

## *Children and Ceramic Innovation: A Study in the Archaeology of Children*

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### ABSTRACT

Studies of the archaeological remains of children's activities have the potential to inform us not only on the lives of children but also on the lives of those around them. In this essay, I examine a class of artifacts that highlights the interactive and transformative nature of learning within prehistoric Huron society. This class of artifacts, juvenile pots, has typically been attributed to children but then summarily ignored. Stylistic analysis of these artifacts is used to address the question of whether children were innovators in prehistoric Huron society. Temporal changes in the decorative motifs applied to juvenile pots indicate that Huron children were active participants in a network of intergenerational learning/teaching interactions and in the process of creating stylistic change.

**Keywords:** ceramics, juvenile pots, innovation, style, Huron

Style is a durable form of communication that pervades the material life of people, existing in everything from ceramic pots to the design of vast cities. Investigations of style, when style is regarded as communication, allow the archaeologist to explore interactions between individuals, between individuals and society, and between different societies. The focus of this chapter is on communication between individuals, with the purpose of examining style transmission and innovation in ceramic decoration, specifically, the role of children as agents of stylistic change. This purpose grew out of a desire to humanize the past and to recognize the active role of children in past societies. I concentrated on one particular category of artifacts common on Iroquoian sites in southern Ontario, variously known as "juvenile," "baby," or "toy" pots (Pearce 1978:1). These small ceramic vessels are thought to have been produced by children and are, in fact, categorically different, in formation and design, from the typical, widespread "adult" pots (Smith 2003). Both the adult and juvenile pots were drawn from assemblages recovered from a series of prehistoric Huron sites in the Barrie region of south-central Ontario (Figure 5.1).

A focus on children's roles in style transmission tends to imply socialization. Considering the importance of ceramics

to Huron society, it is likely that the skill would have been taught or learned at an early age (Hayden and Cannon 1984). The typical understanding of socialization is that it is a passive or unidirectional (adult to child) learning/teaching process. I am interested, however, in considering socialization as an interpretive or interactive process. The historian Camic (1983) suggests that an important aspect of this is "learning from experience," and this experience can "run counter to formal socialization" (Meckel 1984:417). This means that out of the enculturation process can come new forms and contents: "thus experience can provide the raw material for new cultural orientations and thus can act as a seed-bed for significant cultural change" (Meckel 1984:417). Given this view of socialization, the purpose of this chapter is to address the issue of children and innovation in prehistoric Huron society by the examination of interaction spheres in which children were socialized and of agency, the active participation of individuals in the process of change.

### Background: Archaeology of Children

The 20th century has been hailed as the century of the child (Cunningham 1991:218); however, only recently

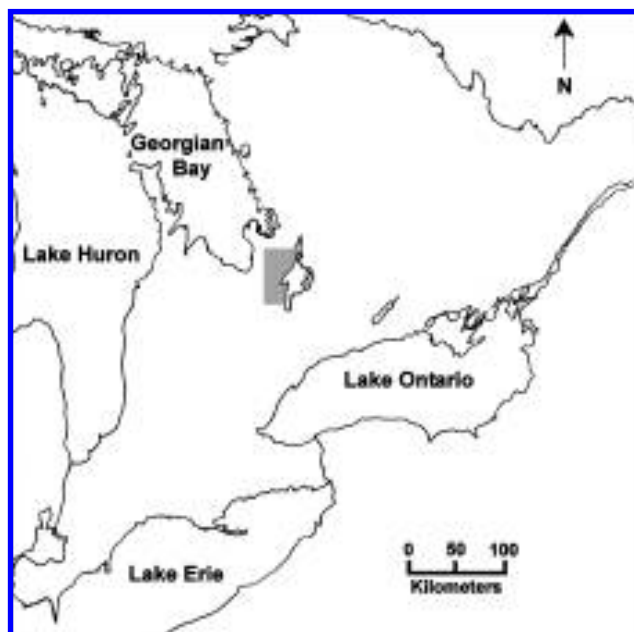


Figure 5.1. Location of sample sites (after Sutton 1994).

has this been reflected in archaeological discourse. The past decades have witnessed a growing proliferation of conferences and theoretical/critical papers concerned with accessing the lifeways of the (pre)historic child. These critiques and conferences have highlighted the particular difficulties associated with studying children in an archaeological context, but they have also pointed to ways in which such studies can be conducted (Baxter, chapter 6, this volume; Bugarin, this volume; Dawe 1997; Kehoe 1994; Lillehammer 1989; Moore and Scott 1997; Park 1998; Smith 2003; Timmins 1992). This interest in accessing children follows logically and poetically on the heels of the inclusion of women in archaeological reconstructions—children are one of the last groups left unrepresented. One can access the “child’s world” (Lillehammer 1989:90) archaeologically by first considering them active agents of their worlds. If this is denied, or not realized, then it is impossible to interpret their material remains as indicative of anything other than formal socialization.

