



# Private property, public archaeology: resident communities as stakeholders in American archaeology

By: Alice Wright

## Abstract

In the United States, archaeological sites on private lands have few legal protections, and are thus at risk of damage or destruction. To alleviate these risks, archaeologists must engage thoughtfully with private property owners and develop strategies to promote site stewardship. In this article, I identify the resident community – those people who live on archaeological sites, regardless of their ancestral ties to those sites- as an important stakeholder in archaeology. Based on recent fieldwork experiences on a privately owned site in the southeastern US, I discuss the unique challenges of engaging a resident community in archaeological research, and the potential of such engagement for fostering archaeological stewardship. Specifically, I use theories of place attachment derived from environmental psychology to explore how resident communities may be encouraged to empathize with and protect the archaeological records of past people.

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In the United States, archaeological sites on private lands have few legal protections, and are thus at risk of damage or destruction. To alleviate these risks, archaeologists must engage thoughtfully with private property owners and develop strategies to promote site stewardship. In this article, I identify the *resident community* – those people who live on archaeological sites, regardless of their ancestral ties to those sites – as an important stakeholder in archaeology. Based on recent fieldwork experiences on a privately owned site in the southeastern US, I discuss the unique challenges of engaging a resident community in archaeological research, and the potential of such engagement for fostering archaeological stewardship. Specifically, I use theories of place attachment derived from environmental psychology to explore how resident communities may be encouraged to empathize with and protect the archaeological records of past people.

## Keywords

Private property; resident community; place attachment; stewardship.

What is remembered is well grounded if it is remembered as being in a particular place – a place that may well take precedence over the time of its occurrence.

(Casey 1987, 214–15)

## Introduction

From a globalized twenty-first century vantage point, the question ‘who owns the past’ frequently brings to mind international concerns, such as universal museums, the illicit antiquities market and heritage tourism. ‘Who owns the past’ is also a question worth asking on a local scale, particularly as it relates to the protection of the archaeological record *in situ*. In the United States, unlike many other countries, the legal answer to this question is often ‘whoever

owns the land,' and these rights of ownership have a major impact on how – or, rather, if – archaeological resources are protected. Since the passing of the Archaeological Resources Protection Act in 1979, land alteration or development projects that are carried out on federal lands and/or with federal funds legally require a compliance process in which significant archaeological resources are identified, preserved and studied through mitigation or data recovery. In contrast, sites or artefacts on property owned by private citizens (with the exception of human burials) receive no such federal protections (Neumann, Sanford and Harry 2010, 31). As a result, much of the archaeological record located within the US borders is at risk of damage and destruction by a variety of land-use practices (e.g. agricultural and recreational activities) and private development interests.<sup>1</sup>

It is unlikely that provisions will be made for the protection of archaeological resources on private property in the US in the foreseeable future. Not only are private property rights a long-standing national priority, but many private landowners of non-Indigenous descent lack an ancestral tie to the people who contributed to the bulk of the North American archaeological record. In this latter regard, an anecdote from the President of the Archaeological Conservancy is as revelatory as it is discouraging: 'As one state senator told me when I explained that we should protect our national heritage, "Son, it may be part of your heritage, but it ain't part of mine."' (Michel 2003, 4). This position is founded on the idea that heritage (defined here simply as a transmission of the past to the present) and ancestral identity are isomorphic, and certainly these phenomena are frequently connected and mutually constitutive. However, neither heritage nor identity is a static, absolute category; rather, they are the result of ongoing production of interpersonal relationships among particular agents (Russell 2010). Considered in this light, it is possible to see heritage as potentially relevant to and valued by groups whose identities are based on something other than (or in addition to) common ancestry.

In this article, I suggest that in the rural US (and probably in other parts of the world), identities based on shared connections to *place* comprise an important and under-appreciated dimension of building, managing and preserving heritage. Specifically, I identify *resident communities* as groups whose privately owned homes and lands encompass archaeological sites or other heritage resources, regardless of ancestral identity. Theories of place attachment derived from environmental psychology are adopted to investigate the intersections of intellectual and emotional ties to particular places in the present and in the past, and to underscore the potential of resident communities as invested stakeholders in archaeological research and stewardship. In keeping with the theme of this issue, I then discuss unique opportunities for and challenges of public archaeology in the context of resident community engagement, based largely my experiences mapping and excavating a 2,000-year-old ancestral Cherokee site situated in a modern suburban neighbourhood in western North Carolina.

