FORM NO. 6: DISSERTATION RESEARCH PROPOSAL (DRP) COVER

SHEET Student Name Rachel Thimmig

Title of Research Project: Earthlodges and Log Cabins: Continuity and Change in Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara Domestic Space in the Mid-to-Late 19th Century

Research problem: (abstract)

For hundreds of years the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara lived in circular earthlodges in their homelands within what is currently North Dakota. Construction, layout, and use of these structures were imbued with ceremonial significance. In the mid-1800s, some families began constructing cabins alongside earthlodges, but it is unclear what this transformation looked like archaeologically. Due to the construction of the Garrison Dam (1947-1953), many villages with cabins were inundated by what would become Lake Sakakawea. The resulting salvage archaeology operated within ongoing settler colonial structures and used acculturation as the theoretical framework for the analysis of historic Native sites. This has left Plains historical archaeologists with an incomplete and biased archaeological record; cabins at village sites were rarely excavated, and if so, were not studied as deeply as earthlodges because of perceived notions of acculturation and inauthenticity. This research seeks to address these processes of Indigenous erasure by reexamining salvaged materials using contemporary theoretical concepts to explore both change and continuity in the use of domestic space to provide a more comprehensive and complex understanding of Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara life over time.

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Committee: Patricia Rubertone, Robert Preucel, Parker VanValkenburgh

Language(s): N/A

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Approved by advisor: Patricia Rubertone
_____ Date:_____.

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Project Description (Werner-Gren Q1)

Between 1947-1953, thousands of acres of land belonging to the Three Affiliated Tribes of the Fort Berthold Reservation in North Dakota (United States) were flooded due to the construction of the Garrison Dam. The resulting reservoir, Lake Sakakawea, forced the reservation's residents to abandon the most populated towns as the rising waters inundated ancestral sites and landmarks. Before this inundation, archaeological surveys identified over 150 sites within the Garrison Reservoir area alone, but only a handful were excavated prior to being submerged. The subsequent reports produced in the 1960s and 1970s state that "the lower Garrison region was a refuge area for the village tribes during the last years of their long history" (Lehmer 1971:38-39). This notion falsely reaffirms the settler colonial ideology of inevitable Indigenous elimination through absolute assimilation (Wolfe 1999, 2006).

This project seeks to address the dual processes of Indigenous erasure: construction projects necessitating salvage archaeology and the denial of past agency by archaeologists working within settler colonial construction and salvage projects. It will contribute to anthropological understandings of how settler colonialism is not a singular event, but an ongoing structure (Glenn 2015; Wolfe 1999,2006) and add to the growing body of work on concepts such as cultural survivance, persistence, and adaptability (Mrozowski et al. 2015; Panich 2013; Pezzarossi 2014; Rubertone 2020; Silliman 2009; Vizenor 1993, 2008). At its core, this research is a study of how culture changes but also endures.

To do this, I will reexamine previously salvaged collections to ascertain changes and continuities in 19th-century domestic structures and uses of space, specifically the transition from earthlodges to cabins. I ask: (1) How did 19th-century rectangular cabins differ (or not) from contemporaneous circular earthlodges regarding construction methodologies and interior organization and use of space? (2) Why, or for what reasons, did these changes and continuities occur? (3) At what social levels (e.g., intertribal and/or intratribal) did the changes manifest temporally and socially?

The 19th-century is the chosen time period because it contains major events and historical circumstances essential to the formation of the present-day Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara sociopolitical situation. Archaeologically, the first decades of the 19th-century mark the twilight of what is known as the Plains Village Period (AD 1000-1880s), characterized by seasonal movement between summer farming villages and winter hunting villages along the upper Missouri River (in present-day North and South Dakota) (Ahler 1993:57). Villages were comprised of multigenerational domestic structures known as earthlodges (Ahler 1993:57). All earthlodges were sacred to the Hidatsa, and the Mandan and Arikara usually had an additional central lodge that was only used for ceremonial purposes (Wilson 1934). The knowledge of how to construct earthlodges was limited to women and was acquired according to culturally prescribed rituals and gifts (Peters 1995; Wilson 1934).

