Ridge: Family Ties, Warrior Culture, Commodity Foods, Rez Dogs, and the Sacred.** By Vic Glover. Summertown, Tennessee: Native Voices, 2004. 159 pages. \$9.95 paper.

The long subtitle to Vic Glover's collection of forty-three short essays indicates the wide range of his commentary on contemporary daily life among the Lakota of the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. Glover has made the Slim Buttes community in the southwest corner of Pine Ridge his home for the past several years, living among the Afraid of Bear *tiospaye* (extended family). He is not Lakota himself (he is elsewhere identified as Siksika, or