As I elaborate below, my arguments are not meant to undermine the heritage claimed by descendent communities or to suggest that a resident community's investment in local heritage can replace or overshadow the relationships between present-day Indigenous people and their ancestral pasts. In fact, there are some heritage resources, such as certain sacred sites or artefacts, for which the extension of heritage ties to non-descendent groups and the development of related public archaeology initiatives would be inappropriate (Appler 2012). In cases where these understandable constraints are not present, however, I would like to suggest that engagement with a resident community offers an important way for archaeologists not only to disseminate their findings

among an interested public, but also to encourage active, on-site archaeological stewardship and the preservation of otherwise unprotected archaeological resources.

### **Place attachment and resident communities**

The relationship between people and place is a perennial topic of social scientific interest. Since at least the early 1990s, scholars in environmental psychology and related disciplines have theorized some of the phenomenological aspects of place by examining *place attachment*, seminally defined by Low and Altman (1992, 2) as ‘the bonding of people to places’ (related concepts include sense of place, rootedness, place dependence, place satisfaction; see Lewicka 2011). From a phenomenological perspective, place attachment is dynamic, rather than static, and emerges through lived experiences in a particular place, glossed as the process of *place interaction* (Seamon 2014). Place interaction, in turn, can lead to the development of *place identity*: the ways in which people come to define themselves, self-consciously or not, with the places in which they live. As summarized by David Seamon, ‘Place identity and place interaction are reciprocal processes in the sense that, through place interaction, participants actively engage with place. They come to feel a part of place and associate their personal or group identity with the identity of that place’ (2014, 17).

Because it emerges through lived experiences, place attachment finds a secure footing in the present insofar as the ongoing activities of being a resident in a certain place constantly contribute to the formation of place identities. That said, place interaction and place identity are not processes that occur only in the present. The archaeological record attests to tens of thousands of years during which people attached themselves to particular places, often in the same locations where modern place attachments are continually evolving. This is not to say that the ways in which past peoples went about interacting and identifying with place are identical to today’s place attachments, but rather to acknowledge that some form of attachment to a particular place may serve as a unifying experience among groups separated by time or by distinct cultural identities. In this regard, place attachment, place interaction and place identity are concepts that can illuminate our understanding of the relationship between ancient archaeological sites and modern-day resident communities.

Although phenomenological theories of place attachment highlight the importance of everyday lived experiences for generating senses of place and place identities, an examination of place-based ties engendered by ‘mere’ dwelling rarely makes its way into heritage discourse. Instead, place attachment is more often construed as a function of historical ties to place. Numerous public history, public archaeology and other heritage initiatives in the US are grounded in a desire to make connections between extant communities and local, ancestral pasts (e.g. Hayden 1995). In these cases, the vested interest of a living community in a place is often predicated on their ancestral ties to previous generations of people who lived in that same place. While this emphasis on historical attachments to place has had a tremendous and often positive impact on local heritage management, it overlooks and implicitly undervalues how more recent lived experiences can serve as catalysts for the formation of place identity, and how individuals or groups claiming such an identity may contribute to heritage.

The underestimation of relatively short-term place attachment has recently undergone some debate in environmental psychology (summarized in Lewicka 2011, 214–15). In response to the traditional stance that place attachment accrues incrementally as connections