Lillehammer (1989:96) advocates a holistic approach that focuses on children. Although Lillehammer does not define what this “holistic approach” is specifically, she does allude to one aspect of it: learning, or socialization. This would mean the examination of technology (Lillehammer 1989:102), that is, the tools of socialization. The results of this examination would not only tell us about what the children were doing but would also give us information about the process of enculturation. For example, toys are often considered tools for socialization. Kenyon and Arnold (1985) have discussed different categories of toys and how they were used

to socialize young Thule children (Park, this volume). They found that socialization was facilitated through “imitative behavior” because the toys were made to represent the tools adults used on a daily basis (Kenyon and Arnold 1985:352).

However, to focus simply on learning and socialization in this manner can lead to a very normative view: seeing children as important only in reference to adults. My aim is to find out not only about childhood, which may have very little to do with children (Cunningham 1991; Kamp 2001; Shepherd 1994) and more with the adults who define it, but rather to find out about the children themselves. There are two ways to ensure an “active gaze”: (1) reading socialization as an interpretive process and (2) remembering that material culture implies agency. As mentioned earlier, Camic has noted that out of the process of socialization children may “arrive by induction at orientations which no one has avowed, intended to teach them, or realized that they may someday advocate” (Camic 1983:107). Within archaeology it is perhaps easier to imagine this if we see material culture as a means of “actively constructing the world of the individual” (Sofaer Derevenski 1997:194). So, learning to manufacture, for example, juvenile pots shapes the “child’s world” (socializes them to their later roles) but at the same time can be a launching pad for their own innovations.

Not all ventures into an archaeology of children will necessarily result in finding children’s activities. An archaeology of children, however, is not only a subspecialty developed to address the absence of children from archaeological reconstructions through an analysis of archaeological correlates of both children’s and adult activities, it is also a critique (Smith 2003). Unearthing the “child’s world” means more than seeing material traces; it means understanding the lives they led, which implies questioning the assumptions made about children. This chapter provides an example of such an attempt.

## Huron Prehistory

The Hurons were a group of Native people populating southern Ontario, Canada, from around A.D. 1400 to 1650 (Ramsden 1990; Trigger 1987). They have been the focus of considerable archaeological attention perhaps because they are well documented ethnohistorically and because of their rich material culture, of which ceramic vessels are a dominant item (Ramsden 1990). Particularly important for my research are the changing decorative features on the vessels that have figured importantly as a tool to indicate culture change (MacNeish 1952; Wright 1973).

Traditionally the time from A.D. 900 to 1650, known as the Late Woodland period of southern Ontario, has been divided into three phases: Early, Middle, and Late Ontario

Table 5.1. Late Woodland period

Phase	Substage	Dates
Early Ontario Iroquois		A.D. 900–1280 (Dodd et al. 1990:324; Sutton 1997:1)
Middle Ontario Iroquois	Uren	A.D. 1280–1330 (Sutton 1997:1)
	Middleport	A.D. 1330–1400 (Dodd et al. 1990:325)
Late Ontario Iroquois		A.D. 1400–1650 (Ramsden 1990:361; Wright 1973:76)

Iroquois (Table 5.1). It was during the Late Ontario Iroquois period that the Hurons became a distinct group (Ramsden 1990; Warrick 1990; Wright 1973). Archaeologists tend to refrain from ascribing ethnic affiliations to these prehistoric groups (Warrick 1990:102); however, the populations I am dealing with in my research were in traditional Huron-Petun land and are most likely groups that gave rise to the historic Hurons.

What we know about the Hurons is based on both ethnohistoric sources and the archaeological record. They were horticulturalists who also hunted, fished, and gathered in an area known as historic Huronia, which was between Lake Simcoe and Georgian Bay (Figures 5.1 and 5.2) (Ramsden 1990:361). They lived in villages for a period of 8 to 30 years before moving on to another location; however, other special-purpose sites were also used (e.g., fishing camps) (Ramsden 1990:374). A hallmark of Huron villages was the longhouse. These cigar-shaped structures (Dodd et al. 1990:343–349) were home to a number of families thought to be related matrilineally (Ramsden 1990:376).

Seven sites from the Barrie region of southern Ontario provided the sample for this study (Figure 5.2). These sites, covering the 13th to the late 16th centuries (Table 5.2), span a sufficient amount of time to allow for trends to be seen. Also, this span is a period of much activity in this region (Warrick 1988), thereby providing insights into the relationship between ceramics and societies undergoing changes.

