ARTICLES

THE POLITICS OF PROVISIONING: FOOD AND GENDER AT FORT SAN JUAN DE JOARA, 1566–1568

Robin A. Beck, Gayle J. Fritz, Heather A. Lapham, David G. Moore, and Christopher B. Rodning

Beginning with Kathleen Deagan's description of the St. Augustine Pattern, in which domestic relations between Spanish men and Native American women contributed to a pattern of mestizaje in Spanish colonies, gender has assumed a central role in archaeological perspectives on colonial encounters. This is especially true for those encounters that accompanied colonialism in the Americas during the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries. Gender relations were essential to the creation of new cultural identities during this time, as indigenous communities encountered immigrant, European settler groups often comprised mostly or entirely of adult men. Yet as significant as gender is for understanding how an encounter unfolded in time and space, it can be a challenge to identify and evaluate the archaeological correlates of such relations through material culture patterns. In this article, we use the related domains of food and foodways, particularly in the social context of provisioning, to evaluate how gender relations changed during the occupation of Fort San Juan de Joara (1566–1568), located at the Berry site in western North Carolina. Our research contributes to reappraisals of the St. Augustine Pattern, which posits well-defined roles for Native American women and Spanish men, by likewise situating the agency of Native American men.

A partir de la descripción de Kathleen Deagan del Patrón San Agustín, en el que las relaciones domésticas entre hombres españoles y mujeres indígenas han contribuido a un patrón de mestizaje en las colonias Españolas, el género ha asumido un papel central en las perspectivas arqueológicas en encuentros coloniales. Esto es especialmente cierto para aquellos encuentros que acompañaron el colonialismo en América entre los siglos XVI al XIX. Las relaciones de género fueron esenciales para la creación de nuevas identidades culturales durante este período ya que las comunidades indígenas se encontraron con grupos de colonos europeos inmigrantes, a menudo compuestos en su mayoría o en su totalidad por hombres adultos. Sin embargo, aunque el género posee una gran importancia para la comprensión de cómo el encuentro se desarrolló en el tiempo y en el espacio, también puede convertirse en un desafío para identificar y evaluar los correlatos arqueológicos de estas relaciones a través de patrones de cultura material. En este trabajo utilizamos los dominios relacionados de los alimentos y las costumbres alimenticias en particular en el contexto social de aprovisionamiento, para evaluar cómo las relaciones de género cambiaron durante la ocupación de la fortaleza de San Juan de Joara (1566–1568), que se encuentra en el sitio Berry en el oeste de Carolina del Norte. Nuestra investigación contribuye a reevaluar el Patrón San Agustín, que postula roles bien definidos para las mujeres indígenas americanas y los españoles, y del mismo modo situar la agencia de los hombres nativo americanos.

Beginning with Kathleen Deagan's development of what has come to be known as the St. Augustine Pattern, in which household relations between Spanish men and Native American and African women created a pattern of mestizaje in domestic contexts (Deagan 1973, 1983), gender has assumed a central place at the table of archaeological perspectives for understanding colonial encounters (e.g., Deagan 2003, 2004; Frink 2005, 2007; Gasco 2005; Jackson and Castillo 1995; Lightfoot 2005; Lightfoot et al. 1998; Loren 2001; Silliman 2004; Van Buren

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2010; Voss 2008). This is especially true for those encounters that accompanied colonialism in the Americas during the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries. Gender relations were essential to the creation of new cultural identities in this time, as indigenous communities encountered immigrant, European settler groups often comprised mostly or entirely of adult men. Yet as significant as gender is for understanding how an encounter unfolded in time and space, it can be a challenge to identify and evaluate archaeological correlates of such relations through material culture patterns.

In this article, we use the related domains of food and foodways, particularly in the social context of provisioning, to evaluate how gender relations changed during the occupation of Fort San Juan de Joara (1566–1568), located at the Berry site in the western Piedmont of what is now North Carolina. Berry was the site of Joara, an important ancestral town of the modern Catawba Indian Nation, and in the mid-sixteenth century it had nominal authority over neighboring towns and communities in its vicinity (e.g., Beck 2013; Beck and Moore 2002; Moore 2002). In December 1566, Captain Juan Pardo established Fort San Juan at Joara and garrisoned it with 30 men. This fort, together with its adjoining domestic area, was the first European settlement in the interior of the present-day United States (Beck et al. 2006:65). Much of our prior research at the Berry site has focused on the archaeology of daily life in the domestic contexts at Fort San Juan, a group of five burned buildings and associated features that we refer to as the Spanish compound. Fort San Juan thus offers a unique opportunity to investigate gender's role in the making and unmaking of social relationships during a very early colonial encounter. Specifically, our research contributes to reappraisals of the St. Augustine Pattern—which posits well-defined roles for Native American women and Spanish men—by likewise situating the agency of Native American men.

Evaluating the St. Augustine Pattern

Based on her groundbreaking research of households at eighteenth-century St. Augustine, Florida, Deagan (1983:104–105, 271) suggested a general pattern in which a body of predominantly male, military- or commerce-oriented Spanish colonists incorporated select Native American materials and lifeways into frontier life. Although "socially visible" domains including house construction and military activities were expected to conform to "male" and "Hispanic" norms, the process of *mestzaje*, an intermarriage of Spanish men and Native American (and later African) women, was expected to produce cultural changes in "low-visibility, female-associated" domains, particularly diet, food preparation, and kitchen activities. Indigenous cultural traditions were expected to supplant their Spanish counterparts, and Deagan argued that this pattern should prevail "in any situation" in which a dominant, largely male group imposes itself upon another population with a normal sex distribution (1983:271). With her students and colleagues, Deagan tested what has come to be known as the St. Augustine Pattern on the island of Hispaniola, at sites such as La Isabela (1493–1498), Concepción de la Vega (1496–1562), and Puerto Real (1503–1578). Their work (e.g., Deagan 1995; Deagan and Cruxent 1993, 2002a, 2002b; Ewen 1991, 2000; McEwan 1986, 1995) suggested that the pattern identified at eighteenth-century St. Augustine took root during the first decades of the Spanish colonial project (see also Voss 2008:862).

Although appreciative of the pattern's contribution in situating gender at the forefront of historical archaeology, Voss's (2008) detailed reappraisal of the St. Augustine Pattern is also critical of some of its central tenets. First, Voss synthesizes a broad range of archaeological data from elsewhere in the Americas (Ecuador and Peru, New Mexico, Mesoamerica, and California) that, taken together, counters any single pattern for the incorporation of indigenous practices in Spanish colonial life (see also Jamieson 2000; Rodríguez-Alegría 2005; Rothschild 2003;). Moreover, she offers alternative interpretations of evidence from some of the original case studies in *La Florida* and Hispaniola. Voss draws attention, as well, to several binary oppositions that Deagan used to frame the St. Augustine Pattern: male/female, public/private, and colonial/indigenous. She argues that the use of such dualistic logic is reductionist and that, in actual interpretive practice, the "seemingly discrete archaeological categories were inextricably entangled with each other" (2008:867). Finally, Voss recognizes that practices besides

marriage, including servitude and concubinage—both of which imply more coercive and potentially violent modes of interaction—can underlay the incorporation of indigenous materials into Spanish colonial households. She argues that rather than remaining focused on marriage itself, we should turn our attention to the social organization of labor and specifically to "the articulation between colonial labor regimes and residential practices" (2008:874).

Commenting on Voss's review, Deagan observes that a critique of the use of categories such as male/female and Native/European is "an accurate critique of the limits of archaeological operability" (2008:878). While recognizing the limits of such dualisms, we agree with Deagan that these analytical categories are useful for organizing archaeological data and for identifying patterns with potential cultural significance. The Pardo expeditions provide a telling example that foregrounds the problem of operability. At a native town in the Appalachian Summit named Cauchi, Pardo observed a differently gendered male and inquired:

> why that Indian went among the Indian women, wearing an apron as they did .... [T]he cacique replied through the interpreters that the Indian was his brother and that because he was not a man for war nor for carrying on the business of a man, he went about in that manner like a woman and he did *all that is given to a woman to do* [Bandera 1990:267, italics added].

We can thus be certain that male/female is an insufficient rendering of gendered identities among native groups in the Appalachian Summit, and probably in neighboring areas, as well. However, as the kinds of activities this brother of the cacique performed were the same as those "given to a woman to do," they would not be archaeologically different from the kinds of activities we might associate with the work of native women. North American archaeologists have had some success revealing cross-gendered identities in specific kinds of circumstances (e.g., Hollimon 2000; Prine 2000), but such cases, compelling as they are, are based on very detailed ethnohistorical sources or robust mortuary datasets, neither of which are available for Cauchi or Joara.

Yet if we agree that binary oppositions are useful for organizing archaeological data, then we also suggest that it is important to view them not as categorical absolutes (either/or) but as relational qualities (more/less) inherent in any given archaeological domain (architecture, food and foodways, clothing, etc.). Moreover, if we also agree with Deagan that such categories were culturally meaningful to peoples entangled in these early colonial encounters, then we would also observe that peoples from distinct cultural worlds (e.g., Indians and Europeans) may have shared few if any ideas about the cultural meanings attached to such categories. Indeed, the different expectations and assumptions for categories like male/female or public/private were undoubtedly sources of profound—even violent—misunderstandings.

Fort San Juan de Joara provides a unique opportunity for evaluating some of these ideas. First, it was occupied early in the colonial period and for only a short period of time—less than 18 months. Second, using archaeological data from the Spanish occupation of Joara, we can further divide this already narrow slice of time into two distinct construction phases, allowing us to examine how gender's role in mediating this colonial encounter changed over the course of the Spanish occupation. Finally, while Deagan (1983:105) notes the challenges in situating Native American men at eighteenth-century St. Augustine, we suggest that the domain of food and foodways, specifically in the political context of provisioning, lets us situate the agency of Indian men with that of Spanish men and Indian women.

