

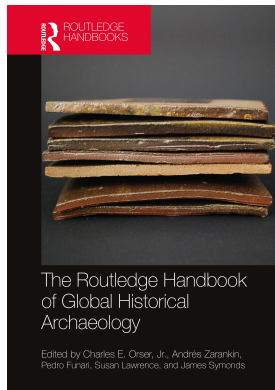
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3

COLONIALISM IN HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

A review of issues and perspectives

Stephen W. Silliman

Colonialism is foundational to historical archaeology. In many places around the world and no matter how it is defined, colonialism sets the terms of research, provides themes, anchors periods, influences perspectives, situates politics, and – in the words of Orser (1996) – “haunts” the disciplinary field. In fact, colonialism defines historical archaeology for most of its practitioners, even if they do not explicitly engage it as an issue. Why do we have “historical archaeology” as a named field of study, rather than just an archaeology broadly speaking that works on many time periods and can use, when available, textual sources? The answer: Because historical archaeology emerged in the 1960s in the United States and other settler colonial nations in Latin America, Africa, Australia, and parts of the Pacific as a way to distinguish its topical focus (mainly colonial and settler histories) and its method (text-aided research) from its more prominent and longstanding counterpart in “prehistoric archaeology” that focused on indigenous histories until those colonial arrivals.

One might think that defining an entire subfield of archaeology based on colonial encounter and settlement would ensure that historical archaeologists always pay careful attention to what colonialism is or is not in the past and in the present. However, this was not the case for about 25 years after the formation of the Society for Historical Archaeology in the United States in 1967. With the exception of scholars like Kathleen Deagan, Charles Cleland, and James Deetz, many historical archaeologists in that burgeoning field tended to focus on anything but the indigenous people who continued to exist beyond that supposed “break” marked by the arrival of colonists with texts. Such a tendency kept colonialism out of serious consideration as a real analytical anchor in historical archaeology, relegating it to an ostensibly neutral field definer, until the years leading up to the North American Columbian Quincenary in 1992 – the 400th anniversary of Christopher Columbus’ landfall in the Caribbean.

The 1990s marked a serious uptick in archaeological studies of indigenous histories within and through the colonial process, spanning the settler colonial areas of the Americas, Australia, the Pacific, and parts of Africa (mainly South Africa). As the decade moved on, the limits of “acculturation” frameworks were exposed (Cusick, 1998b; Lightfoot, 1995), the prehistory–history divide underwent strong critique (Lightfoot, 1995), the emphasis on frontiers and cross-cultural exchange intensified (Lightfoot and Martinez, 1995; Lightfoot et al., 1998), and some lessons of postcolonial and indigenous studies began to appear even

if the postcolonial literature itself was not yet fully tapped (Hall, 2000; Rubertone, 2000; Schrire, 1995). These important movements encouraged historical archaeological studies of colonialism to give due weight to the “colonized,” amplifying understandings of indigenous historical and cultural experiences and moving interpretations well beyond earlier acculturation models.

However, the “due weight” led to a certain kind of fixation on the colonized rather than a broader view of colonialism and indigeneity. This resulted in three kinds of bracketing. First, the rather slow uptake of postcolonial thinking in historical archaeology had scholars picking up new interpretive postcolonial possibilities for the past but not engaging fully with elements of a necessary decolonization in the present. Second, the emphasis on colonialism as a way to improve historical archaeologies of indigenous people did not have a parallel in the archaeologies of the African Diaspora. These subfields developed along rather separate paths from the early 1990s until almost the 2010s, in large part due to the different ways that colonialism (i.e., as “culture contact”) was framed or defined and the maintenance of silos of race and ethnicity.

Third, the bracketing of “the colonized” often meant that many historical archaeologists continued their work on “the colonizer” with theories less engaged with colonialism and themes less attuned to decolonization. Or perhaps researchers felt comfortable just doing “regular” historical archaeology on the colonizer side (maybe with less theory overall) or could just emphasize colonization and settlement as events with historical beginnings and ends instead of actual colonialism as an extensive process with manifestations still present today. Some of the fade in colonialism from historical archaeology’s core can be seen in the shift from its pillar role in Orser’s (1996) synthesis to its mere passing mention in his thorough review of historical archaeology almost 15 years later (Orser, 2010).

Historical archaeologies of colonialism have moved in interesting directions since the advent of the new millennium, sometimes upholding those brackets while other times chipping away at them. This chapter takes up the challenge of reviewing the arc of those studies since 2000. To do so in a way that hopefully proves useful requires that I focus not on a review of case studies around the world or the many themes that unify and diversify historical archaeology’s focus on colonialism. Beyond the perusal of most major journals that now regularly carry pieces focused on colonialism, one can consult a variety of edited collections for some of that diversity (Cipolla, 2013b; Cipolla and Hayes, 2015; Funari and Senatore, 2015; Liebmann and Murphy, 2010; Lyons and Papadopolous, 2002; Montón-Su-bías and Cruz Berrocal, 2016; Murray, 2004; Oland et al., 2012; Panich and Schneider, 2014; Scheiber and Mitchell, 2010; Schmidt and Mrozowski, 2014; Stein, 2005; Voss and Casella, 2012). Instead, I aim to address the debates and advances of the last two decades, especially some perspectives not given a chapter of their own in the “Theoretical Approaches” section of this volume, as well as the areas in which we should expect to see more development in the coming years.