### Juvenile Pots

Juvenile pots are so called because they are believed to have been made by children. This is based on three traditional criteria: small size, crudity in form, and crudity in motif application. These criteria reflect the assumption that children make crude pots because they have poorly developed motor skills. Furthermore, there is an unstated belief that children are “conceptually poor” (i.e., they lack a certain level of complexity in thought). Therefore, the decorations on these vessels are not incorporated into the variety of standard classification schemes used to better understand prehistoric relations between the Hurons and other peoples.



Figure 5.2. Mapped location of sites (after ASI 1996).

Table 5.2. Chronological arrangement of sample sites

Site	Dating Method	Date
Barrie (BcGw-18)	ceramics	A.D. 1280–1330 (Sutton 1997:60)
Wiacek (BcGw-26)	ceramics, radiocarbon	mid-14th c. (ASI 1994:39; ASI 1996:77)
Carson (BcGw-9)	ceramics	early 15th c. (ASI 1996)
Hubbert (BbGw-9)	ceramics	A.D. 1450 (MacDonald and Williamson 1996:167)
Dunsmore (BcGw-10)	ceramics	mid-late 15th c. (ASI 1996:77–78)
Dougall (BdGu-2)	ceramics	A.D. 1550–1649 (Wright 1972)
Molson (BcGw-27)	glass beads	A.D. 1580 (Lennox, pers. comm., 1997)

Because of my focus on *children's* roles in ceramic innovation, it was important to assess whether these assumptions are accurate and whether it is likely that children were the manufacturers of these small pots. I examined the three traditional criteria individually and determined that they are essentially correct. In terms of crudity in form, I evaluated

the consistency of the curve of the pot and how evenly the vessel wall was constructed. I found that, in comparison with adult pots, vessel walls were very evenly made but that a consistent curve was rarely managed. I examined the motif application by evaluating impression depth (i.e., whether all the decorations were pressed equally deeply), relative length and width of decorations in regard to each other, and the spacing of the decorations (i.e., whether they were systematically spaced in relation to one another). The results of this examination indicated that this skill was not well developed. Consequently, it is easy to see that the assumption of poor motor skills is essentially correct. I then examined the assumption of poor conceptual abilities by evaluating where decorations were placed on juvenile vessels. An important aspect of Huron ceramic design is zoning; designs on pots appear in set areas. My evaluation of this ability suggests, much in line with the motor ability evaluations, that children were able to conceptualize zoning but were not always able to achieve it.

It appears then that juvenile pots are not made as well as adult pots. The remaining question is whether children made these vessels. Although it is possible to argue that these pots could be the work of apprentices, of any age, I believe these pots were likely the work of children because of other lines of evidence: re-evaluated criteria, size, life skill, and socialization. The re-evaluated criteria just discussed demonstrate that these pots are categorically different from the typical, more widespread pots, both in form and design. The small size of the vessels may reflect the amount of clay given to the child. Among the Atzompa villagers in Oaxaca, for example, Hendry notes that children “make smaller editions of what their parents manufacture” (Hendry 1992:63). As well, ethnohistoric information points to other Huron “tools of socialization” (e.g., pounding sticks, little bows) that are given to children as soon as they are able to manage them (Thwaites 1896–1901, 67:139–141; Wrong 1968:133). Pottery use was an important part of Huron society and ceramics are the most abundant artifact recovered from these sites (Lennox et al. 1986; Ramsden 1990). Also, there is a suggestion that the more pottery a household produces, the younger the age of learning becomes (Hayden and Cannon 1984:360; Warrick 1984:110). Pottery manufacture was an important craft and pots were produced often, which implies that there was a need to have this skill before adulthood. The ideal time to learn pottery-making was childhood because by the time one was an adult it would have been necessary to have the skills, not to spend time learning them. So, given the above evidence and since no alternative explanation adequately accounts for all the observations, I believe it is safe to consider that the majority of these vessels were the product of children.

## Children and Ceramic Innovation

I then examined the relationship between the designs on adult and juvenile pots to address the issue of children as innovators in ceramic decoration in prehistoric Huron society. If children were innovators, one would expect to see a temporal pattern in the creation and adoption of decorations, wherein a new decoration appears first on juvenile pots then later on adult pots, suggesting that decorations adopted during childhood are retained in adulthood. There is precedence for this proposition based on the work conducted by Timmins (1992). He examined juvenile and adult pots from Calvert, an Early Iroquoian site in southwestern Ontario and found that the decorations on juvenile pots from the Early period were the decorations that appeared on adult pots in the Late period. His interpretation was that juvenile pots “herald[ed] the wave of the future in Iroquoian ceramic design” (Timmins 1992:302).