Joara and Fort San Juan

During the first half of the sixteenth century, Spanish explorers failed in several efforts to colonize what is now the southeastern United States. Finally, in 1565–1566, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés finally established two settlements on the southern Atlantic Coast: St. Augustine, founded September 1565 in Florida, and Santa Elena, founded April 1566 on present-day Parris Island, South Carolina. The latter settlement, Santa Elena, was to be the principal town of Menéndez's colonial aspirations (e.g., Hoffman 1990; Hudson 1990; Lyon 1976, 1984). When Philip II learned of this success, he ordered reinforcements for the new colony. In July 1566, Captain Juan Pardo arrived at Santa

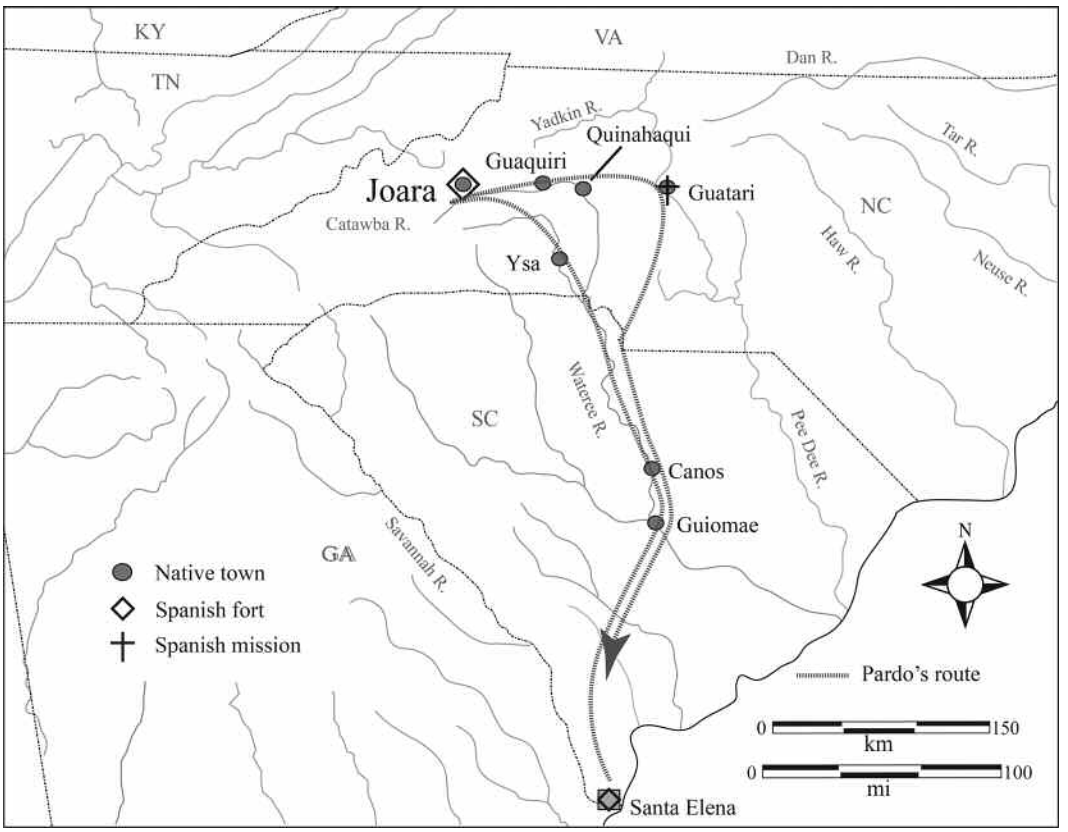

Figure 1. Route of Juan Pardo's first expedition, 1566–1567.

Elena with a company of 250 soldiers and began to fortify the new settlement. Since the Santa Elena colony was not prepared to feed this large contingent of men for very long, however, Menéndez ordered Pardo to prepare half of his army for an expedition into the interior lands that lay behind the Atlantic coast. Pardo's task was to explore this region, to claim the land for Spain while pacifying local peoples, and to forge an overland path from Santa Elena to the silver mines in Zacatecas, Mexico. Pardo departed with 125 men on December 1, 1566.

Later that month, after traversing the Carolina Piedmont along the Wateree and Catawba rivers, Pardo and his soldiers arrived at Joara (Figure 1), a large native town situated in the upper Catawba Valley near the eastern edge of the Appalachian Mountains (e.g., DePratter et. al 1983; Hudson 1990). The leader of Joara, referred to in the accounts as Joara Mico (*Mico* was a native term for a regional or multi-community chief) (Anderson 1994; Hudson 1990), held some authority over nearby villages on the upper Catawba and its tributaries (Beck and Moore 2002:201). Pardo renamed this town Cuenca, after his own native city in Spain. At Joara, he built a fort, christened San Juan, which he garrisoned with 30 men. Although previous expeditions into the interior had either founded seasonal encampments or temporarily occupied native towns, Pardo explicitly established Fort San Juan to expand Santa Elena's reach into the northern frontiers of *La Florida*. In so doing, he founded the earliest European settlement in the interior of what is now the United States (Beck et al. 2006). Over the course of a second expedition in 1567, Pardo would go on to build five more forts between the Atlantic Coast and what is now eastern Tennessee, yet Fort San Juan was to be the center of his imperial designs (Figure 2).

Throughout most of the 18 months that Spanish soldiers lived at Joara, amicable relations existed between the people of this town and their European guests—on at least two occasions, for example, the Spaniards accompanied native warriors

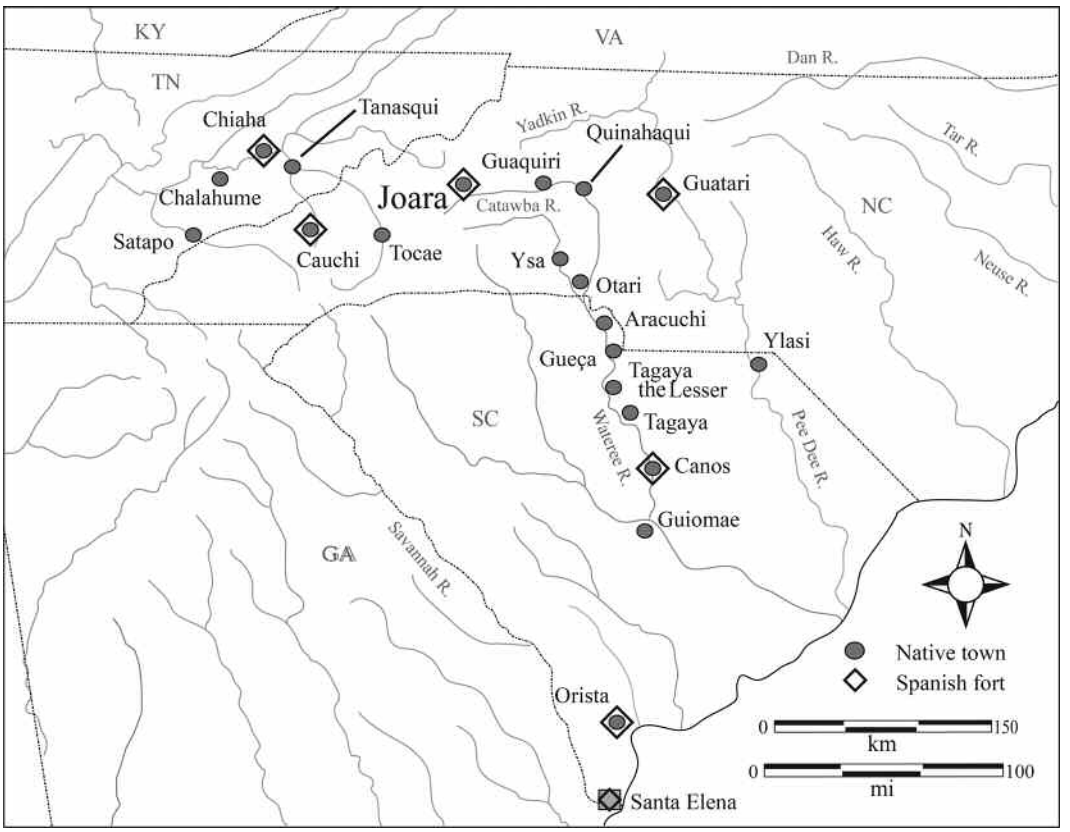

Figure 2. Towns visited by Juan Pardo's second expedition, 1567–1568.

in attacks on hostile native chiefs across the Appalachians in Tennessee and Virginia (Beck 1997). Also, when Pardo was preparing to depart from Joara during his second expedition, he ordered the ensign, Alberto Escudero de Villamar, to "judge and have a care of the conservation of the friendship of the caciques and Indians of all the land" (Bandera 1990:278). Yet in the months that followed, relations between Fort San Juan and the town of Joara took a calamitous turn for the worse. By May 1568, news reached Santa Elena that Indians had attacked all of Pardo's garrisons and that all had fallen. It is unclear whether all of these were surprised at the same time, but it is clear that none remained by June 1568 (Hudson 1990:176). Several factors may have played a role in the Indians' decision to attack the forts, but two stand out: the soldiers' demands for food and their improprieties with Indian women.

With respect to provisioning, there was likely a great deal of miscommunication between Spaniards and Indians about the presentation of food. By May 1568, the soldiers at the forts may have had few trade goods—glass beads, iron chisels, and cloth—left to exchange for the maize and other foodstuffs they obtained from their hosts. It is quite significant that Bandera's detailed lists of materials that Pardo left at each fort make no specific notice of trade goods. From the Spanish perspective, this was as it should be. The native peoples of Joara and other Piedmont towns were royal subjects now and thus owed the Spanish crown and the soldiers who officially served as its military stand-ins continued sustenance as tax or tribute. Yet from the natives' perspective, Pardo's men were no longer fulfilling their end of an exchange relationship, and thus the Indians owed the soldiers nothing. Jaime Martínez, using information from Juan Martín de Badajoz, the only named soldier known to have escaped from the interior, specifically refers to the Spaniards' demands for food as one of the main causes of the Indians' attacks (Ugarte 1935).