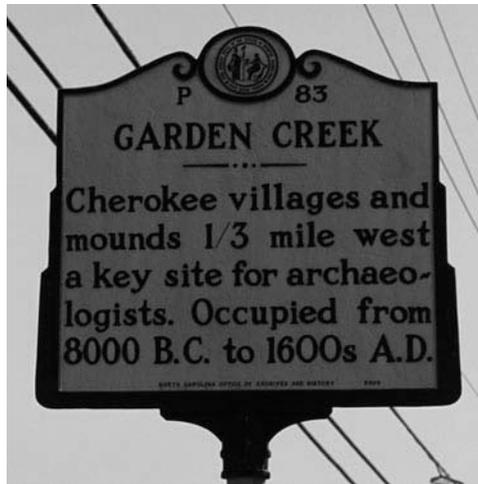
to that place extend further in time (e.g. Hay's (1998) typology that distinguishes among superficial, partial, personal, ancestral and cultural senses of place), recent studies of recreational place attachment have suggested that senses of place derived from shorter-term interactions may not be necessarily less than, but simply different from deeply rooted, historical connections. Even though this latter body of research has focused on place attachments of tourists, seasonal residents and new settlers, I suggest that it offers some important insights for understanding place attachments felt by modern-day residents of a particular place in the absence of an ancestral connection.

Recent heritage work in Australia has highlighted this issue. For example, citing Byrne (2002), Rodney Harrison advocates an examination of 'archaeologies of attachment' focused on 'the relationship between the material traces of the past and their contemporary significance to both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal communities' (2004, 3). In this and other Australian case studies (e.g. chapters in Harrison and Williamson 2002), however, such projects have been made more straightforward by focusing on the post-settler/post-1788 period of Australian history, to which both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people contributed. That said, building on the theories of place attachment explored above, archaeologies of attachment can also emerge in the absence of a mutually constituted history. Put another way, through place interactions, relationships can emerge between the pre-colonial archaeological record and living, non-descendent communities in ways that can significantly contribute to place identity formation. In turn, these experiences may be marshalled to encourage new appreciation for and stewardship of the past represented in the archaeological record.

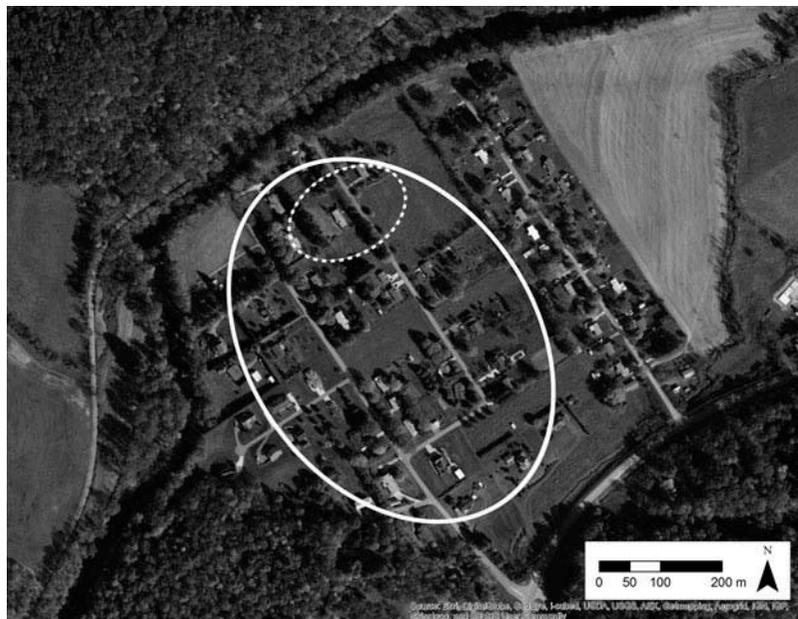
### **Challenges and opportunities of resident community engagement**

In the rural US, place interactions that emerge through dwelling often occur on private property, where traces of the past are not usually protected by law. The legal standing of archaeological resources on private property in the US presents several challenges to the implementation of archaeological research and public archaeology efforts. Several of these issues were anticipated and confronted during recent investigations at the Garden Creek site in western North Carolina. Garden Creek (31Hw2, 31Hw8) has been known as an archaeological locality since at least the 1880s, at which time local residents and visiting antiquarians targeted some of its mounds for museum-quality artefacts (Ward and Davis 1999). Over the years, the site has undergone multiple professional excavations (Heye 1919; Keel 1976), revealing both mounds and occupation areas dating to the Middle Woodland period (*c.* 300 BC–AD 600). This record attests to a deep historical presence of ancestral Cherokee peoples at the site, predating the earliest Euro-American settlement in the Southern Appalachians and subsequent Cherokee displacement by several centuries (Ehle 1988; Hatley 1993). Since 2003, the Cherokee history of this site has been recognized by a North Carolina Highway Historical Marker (Fig. 1). However, there are no other obvious indications that more than two millennia of human occupation occurred in this place; on the ground surface, the Garden Creek site is invisible.

Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, the lands that now comprise the archaeological site were agriculture fields, tended by the descendants of one of the first Anglo-American families to settle in the area (Allen 1935; Coltman 2004). The property was sold for private residential development in the 1950s. Today, the Garden Creek site is the location of a suburban neighbourhood comprised of about three dozen single-family homes extending across approximately



*Figure 1* North Carolina highway historical marker at the Garden Creek site, Canton, North Carolina (photo by the author).



*Figure 2* Present-day landscape at the Garden Creek site, North Carolina. Dashed line indicates approximate extent of 31Hw8 according to surface artefact distributions mapped in the 1960s. Solid line indicates approximate extent of 31Hw8 based on 2011 and 2012 gradiometer survey.

60 acres (Fig. 2). Each house is surrounded by well-developed lawns, flower beds and vegetable gardens. In short, there is very little to suggest to the casual observer that this particular piece of land is anything other than a well-kept middle-class neighbourhood.

Some of the houses in the neighbourhood are still occupied by their original residents or by the children of the original residents. Others have been sold and bought over the years, resulting in some neighbours having only more recent residential ties to this place. During my five cumulative months of fieldwork in the neighbourhood, I met no residents who claimed descent from local Indigenous communities; rather, their ancestral ties to this place extended, at most, one or two generations into the past. However, in the course of living on and working this land, many residents had encountered traces of the site's deeper past, and were at least peripherally aware of the archaeological remains on their properties. In some cases, this knowledge was limited to what was written on the highway historical marker; more than one resident told me that, although they had known there *had been* a site here in the past, they were not aware that there *still is* a site here in the twenty-first century. Other encounters were more tangible, involving the collection of artefacts chummed up by a rototiller, the observation of stone flakes while digging a hole for a fence post and the discovery of a hearth and associated ceramic sherds in the course of excavating a subbasement for a new garage.

Against this backdrop, I initiated the Garden Creek Archaeological Project (GCAP) in 2011 to (1) examine several topics of academic interest and (2) experiment with public archaeology approaches in the setting of a non-descendent neighbourhood community. While the former are discussed elsewhere (see Horsley, Wright, and Barrier 2014; Wright 2014; Wright and Loveland 2015), here, I summarize a few of the anticipated challenges of engagement with this resident community and the strategies developed by GCAP to mitigate their negative dimensions and capitalize on their positive potential. Specifically, GCAP's public archaeology efforts sought to expand the terms of public engagement beyond obtaining permission from landowners to conduct archaeological research by taking seriously residents' emotional connections to the landscape and attempting to extend those connections into the past.

### *Challenge 1: building trust on private property*

Any archaeological investigation on private property requires explicit landowner permission, which is often easier to talk about than it is to receive. In many parts of the US, landowners' initial mistrust of archaeologists often stems from fears that archaeological discoveries would place limitations on their use of their property (Van Keuren 2003). Recently in North Carolina this impression has been fuelled by news stories about development projects that have been delayed or halted as the result of the discovery of previously unknown archaeological remains (e.g. Mitchell 2009). What is rarely made explicit in such media coverage is the legal justification of project adjustments related to the discovery of archaeological resources – namely, the fact that the project in question is either located on government lands or subsidized by government funds. Existing laws require that damage and disturbance to archaeological resources encountered under these circumstances be mitigated through avoidance and/or professional archaeological investigation.

As discussed above, similar protections are *not* codified for development projects on private lands. Nevertheless, because this distinction rarely makes its way into media coverage, many landowners may not be enthusiastic about the discovery of archaeological sites and artefacts on their property. There is a genuine concern that such a discovery may result in restrictions on private land use. Thus, one major challenge facing archaeologists working on private property is building trust with landowners by educating them about existing laws, assuring them that their private property rights are not at risk and explaining how property law and archaeological investigations need not be at odds.