However, in order to achieve some understanding of the innovative relationship between juvenile and adult pots, I had to first find a means to translate the decorations on both categories of vessels. I initially turned to the *motif* as the tool of choice because it is typically used to interpret designs on Huron adult pots. A motif is a set arrangement of decorative elements that is repeated (see Figure 5.3). I quickly realized, however, that using motifs reduces the potential to see variation over time, because they are combinations of single decorative elements, any one of which might reappear in different permutations over time. The motif, to some extent, obscures the value of the individual element. In light of this, I then turned to the *motif element*. Motif elements are the constituent parts of a motif (see Figure 5.4). Motif elements provide a good way to gauge creativity and influence, because, as small stylistic units, they can be more easily followed through various modifications. Furthermore, it is possible to take note of a greater variety of elements and, finally, it is easier to trace changes in elements over time. The motif element is thus a suitable unit for analysis because it allows for the comparison of decorations on both juvenile and adult pots, which had been incomparable before. This meant I could follow the use of elements on both juvenile and adult pots over time, gaining access to indications of innovation.

## Methods

Two techniques were used to analyze the motif elements, one for the juvenile pots and another for the adult pots. The first step for the juvenile pots was to determine which motif elements appeared on the vessels.

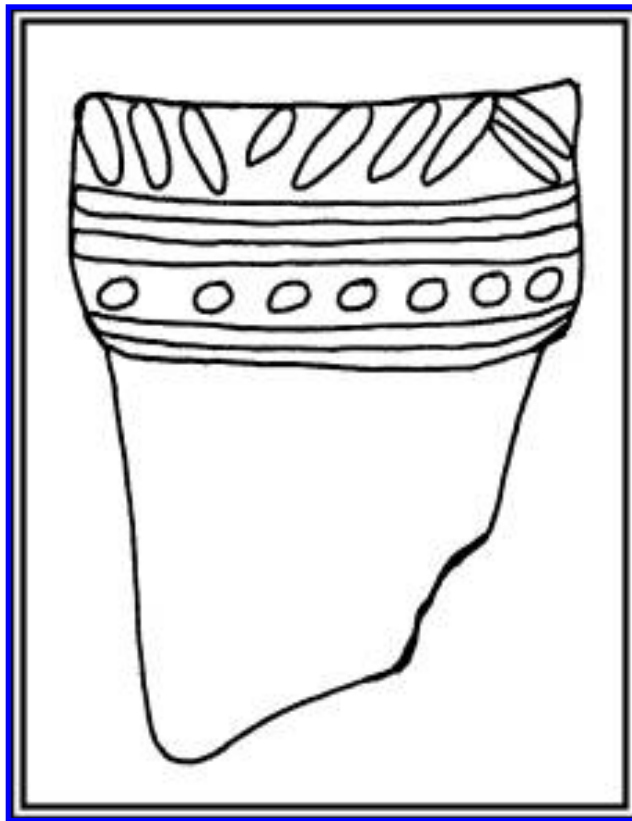


Figure 5.3. Motif.

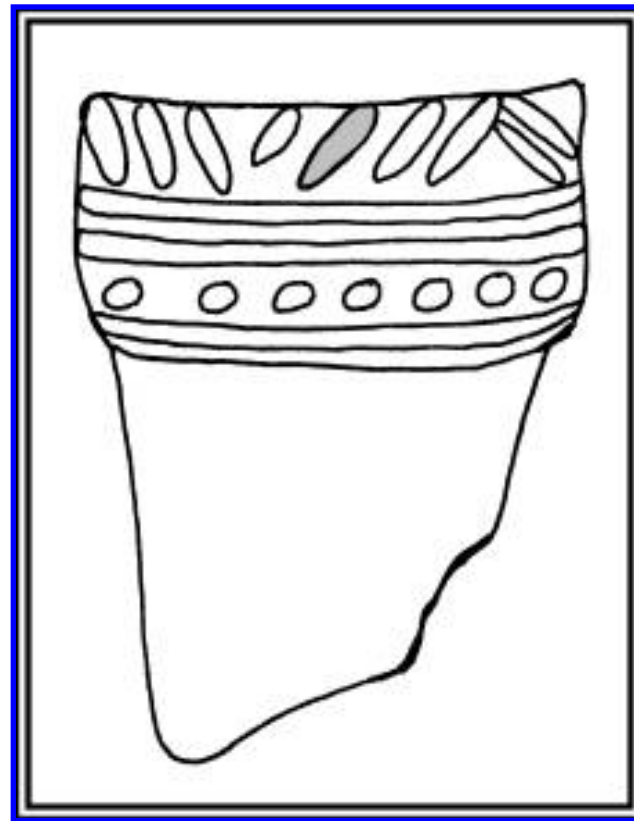


Figure 5.4. Motif element.