Coming to terms with colonialism

This heading should be taken quite literally alongside its common metaphorical connotation. The historical archaeology of colonialism during the last two decades has devoted considerable time to trying to sort out proper terminology for framing it in the most analytically, politically, and historically satisfactory ways. The two key arenas of discussion have been: the phenomenon we are trying to study – culture contact, colonialism, cultural entanglement, or something else – and the kinds of cultural and political processes at work for those

caught up in it – culture change/continuity, persistence, survivance, ethnogenesis, diaspora, etc.

The first concern has been the naming of what historical archaeologists claim to study and how that naming relates to broader issues. As the twenty-first century approached, the *mot-du-jour* for the study of indigenous people caught in the cultural and colonial encounters of the post-Columbia era was “culture contact,” with the corresponding temporal label of the “Contact Period.” Cusick (1998a) took the ambitious step of calling for a broader set of culture contact studies that might galvanize historical archaeologists alongside those who worked on issues of encounter, exchange, and entanglement in more ancient times. Some of the best work of this era is exemplified by Deagan’s (1998, 2003) approaches to Spanish colonialism in La Florida and the Caribbean and Lightfoot’s (Lightfoot, 1995, 2004; Lightfoot et al., 1998) studies on the West Coast of North America. This latter groundbreaking project moved well past the acculturation baggage of its predecessors in the 1980s, introduced practice theory to the toolkit of historical archaeologists, and drew attention to the need for diachronic, multiscalar, and pan-regional archaeological approaches.

About five years into the new century, some of the interpretive limitations of the label “culture contact” had become apparent (Gosden, 2004; Harrison, 2002, 2004; Loren, 2008; Murray, 2004; Silliman, 2005). It kept archaeologists, especially those just riding the ‘contact period’ wave rather than engaging it theoretically and politically like Lightfoot (1995) intended, mired in some interpretive legacies of earlier acculturation models, out of touch with their cultural anthropology colleagues who had long abandoned that term, and too little engaged with postcolonial critiques already well underway in anthropology and cultural studies (e.g., Bhabha, 1985; Hall, 2000; Thomas, 1991, 1994). This insufficient engagement stemmed directly from a reluctance to call these cultural encounters what they were: colonialism. Doing so would permit more explicit engagement with ongoing processes, in both the past and the present, and their implications for contemporary issues (Silliman, 2005).

The latter part of the decade saw archaeologists, many of them historical archaeologists, engaging directly with postcolonialism (e.g., Haber, 2016; Liebmann and Rizvi, 2008; Lydon and Rizvi, 2010; van Dommelen, 2006). These archaeologists turned to cultural studies and historical anthropology, although they were doing so with some time lag. Postcolonial theory provided a language to unpack the dichotomous ways of conceptualizing colonialism in the past (e.g., colonizer/colonized, European/Native), to advance thinking about what it means to act within or between categories (e.g., hybridity, third space, mimicry), and to better situate agency in “colonial projects” (*sensu* Thomas, 1994) rather than in monolithic “sides” of colonialism. In terms of the present, these postcolonially oriented archaeologists also wanted to expose and critique the links between past colonialism and the settler-colonial and neocolonial world of today. This meant not only addressing the legacies of language and classification in contemporary practice, but also listening to and making space for scholars writing and speaking back against imperialism and colonialism. Such acknowledgment provided more space for new scholarly and political voices in historical archaeology and, equally importantly, turned postcolonial thinking toward decolonizing practice, which draws equal inspiration from indigenous perspective and theory as it does from a designated “postcolonial” lens (see Byrd, 2016; Haber, 2016).

Terminology was not settled, though. An argument surfaced around the same time that found the switch from “culture contact” to “colonialism” an overstep of the definition (Jordan, 2009, 2010, 2014). Although Jordan agreed that “culture contact” had to go, he suggested something else between (or instead of) the actual first moments of contact and the later colonialism that we could easily label based on hindsight. He referred to this process as

“cultural entanglement,” drawing inspiration from Alexander (1998). He wanted to emphasize the lack of finality and clarity of the colonial process, the assertions of indigenous autonomy during these early interactions, and the role of political economy. In so doing, he chose to take the vantage point of people acting in their own times rather than rely on outcomes already known to archaeologists looking back.