It also seems that sexual relations had a role in

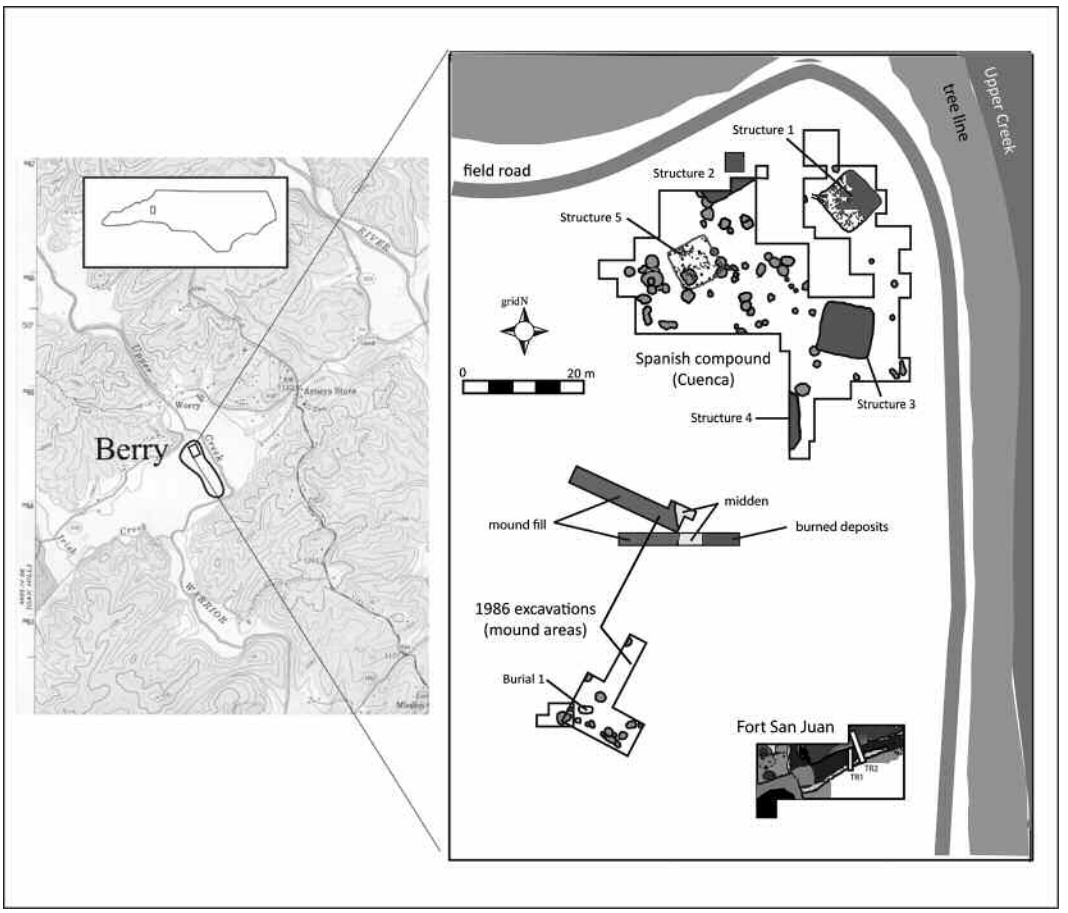

Figure 3. Berry site excavations, 1986–2013, indicating Spanish compound, mound areas, and Fort San Juan moat. Note that the north arrow on this and all subsequent maps indicates grid north; the 1986 excavations are oriented toward magnetic north.

the forts' destruction. Before the army left the town of Guatari, for example, Bandera reports that Pardo instructed the corporal placed in charge of Fort Santiago "that no one should dare bring any woman into the fort at night and that he should not depart from the command under pain of being severely punished" (1990:285). Yet Teresa Martín, an Indian woman taken back to Santa Elena on Pardo's second expedition and wife of the aforementioned Juan Martín de Badajoz testified before Governor Canço in 1600 that the men waited "three or four moons" for Pardo to return to the interior. When he failed to do so, they began to commit improprieties with Indian women, angering their men (Hudson 1990:176). In the end, about 130 soldiers and all of Pardo's six interior forts were lost and, with them, Spain's final attempt to colonize the northern frontiers of *La Florida*. Indeed, it was more than a century before other Europeans penetrated this far into the southern Appalachians.

Household Archaeology at the Berry Site

Archaeological and ethnohistorical evidence (e.g., Beck 1997; Moore 2002; Worth 2016) indicate that the Berry site (31BK22) is the location of Joara and Fort San Juan. Berry is located along Upper Creek, a tributary of the upper Catawba River, in what is now Burke County, North Carolina (Figure 3); the site covers 4.5 ha and is located at the eastern margin of a 75-ha alluvial floodplain at the junction of Upper and Irish creeks. Systematic surface collections indicate that Berry was one of the largest late prehistoric sites in the upper Catawba Valley (Beck and

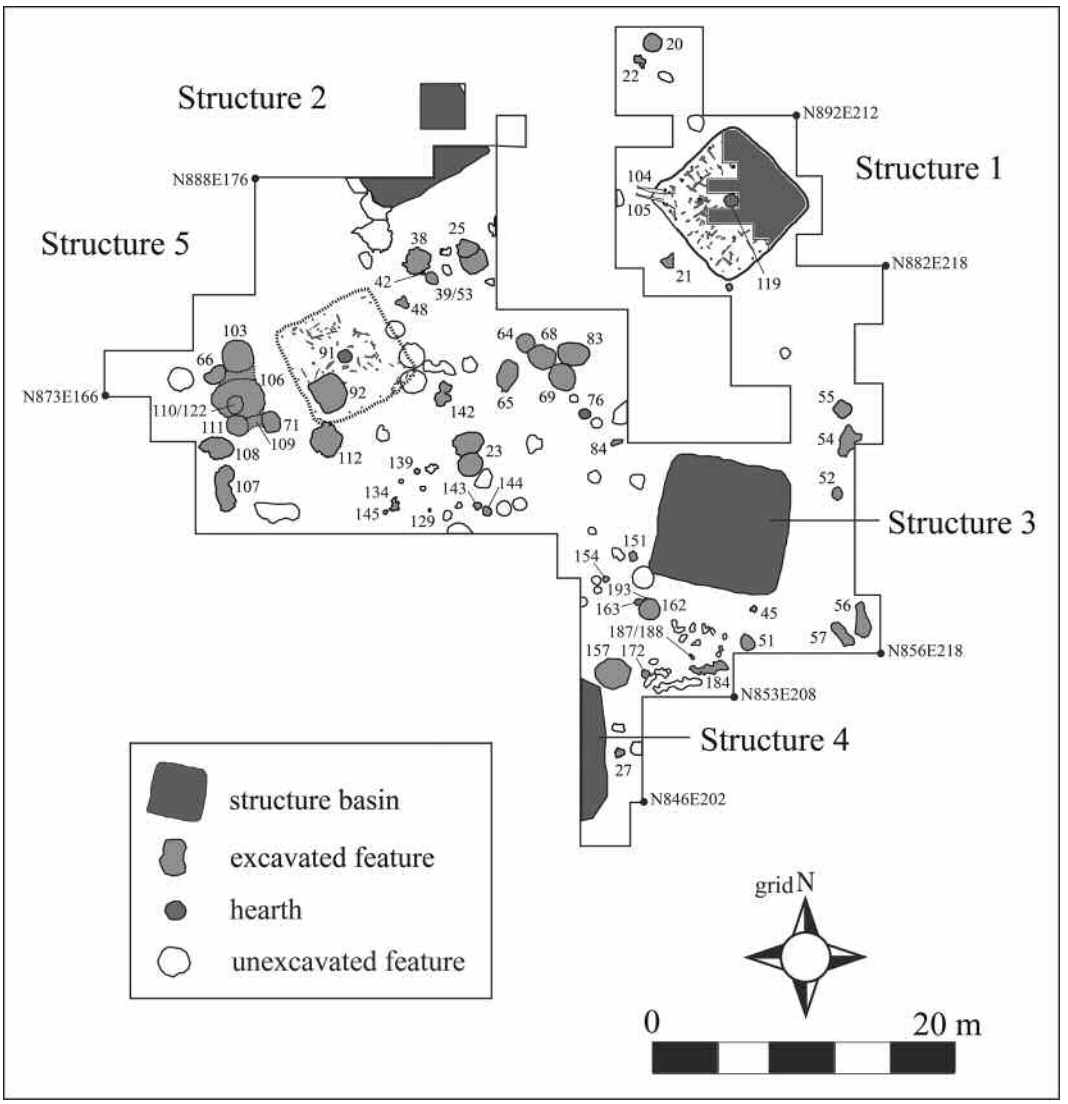

Figure 4. Plan map of the Berry Site Spanish compound, with all excavated features numbered.

Moore 2002:200; Moore 2002:61). Berry was briefly noted in Cyrus Thomas's *Catalogue of Prehistoric Works East of the Rocky Mountains* as a "Mound on the west Bank of Upper Creek 8 miles north of Morganton (about 15 feet high and unexplored)" (1891:151). Both the earthen mound and the site were regularly plowed, and the mound itself was eventually bulldozed to fill a low-lying area west of the site—probably a borrow pit—that was prone to flooding.

Our fieldwork at Berry extends over 17 seasons (1986, 1996–1997, 2001–2014), a total of 97 weeks of excavation and survey. Excavations to date total over 1400 m^2 and concentrate on a .3-ha area where we have recovered a significant assemblage of sixteenth-century Spanish ceramics and hardware, as well as personal and military artifacts (Beck et al. 2006; Rodning et al. 2016). This area—which occupies the northernmost margin of the Berry site—is associated with a cluster of five burned structures, dozens of pit features, and many hundreds of postholes that we refer to collectively as the Spanish compound (Figure 4). These remains constitute the material footprint of Pardo's Cuenca. Fort San Juan is situated about 25 m south of the Spanish compound, and the

town of Joara extends along the creek south of the fort (Figure 3). Archaeologists have not yet identified any of Pardo's other forts or their associated settlements.

The Spanish compound contains at least five large, set pole structures, four of which were built in semi-subterranean basins and all of which were burned. To date, we have investigated two of these buildings, Structures 1 and 5, excavation and analysis of which provide much of the data for our understanding of construction practices (Beck et al. 2016). Structure 1, the larger of the two, measured 7.5 m on a side (approximately 56 m^2) and was among the four structures built in semi-subterranean basins. Such basins were typical of Late Mississippian architecture across the South Appalachians (e.g., Hally 2008; Lacquement 2007), and indeed most of Structure 1 seemed typical of indigenous-style architecture in the region. It contained a central hearth, four large and deeply placed interior supports, and a well-defined entry with exterior trenches on a corner of the structure. Structure 5, measuring 49 m^2, was less typical of native architecture. While its central hearth was similar to that of Structure 1, it was not constructed in a basin, its entryway could not be identified, and its four central posts were placed in very shallow postholes, such that they that offered insufficient support for the structure's roof—two additional interior posts were later added to stabilize the structure. Samples from both buildings provide clear evidence both of metal tool use and European carpentry practices in wood procurement, preparation, and construction; these include sawn timbers and a sawn chestnut plank from Structure 1 and wood slats from Structure 5, as well as spike or nail holes in samples from both buildings (Newsom 2016). Both buildings, along with the three that remain unexcavated, were burned to the ground, apparently at the same time, and there is no evidence that any were ever rebuilt.

Since 1986, we have identified more than 200 features at the Berry site, of which we have excavated more than 60 (Beck et al. 2016). Most of the features we have identified and excavated are inside the Spanish compound. Our goal here is not to describe all excavated features, but to focus on the sample of features containing European artifacts or copper fragments that probably derive from non-aboriginal sources. To date, we have excavated 16 such features inside the Spanish compound, which we have subdivided into two distinct clusters: the central features (21, 23, 25, 38, 48, 64, 68, 69, 83, 92, and 112) and the western features (66, 71, 103, 106, and 108). Most of these, especially the central features, probably began as daub processing pits during the process of house construction, after which they were filled with domestic trash. Others represent midden deposits near Structure 5 that also contain large amounts of domestic refuse.