The Arikara first adopted cabin-style architecture following the major smallpox epidemic of 1837-1838, building small rectangular structures alongside their earthlodges (Metcalf 1963; Wiewel and Kvamme 2016; Wood 1993). The Mandan and Hidatsa began constructing cabins a few years later, again, in addition to earthlodges (Smith 1972). Following the establishment of the reservation, some members of the tribes solely built and lived in cabins. For example, one community of Hidatsa lived in cabins and

maintained a single ceremonial earthlodge (Malouf 1963). After the Dawes Act in 1888, earthlodges were constructed as communal ceremonial structures while cabins were the main domiciles on allotments.

Domestic structures are the chosen subject of study because Plains Village sites, comprised of large settlements, were prioritized during salvage excavations and thus have abundant data (Goaverts 2016:298). However, despite the prevalence of cabins at village sites, they were rarely excavated, and if they were, they were not analyzed as deeply as earthlodges due to perceived notions of acculturation and inauthenticity. Other reasons for dismissal include assumed cabins were adequately documented by ethnohistorians and historians, but the primary reason was due to their non-Indian form as Euro-American architecture.

This project's focus on domestic space builds on elements of practice theory. Individuals make sense of and organize their lives in their daily practice, including the structuration of space and the fulfillment of mundane tasks (Lightfoot et al. 1998:201). Therefore, in colonial situations involving culture change, domestic activities in household contexts can provide insight into individual, private responses, while the spatial layout of the broader community "may provide many insights on the overarching political hierarchy and organizational policies of colonizers" (Lightfoot et al. 1998:202-203; see also Deagan 1995).

Persistence cannot exist without change (Panich 2013, Silliman 2009). Living in so-called Euro-American style cabins does not prove acculturation nor a lack of Indigeneity (Burley 2000; Cipolla 2013a; Greene 2022; McBride 2005; Silliman 2009). Furthermore, historic ethnographic work focused on what was being "lost" to assimilation and did not pay as much attention to the more "Euro-American" practices, like the use of cabins, that took place on the reservation (Wilson 1934). Change should not be viewed as culture loss but continued cultural survivance.

Survival is the continuation of existence rather than living, but survivance, one of the most influential concepts to emerge from Indigenous critiques of literature, history, anthropology, and other disciplines, is about recognizing Native longevity. Gerald Vizenor describes survivance as an active sense of presence or the continuance of Native stories (Vizenor 2008). Archaeologists argue survivance is seen in the archaeological record as "creative responses to difficult times," and "agentive actions through struggle" (Silliman 2014:59). Survivance challenges the archaeological tendency to argue that any evidence of change is emblematic of inauthentic Indigeneity (Cipolla 2013b; Gould 2013; Panich 2013; Pezzarossi and Sheptak 2019).

For the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara, change was necessary for the struggle against settler colonialism. This project will examine continuity and change in domestic uses of space to better understand Native survivance, persistence, and adaptability in the face of settler colonial America.

Literature Review (Werner-Gren Q2)

To allow for Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara persistence and adaptability within domestic space, I build upon the following bodies of literature: (1) Native survivance and settler colonialism, (2) postcolonial and Indigenous critique, and (3) spatial anthropology.

Settler colonialism

Historians (Verancini 2010, 2011; Wolfe 1999, 2006) define settler colonialism by its goal to create permanently settled areas indistinguishable from the original society (Verancini 2011). This requires the acquisition of land and the elimination of its Native inhabitants (Wolfe 2006). Dispossession and erasure are accomplished through the denial of history based on a lack of Western-approved sources (Trouillot 1995; Wolf 1982), the "terra nullis" concept deeming Native usage of land incorrect or invisible (Harley 1994; Harris 1993; Simpson 2007:70), forced assimilation (Wolfe 2006; VanKrieken 2012), decreased population due to conflict and disease (Crosby 2004; Edwards and Kelton 2020; Fenn 2002), and forced removal (Saunt 2020; Wolfe 2006). Even after the "successful" establishment of a new settler state (e.g. the United States, Australia, and Canada), the new political power continues to use settler colonial strategies in order to justify its existence and sovereignty (Uddin 2011:455; Wolfe 2006), relegating Native peoples to the past and the public's imagination through monuments, folklore, and holidays (Blee and O'Brien 2019; Mendez G. 1996; Trouillot 1995). A delicate balance between acknowledgment and silence must be maintained to appease settler colonial guilt (Barnd 2017; Rosaldo 1989).