Although the correctives on temporality and political economy proved astute and have contributed to a growing emphasis on entanglement as a process (see below), the notion of “cultural entanglement” as a phase or period does not seem to have taken hold. Instead, many historical archaeologists have shifted to the terminology of colonialism – even if tempering it to account for the aforementioned issues – for their comparative work, or they have taken an important step to strip time periods of their trappings of process and instead refer to them by calendar date to ensure that analyses can be about culture not periodization (Scheiber and Mitchell, 2010). The latter has permitted a more sophisticated view of long-term indigenous histories that situate colonialism/contact in extended cultural and historical trajectories rather than subsume them in the be-all-and-end-all pivot point of European arrival in their homelands. Such a move has been assisted by the renewed harsh and relevant critique of the prehistory–history divide (Lightfoot, 1995; Schmidt and Mrozowski, 2014) and an emphasis on “trans-conquest” views (Wernke, 2007). That said, the number of archaeologists in North America and perhaps elsewhere who continue to refer to the “Contact Period” when they are clearly talking about deeply colonial contexts hints that some of these terminological and analytical refinements have still not fully taken root.

Refining interpretive models

Accompanying the deepening understandings of colonialism within historical archaeology have been notable refinements in how we interpret the historical experiences of those who have endured colonialism. Although caution is required in defining those “endurers” (e.g., indigenous, the colonized, the subaltern), it is safe to say that most historical archaeologists who orient their studies to colonialism (or culture contact or cultural entanglement) emphasize how indigenous people experienced colonialism and, more frequently than not, made their way through it despite considerable odds and losses. Yet, how archaeologists frame that emphasis and spin their interpretation has diversified over the last 20 years thanks to a variety of influences from postcolonial, practice, indigenous, and other theories. These have gifted concepts such as resistance, hybridity, creolization, entanglement, persistence, survivance, and ethnogenesis.

Resistance

One of the most welcome additions – and yet most intractable concepts – in historical archaeologies of colonialism has been “resistance.” The welcome features it brought include a strong emphasis on agency, careful consideration of intentionality, reminder that domination is not total or final, inclination toward recognizing cultural preservation as struggle against the odds, and recognition of the intersection of race, class, and gender. The concept of “resistance” slips into historical archaeologies of colonialism in rather subtle ways, borrowing in part from historical archaeologies of class and labor that already had resistance as a key feature since the early 1990s (e.g., Paynter and McGuire, 1991) and riding the

historiographic trends that have emphasized conflict and war in the colonization of the Americas, Australia, and other places.

That said, the subtlety of entry into colonial studies also contributes to some of the unwieldiness of “resistance.” Notions of resistance have frequently found their way into interpretations without much theoretical guidance, which has led to analytical uncertainties about whether resistance can be characterized as active or passive, intentional or unintentional, and organized as a collective or simply individual quotidian acts. As obvious and relatively undebatable as resistance is in certain instances (e.g., rebellions, sabotages, strikes), it can prove difficult to pinpoint in other circumstances, especially those that characterize archaeological datasets, and yet remarkably easy to project anywhere and everywhere. Even in cases of outright revolt, such as the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, applying “resistance” without care draws away from, rather than illuminates, indigenous motives, relationships, and strategies as Liebmann (2010; Liebmann, 2012) aptly documents. Widespread claims of resistance also contribute to the narratives of heroism by the “underdogs” in colonialism, which are certainly important antidotes to acculturation’s stories of demise and civic history’s neglect of those who tried to counter dominant national narratives. However, they are also blunt instruments that flatten the nuances of history and colonialism. This point is made repeatedly and quite usefully in the chapters in Liebmann and Murphy (2010).

To further refine the applicability of resistance, a companion term of “residence” has been recommended (Silliman, 2014) to address indigenous actions that do not always outwardly resist and that instead strive to “make do,” in the practice sense of Michel de Certeau, as part of community and household survivals (see also Sheptak et al., 2010). Others have kept resistance in a useful analytical space by linking it specifically to social mimicry and hybridity (Pezzarossi, 2014), to juxtaposition with indigenous social strategies in “hinterlands” (Schneider, 2016), or to mobility as a social and political strategy in the Amazon (Silva and Noelli, 2015).

Hybridity

The watchword of postcolonial theory in historical archaeologies of colonialism has been hybridity. In many ways, it has come to replace “creolization” – for better or worse, as they are different – that had been more common in historical archaeology leading up to the twenty-first century (e.g., Cusick, 2000; Dawdy, 2000; Ferguson, 1992; Loren, 2004; Mullins and Paynter, 2000). Further accentuating the decline, Richard (2014: 45) also explicitly substitutes “cultural hybridity” for “creolization,” although one can find the occasional case where they are seemingly used interchangeably (e.g., Mrozowski, 2010). VanValkenburgh (2013: figure 1) demonstrates this terminological shift nicely. For that reason, along with the stinging critique offered by Palmié (2006) and the often slim connections drawn between creolization and colonialism, I do not consider creolization further here.