We propose two phases of primary construction activity in the Spanish compound. In the first phase of occupation, three structures—Structures 1, 3, and 4—were built in a slightly curving arc near the northern edge of the site (Figure 5). We believe that the beginning of this first phase coincides with Pardo's arrival at Joara in late December 1566, and data recovered from Structure 1, in particular the blending of distinct native and European carpentry and construction practices, suggests that this early period of the fort's occupation was characterized by cooperative relations between the soldiers and their indigenous hosts. Indeed, when Pardo returned to Joara during his second expedition in September 1567, having left 30 men there the winter before, notary Juan de la Bandera recorded that "he found built a new house of wood with a large elevated room full of maize, which the cacique of the village ... had built by the command of the captain for the service of His Majesty" (1990:265). The central pits were probably dug at the same time that Structures 1, 3, and 4 were built and may have initially served as pits for processing daub. After this initial phase of construction was complete, these large pits became the primary locus of trash disposal in the newly established compound. Feature 76, a circular hearth 66 cm in diameter and about 10 cm deep, was situated near the eastern edge of the central features and may have served as an open-air kitchen during the early phase of the compound's use.

During the second phase of occupation (Figure 6), Structures 2 and 5 were built together along the same axis, 15 to 20 m west of the first phase structures. Each of the two new structures intrudes into the central pit features, establishing the temporal priority of the latter. We may say little more

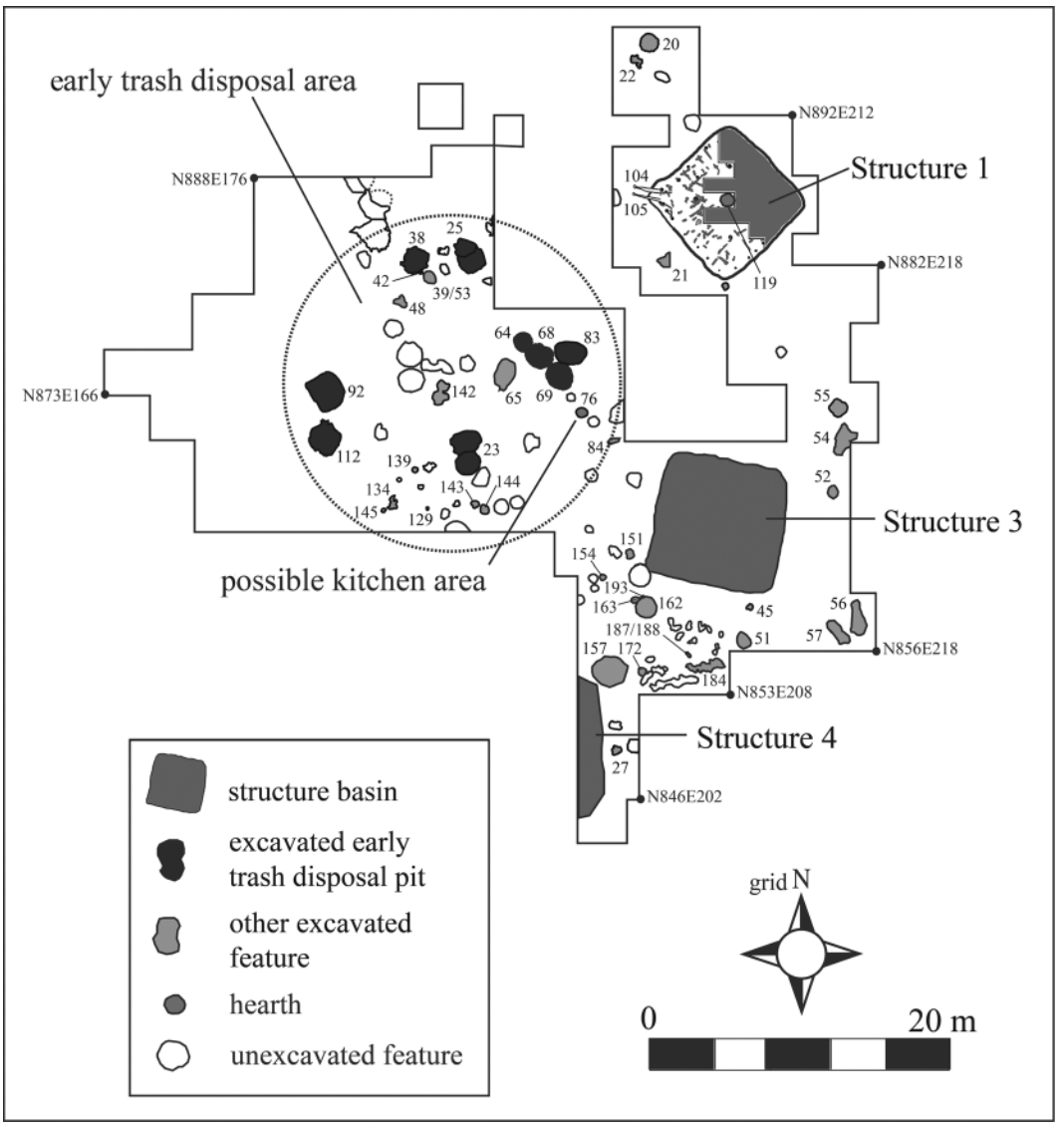

Figure 5. Plan map of Spanish compound, first-phase buildings and features with possible kitchen indicated.

about Structure 2, since as yet we have only exposed its southern corner and a portion of its eastern wall. Augur testing conducted in 1997, however, when the structures were all first discovered, indicates that this building has the same shape and size as the other semi-subterranean structures in the compound. Moreover, these auger tests revealed that deposits in Structure 2 are similar in depth to those of Structures 1, 3, and 4; that is, Structure 2 seems to have been built in a basin of about the same depth as these others. Structure 5, then, is an anomaly, and we suggest that it was used as a formal *cocina* or kitchen during the compound's second phase, replacing the open-air kitchen associated with Feature 76 (Beck et al. 2016). Alone among the five structures in the Spanish compound, but like kitchens at other Spanish colonial sites (e.g., Deagan 1983:13; Saunders 1991:131–132; Thomas 1991:117), Structure 5 was adjacent both to refuse disposal pits and to a large sheet midden, the only such deposit identified in the compound area.

Food and Foodways in the Spanish Compound

The remains of the meals prepared for and consumed by Pardo's soldiers provide some of our most compelling evidence of daily life in the Spanish compound, especially in illustrating the ways that gender mediated relations between the soldiers and their native hosts. Here we present analyses of plant and faunal remains, as each contributes differently to our perspective on the St. Augustine Pattern and to the broader story of Joara and Fort San Juan. We recovered an array of charred macrobotanical remains by flotation with a modified SMAP-type system (Watson 1976) with water pumped from Upper Creek, which flows by the eastern edge of the site. Standard 10-liter flotation samples were taken from each zone of 1-x-1-m excavation units in Structures 1 and 5 and from each zone of features in and out of structures. Light fractions were floated through a .425 mm geological sieve, while heavy fractions were caught in window screen fabric (1.6-mm mesh) lining the inside of the flotation barrel. Eighty-two samples contributed to our discussion: 20 from Structure 1; 18 from Structure 5; 18 from the central features (including 10 from Feature 112 and eight from Features 23, 25, 69, 83, and 92); and 26 from western pits (Features 66, 103, 106, 109, and 111). Two of the samples from Structure 5 and three of those from the central pits were smaller than 10 liters in sediment volume floated, resulting in a total volume of 804 liters of sediment floated for the assemblage reported here.

In the laboratory, light fractions and heavy fractions were weighed to the nearest .01 g on an electronic scale. Contents were then passed through a series of USDA geological sieves with mesh openings that ranged in size from 4.37 to .35 mm. Remains larger than 2 mm were sorted completely according to category, then counted and weighed, excepting wood charcoal and bark that were weighed but not counted. Below the 2-mm size, the contents of the different geological sieves were scanned, and all charred seeds and recognizable seed and cultigen fragments (such as maize or squash rinds) were pulled, but contents were no longer completely sorted because of the impossibility of identifying fragmentary, non-seed materials. Acorn shell was sorted down to the 1.4 mm sieve size to accommodate its fragility and its lesser likelihood of being well represented in the larger-than-2-mm splits (relative to hickory shell or walnut).

Both Structures 1 and 5 overall have relatively low densities of food plants, but ubiquities of major plant food types—especially maize (*Zea mays* ssp. *mays*), hickory nutshell (*Carya* spp.), and fruits, maypops (*Passiflora incarnata*) and grapes (*Vitis* spp.), in particular—are high in both. The structures differ, however, in several significant ways. The most dramatic distinction is that acorn (Quercus spp.) is so poorly represented in Structure 1, having a ubiquity of just 15 percent, while its ubiquity in Structure 5 is 83 percent. Kernel-to-cob ratios also differ between these two buildings; Structure 5 has the second highest value of all the contexts in the compound (.60), and Structure 1 has the lowest (.14). Finally, Structure 1 is unique in yielding the only tobacco seeds (Nicotiana sp.) identified so far from the Berry site. All of these differences are consistent with our interpretation that these two structures served distinct purposes.

To see if temporal distinctions comparable to those we identified in the spatial patterning of structures and features were similarly reflected in the archaeobotanical data, we compared the distribution of food plant remains—especially maize, nutshell, and fruits—from the central versus the western feature contexts. Here we add two samples from Feature 92, which was intruded by Structure 5, to those of the six analyzed samples from the central pit features 23, 25, 69, and 83; Feature 112, also grouped with the central pits, is not included here because its large amounts of hickory nutshell would have skewed the percentages. Using counts of fragments and focusing in particular on the relative frequencies of the food plant remains, the most significant distinction is the far lower proportion of acorn shell in the western (9.6 percent) as opposed to central features (26.6 percent) (Figure 7). This distinction is also visible in density values (Figure 8), but overall ubiquity values (Figure 9) are high for both groups. Western features contained a higher relative proportion of hickory nutshell (29.1 percent as compared to 18.1 percent), largely because acorn shell is so poorly represented in these western features, yet the density of hickory nutshell is