Historical archaeology's consideration of Native settler colonial experience stems from critiques levied in the 1980s and 1990s regarding the ideas of culture change and acculturation (Cusick 1998; Ramenofsky 1998; Rubertone 1996, 2000; Upton 1996) and the arbitrary nature of the prehistoric-historic divide (Deagan 1988; Lightfoot 1995; Rogers and Wilson 1993; Scheiber and Mitchell 2010). Work today builds from these seminal publications and has more recently integrated the concept of Native survivance into the field more generally.

Survivance emerged from Indigenous critiques of literature, history, anthropology, and other disciplines, and their lack of recognition of Native longevity and the continuance of Native stories (Vizenor 2008). Archaeologists argue survivance is "creative responses to difficult times," and "agentive actions through struggle" (Silliman 2014:59), challenging the tendency to argue that any evidence of change is emblematic of inauthentic Indigeneity (Cipolla 2013b; Gould 2013). Early case studies demonstrating the limitations of binary classifications and the harm of assuming acculturation were conducted in California (Lightfoot et al. 1998), New England (Rubertone 1989, 2000, 2001), and the Southwest (Preucel 2000). More recent studies continue to argue against acculturation and for persistence and survivance in California (Hull and Douglass 2018; Lightfoot and Gonzales 2018; Panich 2013, 2020; Panich and Schneider 2014; Schneider 2015, 2021), New England (Cipolla 2013a; Silliman 2009, 2010a, 2010b, 2014), the Southwest (Liebmann 2012; Aguilar and Preucel 2018), the Great Lakes (Beaudoin 2019; Ferris 2009), the Pacific Northwest (Oliver 2010), Canada (Friesen 2013; Lelievre 2017; Lyons 2013), and now on the Plains (Mitchell 2013). My project will add to the growing body of work on this subject and on the Plains–an area severely lacking in these types of studies.

Anthropology, Archaeology, and the Indigenous Critique

This project deals with attempts at Indigenous erasure, both erasure during the period of study and erasure due to ongoing settler colonial construction projects and salvage archaeology. Therefore, it is theoretically informed by both postcolonial and Indigenous critiques of anthropology and archaeology.

Asad's postcolonial critique's five considerations on anthropology's entanglements with colonialism are helpful in laying the foundation for understanding Indigenous critiques (Asad 1979). They are: the practical preconditions that made anthropology possible, the use of knowledge for colonial purposes, colonial influence on the theoretical treatment of topics, the mode of perception and objectification of the other, and the claim of political neutrality and scientific objectivity (Asad 1979). Indigenous critiques offer nuance to these entanglements, specifically on knowledge legitimation (Bruchac 2004, 2014; Simpson 2007, 2018; Todd 2016) and the inability to break free from settler colonial structures and reconcile living Indigenous populations with those whose culture was documented as lost (Bruchac 2018; Deloria 1969, 1973; King 1997; Simpson 2018:178).

Similarly, Indigenous archaeology, or archaeology conducted by Indigenous people for Indigenous peoples (Atalay 2006) simultaneously offers critique, method, and theory (Atalay 2006, 2012; Gould 2016; Wilcox 2010). It is a privilege to learn from these examples and although this project cannot add to Indigenous archaeological theory specifically, as I am not Indigenous, this research will contribute to larger theorizing on Native settler colonial experience and survivance.