As anticipated, this situation was encountered early on at the Garden Creek site. For example, the landowner who discovered the hearth below his garage admitted that he did not tell anyone when he found this feature, preferring instead to quietly collect the artefacts for safekeeping (i.e. not for sale) and to continue with his construction project. He feared that his discovery of archaeological remains put his property at risk of intervention or seizure by the government. Under these circumstances, my engagement with the resident community at the Garden Creek site began not only with an expression of my own academic interest in these discoveries, but also with assurances that such discoveries would not subject landowners to unwanted governmental interference with their private property rights. In these conversations, it was important to listen to, take seriously and alleviate landowners' worries, and to honestly state that, with the exception of human burials, they had and would continue to have complete control of archaeological materials on their properties.<sup>2</sup> By positioning myself, as the archaeologist, as sympathetic to their legal rights, it was possible to dismantle the perception that archaeologists and landowners are necessarily in conflict. Moreover, with their apprehensions allayed, landowners appeared to feel more comfortable expressing their interests in local archaeology, including their own previous, serendipitous encounters with the archaeological record and their desire to learn more about it through ongoing fieldwork.

### *Challenge 2: discouraging lay excavations and looting*

At the same time that archaeologists need to convince landowners that their private property rights are secure, they also need to demonstrate that archaeological investigations are best carried out by professionals. In other words, archaeologists must be aware that by locating archaeological resources on private property, they may be showing people where to dig, i.e. loot, should they be inclined to do so. To combat this challenge, archaeologists must make a concerted effort to explain how archaeological artefacts are only as good as their context, and to suggest ways in which landowners might engage with the archaeological record through protection and stewardship, rather than amateur digging.

At Garden Creek, our strategy for deterring possible interest in looting was to welcome visitors to our excavations and to 'show and tell' exhaustively the artefacts that we had recovered. To the layperson, these assemblages were rarely the cause for particular excitement: small potsherds, quartz and chert flakes, the occasional fragment of animal bone, etc. Discoveries of this nature quickly and effectively dispelled the idea that the site's archaeology would yield 'treasures' of any monetary value. They also provided many opportunities to explain how trained archaeologists can tell fascinating stories about the past by interpreting what appear to the casual observer to be lacklustre artefacts. Combined, these messages served to discourage on-site looting for monetary gain as well as unsupervised amateur excavations driven by a genuine (if possibly misguided) interest in the material past. Rather, local residents were encouraged to work with and alongside archaeologists as a means of maximizing their interpretative returns.

### *Challenge 3: illuminating shared place-based experiences*

Whereas the preceding challenges address practical concerns involved with gaining access to and protecting archaeological resources in the short term, archaeological projects on private property also confront longer-term challenges of public investment and preservation. It is in this arena that appeals to place attachment among a resident community are particularly relevant.

Specifically, if non-descendent residents can be encouraged to empathize with the experiences of the ancient inhabitants on the basis of occupation of the same place, then they may gain an appreciation for the heritage resources below their feet and strive to protect them. In the best-case scenario, their awareness of these resources may discourage them from altering their property in a way that might negatively impact on the archaeological record. Alternatively, they may be encouraged to consult with professional archaeologists before archaeological deposits are damaged or destroyed by variably invasive projects – from the cultivation of a new garden plot to the installation of an in-ground pool. In a more general sense, a well-informed resident community can serve as on-location stewards and advocates for archaeological sites, protecting them from development or looting. Moreover, as members of other communities associated with schools, municipalities, professional organizations, etc. they can share their knowledge and experiences with other groups that might not otherwise be exposed to archaeological projects or have an appreciation for deep histories of particular places.

This process began at Garden Creek with an attempt to widen residents' perspectives about past habitation on their property. Before fieldwork began, local interest in the site's archaeology was essentially fetishistic, focused on the artefacts themselves as ancient relics rather than as viable indicators of ancient people's occupation of what is now a suburban development. In order to show that these objects were not simply curious in their own right, but also evidence of real, lived experiences in the past, GCAP strove to inform residents about every stage of on-site research, from mapping and surveying using geophysical techniques (Horsley, Wright, and Barrier 2014), to excavating features and making on-site interpretations (Wright 2014). These efforts resulted in the extension of the site's boundaries far beyond what had been previously recognized (see Fig. 2), the identification of numerous archaeological features representative of some sort of Indigenous occupation, and the discovery of two previously undetected geometric enclosures (Wright 2014).