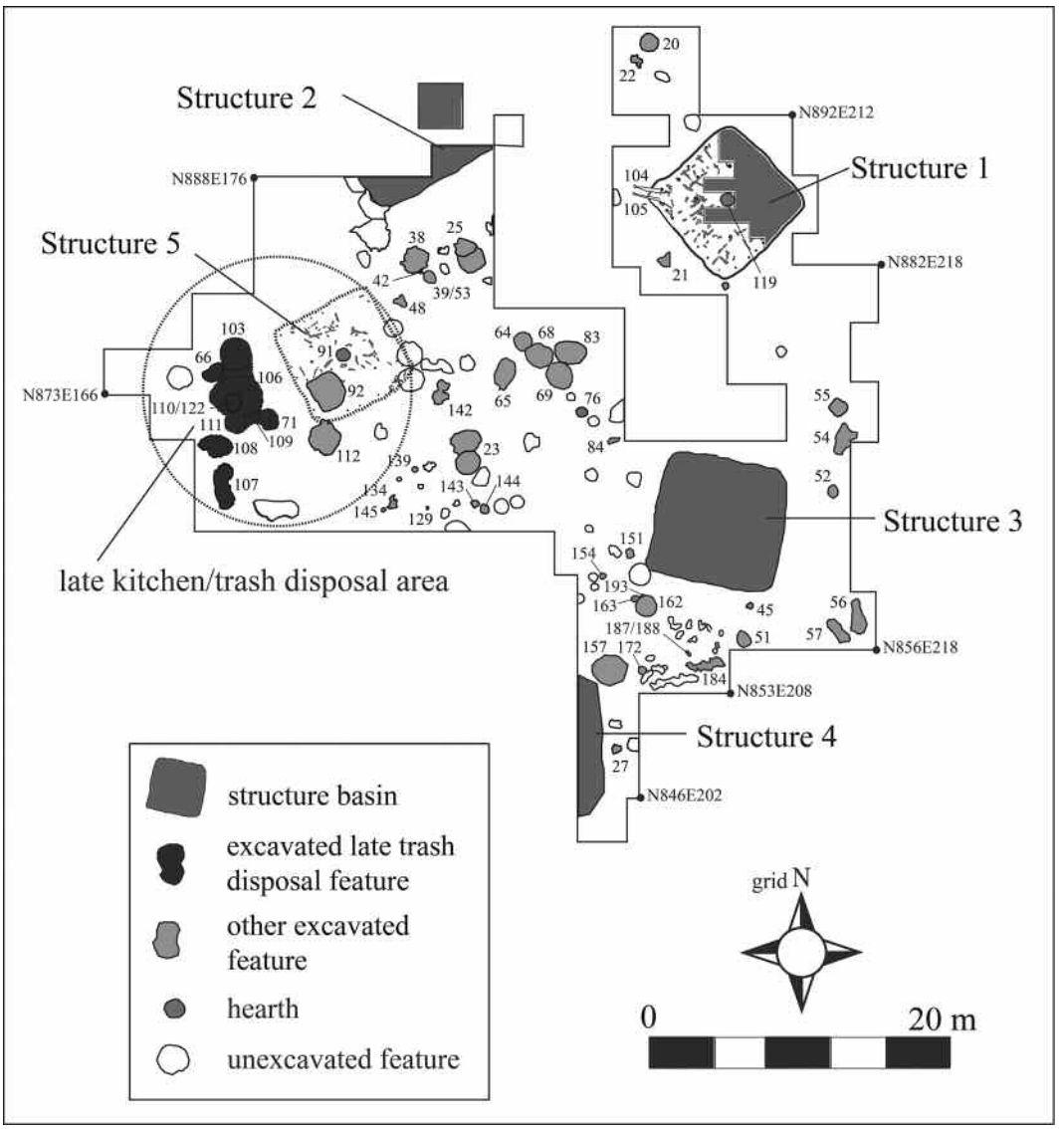

Figure 6. Plan map of Spanish compound, second-phase buildings and features with possible kitchen indicated.

still lower in the western features than in the central pits or in Feature 92 (Figure 8). The proportion of maize recovered in the central pits (48.7 percent) is not dramatically different from that in the western features (55.2 percent); nor are there notable differences in the proportions of other main crops—calculated by combining squash (*Cucurbita* sp.) and bean (*Phaseolus vulgaris*) fragments (.3 percent central features; .5 percent western features), fragments of fruit (5.5 percent central features; 4.4 percent western features), or of other nutshell types (.9 percent central features; 1.3 percent western features).

Figure 10 displays the central-vs. western-values for maize, hickory, and acorn in box plot format. Each box is bounded by 25th and 75th quartiles, with a horizontal line in the box for the median. Minimal and maximal values are shown by short horizontal bars ("whiskers") below and above the boxes. Mann Whitney U tests for significance between medians demonstrate that central- vs. western-median values for acorn are sta-

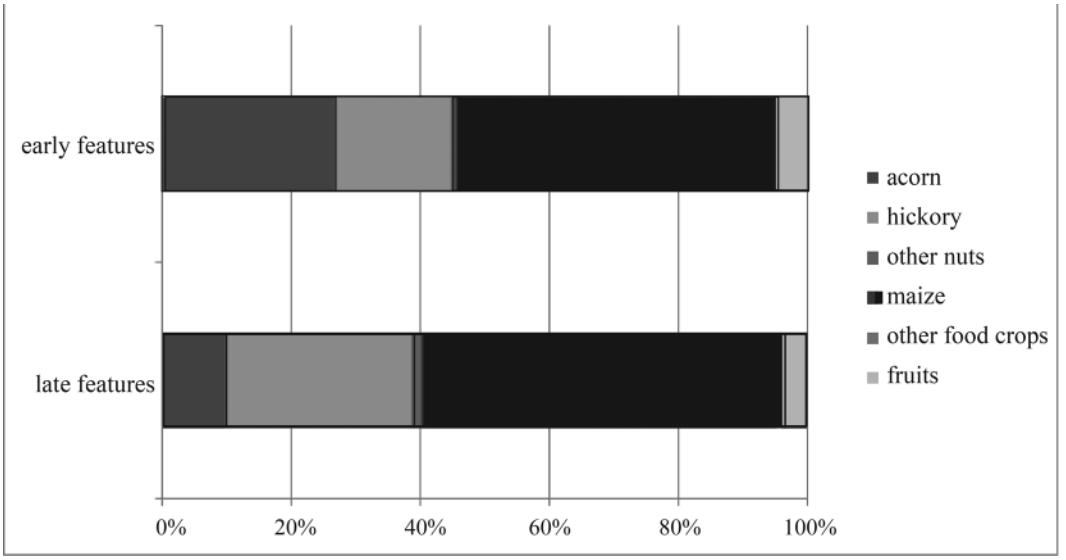

Figure 7. Percentages of food plant remains by fragment count comparing early and late pit features (not including Feature 112).

tistically different (p = .001). The differences in median value for hickory are also significant (p = .013), but it bears repeating that the average density value of hickory nutshell in the western features is relatively low. Statistical significance for maize is borderline (p = .054). The striking contrast in the amount of acorn shell recovered from the central vs. the western features is intriguing, particularly given the paucity of acorn from Structure 1. Because this structure was in use at the same time that the central pits were being filled with refuse, it is likely that low amounts of acorn in that building reflect subtle variability in the sorts of activities performed there, or in subsets of the people who resided there, rather than general dietary distinctions. By the later months of occupation, however, as indicated by the steep decline in acorn from the western features, it seems that considerably less acorn was processed and/or consumed in the Spanish compound.

Turning from plant to animal foods, the vertebrate faunal assemblage from the Berry site was analyzed using the modern comparative skeletal collections and published reference sources curated at the Center for Archaeological Investigations's Zooarchaeology Laboratory at Southern Illinois University, Carbondale. Data collected on specimens identifiable to the taxonomic level of order or lower include taxon, skeletal element, element side and portion, degree of epiphyseal fusion, evidence of any human, animal, and natural modifications, count, and bone weight (to .01 g). Modifications range from specimens that had been burned, butchered, gnawed, digested, and weathered to those that showed use wear, exhibited a pathology, etc. Additional information on relevant bone and antler was recorded, including degree of burning and the location, orientation, and type of butchery marks. Specimens that were not identifiable to the taxonomic level of order or lower were sorted by class (mammal, bird, fish, etc.) and then by size (large mammal, medium mammal, etc.); the following size categories apply: small mammal (rabbit and squirrel), medium mammal (bobcat, dog, fox, and raccoon), large mammal (bear, elk, and white-tailed deer), small bird (bobwhite, passenger pigeon, etc.), medium bird (grouse, hawks, ducks, etc.), and large bird (turkey, swan, etc.). Any bones that could not be assigned to a class were counted, weighed, and the degree of burning noted. Any other information that could be ascertained—such as the age or sex—was noted for all specimens. Common and scientific names of all identified taxa conform to Integrated Taxonomic Information System (ITIS) standards (http://www.itis.gov).

Three zooarchaeological measures are used to describe basic composition and to estimate the

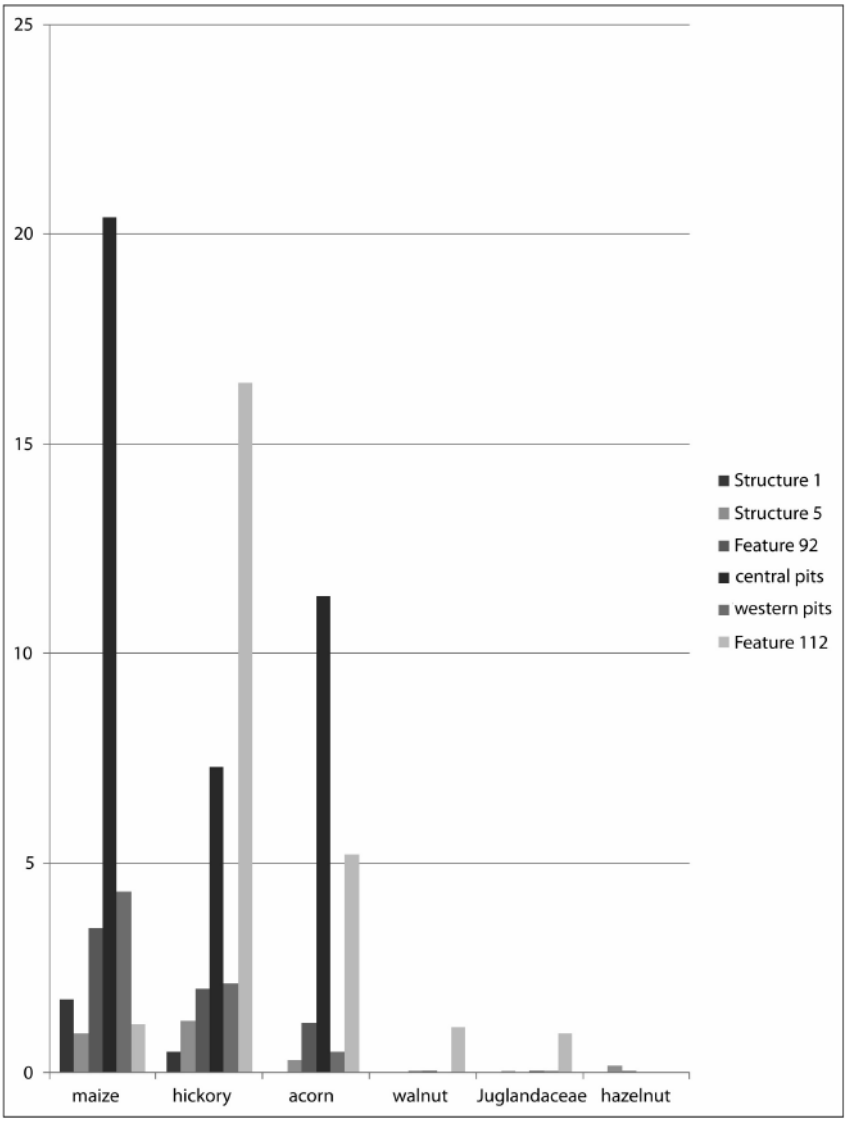

Figure 8. Density values of maize and nutshell.

relative frequency of taxa in the Berry faunal assemblage: (1) number of identified specimens (NISP), (2) specimen weight, and (3) the minimum number of individuals (MNI). NISP is provided for all taxa, regardless of whether the specimen can be identified to class, family, or a lower taxonomic level. Unlike NISP, MNI is only calculated for specimens identified to the genus and species level.

