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Multiscalarity and Transcultural Interaction in the Post-Contact Northeast: A Dual Application of World-Systems Theory and Structured History

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Introduction

The application of scales commonly has been – and will continue to be – an issue for anthropologists investigating historical contact in the age of colonial expansion (see Little & Shackel 1989). The issue presents itself in myriad forms, not least of which is the difficulty of accurately choosing a scale that is appropriate for a particular research question. In the past, it has been customary for post-contact archaeologists to refer to other disciplines to inform their application of scales. The purpose of this article is to illustrate how two separate schools of thought can be integrated to provide a coherent and provocative approach to archaeological sites of the post-contact period. Those two schools are *world-systems theory* and the Annales School of *structured history*. World-systems theory puts global economic practice into perspective and is especially enlightening in situations of colonial-indigenous contact. Structured history, more specifically, the *longue durée*, links past actions and behaviors to contemporary social and economic conditions. A combination of these two approaches is applied to the Dutch-Mohawk fur trade in the seventeenth-century Northeast to delineate the advantages of applying a multiscalar approach to post-contact interactions.

The first segment of this article provides a brief depiction of world-systems theory and structured history. It is imperative to understand the pivotal tenets of each approach to fully comprehend their potential in multiscalar analyses. The second segment of this article will apply the integrated approach to the North American fur trade, specifically the involvement of the Dutch and Mohawk. It begins by providing the historical knowledge of each group and then continues on to the reciprocal, albeit complicated, relationship. It was this relationship that allowed the Dutch artist Johannes Vermeer the opportunity to accurately portray the social and material *milieu* of the seventeenth century in *Officer and Laughing Girl* (see Brook 2008: plate 2). The officer is clothed in attire that is characteristic of the time, including a beaver-pelt hat. The animal was undoubtedly trapped and processed by Natives of the North American Woodlands, thus weaving Vermeer into a global network that the artist unknowingly participated in. Finally, the last section of the essay discusses potential research opportunities for the dual approach to post-contact sites.

Similar to previous multiscalar analyses, this one provides no conclusive answers. The ambition lies in the ability to view the Dutch-Mohawk interactions through a new analytical lens and delineate novel interpretations. The forthcoming discussion is

meant to be a foundation for future work and should not be interpreted as a final, holistic overview of the subject. Hall states it best: “One case study, of course, cannot solve this problem, but it can illuminate it. Case studies are useful primarily for building theory (and occasionally for demolishing it) but not for testing theory” (1986:391). Therefore, this paper is nothing but a catalyst for illumination.

World(-)Systems Theory

World(-)systems theory is generally divided into two constituent camps. The first is world systems theory (without a hyphen) which is predominantly associated with Andre Gunder Frank. Frank (1966) argues that the current world system has been in existence for approximately five thousand years, providing pre-Columbian archeologists with an economic model that can be used to infer production and consumption and concomitant social relations. This conception of world systems theory is in contrast to the second camp.

World-systems theory (with a hyphen) – the perspective applied in this article – was initially proposed by Immanuel Wallerstein (1974, 1979, 1980) as a mechanism to delineate economic inequality. The existence of a *modern world-system* is the primary concept of Wallerstein’s theory. The term *world* emphasizes a closed economic network rather than a geographic space; *system* implies that events in one area of a network have ramifications in the network’s constituent parts (Kardulias & Hall 2008). More important is the history of this age-old system. According to Wallerstein (2007:23) the modern world-system initially developed in the sixteenth century parallel to the development of imperial colonization. It was primarily restricted to Western Europe, but as time passed, nation-states grew economically and so did the dissemination of the modern world-system. The economic system that spread rapidly and is the antecedent of the modern world-system is *capitalism*. Capitalism does not require political homogeneity for it to flourish (Orser 2009), which accounts for the presence of quasi-capitalist relations in post-contact interactions. In sum, world-systems theory is a post-Columbian body of concepts and processes supported by a capitalist system that has been in operation since the sixteenth century. As Frank’s approach is applicable to pre-Columbian contexts, the utility of Wallerstein’s world-systems analysis is witnessed most often in studies of post-contact contexts.