Three stylistic categories of motif elements were apparent: (1) *Oblique/Vertical*, (2) *Horizontal*, and (3) *Geometric* (see Figure 5.5). The first category was combined from two because the differences between “oblique” and “vertical” were not always obvious (i.e., to what degree must a Vertical element be inclined before it becomes an Oblique element), and conceptually the important aspect of these elements seemed to be an upright inclination, compared with the horizontal inclination. Once this was done, the next step was to quantify the occurrence of motif elements on juvenile and adult pots.

The appearance of different elements on juvenile pots was recorded directly, but a different method was used to record motif elements on adult pots because information on adult pots was obtained from published reports rather than firsthand observation. The consistent classification system used for these adult pots was the MacNeish Typology, which separates pots according to *types*, which involve combinations of elements that have spatial or temporal importance (Ritchie and MacNeish 1949:97). Within each type are a number of variants, any of which may incorporate motif elements I have classified separately (Horizontal, Oblique/Vertical, and Geometric). A type was grouped with a particular motif element only if all its variants contained

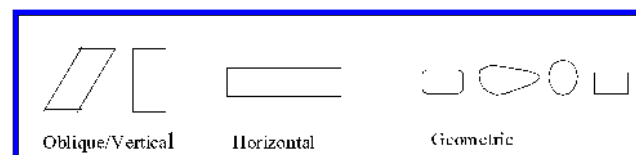


Figure 5.5. Three stylistic categories.

that particular motif element (see Table 5.3). In this manner, I was able to provide relative frequencies of motif elements for adult vessels comparable to those of the juvenile pots. This method does potentially underrepresent the frequencies of adult motif elements; however, there is no one element that is typically being underrepresented over another and this method can be applied consistently over time to permit temporal comparisons.

The next step was to provide a framework that would facilitate exploration of basic temporal trends in motif element use for the seven sites. Since there were two breaks in the chronology, the sites were simply divided into three periods: Phase I, Phase II, and Phase III. The divisions were made between Wiacek (mid-late 14th century) and Carson (early 15th century) and then between Dunsmore (mid-late 15th century) and Dougall (A.D. 1550–1650). Phase I includes Barrie



Table 5.3. MacNeish Typology converted to motif elements

Motif Elements	MacNeish Types
Horizontal	Ontario Horizontal; Middleport Oblique; Pound Necked; Copeland Incised; Warminster Horizontal; Sidey Crossed
Oblique/Vertical	Ontario Oblique; Huron Incised; Huron Incised Variant; Middleport Oblique; Lawson Incised; Lawson Incised Variant; Pound Blank; Sidey Crossed; Lalonde High Collar; Sidey Notched; Cayuga Horizontal; Richmond Incised; Warminster Crossed; Warminster Horizontal
Geometric	Goessens Punctate; Boys Oblique Dentate; Plain Collar with Punctates

(A.D. 1280–1330) and Wiacek; Phase II includes Carson, Hubbert (A.D. 1450), and Dunsmore; and Phase III includes Dougall and Molson (A.D. 1580).

Once the frequencies of the Horizontal and Oblique/Vertical elements were calculated for Phases I, II, and III, for both juvenile and adult pots, the results were plotted on histograms. It is to these results that I now turn.

### The Motif Elements

Before I launch into the discussion of the Horizontal and Oblique/Vertical elements, it is necessary to briefly comment on why I chose not to include the Geometric elements in my final comparison of motif elements on juvenile and adult pots. As indicated in Figure 5.6, Geometric elements are the least utilized element on both the adult and juvenile pots. Although they frequently appear on juvenile pots (19.5 percent), this is not the case with adult pots (1.5 percent). As a result, the Geometric category was not included in the final analysis of stylistic trends because its frequency on adult pots was too low to provide a comparable sample.

I first examined the Horizontal elements, with the hypothesis that if children were indeed innovators in ceramic decoration, then Horizontal elements should be seen first on their vessels and later on those of the adults. On the basis of the frequencies for each period (Figure 5.7), the appearance of Horizontal elements on juvenile pots does not follow the predicted pattern; in fact, the opposite appears. This element occurs on adult pots more frequently in Phase I and then, during Phase II, juvenile pots show the greater frequency of Horizontal elements. During Phase III there is a decline in the use of this element on pots in both categories, but juvenile pots still maintain a higher frequency of use.