In its postcolonial manifestations through the work of Homi Bhabha and the linguist Mikhail Bakhtin, hybridity has provided important ways to acknowledge ambiguity and lack of finality in colonial projects, to recognize a “thirdspace” between dichotomous classifications in both discourse and practice, to highlight cultural creativity and subversion in overbearing colonial dominations, to help distinguish between intentional and unintentional changes in material and cultural worlds, and to enable archaeologists to reconsider the origins and meanings of material objects and practices. Robust articulations of hybridity in archaeologies of colonialism have appeared in discussions of kachinas, furniture quirks, and repatriation in the American Southwest and Great Plains (Liebmann, 2008, 2015), bodily

adornment in the American Southeast and New England (Loren, 2013), ceramic use and social camouflage in Native New England (Pezzarossi, 2014), and the complexities of museum curation and categorization (Loren, 2015). Others have expanded on considerations of hybridity when considering the Métis of Canada (Beaudoin, 2013, 2014; Moussette, 2003); the production of ceramics in the Andes (VanValkenburgh et al., 2017) and the Maya region (Card, 2013a; Harrison-Buck et al., 2013); politics of dress (Horning, 2014; Loren, 2013); spatiality and identity in the Andes (Wernke, 2010); and others (see Card, 2013b). I have no doubt that these usages have advanced new ways of interpreting material objects, cultural practices, social identities, and communities in the context of colonialism.

However, the problem facing historical archaeologists today is that the uses of the word and concept, “hybridity,” have drifted from their postcolonial anchors in recent years (Silliman, 2015b; Stockhammer, 2012, 2013). Some archaeologists utilize hybridity in an almost nineteenth-century fashion to refer to biological and cultural mixing, some define it as the innovations that come from two or more cultural traditions coming into contact, some harken back to its foundations in linguistics and creolization, and some situate it in a posthumanist actor-network theory of agency. Many of these do not have an explicit context in colonialism at all. Even worse, some archaeologists have simply begun to use “hybridity” as merely a description of intercultural encounter, mixture, or fusion, rather than as a concept drawn from a theoretical source (see Pappa, 2013).

As a result, many historical archaeologists talking about hybridity are as all-over-the-map as those talking about resistance, and the only hope a reader has for clarity is if the researcher has bothered to be explicit about what they mean by hybridity. Otherwise, the watchword has become only a buzzword. This helps to explain the shift from creolization to hybridity among casual archaeological users: some simply use it as a “hot button” word to describe cultural mixture. Even though I personally feel that the time is up for hybridity in historical archaeologies of colonialism (Silliman, 2015b), I remain optimistic that what it has brought to our understandings has some staying power whether we choose to continue with “hybridity” – provided that it is theoretically grounded – or to shift the terminological perspective. Recent emphases on innovation (Mrozowski et al., 2015) and assembling (Law Pezzarossi, 2014) in indigenous community and household practices may provide some way out, as may some perspectives that blend postcoloniality and posthumanism to engage indigenous ontologies (McAnany and Brown, 2016). Some pair it, or contrast it, with entanglement.

Entanglement

“Entanglement” remains caught between, or tangled within(?), its potential roles as theory, as method, or as analytical definition. As a result, it has had a mixed contribution to historical archaeologies of colonialism. Entanglement owes its origins in the anthropology of colonialism to Thomas’s (1991) foundational work on the colonial encounter and the ways that material objects underwent recontextualization. Yet, despite that important book, which has informed postcolonial archaeology, the idea of entanglement has not enjoyed a rich history in the archaeology of colonialism until quite recently (Law Pezzarossi and Sheptak, 2019; see review in Silliman, 2016).

As noted earlier, Alexander (1998) and Jordan (2009, 2014) took on the task of navigating the various paths and perspectives of “culture contact” studies to seek generalizations about how these might be understood and classified as “cultural entanglement.” Still others have toyed with the idea of entanglement, but much more as a metaphor or heuristic (e.g.,

Forde, 2016; Martindale, 2009; Stahl, 2002). Dietler (1998, 2010) has argued that “contact encounters” are contexts in which local or indigenous people consumed alien goods entangled within their own socially relevant demands and resistances without being subsumed within the “very different asymmetries of power” that characterize full-blown colonialism (Dietler, 2010: 53, 74). Stockhammer (2012, 2013) has also advocated for entanglement to replace the political and biological layers embedded in the term “hybridity,” which it may well do if we can clarify its role as model, metaphor, or method and its relationship, if any, with Hodder’s (2012) theory of entanglement.

Persistence and survivance

As the above interpretive models have revealed their weakness, some historical archaeologists have turned to other ways of framing the indigenous aspects of colonialism. These framing devices, perhaps more so than theoretical positions per se, have emphasized indigenous communities and practices, their connections between past and present, and an attempt at perspective from their vantage point. Others will certainly follow, but two in play right now are ideas of persistence and survivance.

Persistence can hardly be claimed as a theory, but when linked with practice theory, indigenous perspectives, or other strong theoretical bases, it prompts a fairly radical shift in the way questions are framed. As developed briefly in Silliman (2009), it requires understanding, first and foremost, what it is that makes us ask if something or someone has changed or stayed the same. When considering colonial contexts and the endurance of indigenous communities and cultural practices, this shifts the burden from asking whether an obviously still-extant community has changed and by how much – given the deeply embedded notions of acculturation that linger and the double standards applied to the colonizers and colonized – to asking how it has persisted so that we can even pose questions about changes or continuities. As others have developed in parallel, such as Mrozowski et al. (2009) and especially Panich (2013), archaeologies of persistence permit us to see changes within continuities and continuities within changes (Ferris, 2009; Pezzarossi, 2019), to situate colonialism in longer-term indigenous histories (Sallum and Noelli, 2020; Scheiber and Mitchell, 2010; Schneider, 2016), and to make archaeology more relevant to descendant communities. It is not without dangers, though, if persistence is conflated solely with continuity (in the continuity–change dichotomy) rather than resolving it and if it mistakenly comes to represent something essentialized and timeless.