One elemental tenet of world-systems theory is the core/periphery relationship. The terms *core* and *periphery* were first utilized in the 1950s by Raúl Prebisch and other Latin American scholars in the United Nations Economic and Commission for Latin America (ECLA; Hopkins et al. 1982:45). They used these terms to emphasize unbalanced trade between favored, strong nations (core) and subservient nations (periphery), which coalesce to form the interstate system. The ECLA hoped this new form of analysis would underscore the unequal trade between the Latin American agriculturalists and the American industrialists. It is significant to note that a core nation cannot exist without a periphery, or a periphery without a core; the areas are interdependent. The economic processes within the interstate system distinguish cores from peripheries and not the geographic areas, cultures, or populations per se; therefore,

it is possible for a core to revert to a periphery and a periphery to transition into a core. Lastly, the concept of *semi-periphery* is “a midway point on a continuum running from the core to the periphery” (Wallerstein 1974:102-103); the “‘in-between’ [of] the core-periphery structure” (Hopkins et al. 1982:47); or “sociopolitical organizations that have characteristics of both cores and peripheries” (Orser 2009:255). In its simplest form, the semi-periphery can be interpreted as the “middle man” of core–periphery relations. It is the groups of people or nation-states that constrain peripheries for resources and are contemporaneously constrained by cores for those same resources that are considered to be in a semi-peripheral state. In essence, semi-peripheries exhibit an amalgam of core–periphery processes.

Some scholars have critiqued world-systems theory. Kardulias and Hall, although advocates of a world-systems approach, are keenly aware of its generalizing properties, namely “being too economistic, [and] ignoring individual actors” (2008:573). Gil Stein (1999), a prominent critic, identifies three implicit assumptions of world-systems analyses: (1) the core has despotic control of its constituent peripheries; (2) unequal exchange favors core areas; and (3) long-distance trade is the key variable in determining the disposition of periphery’s economy. Stein supports this argument by presenting archaeological evidence, indicating how ancient states were incapable of governing the activities in peripheries. Stein identifies the deficiencies of using a world-systems approach primarily in pre-Columbian contexts, but these deficiencies can and should be acknowledged in colonial contexts as well.

To address these deficiencies I use world-systems analysis to emphasize the impact of individual actors and also to illuminate the degree of authority the Mohawk (i.e., the periphery) possessed in determining their position in the modern-world system. With this approach the overlap of the core–periphery boundary is deemphasized and the region is reinterpreted as an area of negotiation rather than one of control. In essence, rather than implicitly accepting the assumptions Stein identifies, an anthropologist should search for evidence that either confirms or denies these propositions. A case study that deviates from the general expectations of a core–periphery relationship is as noteworthy as one that does not because the anthropologist should be interested in the social relations, practices, and interactions the core–periphery perpetuates and maintains rather than the core–periphery per se.

The Annales School and Structured History

The Annales School of history is a paradigm that originated in early twentieth century France, but was not widely accepted until the late 1940s. The paradigm is generally segmented into three generations of prominent practitioners: (1) 1930-1950 with the work of Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch; (2) 1950-1970 with Fernand Braudel; and (3) 1970-1980 with Le Roy Ladurie and Pierre Chaunu, to name a few (Knapp 1992:5). The first scholars of Annales historians laid the ground for successive generations. Their primary goal was to construct an interdisciplinary approach to structured history that strays away from the minutia that had been the centerpiece of the discipline for centuries (i.e., “big men” and events). Bloch and Febvre’s alternative view of history did not

progress until the conclusion of World War II, coinciding with the publication of *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II* (The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II) by Fernand Braudel.

In his influential dissertation, Braudel (1949) formulated the concept of what is now commonly referred to as *structured history*. Braudel explicitly divides his topic into three segmented, albeit interrelated, wavelengths of time, what he called *various planes* (1972:21) which has most recently been referred to as *time perspectivism* (Fletcher 1992). The first is the short term history of events referred to as *individual time*: the wavelength of chronology that concentrates on individuals, events, and narratives (Bintliff 2004: 176). Individual time rests on the other two structured wavelengths and therefore, according to Braudel, is insignificant. The second temporality is medium term, or *social time*, a wavelength consisting of multiple generations that often include “demographic, agrarian and other economic cycles, and the waxing and waning of socio-political systems” (Bintliff 1991:7). Braudel initially distinguished social time from other wavelengths through *conjunctures*: a combination of various social, political, and economic situations that typically culminate into a crisis. The final wavelength is long term, commonly referred to as geographic time or the *longue durée*. The *longue durée* can include the history of entire civilizations or particular forms of technology. Both the social time and the *longue durée* exhibit *ideology* and *worldview (mentalities)*, two important concepts to any social scientist. In sum, structured history includes three contemporaneous wavelengths of time – individual, social, and the *longue durée* – which ultimately condition social reality.