While the analysis of the faunal assemblage from Berry—like that of plant food remains (Fritz 2016; Gremillion 2002)—includes samples from inside and outside the compound (Lapham 2016), we focus here on those contexts within the compound. The overall assemblage consists of just over 5,700 bone fragments. Mammals are most common, with reptiles and birds following at a substantial distance (Lapham 2016:280–282, Table 7.1). The compound assemblage consists of two to three significant taxa, depending on which zooarchaeological measure we consider. White-tailed deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*) and turtles (mostly box turtle, *Terrapene carolina*) are most prevalent in terms of NISP, whereas deer

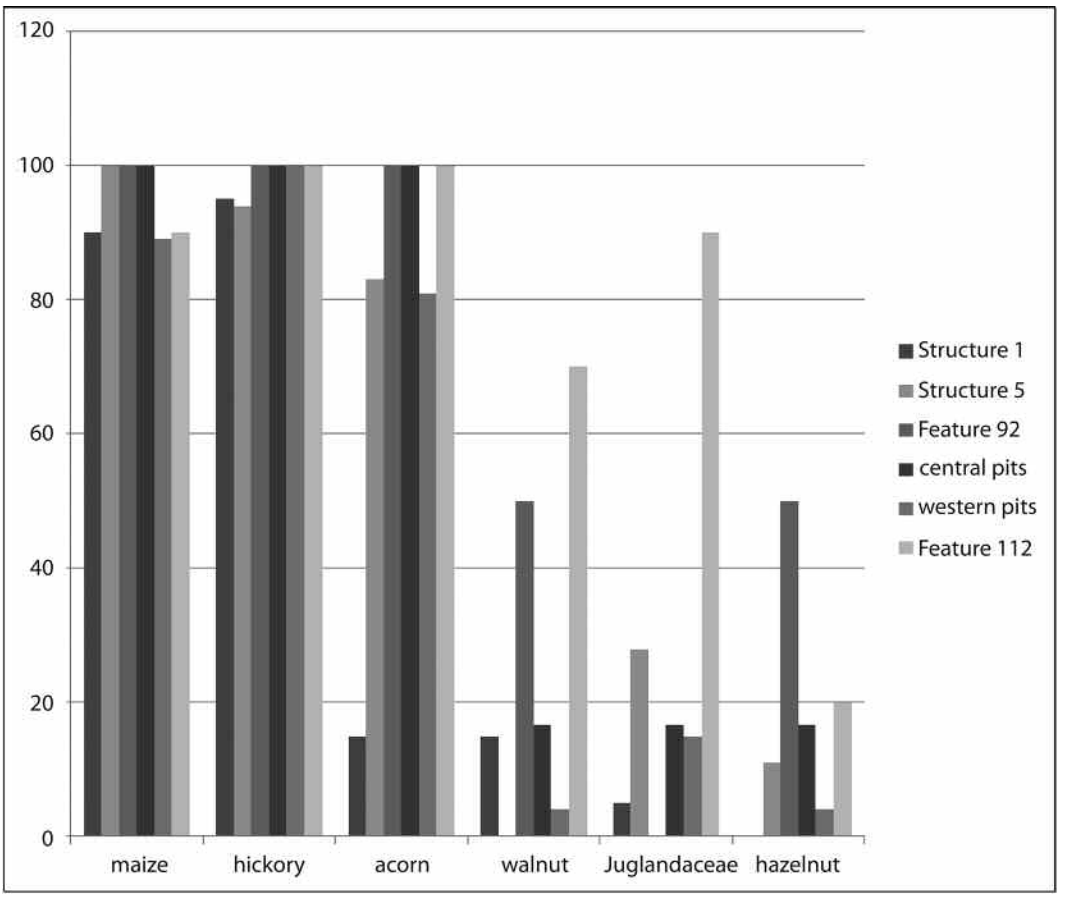

Figure 9. Ubiquity values of maize and nutshell.

and black bear (*Ursus americanus*) provide the greatest mass in terms of weight (Figure 11). The two measures offer distinct yet equally important information. If NISP is considered independently of weight, then the importance of bear is missed. However, when we consider weight—privileging larger mammals with heavier skeletons—independently of NISP, the importance of turtle is missed.

NISP is sensitive to fragmentation and may overrepresent animals such as turtles with more identifiable skeletal elements; MNI, though, is influenced less by the process of fragmentation and the number of identifiable parts, thus offering a necessary countermeasure to NISP. Within the compound assemblage, deer and turtle had the two greatest MNI tallies of 7 and 5, respectively. Excepting bear and cottontail rabbit (Sylvilagus floridanus) (with respective MNI tallies of 2 and 3), all other taxa had an MNI of 1. Other identified taxa from the compound assemblage include wapiti or elk (*Cervus elaphus*), mountain lion (*Puma concolor*), woodchuck (*Marmota monax*), bobcat (*Lynx rufus*), raccoon (*Procyon lotor*), turkey (*Meleagris gallopavo*), perching birds (Passeriformes order), pikes (*Esox* spp.), white catfish (*Ameiurus catus*), various freshwater catfishes (Ictaluridae family), and several additional species of turtles and commensal taxa (such as small rodents and amphibians).

Our focus here is to see whether there are patterned differences in the compound's faunal assemblage comparable to those identified in the spatial patterning of structures and features and in the archaeobotanical data. To do so, we compare animal remains from the compound's features. In the faunal assemblage from the central pits, deer and bear remains are found in fairly similar pro-

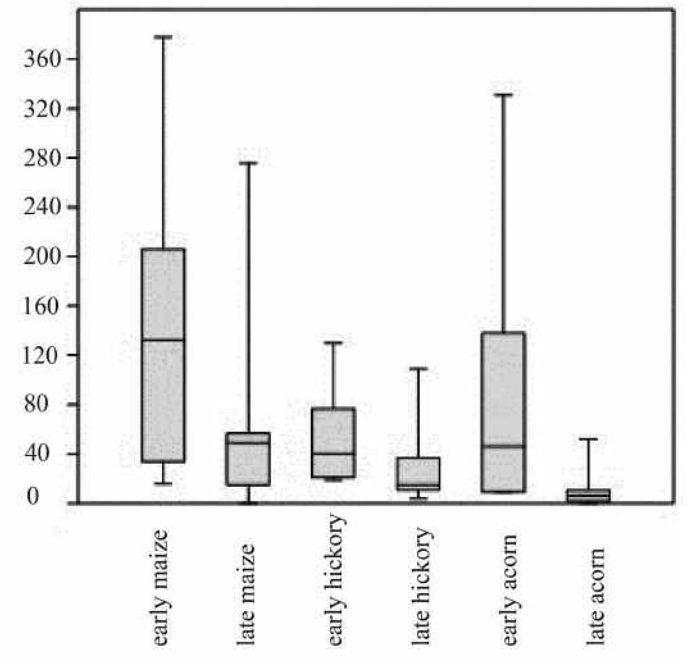

Figure 10. Box plots contrasting maize, hickory nut, and acorn shell fragments by count from early and late pit features.

portions (Figure 12); deer comprise just over half (51 percent) and bear slightly under half (45 percent) of the bone weight of all identified mammals. In contrast, deer bones dominate the western features, comprising 88 percent of the bone weight of identified mammals. Bear is present in significantly lower proportions, accounting for only 12 percent of bone weight in the western features. In terms of the body part distributions of large animals, deer are present in proportions nearly identical to that of the standard deer in the early features, with meat-bearing limbs and butchery waste represented in a nearly 60 percent to 40 percent ratio (Figure 13a). In the western feature contexts, however, meaty elements of deer are highly overrepresented. Bear remains exhibit a greater proportion of meaty parts relative to the standard animal in both central and western feature contexts (Figure 13b, Table 1).

These data indicate substantial differences in meat consumption during the early and late phases of the Spanish compound. Earlier in time, the Spaniards ate deer and bear meat in similar proportions, and—more often than not—whole deer carcasses were brought into the compound for processing and cooking. The soldiers also ate wapiti as an occasional treat. Later, the Spaniards consumed mostly venison when eating meat, and it seems that prepared deer meat was brought to the compound more frequently than before. Bear contributed very little protein to the Spaniards' diet during the later phase of occupation. The overrepresentation of the meaty elements of bear in both early and late feature contexts suggests that soldiers were provisioned with prepared bear meat at least some of the time throughout the compound's occupation. Ethnohistorical accounts from the Southeast inform us that indigenous peoples frequently served bear meat and bear fat to special guests and dined upon these foods during celebratory meals and feasts (Lawson 1967:31, 44, 59, 61, 62, 121; Waselkov and Braund 1995:62, 63, 147). The distribution of bear remains in the Spanish compound may thus inform us about changing relations at Joara.