Spatial Anthropology

Like studies of practice, archaeological studies of space and place emphasize lived experiences at various scales. Many chose macro- or micro-scale investigations; focusing either on the landscape and settlement (Gosden and Head 1994; Ferguson 1996; Preucel 2000) or on households and other small spaces (Beaudry 2004; Deagan 1995; Deetz 1982; Hendon 1996; Kent 1990, 1993; Lightfoot et al. 1998; Steadman 2016). However, all approaches understand that space is more than just a stage for human action: it is shaped by and shapes us (Basso 1996; Gosden and Head 1994:114; Liebmann 2012:123). It is social (Giddens 1984; Gupta and Ferguson 1992:11). Space syntax studies build on this premise, arguing that "the formal analysis of spatial arrangements, therefore, provides information about the structure of society" (Ferguson 1996:11; Hillier and Hanson 1984; Kent 1993). Studies of space and its relationship to power (Bordieu 1989; Giddens 1984; Scott 1998) and gender (Bordieu 1971; Massey 1994) are some of the most popular analytical applications.

Expanding upon space and power, theoretical considerations of colonial spatial regimes are the foundation on which this project is built. Studies focused on visibility and surveillance (Leone and Hurry 1998), and the imposition of colonial ordering systems' effects on the colonized (Liebman 2012; Mar and Edmonds 2010; Scott 1998; VanValkenburgh 2021). My project adds specifically to investigations on the United States' policies of control, appropriation, and extraction of land like the reservation system and allotment (Bilosi 2018; Rodning 2015; Schneider 2010; Scott 1998; Stremlau 2011; Tonkovich 2016, 2022).

Methodology (Werner-Gren Q3)

This project asks: How did 19th-century MHA rectangular cabins differ (or not) from contemporaneous circular earthlodges regarding construction methodologies and interior organization and use of space? Why, or for what reasons, did these changes and continuities occur? At what social levels (e.g., intertribal and/or intratribal) did the changes manifest temporally and socially? To accomplish this, I will (1) reanalyze five archaeological site reports paying special attention to discussions of earthlodges, cabins, and storage pits; (2) reanalyze the collections from the five sites using insights from archaeologies of households, children, gender, etc.,; (3) reanalyze existing maps and spatial data, focusing on relationships and patterns; and (4) conduct pedestrian survey and soil testing on a subset of sites.

(1): The primary reason for the proposed methodology is the Garrison Dam's destruction of many late 19th-century MHA sites. The archaeology conducted before its construction is known as the Missouri River Basin Surveys (RBS). The interactions were colonial, with the destruction mostly limited to Indigenous sites (Govaerts 2016; Lawson 2009). The reports have a salvage mindset and used an acculturative approach popular at that time. Due to the political nature of this knowledge, archaeologists have a responsibility to keep interrogating the findings that comprise much of this region's historical archaeological canon (Lees 2014). This project will do this by reanalyzing data from three RBS and two other salvaged sites.

(2): There are five total sites. Two sites were not part of the RBS, and instead, were excavated before small infrastructure projects between the 1980s-2000s, so they remain intact. Taylor Bluff (Ahler 1988; Ahler et al. 1983) has only earthlodges and will be a baseline for the contemporaneous site of Fort Clark (Wood 1993), where the Arikara first built cabins. Taylor Bluff's collections are at the Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site in Stanton, North Dakota, and Fort Clark's are at the State State Historical Society of North Dakota (SHSND) in Bismarck, North Dakota. Both contain excavated lodges, and Fort Clark has one excavated cabin (Weiwel and Kvamme 2016).

Three sites salvaged by the RBS now lie below Lake Sakakawea. They are Like-A-Fish-Hook Village (Smith 1972), Star Village (Metcalf 1963), and Crow-Flies-High Village (Malouf 1963). These sites contain both cabins and earthlodges. I visited the University of Montana's Anthropological Curation Facility to conduct my master's research on Crow-Flies-High Village's collection. This leaves the Like-A-Fish-Hook and Star Village collections at the National Museum of Natural History, to visit.