Braudel's use of structured history does not come without criticism. Hexter (1972), for instance, argues that Braudel neglects to connect individual time (i.e., people and events) to structural history (i.e., social time and the *longue durée*); therefore, Braudel's initial interpretation is unwarranted. This is a particularly significant argument for this article. If events or people interact above structural history, how can post-contact archaeology utilize such an approach when excavations are typically limited to local sites? (see Orser 1994) Luckily, other arguments illustrate how short term events can have macro-historical or structural consequences. Another inherent dilemma is the possibility “to reify [the three scales] in past reality” (Orser 2007:29). This potential consequence echoes the criticisms of world-systems theory. Since Braudel's structured history lacks any definitive model, the application lays within the discretion of the analyst. The solution to this problem lays within the standardization of temporalities for a specific context of time, an unattainable enterprise to say the least. Acknowledging the potential dilemmas and exercising caution are simple, but not necessarily easy remedies to applying the Annales School of structured history to historical archaeology.

Structured history and the Annales School form an exceptional temporal framework to investigate capitalism and the modern world-system. Combining structured history and world-systems theory permits a multiscale analysis of a single archaeological site, effectively connecting local phenomena with global trends, and vice-versa. More importantly, applying world-systems analysis, emphasizing individual actors and focusing on negotiation rather than control, will contribute greatly to our understanding of colonial–indigenous contact in the Northeast.

Dutch-Mohawk Interaction in the Northeast

The seventeenth century Netherlands was the first hegemonic power of the modern world-system (Wallerstein 2007). By the time Henry Hudson sailed the river now bearing his name in 1609, the Dutch had a stronghold in the East Indies and South Africa and by mid-century, they also had a strong, albeit ephemeral, presence in Brazil and the West Indies. The Dutch experience in the Northeast was one of uniqueness; one that did not mirror their colonial enterprise in other parts of the globe (see Schrire & Merwick 1991). This was an effect of the indigenous groups that occupied the area and the trade networks and goods they controlled. The following history concentrates on the area of Fort Orange (1624-1664) on the Hudson River – where present-day Albany now stands.

Fort Nassau was built in 1614 on Castle Island through the auspices of the Dutch New Netherland Company, but was reduced to drift wood in 1617 by reoccurring floods, an ominous foreshadowing of the next five decades. In 1621, however, an elite group of entrepreneurs, merchants, and traders coalesced to form the Dutch West India Company (WIC) in the Netherlands – the sister of the *Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC; Dutch East India Company) – and erected Fort Orange in 1624. Fort Orange was the epicenter of trade for the Dutch and surrounding native groups until 1664 when the English usurped the Dutch and renamed it Fort Frederick. With very few exceptions, the Dutch were not interested in establishing social relationships with the natives outside of economic trade (Rothschild 2003). The Dutch desired two things: beaver pelts and mass amounts of accumulated wealth, with the former being the catalyst of the latter. The Dutch were so successful at collecting beaver pelts that by 1635, New Amsterdam was exporting approximately sixteen thousand furs. In his letter to Willem Kieft in 1640, Killian van Rensselaer, the director of Rensselaerswijck – a colony that encompassed twenty-five hundred acres – expressed his concern regarding the lack of furs being brought to Fort Orange. Additionally, he remembered more prosperous times when five to six thousand furs were exported annually from the fort (Van Rensselaer 1640:483). The insufficient amount of furs was due to the Mohawk trapping them to extinction in the Mohawk River Valley.