The paucity of bear remains in the late feature contexts does not appear to be linked to seasonal availability, as there is a substantial overlap in the seasons during which both central and western features would have filled with trash. One of the easiest seasons to kill a bear is during winter or early spring when the animal is hibernating or, in

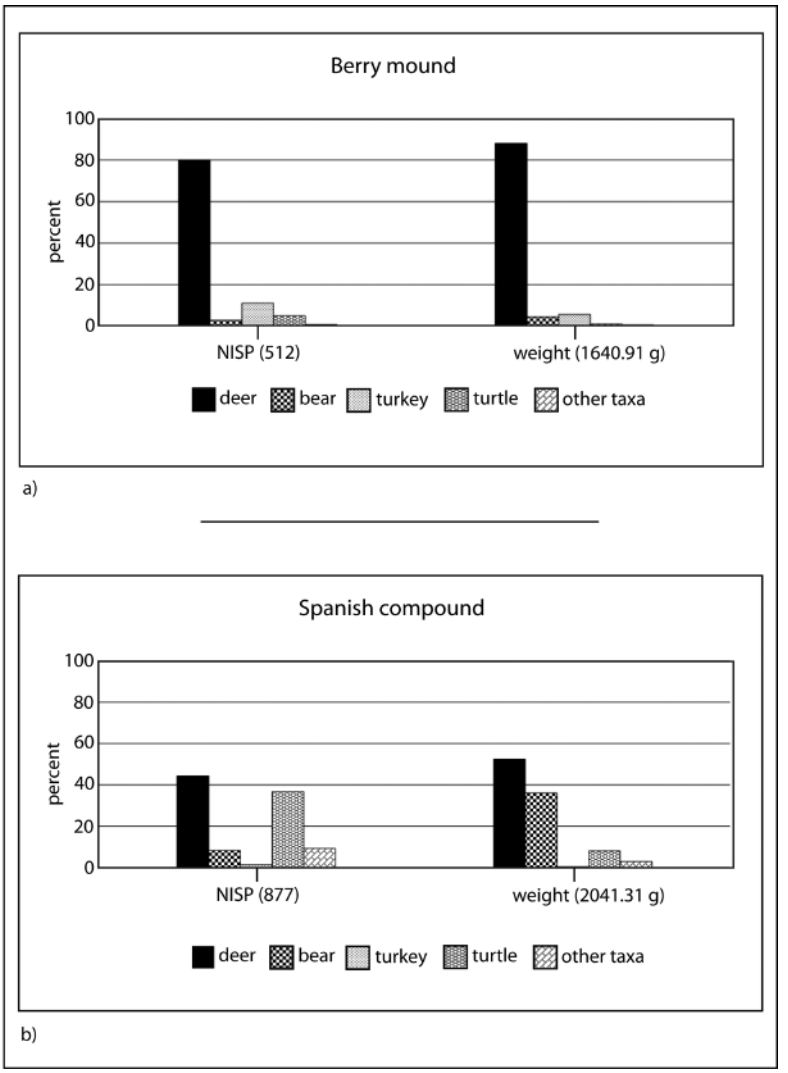

Figure 11. Main faunal taxa by percent NISP and weight (Spanish compound).

warmer climates, denning (Anderson 1992:19; Smith 1975:118). Historic references also note that Native Americans hunted bear in the winter, after the animals had fattened themselves up for the denning season (Swanton 1929:8; 1946:321–322). Denning usually occurs over a five-month period in the southern Appalachians, beginning in late November/early December and continuing until mid-April (Powell et al. 1997:69). While pregnant females and those with newborn cubs remain in their dens throughout this time, it is not uncommon for adult males and juvenile animals of both sexes to change their dens several times in the winter (Powell et al. 1997:14). If the taste and quantity of meat and fat influenced the time of year that bears were killed, then summer and winter would have been primary hunting periods (e.g., Lapham 2016). However, since ease was also a consideration, winter would probably have been the best hunting season. Likewise, bears are at their heaviest in the winter, having spent the summer and fall months fattening up when foods were plentiful. In the Spanish compound, early and late features alike could have been used during key hunting periods, suggesting that seasonal availability can be ruled out as a causal factor in the paucity of bear remains in late features. The pattern is more likely associated with deteriorating

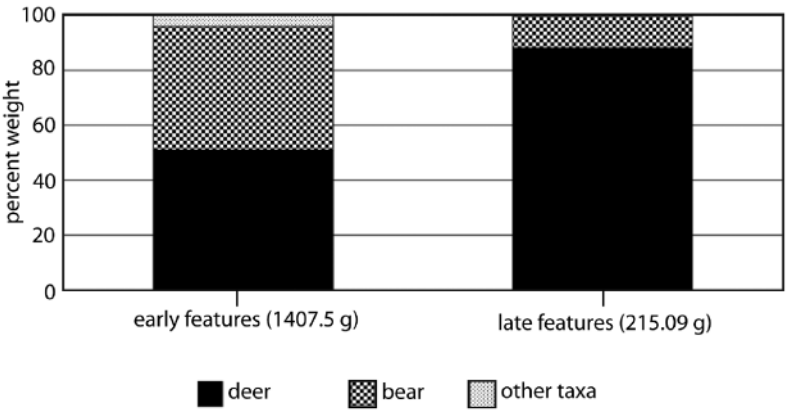

Figure 12. Main mammals by percent weight in early and late features in the Spanish compound.

sociopolitical relations between the Spaniards and their native hosts, a point that we elaborate in the following section.

Gender and Provisioning at Fort San Juan

We presume that most of the plant and animal foods consumed by Pardo's soldiers in the Spanish compound were provisioned by the men and women of Joara. Jaime Martínez's account specifically reports that food demands were among the primary reasons for the failure of this and the five other forts that Pardo established in 1567. If the soldiers were procuring any significant portion of their own food supplies, then provisioning would certainly have played a lesser role in the garrison's ultimate end. Nor should we be surprised that the soldiers failed to obtain more of their own foods. Given the brief time of their occupation, less than 18 months, the men had little opportunity to acquire the skills for planting and harvesting local domesticates at Joara, even had fields for such an undertaking been made available. And since we have neither documentary nor archaeological evidence that Pardo's men brought Old World cultigens to Joara, we are confident that they expected such staples to be provisioned. Finally, while the soldiers may have prepared specific kinds of meat dishes themselves (e.g., turtle stews), all evidence of maize- and nut-based dishes is fully consistent with indigenous food preparation practices. As maize and nuts were the dominant plant food remains recovered from compound features, we presume that Indian women prepared most of the plant food dishes consumed by the soldiers at Fort San Juan.

Given the amounts of maize cupules and other cob fragments and the density of nutshell, it is unlikely that Pardo's men were regularly provisioned with dishes prepared elsewhere on the site.

Table 1. White-Tailed Deer and Black Bear Body Portions in Spanish Compound Features.

	Early Features		Late Features	
Taxa	Weight	%wt	Weight	%wt
White-tailed deer				
Meat bearing limbs	354.27	64.0	133.64	86.4
Butchery waste	199.64	36.0	21.05	13.6
Black bear				
Meat bearing limbs	421.74	80.3	20.07	79.3
Butchery waste	103.72	19.7	5.25	20.7

Note: All weight in grams. The meat-bearing limbs category includes scapulae, humeri, radii, ulnae, pelvises, femora, patellae, tibiae, and fibulae. The butchery waste category includes elements associated with the head (skull, mandibles, and teeth) and feet (metacarpals, metatarsals, sesmoids, and phalanges) with antlers, carpals, and tarsals excluded from the tally.

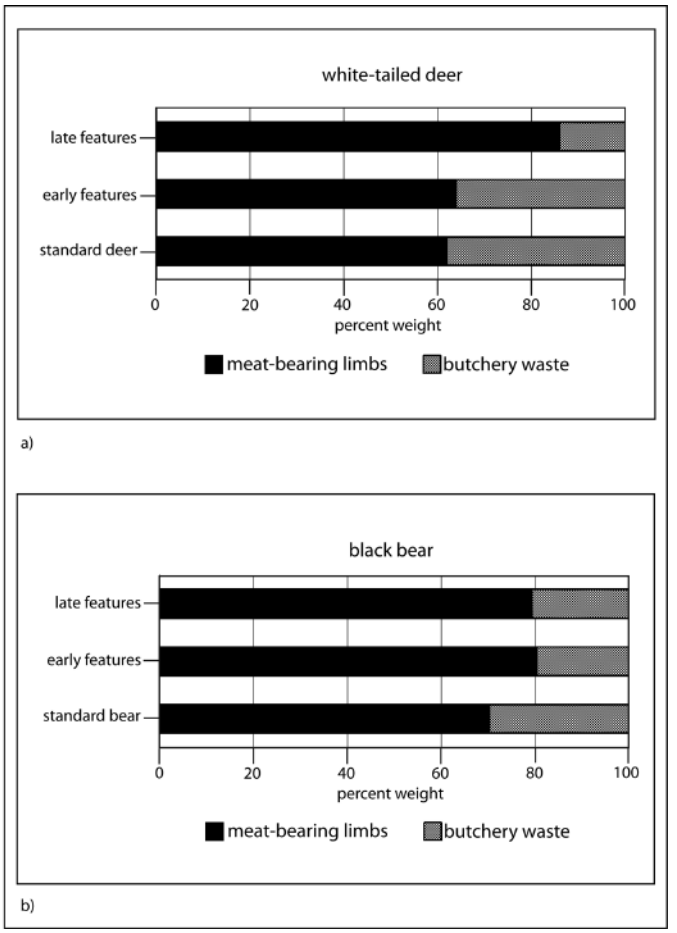

Figure 13. Meat-bearing limbs and butchery waste in Spanish compound features by percent weight for (a) white-tailed deer and (b) black bear.

Instead, native women likely prepared most maize- and nut-based meals within the Spanish compound. During the period of the garrison's occupation, maize, nuts, and fruits were the most common plant foods consumed in the compound. In fact, the range of plant foods identified here is little different from that recovered from non-Spanish contexts at Berry and at other sites across the region. Indigenous women, that is, were preparing the same kinds of plant foods for Pardo's men as they were for their own families. Moreover—with one exception—there is little difference in identified plant food remains from early to late contexts within the Spanish compound; women were serving the same sorts of dishes throughout the occupation of Fort San Juan. Yet the single exception—an apparent shift from acorns to hickory nuts—does suggest changes in the nature of the occupation. Acorn was the most common nut recovered from the early, central pits, followed by hickory. In the western features, however, acorn plummets from more than 25 percent to less than 10 percent of all plant foods, with hickory becoming the most common nut. One possibility is that this change in mast proportion from early to late contexts reflects a food preference on the part of the Spanish soldiers, with local women altering the ingredients of the meals they prepared and served in response to the tastes of Pardo's men.