More than persistence, survivance has a uniquely indigenous take on ways of understanding persistence and survival within colonialism, as its name subtly captures. Although first associated with French social theorist, Jacques Derrida, the concept of survivance has made its way into cultural studies, literature, and ultimately anthropology through Gerald Vizenor (e.g., 1998, 2008), an Anishinaabe scholar and writer in Native American studies and literature. To him, survivance “is more than survival, more than endurance or mere response ... [S]urvivance is an active repudiation of dominance, tragedy, and victimry” (Vizenor, 1998: 15). Despite being victimized by colonial processes and people, many indigenous peoples do not want their existence defined solely or primarily in terms of victimhood and certainly not always in reference to being colonized.

Depending on how it is used, survivance permits hybridity, as a blending of new and old cultural materialities without invoking problematic ideas of cultural authenticity, but it can also negate hybridity, when hybridity implies a simple mixture of earlier forms to produce something not particularly new, but not really old either. Some historical archaeologies of

colonialism have availed themselves to what survivance might offer (Atalay, 2006; Colwell and Montgomery, 2019; Gonzalez et al., 2018; Handsman, 2018; Lightfoot and Gonzalez, 2018; Sheptak, 2019; Silliman, 2014), but it has not yet gained much traction.

Ethnogenesis

A final key concept used in the historical archaeologies of colonialism is ethnogenesis, or the appearance of new ethnic identities through transformation. Although nineteenth-century in its lexical origins and having its initial anthropology grounding in the 1960s and 1970s with some influential work in the 1990s (Hill, 1996), ethnogenesis has relatively new applications in historical archaeology from only the mid-2000s (Cipolla, 2012a, 2012b, 2013; Hill, 2013; Stojanowski, 2005, 2010; Voss, 2005, 2008a, 2015; Weik, 2009, 2014; Weisman, 2007; see also Hu, 2013).

As one of its key proponents, Voss has used ethnogenesis in a sophisticated and clear way to discuss the rise of *Californios* as a social and political identity in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century colonial California (Voss, 2005, 2008a), while simultaneously keeping a critical eye on its tendency to creep into interpretations as a presumed “resolver” of contradictions in change/continuity or as a component of cultural persistence (Voss, 2015). She rightly critiques its use in such a broad form and calls for its application only in cases that have ethnic identity as a key factor and that have instances of transformation of ethnic identities (Voss, 2015: 658). Ethnogenesis is not about any and all identities in play, nor does it encapsulate all mechanisms of identity change. In fact, ethnogenesis is often not about persistence at all, but often intentional rupture. In addition and as a result, ethnogenesis is not restricted to cases of the colonized or the subaltern, as she clearly articulates in her own archaeological studies (Voss, 2005, 2008a) and in her attempts to draw attention to the politics of power that can be part of ethnogenesis (Voss, 2015).

Because ethnogenesis does not apply to any and all cases, it has been (and must be) used in moderation, but one case where it has been deployed to great effect is the formation and dispersal of the Brothertown Indians from New England in the late eighteenth century, to New York, and ultimately to Wisconsin (Cipolla, 2012a, 2013). Individuals from several communities in southern New England left their Native homelands in what became a successful collective attempt to reinvent themselves in a new place as Christian Indians with a new ethnic identity, distinct from the communities they left behind. Through careful analysis of toponyms and ethnonyms in textual documents, grave markers, and material culture Cipolla (2012a, 2012b, 2013) has artfully crafted an archaeological interpretation of ethnogenesis for this Native American community in the context of colonialism.

Summary

This synopsis of terminological and conceptual devices in historical archaeologies of colonialism leads to three conclusions about the state of our interpretive models. First, these various terms do *not* simply mean the same thing as “cultural mixing,” “culture change,” or other more generic conditions. If used in this way, then they function merely as descriptors – for which we already have less technical language – and should be avoided other than as basic metaphors in archaeological writing. Second, these terms are not synonyms. They may refer to similar processes or situations at times, but in other contexts they emphasize different strategies, tactics, outcomes, or parameters of the histories they have been summoned to explain. In addition, these terms have distinct lineages, points of reference, and theoretical

anchors that matter. Switching between them in an interpretation – sometimes hybridity, sometimes entanglement, sometimes cultural fusion – muddies rather than clarifies (e.g., Ewen, 2000). Third, to function as analytical frames or interpretive models, these terms need to be defined and specified, not casually interjected. If someone wants to use hybridity or entanglement, then they need to clearly articulate *which* hybridity (postcolonial, actor-network, biological, linguistic) or *which* entanglement (cultural, colonial, Hodder’s thing-theory) they mean, so that readers can assess the potentials and problems with the particular interpretation. Archaeologists may also want to distinguish why they choose, for instance, hybridity over persistence, ethnogenesis over creolization, survivance over resistance. This narrows the interpretive field and brings a clarity often lacking in historical archaeologies of colonialism.