The Mohawk (*Kanien'keha:ka*) are an Iroquoian group that historically occupied a portion of the Mohawk Valley approximately forty miles wide from east to west and twenty miles wide from north to south, with geographic boundaries including the Schoharie Creek to the east and the East Canada Creek to the west (Funk & Kuhn 2003). They are one of the Five Nations that formed the League of the Iroquois, which was comprised of the Mohawk, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas and Senecas (Tooker 1978). The Five Nations worked in concert to defend their nation from impending attacks by European colonists and other Native American groups. The Mohawk were slash and burn horticulturists who cultivated maize, beans, and squash. They also hunted various game, fished the local waters, and gathered a diverse array of mast depending on the season (Fenton 1978). Within the gendered division of labor, women generally cultivated the crops and men hunted game. The Mohawk were divided into three clans – Wolf, Bear, and Turtle – each having three segments, including a chief or sachem

representing each segment (Snow 1994:62). According to clan membership, women, unmarried children, and exogamous husbands occupied the longhouses. The first documented contact with Europeans occurred in July of 1609, between Champlain, his allied Algonquians, and two hundred Mohawk warriors (Snow 1994:79).

More significant to this discussion is the mode of production which the Mohawk practiced in the proto-historic and early contact periods. Wolf defines mode of production as a concept that “aims...at revealing the political-economic relationships that underlie, orient, and constrain interaction” within a particular body of individuals (1982:76). Wolf (1982) distinguishes between three modes of production: *capitalist*, *tributary*, and *kin-ordered*. Based on the interactions, behaviors, and relationships between members of the Mohawk, and between the Mohawk and the other four nations of the League of the Iroquois, it can be deduced that they practiced a kin-ordered mode of production. To begin, the Mohawk historically operated on two levels of interaction: the family or household level and the political order (i.e., the League). Behaviors ultimately conformed to clan membership. Snow (1994) posits that clan membership aided in facilitating long distance trade and was not exclusively formed for marriage. Given this notion, a Mohawk trader traveling hundreds of miles to the Seneca nation could hypothetically reside in the longhouse of their respective clan for the duration of their stay.

Dissimilar to European beliefs, trade routes discovered by Iroquoians belonged to the individual who initially revealed it; however, since their economy was based on reciprocity, it was rare for a Mohawk to accumulate wealth. Traditionally a Mohawk member would present their trade items to their clan sachem who would then redistribute the items or they would avoid the sachem and redistribute the items themselves (Engelbrecht 2003). Later in the century, however, some Mohawk and other native inhabitants converted to Catholicism to avoid restrictions on wealth accumulation (Trigger 2002). After 1609, the Mohawk had a direct relationship with Dutch merchants and traders, which rapidly increased their participation in the modern world-system. Applying world-systems theory and structured history to the Dutch-Mohawk fur trade will emphasize the degree of complexity of the relationship.

It is significant to begin by systematically segmenting the various temporalities of the modern world-system. The capitalist world-economy can be described in terms of the *longue durée*. Bintliff (1991; 2004) ultimately disagrees with this notion, arguing that economic structures should be considered as middle term or social history. The capitalist world-economy, however, has been in operation since imperial colonial expansion and organizes ideologies and worldviews, thus warranting this supposition. The time period which is being discussed here, the Dutch occupation of New Netherland from 1614-1664, is viewed as social time within the *longue durée*. This fifty-year epoch had global and temporal implications when viewed in the *longue durée*. Lastly would be the “big men” and events that are interspersed within social time and the *longue durée*. As the examples below will illustrate, these small points in history have much wider, enduring ramifications on history than Braudel originally believed.

If we view these interactions on a global scale, the core is the hegemonic power of the Netherlands and the periphery New Netherland. However, if we reduce the

magnification to a regional interpretation, it is plausible to consider Fort Orange as a semi-periphery if not a core and the Mohawk's territory as the periphery. The Dutch traders and merchants, employed as representatives of the core, would extract beaver furs from the Mohawk (periphery) that would, in turn, be shipped to the Netherlands to be manufactured into hats; however, it is not that simple.

Based on archaeological data, the Mohawk initially started trading furs for European goods as early as the 1570s with both Basque and Norman traders (Bradley 2007:23). After 1614, trade intensified and in 1626, the beginning of the first aggressive interactions between the Mohawk and Mohicans for access to furs occurred. It is unclear whether the Mohawk and Mohicans had a cordial coexistence, but it is certain that after 1628, the Mohicans had been displaced from the Hudson River Valley (Bradley 2007; Shorto 2004). This event gave the Mohawk proprietary control of the fur trade with the Dutch and from 1628 through 1633, thousands of furs were exported annually with little interruption. However, in 1634, there was an abrupt decline (Delage 1995:139). While this was a direct result of the imminent extinction of the beaver in the Mohawk River Valley in the latter half of the decade, the Dutch insisted on sending a party of three men to Mohawk and Oneida Country to discern the problem (Rothschild 2003:90).