Many residents expressed surprise and enthusiasm that so much archaeology was detected through geophysical prospection, since nearly no indication of the site's ancient occupation exists today on the ground surface. The maps produced using geophysical data also allowed local residents to appreciate the archaeological remains on an experiential scale that had not before been accessible. Whereas their previous knowledge of the site was limited to a highway marker and the occasional artefact find, they could now see that this site was once the location of an occupation – perhaps a gathering place or a village – where people ate, slept, worked and socialized. In short, a view of the archaeology as an occupation encouraged modern residents to recognize that previous generations of people dwelt at the site, much like they now dwell there. Although none of these current residents was genetically related to members of this particular ancient community, they still expressed a connection to them based on a mutual attachment to this particular place. To paraphrase one neighbour, it is a great place to live today, so it makes sense that people in the past would have wanted to live here too.

This new sense of connection was enhanced by opportunities for residents to interact tangibly with the archaeological process and with our findings. Residents visited our excavations almost daily as they walked their children to the bus stop, retrieved their mail or undertook yard work (Fig. 3). While this did slow the pace of archaeological fieldwork, an open-door policy for residents was deemed essential for two reasons. First, our ability to conduct work on the site was entirely reliant on the neighbours' goodwill, and we reasoned that, if we were welcoming, they might be as well. Second, inspired by the theories discussed above that suggest lived experiences can foster heightened place attachment, we sought to make coexistence with the



*Figure 3* Interactions between archaeologists and residents at Garden Creek. Left: a typical afternoon site visit; right: site visitation day.

archaeological record part of present-day dwelling at Garden Creek. These efforts culminated in a community-wide visitation day, which served not only to underscore everyday interactions among residents, archaeologists and the site, but also to celebrate them.

In sum, by engaging with neighbourhood residents in the course of fieldwork and by taking seriously their emotional ties to this place and its past, public archaeology efforts at Garden Creek helped to forge a new community of archaeological site stewards. Armed with new knowledge about the superficially invisible archaeological record below their feet, the resident community gained a new dimension of place attachment based not on ancestral connections, but instead on the experience they shared with the site's previous inhabitants: dwelling in the same place. Conversations with residents revealed a sense of pride in this shared experience, as well as a sense of responsibility with regard to the preservation of the material record of this experience. Considering that the land that comprises the Garden Creek site is privately owned, and legally open to private alteration or development, fostering a stewardship ethic among landowners is far from a guarantee for the protection of the site, but it is a critical step in that direction. Anecdotally, the months following the conclusion of fieldwork at Garden Creek witnessed several follow-up communications with local residents, in which they shared stories about other sites in the area, asked questions about how they might continue their involvement in archaeological research as volunteers and suggested further outreach efforts that might allow us to share our local findings with an even wider public. These ongoing discussions demonstrate how the deliberate inclusion of residents in archaeological projects with an emphasis on place attachment can enrich archaeological research and heritage management in both the near and the long term.

In presenting this public archaeology case study from Garden Creek, I have focused on the challenges of and strategies for engagement between archaeologists and the group of stakeholders defined as the resident community. However, it is imperative to recognize that the living descendants

of the people who occupied such sites during the pre-Columbian era are also vital in public archaeology. Such engagements demand examinations of their own, and have received many (see, among others, Atalay 2012; Gallivan and Moretti-Langholtz 2007; Watkins 2003; Zimmerman 2005; as well as chapters in Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2007; Kerber 2006; Silliman 2008; Swidler et al. 1997). Similar discussions are beyond the scope of the present argument, which is meant to highlight the potential of an invested resident community for protecting and preserving local archaeological records that are not afforded legal protection in the rural US. That said, encouraging a resident community to identify with the past through place attachment, rather than through shared ancestry, cannot be undertaken without considering how such efforts will contribute to the coalescence of multiple public histories and identities (Lepofsky 2011).