(3): Research in preparation for this project produced a shapefile of the Missouri River circa 1894 based on the Missouri River Commission 1894 maps. Using the shapefile, I georeferenced 1910s plat maps and created datasets depicting the names of landowners and the acreage of plots. I have entered 800 plots thus far, and plan to enter all allotments present.

Other research determined the feasibility of answering questions regarding pre-lake visibility and accessibility of sites (villages, hunting camps, eagle traps, etc.,). This required detailed topographic data below Lake Sakakawea. Although far from perfect, I combined lake contour data (tolerance of 10 feet) with USGS contours to create a pre-dam digital elevation model (DEM). Viewshed and least cost path analyses are ongoing.

(4) Preliminary mapping will help identify cabins that potentially escaped flooding. If new cabins are located and permission is granted by the tribal government and landowner(s), the sites will be mapped, surface artifacts and features recorded, and soil cores taken to a depth of one meter below surface to analyze stratigraphy and any anthropogenic evidence. Cores cut through artifacts, so samples will indicate features within the structure(s) such as hearths, storage pits, and/or middens assisting in activity area analysis.

I will core along one-meter intervals. This grid system was used to record stratagraphic information, perform magnetic susceptibility, and conduct weak acid soil analyses at various earthlodge village sites, including Fort Clark (Thimmig et al. 2020) following typical geoarchaeological procedure (Milek and Roberts 2013; Wells 2007; Wilson et al. 2008). If the SHSND grants permission, coring will also be done at Fort Clark on cabins identified through magnetic gradiometry to investigate possible interior partitions and other magnetic anomalies (Wiewel and Kvamme 2016).

Analysis: I will analyze artifacts to identify domestic activities and architectural patterns (modes of construction and building maintenance); soil samples to locate architectural features; and archival materials and oral histories to add cultural context.

I will catalog object descriptions (e.g. object type, material, form, quantity, size, etc.) and provenience information according to current standards for archaeological analyses, with particular attention paid to artifact types aiding architectural analysis and/or indicating construction methodologies. For example, preliminary research on archival photographs indicates many different types of cabins. Photos show log cabins and framed cabins; both leave behind distinct archaeological traces. Log cabins use notched joining, therefore, fewer nails are required than framed houses. Log cabins also require fewer post holes, while a framed structure needs many vertical posts to support horizontal beams. Log cabins have few windows, so glass will be an important artifact type to consider. Additionally, window glass thickness can estimate age and periods of remodeling (Connolly et al. 2009). Distributions of artifacts (e.g., types of hardware) can be used to locate doorways and deduce building orientation (Priess 2000). Other features visible archaeologically include hearths, room divisions, and caches.

I will also consult archival materials at the National Anthropological Archives and SHSND. Historic photographs, already proven to be rich sources of information, alongside archaeological field notes, government records, and other documents will contextualize the object-based analysis (Banks and Snortland 1995; Lydon 2010a, 2010b; Schneider 2007). Additionally, detailed ethnographies from the early 20th century (see Gilbert L. Wilson and Frances Densmore) will provide cultural context for my interpretations. Lastly, oral histories, collected from between 5-10 tribal members, will recenter the topics of allotment, earthlodge and cabin construction, and life on the reservation from a tribal perspective. Stories detailing where domestic activities took place and the material traces they left behind will situate objects into their cultures of use and practice rather than cultures of origin and manufacture.

Werner-Gren Question 4

I am well suited to conduct this research due to (1) my relationship with the Three Affiliated Tribes, (2) the connections I have established with relevant scholars and institutions across the country, (3) my academic background, and (4) my archaeological field and lab experience.

(1) Despite the mistreatment by archaeologists that took place when the dam was constructed, many tribal members keep an open mind about working with archaeologists today. I am in close contact with the Tribal Historic Preservation Office (THPO) Director, Allen Demaray, who handles all matters related to preservation for the tribe, and the THPO's Cultural Resource Project Manager and NAGPRA Officer, Mary Baker, who does more hands-on work. I also previously worked with the now Superintendent of the Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site, Alisha Deegan, who is herself Arikara. My master's which focused on one River Basin Survey site, drew heavily on another history master's thesis by Michael Barthelemy Jr., a Hidatsa, who utilized oral histories to counter claims made by archaeologists and anthropologists. I have learned a great deal from all of these tribal members and more.