The journal of Harmen Meyndertsz van den Bogaert was the first and most descriptive interaction between the Dutch, the landscape, and its inhabitants. The Dutch quickly discovered that the Five Nations Iroquois ceased trade with them because they received better payments for their furs from the French (van den Bogaert 1634-1635). This supports the idea that the Mohawk River Valley was a *negotiated periphery* (Kardulias 2007:55; Morris 1999). A negotiated periphery denotes that the underdeveloped nation ultimately decrees the conditions in which they interact in the modern world-system. By exposing the Dutch to their trade endeavors with the French, the Mohawk not only improved their economic situation, they also increased the level of dependency that the Dutch had on the Mohawk fur trade. A year after van den Bogaert met with the natives, the prices were set and trade resumed. This event, along with countless others, also delineates the Mohawk Valley as a *contested periphery* (Cline 2000:7; Allen 1997). A contested periphery is a periphery over which a core never has complete dominance. This being the case, it is possible for a periphery to "change hands" multiple times between core states in its existence as such. What is significant in this case is that the Dutch had minimal if no control over with whom the Mohawk traded; therefore the periphery was excessively transient and constantly in flux.

By the time the beaver population was decimated in the Mohawk Valley, the Mohawk were completely reliant upon European goods for survival (Bradley 2007). It took only a generation, but the Mohawk were forced to find alternative ways of obtaining furs to trade with the Europeans. They relentlessly raided neighboring tribes, but that provided little reward and was a great risk to them (Fenton & Tooker 1978). In the 1640s, a failed treaty between the French, other native groups and the Mohawk caused the latter to devise an innovative course of action: to massacre and displace the tribes of the Northeast in order to acquire their fertile land and, more importantly, their trade routes. The most significant of these wars transpired between the Mohawk and Hurons, a nation that had become completely dependent on long distance commerce (Hunt 1978).

The Mohawk also regulated the trade between the other four nations in the League and the Dutch, taking the role of “middle man” in the core-periphery relationship (Fenton & Tooker 1978:469). The question here is whether or not the Mohawk transitioned from a periphery to a semi-periphery. By the 1650s, the Mohawk were accumulating beaver furs by extracting them from neighboring groups and transporting the furs to Dutch ports at Fort Orange and New Amsterdam. The 1640s and 1650s was a bloody and tumultuous time in which the Mohawk adapted to changing conditions in the fur trade. They took advantage of neighboring tribes in order to facilitate their access to the global market of goods in which they became increasingly dependent upon over the previous decades.

Potential Areas of Applicability

The integrated approach of world-systems theory and structured history has numerous opportunities of applicability. If research were extended to include the material manifestations of the Dutch–Mohawk interactions of the Northeastern fur trade, the Mohawk River Valley would be a viable area of interest. The Mohawk River Valley has been extensively excavated and researched, but minimal attention has been allocated to the interdependent relationship of colonial powers and natives. Further, archaeological research on Mohawk settlements and Northeastern natives in general, commonly restricts their comparative scope to other Native American groups. This results in case studies that confine the research to bounded geographic areas while focusing on key artifacts that implicate long-distance trade. Table 1 provides a list of Mohawk sites located in the Mohawk River Valley organized by time of occupation.

A provocative study would include three sites from various time periods: sites that date near the arrival of the Dutch in the Hudson River Valley (1614-1626); sites that were occupied during the peak of Dutch–Mohawk interaction (1626-1646); and sites that date to the latter period of the Dutch colony (1646-1666). Inter- and intra-site analyses of these sites could illuminate the Mohawk’s gradual acceptance and adaptation of European trade goods, and thus the modern world system. Comparative frequencies or presence–absence of particular artifact classes can also reflect social discord on a macro scale. For instance, the aberrant presence of Huron ceramics uncovered at the Rumrill-Naylor site mirrors the growing animosity between the two native groups during the Mohawk’s frantic search for additional resources (Bradley 2007). Also, the Dutch–French competition for trade with the Mohawk can be exposed by analyzing the origin of diagnostic artifacts. Demonstrating how the Mohawk participated in the modern world system, and how individual involvement on a micro scale had residual and pervasive consequences is the goal of this approach. This is only one side of the coin, however. Incorporating Dutch sites strengthens the argument that the Dutch were as dependent on the Mohawk for trade goods, which exemplifies the degree of interdependency. Fort Orange is a primary candidate for this aspect of research due to its regional dominance and geographic proximity to the Mohawk. Integrating the Mohawk site component with the Fort Orange component into a cohesive whole offers a novel interpretation of the Northeastern fur trade. Sites that were once thought to