Considering the findings with the Horizontal motif element, I formulated a new hypothesis: if children were learn-

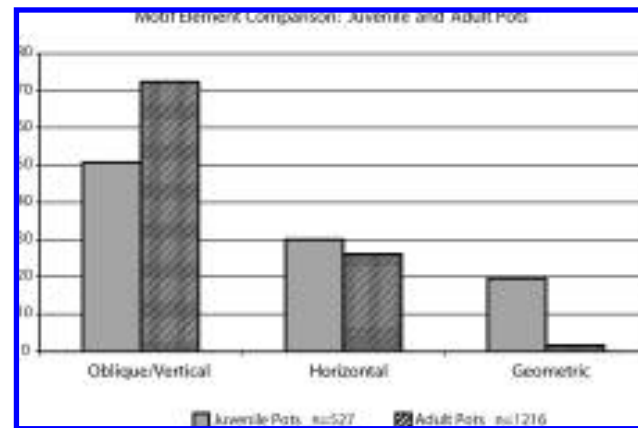


Figure 5.6. Motif element comparison: juvenile and adult pots.

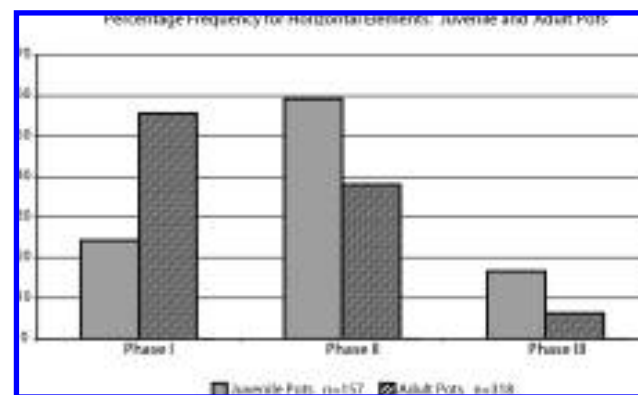


Figure 5.7. Percentage frequency for Horizontal elements: juvenile and adult pots.

ing from adults, then Oblique/Vertical elements should appear first on adult pots, followed by juvenile pots. Once again, however, the results indicate the opposite (Figure 5.8). During Phase I and Phase II, juvenile pots have a greater frequency of Oblique/Vertical elements than do adult pots, and it is only during Phase III that adult pots have the higher frequency.

### Interpretations

The dead read backwards as in a mirror. They gather in the white field and look up, waiting for someone to write their names. (Michaels 1997:113)

The results from the Horizontal and Oblique/Vertical analyses clearly indicate that juvenile and adult pots are decorated differently during each of the three phases. I had originally expected to find that children were the primary innovators in ceramic decoration, in view of the work done by Timmins (1992), but this seems not to be the case. What is suggested, however, is that children played an interesting

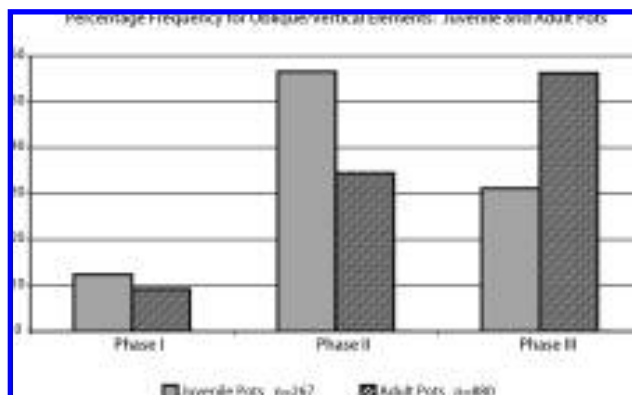


Figure 5.8. Percentage frequency for Oblique/Vertical elements: juvenile and adult pots.

role in innovation and transmission, since the decorations on juvenile pots are reminiscent of the past (their continued use of an element, Horizontal, that was declining in popularity) but portend the future (their use of an increasingly popular element, Oblique/Vertical).

At the Calvert site, which was occupied during the mid-thirteenth century, just preceding the beginning of Phase I, Timmins (1992) found that the Horizontal element appeared initially on juvenile pots and later became popular on adult pots. The later period to which he was referring marks the beginning of my observations, that is, Phase I in this study. If the Horizontal graph (Figure 5.7) is examined, it is clear that adults are the ones incorporating this element more frequently. Therefore, my results, if we combine those in the Oblique/Vertical graph as well (Figure 5.8), appear to support Timmins's interpretation of decorations on juvenile pots heralding the popular elements of the next generations. However, if we examine Phase II on both graphs, this interpretation is called into question. During this phase, children have reverted to using Horizontal elements while increasing their usage of the Oblique/Vertical element.