(2) This project is multi-sited and requires visits to many institutions across the country. My previously established connections and ongoing relationships with these institutions grant me access to collections and archives. The institutions where I have contacts include the National Museum of Natural History and the National Museum of the American Indian's repatriation departments, the State Historical Society of North Dakota's collections department and State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO), and the Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site (KNRI) and the Midwestern Archaeological Center (MWAC). I also work closely with notable scholars I have met while actively participating in the Plains Anthropological Society including Pulitzer Prize-winning author Elizabeth Fenn and Maria Nieves Zedeno and her former students Wendi Field Murray and Kacy Hollenback—all professors at various institutions across the country. I am also a member of the society's student affairs committee and will continue to play an active role.

(3) As a graduate student I have taken courses in many subjects applicable to this project. For example, I took a course entitled "The Archaeology of Settler Colonialism," which required readings of the foundational theoretical literature. I had the opportunity to work with archivists at one of the libraries at my university in a class called "Accessioning, Archiving and Activism: Critical and Creative Approaches To Collecting and Preserving The Past," where, as a class, we were able to accession an item of our choosing. The main theme that ran throughout the course was how to combat silences in the archives, something I must do for this project. Lastly, I am well-versed in anthropological theory and method regarding on space, place, and landscapes. Classes entitled "Anthropology of Place" and "Advanced Geospatial Methods" taught me foundational theory and how to use that theory inform the mapping, processing, and visualization of spatial data to answer questions about space and spatial relationships

(4) Throughout my undergraduate and graduate career I have participated in field projects and archaeometric research. My undergraduate field school took place at Picuris Pueblo's old church that was destroyed during the Pueblo Revolt. The following summer I worked for a cultural resource management

company in Dallas, Texas doing pedestrian survey and shovel testing at various properties across Texas and Oklahoma. I also worked in the lab cleaning and cataloging artifacts and processing flotation samples. I participated in two field sessions, one geophysical field session and one excavation, at Sakakawea Village (KNRI) that same summer. Regarding archaeometry, I conducted weak acid soil extractions and magnetic susceptibility of soil samples from Fort Clark (one of this project's proposed sites), and I am very familiar with ceramic analysis. I conducted step-wise clay oxidation analysis coupled with magnetic susceptibility to determine the original firing temperature of Hidatsa sherds from Taylor Bluff and Like-A-Fish-Hook among other sites to assess changes in traditional knowledge, resource accessibility, and labor over time. Lastly, my master's work was on the collection from Crow-Flies-High Village. I cataloged and photographed thousands of artifacts in the collection to critique the original report and offer my own theoretically informed analyses. This resulted in my thesis as well as two paper presentations that won graduate student paper awards at the Plains Anthropological Society conference and the Society for Historical Archaeology conference. My master's was positively received by some members of the tribe when presented at these conferences and upon sharing my final draft. I look forward to continuing working with and for them.

Werner-Gren Question 5

The most pertinent ethical issues this study faces all relate to the potential for the perpetuation of settler colonial ideas and biases despite my intentions to do the opposite.

Settler colonial sources:

To begin, I rely heavily on ethnohistorical information (a problematic term, see Wolf 1982) compiled by government officials and missionaries with the specific purpose of gathering information on Native Americans (Asad 1979; Uddin 2011). Similarly, the River Basin Survey program from which I draw the majority of my data was a federal program. The interactions were also primarily colonial: the archaeologists were White men and the destroyed sites were Native sites (Govaerts 2016; Lawson 2009). Furthermore, the surveys were contemporaneous with Termination Era's (1946-1959) "efforts to assimilate Indians by terminating their services and special status under trust" (Fixico 1990:35).