Gaps and bridges

The review thus far should reveal that historical archaeologies of colonialism are alive and well and that many theoretical and analytical advances have been made. Any perusal of paper abstracts from the Society for Historical Archaeology or even the Society for American Archaeology annual meetings over the last 15 years would further demonstrate the growth industry of such studies, especially those that emphasize the effects of colonialism on indigenous people and the ways that “the colonized” endured those effects and, in many cases, survived them. However, the close of two decades of the twenty-first century leaves us with some gaps to address and bridges to build in our studies and representations of colonialism.

Connections to the African Diaspora

One of the more glaring gaps in the archaeology of colonialism concerns the one between those who study Native Americans and other indigenous peoples in the context of colonialism (the traditional realm of “culture contact” studies) and those who study the African Diaspora. Traditionally these have been seen as two different kinds of historical experiences and populations – one about the colonization and removal of indigenous people on their home territories, the other about the enslavement and diaspora of African people across the Atlantic – but this division has profound problems when the boundaries are barricaded. Certainly, major differences exist and should not be minimized or ignored; for example, theories and experiences of African Diaspora and indigeneity have unique and distinct origins and spins.

However, a key point of intersection between these two fields of inquiry is colonialism itself. Colonialism is the process that installs Europeans on Native American, First Nations, Australian Aboriginal, and Pacific Islander territories, but it is also the process that installs Europeans in Africa as well. Colonialism (and capitalism) is the machine driving the extraction of resources and human beings in all places where Europeans settled, although with different emphases and tempos depending on the colonizers and time period.

So, why do historical archaeologists frequently talk about colonialism as a two-sided proverbial coin, often read as colonizer/European versus colonized/indigenous? What about a third side, an equally fundamental component element often ignored in colonial studies: African Diasporic peoples who were colonized in Africa and ripped from their homes by colonizers *and* who then involuntarily served as part of the colonizing European front as captive laborers in indigenous territories? Where do they fit into “colonial studies”? How are their cultural contributions observable when historical archaeologists cling to the classic

Native–European dichotomy for classifying and interpreting objects, architecture, and practices? How do we see intersections and potentially shared experiences?

One way to dissolve some of these divisions is to look at labor, a feature shared by many indigenous and African Diasporic peoples in the context of colonialism. Admittedly, the latter's experience of that much more frequently involved chattel slavery as its defining element, but the former also experienced forms of captivity, servitude, and enslavement, often alongside African–descended peoples. Historical archaeologists need to spend more time finding these points of intersections in the context of labor, especially since labor has often not served as the analytical focus of most historical archaeologists working on Native American issues and those intersections with African Diaspora issues (but see Hayes, 2013; Kulstad-González, 2015; Lightfoot, 2004; Rodríguez-Alegría et al., 2015; Silliman, 2004, 2006, 2010; Voss, 2008b).

Similarly, indigenous and African Diasporic peoples all share another key experience drawn directly from, and feeding back into, colonialism: White supremacy and racism. These are both historical realities and salient features of today's world against which the descendants of those colonial processes continue to struggle. African Diaspora archaeologists have made substantive contributions to questions of race and racism (e.g., Battle-Baptiste, 2011; Matthews and McGovern, 2015), and more conversations about these shared links could benefit historical archaeology focused on colonialism more broadly (Battle-Baptiste, 2010). And if these conversations help historical archaeology to confront White supremacy and racism, then we are making the right kind of intellectual and political progress.

Perhaps more conspicuously, indigenous people and those descended from the African Diaspora did not simply share experiences of colonialism and labor in some larger abstract analytical or comparative sense. They often shared them together in families, as couples, across communities, and more poignantly, within the same individuals who had dual ancestry. Only until recently have these kinds of intersections been overlooked in the archaeologies of colonialism, but the tide is shifting, thanks largely to work in indigenous studies and history (e.g., Tayac, 2009). For example, New England and the larger Northeast offer a context full of complex Native American and African/African-American intersections that are starting to be more fully examined and acknowledged for their cultural, political, and racial salience (Handsman, 2015; Hayes, 2013; Mancini, 2015). Beyond these cases in the worlds of emancipation are those that involve *marronage*, particularly in Brazil (e.g., Funari 2006) and the Eastern United States (Sayers, 2014; Weik, 2009). Of course, complicating the story of these shared experiences in more equitable contexts, such as interethnic households on Indian land in New England, are those situations in the American South with Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, and Chickasaw elites owning, buying, and selling Black slaves (e.g., Krauthamer, 2013; Naylor, 2008). All of these will require the attention of more historical archaeologists – both those who work on “colonialism” and those who work on “African Diaspora” – in the future. The stakes for history, culture, identity, race, and citizenship are too high to do otherwise.