This "nostalgia" for the old and foreshadowing of the new suggests that both mothers and grandmothers were involved in the process of teaching the young, with grandmothers influencing children in the use of the Horizontal elements while mothers influenced children in the use of the Oblique/Verticals. This interpretation makes sense in light of three points. The first is that there was a general trend for the use of Horizontals to decrease on Huron (adult) pots (Archaeological Services, Inc. [ASI] 1996:77), which suggests that it is unlikely that younger adults (i.e., mothers) would have been influencing children to incorporate an element they were no longer applying frequently. Second, a great deal of learning occurs within one's family household (Hayden and Cannon 1984:343) and since the typical Huron

household likely consisted of three generations of women—daughters, mothers, grandmothers (Quimby 1966:104; Trigger 1987:45–46)—interaction between children and grandmothers was probable. Finally, this argument fits with the pattern of grandparents influencing children in small-scale societies commented on by Bloch: "with the molding of each new mind, there is a backward step, joining the most malleable to the most inflexible mentality" (Bloch 1953:40). According to Bloch, the transmission of learning from grandparents to children likely explained "inherent" traditionalism within small-scale societies (Bloch 1953:40). Therefore, the presence of Horizontals, which may be termed "traditional" elements, on juvenile pots may be explained through transmission from grandmothers.

The nature of the archaeological record makes talking about individuals difficult, even though they were the ones responsible for the record itself. This difficulty is exacerbated when attempting to explain slowly developing trends. However, it is important to maintain some sort of balance between what may have actually happened (individual actions) and what the archaeologist observes (trends). In an attempt to account for the trends in motif element adoption and use, I have employed "grandmothers" and the concept of generations as tools to explicate this pattern in humanistic terms. It is important here to distinguish between "grandmothers" and "generations" as real entities and as an explanatory medium. I do not have access to grandmothers and generations as real entities but do as hypothetical agents elucidating the trends visible in the use of the Horizontal elements. I have used grandmothers as an explanatory tool because of their association with tradition. As older individuals, grandmothers would have access to older styles and thereby explain those styles' presence in succeeding periods.

Mothers are often assumed to have been the ones who taught young girls the craft of pottery manufacture (Timmins 1992:297), and the results of the Oblique/Vertical analysis support this idea. During Phase II, adults were incorporating this Oblique/Vertical element with greater frequency. The corresponding increase of Oblique/Vertical elements on juvenile pots reflects the likelihood that children were learning to decorate their vessels from their mothers as well.

Finally, the results suggest that children were not only mechanically copying designs but were quite creative. Juvenile pots exhibit a variety of decorations, particularly ones I have categorized as Geometric (Figure 5.5). As mentioned before, only 1.5 percent of adult pots exhibited this design, whereas 19.5 percent of juvenile pots did. This, then, suggests that children not only were being influenced by their mothers and grandmothers but were influencing each other as well.

Learning how to manufacture pots was a twofold process involving the formation of the pot and the application of its decoration. It appears that learning to form the pot was more important. Juvenile pots were generally plain (45.5 percent). Children also seem to have been influenced in decorating their vessels by both mothers and grandmothers. Those decorations learned from their mothers were the ones carried into adulthood. The pattern of learning appears to have been informal, in that children had room to experiment, as indicated by the frequency of the geometric motif element, but at the same time, there was some structure in learning as observed in the actual form of the vessel being of a higher standard than the decoration. An informal learning structure is not a new interpretation for Huron society (Warrick 1984:111), but what is interesting is that the archaeologically visible sphere of influence now can include grandmothers.

### Implications

Post-processualists view the relationship between individual and norm not as dichotomous but as dialectic (Hodder 1986:156), and Camic's "experiential learning" is about the interplay between the individual and the process of socialization:

The teachings that one generation passes on to the next are not . . . the whole of socialization. . . . individuals can learn not only from what they are expressly taught, but also from their experiences from the activities that they engage in and observe around them—in short, from what they and others actually do in the situations in which they find themselves. [Camic 1983:106–107]

These two positions combine to generate an image of childhood in which children are active participants in their own learning. The results of my motif element analysis support this image.

The predominant form of stylistic learning to have taken place within prehistoric Huron society is most likely *isochrestic*, which is learning by rote or imitation (Plog 1990:62). However, to understand the transformational nature of style transmission, to see material culture as a means of "actively constructing the world of the individual" (Sofaer Derevenski 1997:194), it is necessary to explore additional forms of learning. The other likely variant of style being used here is *symbolic*, which is the "basic human cognitive process of identification via comparison" (Wiessner 1984:190). Style here is an active identity negotiation between the person designing the artifact and those around them: "style is an active tool used in social strategies, because in the process of presenting information about similarities and differences, it can reproduce, disrupt, alter, or

create social relationships" (Wiessner 1984:194). Much of the Horizontal and Oblique/Vertical motif element use can be seen as a sort of "identity negotiation." I believe that the incorporation of these elements on juvenile pots represents "identity negotiation" because children are "highly selective in the behaviour [they] imitate" (Peller 1971:110). This implies that children are making certain statements about, or trying to figure out, who they are by aligning themselves with individuals through the use of certain decoration elements (in this case, the Horizontal and Oblique/Vertical motif elements).