With the notion that Native Americans would eventually become indistinguishable from White Americans living successfully without government assistance, it is unsurprising that the archaeologists at this time operated with assimilationist and acculturative models. This also affected the theoretical treatment of topics; archaeologists reluctantly excavated later (post-1870) historic sites. English-speaking Indians dressed in modern clothing reinforced the differences observed in the archaeological record between present-day Native populations.

I will approach these issues with acknowledgment, awareness, and openness. The identification of potential biases before I begin allows me to avoid similar logical fallacies during my analysis. The United States is still a settler colonial nation; therefore, I must be aware of these structures if I am to ever break free and move past them.

Trauma and collaboration

The Garrison Dam and the River Basin Surveys are sources of trauma for the Three Affiliated tribes. The lack of consultation combined with the abandonment of the primary settlements and the inundation of sacred sites and landmarks has left the community with grief (Baker 2014; Govaerts 2016).

My approach to the historical lack of consultation is collaboration. I have been working closely with the tribe since the inception of this project and will continue to do so. Tribal members' knowledge and memories are vital to this project, but I too am a source of information as I have the means to locate and visit salvaged collections. Knowledge sharing will be reciprocal.

Additionally, further destruction will be avoided. I propose non-destructive methodologies in lieu of excavation. Soil coring is the only potentially invasive method, but it will only be done with explicit and ongoing consent.

Artifacts or belongings

This project does not deal with human remains, associated funerary objects, sacred objects, or objects of cultural patrimony, but that does not mean objects within these salvaged collections hold tantamount cultural importance to those recognized repatriatable legal categories. Objects are essential to identity, and their treatment is important to a community's peace of mind.

My approach will attempt to mend the connections between the community and these artifacts; they are belongings. They belong to the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara and will therefore be treated with the utmost respect (i.e. not sampled or damaged in any way).

Werner-Gren Question 6

The proposed project will advance understandings of Native survivance, persistence, and adaptability in settler colonial America by examining changes and continuities in domestic structures and uses of space, specifically previously salvaged Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara cabins and earthlodges from North Dakota. This work contributes to anthropological conceptualizations of how settler colonialism influences residence and kinship, while also adding nuance to cultural change over time. It brings together anthropological theories regarding settler colonialism, Indigenous critique and scholarship, and spatial anthropology.

This project's fundamental theoretical assumptions are also a meta methodology: the historical archaeology of historical archaeology. In other words, I treat the historical archaeological reports themselves as historical documents while doing my own historical archaeological research on the collections to which they belong. Approaching old archaeological work with new ideas and theoretical frameworks allows for opportunities to add more complex views of the past. This historiography of archaeology allows for different interpretations, leaving room for complexity and breaking from settler colonial biases of strict categorization and concrete conclusions. Further, it will address the gaps in knowledge resulting from processes of Indigenous erasure.

In breaking from settler colonial frameworks, this research will also add to archaeologies of survivance (Kretzler and Gonzalez 2021; Panich 2013, 2020; Silliman 2009, 2014; Tonkovich 2022 VanValkenburgh 2021). Specifically, it will add to understandings of how the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara (MHA) Nation continued despite ongoing settler colonial processes. By studying MHA uses of space during the mid to late 19th century, I will also critically examine and build upon previous scholarship on that uses space to better understand practice, daily life, and cultural negotiation (Beaudry 2004; Deagan 1995; Hendon 1996; Liebmann 2012; Lightfoot et al. 1998; Silliman 2010). Domestic activities in household contexts provide insight into individual, private responses to culture change, while the spatial layout of the broader community provides information on the changing dynamics of power and control (Furgeson 1996; Kent 1990, 1993; Lightfoot et al. 1998). My study uses these theories and hypothesizes that living in so-called Euro-American-style cabins does not prove acculturation nor a lack of Indigeneity (Cipolla 2013a; Silliman 2009).

This project argues against the notion of the inevitable loss of MHA Indigeneity through absolute assimilation argued previously by salvage archaeologists. Despite these consequences of United States settler colonialism, the MHA remain in their ancestral homelands. This research will shed more light on their resilience during the tumultuous 19th century and support the MHA's continued survivance into the 21st century.

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