Expanding the scope of colonialism and its agents and reagents to include African Diaspora populations will also put necessary stress on concepts and terms that historical archaeologists mobilize for the study of indigenous people. How many of these apply to African Diaspora groups? Ethnogenesis has certainly been used, especially for maroon communities of escaped slaves and their relationships with Native American groups (Weik, 2009, 2014), but it is not a particularly common frame of reference. What about survivance or persistence? How would archaeologists articulate those similarly or differently in a group struggling against European/White domination, or should they, in the case of a specifically indigenous

concept like survivance? Where would entanglement come into play? Certainly, there would no cases of “cultural entanglement” because the African Diaspora results directly from colonialism and outright enslavement, but what about other kinds of entanglements – material, familial, economic? Or does this word seem a little too neutral for Black experiences in White settler colonies? “Culture contact” has certainly never been a useful term beyond the original acculturation work of Melville Herskovits (see discussion in Silliman, 2005: 64–65). Finally, what about hybridity, developed specifically in the postcolonial contexts of India and now applied worldwide? Thus far, scholars have chosen to use creolization over hybridity for African Diaspora contexts, largely because creolization has roots in Afro-Caribbean and Latin American contexts. Equally so, some of the theoretical and geographical expansions of creolization, or what might be over-applications and universalizations, throughout the 1990s and into the 2000s have raised alarms.

Colonialism and colonists

It is safe to say that the self-defined historical archaeology of colonialism has maintained its primary focus on indigenous people enduring colonial processes, people, objects, foods, and disease. In large part, this is due to the long history of “culture contact,” “contact period,” and “protohistory” interests among those archaeologists who sought a brand of historical archaeology to further the study of indigenous populations beyond the realms of traditional “prehistory.” However, that offers neither a complete picture of colonialism nor even a full acknowledgment of the research foci of historical archaeologists. The consideration of African Diaspora issues provides one such amelioration of the topic, but so does an emphasis on the colonizer aspects of overall colonial projects.

I return again to the bracket discussed earlier. Most of the terms and concepts summarized above, and the concerns with their baggage and meaning, have been applied almost exclusively to interpret the colonized, subaltern, and indigenous. This happens for a good reason, as we need to work critically through these concepts and terms given the significance of results and representational politics for those communities living in, and often still reeling from, colonial worlds. Those on the receiving end of colonialism have spent centuries being misrepresented, and those misrepresentations have served larger state policies of oppression and uncritical public sentiment. Yet, where are similar debates on concept to examine those perpetuating and benefitting from colonialism?

My qualification of “almost exclusively” above was to indicate that one scholar and one concept in the above list – Voss and ethnogenesis – do stand out as being an equally well-developed engagement with the colonizer side. Voss’ (2008a) research on “Spanish” colonialism in California has worked hard to reveal that the colonizers themselves were rarely the homogenous group that their name conveys. She has also demonstrated that one of those particular terms, ethnogenesis, can be used to interpret the processes and politics of those on the side of power, not just accentuate the experiences of those without much of it.

This is not to say that other historical archaeologists have not engaged the colonizer side of colonialism. Deagan’s (1983, 1998) work in St. Augustine paved the way for historical archaeologists to understand the implantation, adaptation, and development of Spanish colonial identities and ways of life in La Florida and the Caribbean. Interestingly, she emphasized transculturation and *mestizaje* – both suitable and context-specific interpretive models for the formation of New World colonial identities in multiethnic households, especially those that would form the basis of many Latin American nations and their citizenry. However, neither have provided successful models for understanding the colonized overall, as evidenced by

their relative scarcity in the literature since 2000. Trigg's research in the Spanish colonial American Southwest has also advanced our understanding of colonizers by focusing on economic relationships, *mestizaje*, and somewhat of an inverse of the concepts outlined above – that is, looking at the relationships between colonist and local Native peoples to understand the colonists, not the other way around (Trigg, 2004, 2005). And still others have retained creolization to refer to a particular process, often named as such at the time, that marked certain cultural and ethnic shifts among colonizers who produced offspring with indigenous people and as a result negotiated new social roles and classes (e.g., Crowell, 2011; Deagan, 1983).

However, none of the other terms and concepts summarized above have offered much purchase on the colonizer. Some of these non-applications and limitations are appropriate ones since many of the concepts really do apply only to those on certain sides of a colonial relationship. Applying these ideas universally would deflate what have become robust understandings of indigenous and subaltern agency, autonomy, struggle, and persistence. For example, applying Bhabha's hybridity, persistence, or (even worse) Vizenor's survivance to those in colonial power would undermine interpretive clarity and quite important political projects. Yet, I have to wonder about those models that have drifted from some of their representational and political anchors, such as the neutralized and casual versions critiqued above. Why would some models of hybridity – specifically the ones *not* drawn from postcolonial theory – or entanglements not work on colonizers? A key problem is that we have not examined carefully enough why indigenous/subaltern/colonized peoples need “special” theory to isolate or elevate them, while colonizers seem to need little theory since they comprise the default, the standard subjects of neutralized social theory divorced from its colonial contexts.