Yet children are not simply copying the work of their elders; they also retain some creative license. DeBoer has noted that among the Shipibo-Conibo, copying of design styles does not result in a "perfect cross-generational transmission" (DeBoer 1990:88). This suggests that it was not the aim of children to *be* their elders but instead just to *be like* them. In addition, children seemed to be on the cusp of changes, as is witnessed in the employment of both the Horizontals and Oblique/Verticals, which again suggests children were selective in the decorations they decided to employ.

A typical focus for most studies in an archaeology of children will be socialization, mainly because it is an obvious choice—all children are socialized. Socialization directly implies others, particularly adults. An important contribution of an archaeology of children, then, is that it brings those interacting with children into focus as well. Within the Huron context, there was a network of relationships between mothers, grandmothers, and children. Hayden and Cannon (1984:343) have noted that among traditional societies, the "family of orientation" is the locus for the majority of learning and that a friendly, *cooperative* relationship is most conducive for learning outside of formal instruction. In fact, imitation can be viewed as the "*emotional expression of cooperative socioeconomic relationships*" (Hayden and Cannon 1984:359). The Hurons were a matrilineal society, so it was not unusual to have three generations of women living together (Quimby 1966:104; Trigger 1987:45–46). It has also been noted that men's work and women's work were segregated, so women would be interacting with each other (Trigger 1969:26). The work conducted on juvenile pots reinforces the cooperative nature of women's interactions, bringing into focus a little-discussed group—grandmothers—and also suggests potential interactions taking place.

### Conclusion

The Savages love their children above all things. . . . they choke them by embracing them too closely. [Thwaites 1896–1901, 16:67]



There is little doubt that Huron children were adored, but in a manner that allowed much freedom (Wrong 1968:131). They were treated in a fashion similar to adults because they were considered individuals “with [their] own needs and rights rather than something amorphous that must be molded into shape” (Trigger 1987:47). This does not mean, however, that children completely “ran wild”; childhood was also a time of learning, as is suggested by the tools and implements given to them as soon as they could manage them. The examination of one such tool, the juvenile pot, has allowed us to see behind the material manifestation of a small vessel to the interactions of a community of individuals. This has benefits and contributions not only for a better understanding of children but also for the discipline of archaeology.

Ramsden notes that one of the weaknesses of Huron archaeology is that it has “remained largely impervious to theoretical developments in archaeology” and suggests that one direction for it to go is small-scale analyses (Ramsden 1996:105–111). My research on the role of children in ceramic design has brought alternate theoretical issues to Huron archaeology and has focused on working on a smaller scale than is typically done. There are ample books on the Hurons and their lifeways (Heidenreich 1971; Tooker 1991; Trigger 1987; Wright 1972), but these tend to be based on historical sources rather than on the archaeological record (Ramsden 1996:104–105). By focusing on discovering the child’s world and all its theoretical ramifications within the Huron context, I was able to suggest other individuals as well as children, namely mothers and grandmothers. This is important since it is possible to access Huron individuals without a complete dependence on ethnohistoric sources. Furthermore, the micro-scale evaluation of juvenile pots has highlighted the notion of agency in pottery manufacture. This brings the focus of ceramic studies back to an individual level rather than maintaining the typical focus on “regional culture-histories” (Martelle-Hayter 1997). By using the notion of “experiential learning” and style as “negotiating identities,” I was able to understand the use and transference of styles between children, mothers, and grandmothers as an active process rather than a simple act of single-generational transmission.

### Future Directions

The archaeology of children is fundamentally about representation; whether consciously or subconsciously, children were once excluded from archaeological investigations into the lifeways of past peoples. The essays in this volume clearly speak to the variety of ways children can be accessed and understood archaeologically and thus provide a framework for future research into children and childhood. In this chapter, I

have worked toward developing the archaeology of children by: (1) demonstrating both the importance of study of the child’s world and the contribution that it can make to archaeology, (2) making visible the interactions between children and the adults around them, and (3) highlighting an archaeologically visible activity otherwise ignored. It is my hope that future archaeological research into children will build upon articles such as those in this volume, moving in from the margins to occupy a more central place. Research into children is not a specialized interest but rather is a necessary component to obtaining a more accurate picture of the past.

### Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Dr. Aubrey Cannon for his support and comments on numerous versions of this essay—they have proved invaluable. Dr. Sylvia Abonyi also reviewed this work with a fine-tooth comb, and for that I thank her. To Dr. Shannon Coyston and Jane Leverick, I also offer my gratitude for their additional and very helpful clarifications. Of course, despite the constructive advice provided to me, any imperfections are my own.

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