be isolated and only studied in relation to their geographic or social bearing can now be included in the sphere of the capitalist world economy. The next step would be to explore how the Dutch and Mohawk involvement in merchant capitalism facilitated new mechanisms for social inequality.

This essay is primarily focused on how the multiscalar approach of world-systems theory and structured history can be applied to colonial-indigenous contact and negotiation of trade. This dual approach is applicable in other arenas of colonialism as well. One provocative alternative is to view capitalism through the lens of world-systems theory in order to better understand the transition of colonies from one imperial nation-state to another. It is conceivable that participation in the capitalist world system allowed for the seamless usurpation of New Netherland by the English, the West Indies by the Spanish, and Brazil by the Portuguese. The exchange of resources and commodities across global networks allowed colonists the opportunity to achieve (or

**Mohawk Archaeological Sites with Dutch Components
Categorized by Time Period of Occupation**

Time period	Site Name	Site #
1614-1626	Martin	1143
	Briggs Run	1118
	Coleman-Van Duesen	1119
	Wagner's Hollow	1202/1214
1626-1635	Cromwell	1121/2340
	Yates	1131
	Brown	1204
	Failing	1197/1175/1176
1635-1646	Bauder	112
	Rumrill-Naylor	5698
	Van Evera-MCKinney	1232
	Sand Hill #1	1191/1196
	Oak Hill #i	1186/1184/1188
1646-1666	Printup	1124
	Freeman	1145
	Mitchell	1248/1233
	Janie	5808
	Horatio Nellis	1229
	Allen	1223
	Fish	1210
	Jackson-Everson	1213/1212

Table 1. Data provided by Snow 1995:197-404.

at least strive for) cultural and social consistency relative to their constructed realities. One could argue that colonialism would fail without the intricate, albeit expansive, socio-political relations of capitalism. The alternating peripheries and their respective cores is just one way to organize the interdependent relationships between people and their place in the global network of capitalism.

Conclusion

World-systems theory combined with the Annales School of structured history provides a provocative integration of multiscale analyses. Applying this admixture to Dutch–Mohawk interactions in the Northeast delineates the co-dependence of the two groups. Traditionally, the Mohawk have been portrayed as being contingent on Dutch trade; however, this analysis illuminates the opposite. As decades passed, New Netherland, the WIC, and to a lesser extent the hegemonic power of the Netherlands, became increasingly dependent on the Mohawk's ability to acquire and trade furs. When trade declined, Fort Orange initially felt the consequences. In addition, Fort Orange was linked trans-Atlantically to Europe and the ramifications were undoubtedly felt there as well. Although this study does not incorporate archaeological data, it is easy to imagine the benefit it provides to such an approach. The study of post-contact archaeological assemblages has the potential to connect seemingly isolated, local sites to associated, global interactions through material possessions. What is significant is not the possessions per se, but the relationships and interactions that made the acquisition of the materials a reality.

The fifteenth century marked a time in which innovative mentalities, ideologies, and worldviews were formed. This tripartite of novel *mentalités* drove Europe to expand its imperial control on unsuspecting people through colonization. The processes in place then are uniform to processes experienced today. It is no wonder that the Dutch artist Johannes Vermeer chose to paint *Officer and Laughing Girl* in 1658. The foreground depicts a myriad of goods – including a beaver felt hat – that were acquired throughout the world while the backdrop illustrates a map of the Netherlands with VOC ships leaving her ports. A thought that probably never entered Vermeer's mind, however, is how the complex web of socio-political and economic interactions and relationships permit him to portray those goods on his canvas. An amalgam of world-systems theory and structured history is one multiscale approach to delineate the processes in transcultural interaction.

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