Another possibility, one suggested by archaeological and ethnohistorical evidence, is that the women preparing food during the compound's early occupation were culturally distinct—with different food preferences or foodway practices—

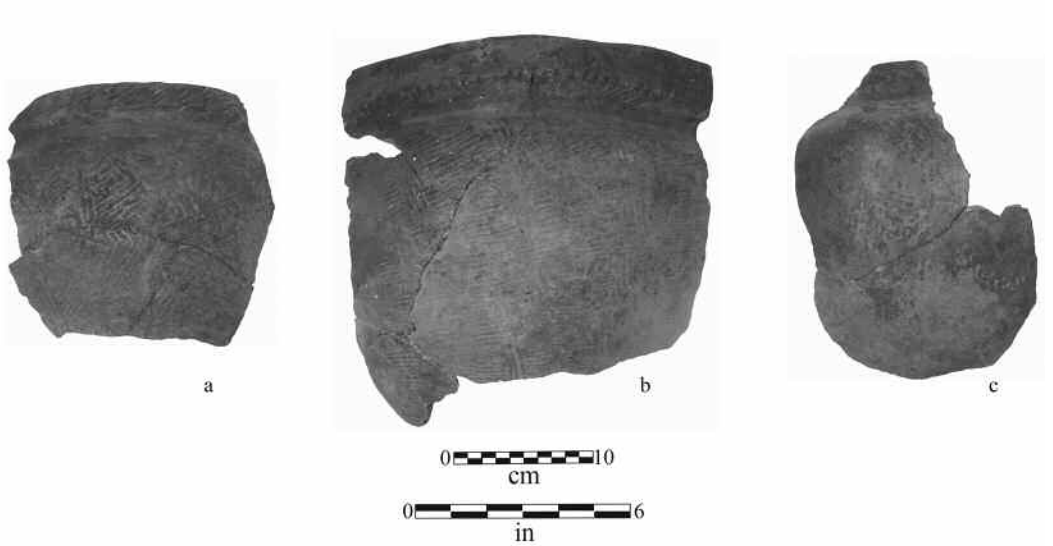

Figure 14. Pisgah vessels from Feature 112: (a) Vessel No. 3; (b) Vessel No. 5; (c) Vessel No. 8.

from the women who did so later. Shortly after Pardo's first *entrada* returned to Santa Elena, his officer at Fort San Juan, Hernando Moyano, led at least two assaults on Native American towns in the Appalachian Mountains northwest of Joara (Martínez 1990:320). Moyano claimed to have killed more than a thousand people at each town, though this figure is likely an exaggeration (Hudson 1990:48). He also took an unknown number of women from each of the destroyed towns, at least eight of whom were taken as slaves to Santa Elena, where they were freed in December 1567 (Hudson 1990:176). Evidence from the Spanish compound suggests that some of these women, carried down from the mountains as hostages and war captives, might have remained behind at Fort San Juan.

Feature 112 was a large, circular pit, nearly 2 m in diameter and 80 cm deep, located just outside the southwest corner of Structure 5. It was unusual both for its extraordinary quantity of hickory nut remains, associated perhaps with the preparation of *kunuchee*, a traditional Cherokee hickory nut soup, and for its unique assemblage of Pisgah-style pottery (Figure 14). The core of the Pisgah phase is located in the Appalachian Summit north and west of Berry, and its ceramics are markedly different from those of the local Burke phase (Moore 2002). Sherds from no fewer than eight Pisgah-style pottery vessels were recovered from the fill of Feature 112, and as Pisgah communities were probably among those attacked by Moyano (Beck 1997), it is possible that the materials from Feature 112 represent the labor of Pisgah women taken to Joara and Fort San Juan after Moyano's attacks. The vessels themselves could have been taken from the destroyed towns, filled with appropriated foodstuffs, or produced at Joara by captive, non-local women. The latter possibility is intriguing because all of the Pisgah-style vessels recovered from Feature 112 are soapstone tempered, one of the diagnostic characteristics of locally made, Burke phase ceramics. In any event, the apparent switch from acorns to hickory nuts may have been associated less with the tastes of Spanish men than with the practices of non-local indigenous women drawn violently into the colonial enterprise as captives at Fort San Juan (Cameron 2011).

If archaeobotanical remains provide evidence of the kinds of relationships that developed between Spanish soldiers and native women, then the faunal assemblage provides evidence about relations between Pardo's men and the men of Joara, who probably provisioned the soldiers with most of their animal protein. Were the Spaniards hunting more large game themselves, we might expect their hunting skills to have improved

through time, so that evidence for provisioning (bear and deer meat butchered elsewhere in the compound's early occupation) would decrease relative to evidence for self-sufficiency (meat prepared in the compound in its later phase of occupation). Instead, faunal analysis indicates nearly the opposite: most of the bear meat consumed during the early phase of occupation and both bear and deer meat consumed in its later phase were prepared elsewhere and delivered to the soldiers, likely as provisions. Even had the Spaniards preferred to hunt large game, the cumbersome arquebuses and crossbows in their possession would have been poorly suited for hunting and bringing down large mammals such as bear and deer. Also, given their limited supplies of shot and bolts—and the need to maintain these meager stores for the garrison's defense—it seems that the soldiers would have needed native men either to procure meat for them or else to join them on the hunt, using indigenous technology.

And early on, at least, it appears that the men of Joara provisioned them quite well. Most striking, the ratio of bear remains to deer remains in the central pit features (i.e., during the early occupation phase) is nearly 1:1. Not only is the percentage of bear bones very high, but the bear meat that entered the compound consisted primarily of better cuts, the complete carcasses having been butchered elsewhere. During the eighteenth century, bear meat was a difficult-to-obtain food that southern Indians gave to honored guests, and we suggest that such practices likewise pertained at sixteenth-century Joara. Deer remains from these pits provide us with different insights into the early provisioning of Fort San Juan. With deer, whole carcasses were butchered inside the compound, suggesting both that Pardo's men had access to all parts of the carcass, including useful skins and hides, and that native hunters were regular visitors.

Most of these patterns change as we shift our focus to the western features and midden behind Structure 5. Here, the ratio of bear bones to deer bones drops to 1:9, a dramatic decline in the amount of bear meat that local hunters procured for their guests. We interpret this change as an unravelling in the relations between Joaran and Spanish men, but it may be fair to ask why we see this dietary change—the decline in bear meat—as a signal of trouble among the men, while we offer the possibility that a shift from acorns to hickory indicates native women acting on Spanish food preferences. Could it be that the soldiers preferred deer meat to bear? Perhaps, but another shift in the faunal assemblage may reflect the soldiers' increasing isolation from the men of Joara. No longer were complete deer carcasses carried into the compound for processing. Instead, most of the deer meat consumed during the later period of the occupation was butchered elsewhere and brought to the compound in an already prepared state. Indian men, it seems, were spending much less time among the soldiers in the Spanish compound.

Why might such a worsening of relations have taken place, when the rapport between the men of Joara and those of Fort San Juan appears to have been sound throughout the early months of the encounter? Jaime Martínez, writing in 1610, observed that the soldiers' demands for food caused the Indians to destroy the forts (Ugarte 1935). Likewise, Teresa Martín testified that sexual improprieties between Pardo's men and local women—whether consensual or coercive is unclear—angered the men of Joara and other towns. Each of these factors could have played key roles in the destruction of Fort San Juan, but we suggest that a third, more subtle factor might also have contributed to the undoing of relationships between the soldiers and their hosts. It is easy to envision the men of Joara, frustrated with the Spaniards, cutting off their supplies of bear meat and distancing themselves from daily life in the compound. But what if the soldiers, while formally reshaping their colony during its second construction phase, denied entry to Native American men? The Laws of the Indies would codify such a policy in 1573, five years after the destruction of Fort San Juan, with Ordinance 137 insisting that:

> While the town is being completed, the settlers should try, inasmuch as this is possible, to avoid communication and traffic with the Indians, or going to their towns ... nor [should the settlers] allow the Indians to enter within the confines of the town until it is built and its defenses ready and houses built so that when the Indians see them they will be struck with admiration and will understand that the Spaniards are there to settle permanently and not temporarily. They [the Spaniards] should

> be so feared that they [the Indians] will not dare offend them, but they will respect them and desire their friendship [Mundigo and Crouch 1977:258].

Moreover, if Pardo's men simultaneously began to exclude Joaran women from the compound in favor of women taken captive during Moyano's mountain attacks, the latter of whom would have been much easier to force into labor than women from Joara, then the soldiers' isolation from the people of Joara—its men and women alike—might have opened a chasm between the garrison and the town that contributed to the destruction of Fort San Juan.

Conclusions

Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, native communities across the Americas became entangled with Spanish settler populations comprised mainly or entirely of adult men. We agree with Deagan that in such settings, native women were often "active culture brokers and agents of a multicultural household practice, whether as wives, servants, or concubines" (2008:877). With the St. Augustine pattern, she proposed a set of gendered relations that structured domestic life in the resulting *mestizo* households. In those domains identified as public (high visibility), Spanish (male) patterns of material culture were thought to prevail. In those domains identified as private (low visibility), native (female) patterns of material culture were thought to prevail. Data that we have presented here conform to the expectations of the St. Augustine pattern only in limited ways. In the Berry site Spanish compound, diet and food preparation were indeed strongly conditioned by native practices and activities. Yet rather than finding these activities linked exclusively with native women, we link the changing patterns of meat provisioning with the political strategies of native men. We have also identified changes in patterns of plant food provisioning. While these changes may be explained as local native women adapting their dietary decisions to the tastes of Spanish men (itself a possibility not explicitly considered by the St. Augustine pattern), they may also reflect the labor of non-local native women taken captive as slaves. Such captives may have been forced to provide sexual labor along with that associated with food provisioning.

It is not surprising that the St. Augustine pattern only partially explains data from the Berry site. Fort San Juan was a frontier outpost and was perhaps as isolated as any that existed in the sixteenth-century Spanish Empire. It had a small contingent of soldiers, and it had a limited assemblage of Spanish material culture, essentially what the men of the Pardo expedition could carry inland for several hundred miles on their backs. In these ways, Fort San Juan was different from contemporaneous colonies such as St. Augustine and Santa Elena in *La Florida* or Puerto Real and La Isabella in the Caribbean. Our analyses thus support one of the most salient critiques of the St. Augustine pattern: throughout the Americas, the Spanish colonial experience was far too diverse for any single framework to bear so much analytical weight (Voss 2008:865–866). This is not to suggest, of course, that we should reject all generalizing models or frameworks in favor of particularist explanations. Rather, our general models need the flexibility required by the variation we observe in the historical and archaeological records.

We find intriguing Voss's (2008:874–875) proposal for shifting our collective focus from marriage to the social organization of labor. In our ongoing research at Fort San Juan, we situate food and foodways in the context of provisioning. Provisioning is inextricably bound to regimes of labor—who controls it, who owes or provides it, to whom it is owed or provided—and this form of social labor, converted to provisioning, is itself based in politics and political economy. While Voss, in her multiscalar approach to the archaeology of labor, recognizes the continued role to be played by household labor, "labor at the microscale" (2008:874), she also advocates studying household labor in relation to meso- and macroscale patterns. In our case, though, the meso- and macro-scale labor regimes ultimately responsible for the organization of food provisioning at Fort San Juan—for providing the range of foodstuffs prepared and consumed in daily meals within the Spanish compound—were much more indigenous than Spanish. Or so we can say today, with the benefit of hindsight. For the Spaniards at Fort San Juan, however, things might not have been so

clear. Joara Mico, the leader of Joara, had made the "Yaa" in Pardo's presence before the latter's return to Santa Elena, which meant to the Spaniards that the *mico* and his people were to live and labor as servants of the crown; Joara Mico must have seen things differently. And in *La Florida*, misunderstandings like these—what was native and what was European, what was male and what was female, much less what was gifted, what was owed, or what was exchanged—could make the difference between success and failure, between life and death.

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Data Availability Statement. All collections discussed here from the Berry Site are curated at the Warren Wilson College Archaeology Laboratory in Swannanoa, North Carolina.

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