In this light, much remains to be done to ensure colonialism includes the study of colonizers. I do not advocate balancing interpretations between the various “sides” when we know that more attention is still required to offset centuries of European and White privilege, but I do recommend that historical archaeologists working in most places of the world, regardless of the subject population, ensure that colonialism is on their analytical radar. Few have pursued the idea of “colonial projects” advocated by Thomas (1994), the considerations of vantage point offered by Stahl (2014), the emphasis on institutionality and governmentality that connect those subject to colonial rule and those practicing it (e.g., Richard, 2012), and the innovative kind of landscape and community co-production argued by Wernke (2013). Similarly, not enough have taken to heart the argument made by Johnson (2006) that we need to pay as much attention to colonialism in the metropolises from which it originates as we do to the frontiers. Colonialism is not just something that happens to people on frontiers, nor are its materials, peoples, and legacies set in motion – and the structural privilege they bring – inconsequential.

Colonialism in comparison

A final area for some consideration is the growing trend toward comparative colonialism (Cipolla and Hayes, 2015; Given, 2004; Gosden, 2004; Horning, 2007, 2015; Lightfoot, 2012; Lightfoot et al., 2013; Stein, 2005). How do the colonialism(s) of historical archaeology compare to earlier and more localized colonialisms and imperialisms of the Mediterranean, the Basin of Mexico, the Andes, and other places? Should we study these with the same terms and points of reference, or do they require more historically and contextually situated understandings? What is the relationship between imperialism and colonialism for

historical archaeology and for archaeology more broadly (see the consideration of indigenous imperialism in the American Southwest by Montgomery [2019])? Accompanying the growth of comparative colonial studies has been a growing emphasis on long-term indigenous histories (Oland et al., 2012; Scheiber and Mitchell, 2010; Schmidt and Mrozowski, 2014).

As I have noted elsewhere (Silliman, 2015a), a tension remains between these two modes of comparative colonialism and long-term indigenous histories, despite many points of overlap in topics and actual archaeologists themselves. In contrast to the lateral analytics of comparative studies that take colonialism as the critical shared element between geographical, cultural, and historical locales, approaches to long-term indigenous history offer distinctly longitudinal and diachronic investigations, ones designed to elucidate trajectories rather than models. The ideal resolution or integration has yet to be realized in the balance of theoretical and political issues at stake. Historical archaeologists will be working through this in the years to come.

Conclusions

Historical archaeologies of colonialism have been changing notably since the dawn of the new millennium. The pace of conceptual introductions has increased, as has the corresponding terminological debates surrounding them. This has produced a challenging ambiguity in research and interpretation, but it bespeaks the complexity of the past and our efforts to represent it appropriately today. Admittedly, some historical archaeologists – especially students – find the barrage of terms unsettling, which can lead some to eschew them altogether and take a supposedly “atheoretical,” commonsense stance to their work or can put them in a bind of feeling like many terms are now off limits. This situation should not be incapacitating, though. The reality is that historical archaeologists just need to be clear in what they are saying and why, and this should be ground shared by the most scientific and the most humanist of archaeologists.

Even in this extensive review of the historical archaeologies of colonialism, I had to leave out even more terms and concepts that deserve attention and care in their use. For example, more and more historical archaeologists, especially those in African Diaspora studies, are drawing on the insights of intersectionality to examine lived experiences and identities in the past. This perspective acknowledges that subjects and subjectivities are not composed of simply one social vector first and foremost, but several at the same time covering the realms of gender, race, class, sexuality, and others (see also Voss and Casella, 2012). This kind of perspective will be required of many historical archaeologists working on colonialism.

In addition, I did not touch on capitalism, even though it “haunts” (*sensu* Orser, 1996) many of the topics covered and has wrought ferocious economic, social, and environmental impacts across the globe. Capitalism is a complex concept that deserves careful attention, which it garners in other chapters in this volume (see also Croucher and Weiss, 2011b; Johnson, 1996). I simply mention here that the relationships between colonialism and capitalism are still up for debate, as historical archaeologists try to understand the spatial and temporal scope of both, their mutual constituency or their moments of intersection and amplification, and their tendencies toward totalizing narratives (Croucher and Weiss, 2011a; Horning, 2015; Pezzarossi, 2015). Because capitalism, especially its later manifestations, is a key feature of the last 500 years of global colonialism, it will continue to garner attention

for the ways that this distinguishes the colonialism of historical archaeology's focus from other imperial formations.

Finally, the future success of historical archaeologies of colonialism will surely be judged by how well they engage, listen to, and incorporate the voices and participation of those who have been on that "enduring" side of colonialism. Many of the archaeologists cited above are doing just that. Regardless of preferred appellation, these indigenous, community-engaged, collaborative, community-based, and/or critical archaeologies will remain crucial. They not only pry open categories and cast new light on old topics, but they have the potential to upend some ontological understandings of material, experience, and history in or beyond the context of colonialism. Historical archaeologists will need to continue expanding the diversity of their ranks as well to include scholars and voices of color, especially indigenous ones who can join in researching, reframing, and critiquing colonialism.

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