In his seminal discussion of public memory, Paul Shackel (2001) points out that there is a risk in historical archaeology of telling selective histories that exclude alternative pasts. A public archaeology project that works with a resident community lacking ancestral ties to a particular archaeological site is arguably one way to undermine this sort of 'exclusionary past'. At Garden Creek, we were able to share with residents an aspect of local history that was essentially forgotten, in no small part because it was literally invisible. Suddenly, as a result of recent fieldwork, residents' awareness of their local history and landscape was not only extended 2000 years into the past, but also expanded to encompass different ancestral communities.

At the same time, however, this sort of public archaeology project should not ignore important tensions that inevitably arise from different claims to particular sites – those based on descent, on the one hand, and those based on place attachment on the other. That properties like the Garden Creek site are the private landholdings of non-Indigenous Americans is in itself a fraught situation, in light of the traumatic historical events that contributed to the displacement of Indigenous peoples from those lands. No living landowner at this site personally carried disease into the New World, or perpetrated a continuous advance of Euro-American settlement into Indian Country during the colonial era, or drove Native families from their homes and forced them along the Trail of Tears. And yet, without these and other traumatic historical realities, these properties might still have been in the hands of Indigenous peoples, in which case the descendent and resident communities would be one and the same. That they are *not* the same may be a source of ambivalence, unease or anger. At a minimum, these lands and sites are of proprietary concern to Native communities; the *Cherokee Heritage Trails Guidebook*, for instance, makes mention of numerous historically important Cherokee sites and landscapes that exist not only on state and federal lands, but also on private property (Duncan and Riggs 2003). It is the responsibility of archaeologists to recognize this potential for conflict, to attempt to mediate such conflicts in ways that respect a range of emotions and, where possible and desirable from the point of view of different stakeholders, to undertake collaborative research endeavours that do not overlook past and present tensions.

With all of this in mind, the fact that 'historical consciousness and place consciousness are inextricably intertwined' (Glassberg 1996, 17) creates an opportunity for genuine civic engagement and the productive illumination of common ground among groups with different ancestral identities and histories. Forging links between past and present – even between living communities and an ancestrally distinctive past – is a critical step in understanding the roots of the world we live in today, with its attendant social justice issues. At a minimum, these public archaeology projects challenge 'white-washed' accounts of the American past, in which Native histories are 'often subsumed with an overarching narrative of progress toward a pluralistic, democratic American present' (Gallivan and Danielle 2007, 47).

## Conclusion

As is the case in the rest of the world, there are numerous ‘publics’ to consider when undertaking public archaeology in the US. However, particularly in rural America, these concerns are complicated by the legal standing of the many archaeological sites that exist on private property, at risk of destruction through malice or (more plausibly, I would like to think) through ignorance. Many of these sites are invisible to the layperson, and many of them contain records of histories that far pre-date the lived and ancestral experiences of the communities who occupy them today. Under these circumstances, I argue that conscious engagement of a resident community is an especially viable avenue for public archaeology. From a purely practical standpoint, it makes sense to work thoughtfully with residents: long after the archaeologist leaves a site, they will be the ones responsible for its protection and preservation. In order to foster this necessary stewardship ethic, I propose that public archaeologists capitalize on residents’ place attachment as a source of common ground linking them to a temporally distant, ancestrally distinctive past. In this regard, practitioners of public archaeology can adopt a framework similar to that which David Glassberg identified for the field of public history: we can

participate in the process of placemaking and contribute to local residents’ sense of place by adding a sense of location to local residents’ sense of emotional attachment, helping residents and visitors alike to see what ordinarily cannot be seen: both the memories attached to places and the larger social and economic processes that shaped how the places were made.

(Glassberg 1996, 20–1)

## Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

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## Notes

- 1 In fact, there are many cases in the US in which private landowners know about and are ardent protectors of their properties’ archaeological resources (for a recent example, see Gallivan and Danielle 2007). This article aims to explore strategies for encouraging stewardship among private property owners who are initially less aware of or less invested in local archaeology.
- 2 With regard to human remains, local residents were entirely receptive to the idea that graves should remain undisturbed. In fact, one elderly resident expressed pride in the fact that her ancestor – one of the property’s pre-neighbourhood settlers – would not allow representatives

from Richmond's Valentine Museum to mine a then-extant mound for artefacts, demanding instead that they 'Let the dead rest' (Valentine n.d. A:133, cited in Keel 1976, 74).

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