

Reviews

Edited by Vergil E. Noble

Historical Archaeology: Back from the Edge
 PEDRO PAULO A. FUNARI, MARTIN HALL,
 and SIÂN JONES, editors

Routledge, One World Archaeology 31,
 London, 1999. xx + 350 pp., 87 figs., 6
 tables. \$150.00 (\$225.00 CDN, £90.00).

It is a moot point as to what should be considered an “historical archaeology.” In a recent email exchange, it was suggested to me that all archaeologists are inevitably writing history, since history is the term that covers all aspects and all periods of the human past. According to such a view, we may conventionally describe the study of periods prior to the development of writing systems as “prehistory,” but that does not stop the events of those times being part of human history in the broader sense. Of course, such a point of view assumes that the archaeologist in question considers what they do as part of the study of “history” writ large, as opposed to being a branch of anthropology, a discipline with a different purpose and very different methods. In the latter case, an historical archaeology would perhaps be a distinctive field of endeavor, with prehistory the (unlabelled) norm. It is in the recognition of such differences that this book has its origins.

This book, edited by Funari, Hall, and Jones, is premised upon the idea that the concept of “historical archaeology” has been “hijacked” by archaeologists in North America. Such an historical archaeology is inevitably one in which the theme of the colonization of the American continent by Europeans and the implications of this act dominate all others: it is “the study of the age of European colonialism, or the capitalist era, essentially excluding the study of periods prior to 1492” (p. 1). Accordingly, “American historical archaeology is now firmly placed within the anthropological project of the exploration of the rise of the modern world” (S. West 1999, “Introduction,” p. 7, in S. Tarlow and S. West, editors, *The Familiar Past? Archaeologies of Later Historical Britain*, Routledge, London), a project specifically endorsed by Charles Orser later in Tarlow and West’s edited volume. An historical archaeology cast in this mold starts with an interest in current (that is, late 20th-century) phenomena and looks backward to their origin, rather than being interested in the past in its own terms (C. Orser 1999, “Negotiating our ‘familiar’ pasts,” p. 281, in Tarlow and West). Accordingly, it becomes concerned with certain specific issues: the rise of capitalism; the rise of the global economy; European colonization of other peoples; and the decline of European hegemony. Such a concept of the focus of study specifically and inevitably excludes other “historical archaeologies”: those of other—sometimes earlier—literate and

proto-literate peoples and those who have chosen not to be colonized or to enter into the capitalist world order.

In recasting historical archaeology to include these other marginalized histories Funari, Hall, Jones and their contributors answer back rather loudly “from the edge.” The book is one of the growing *One World Archaeology* series deriving from sessions at World Archaeological Congresses: the sessions out of which this book grew were held in New Delhi, India, in 1994 at the 3rd such Congress. The papers themselves derive from several sessions rather than a single collection of presentations, reflected in the way they are divided in the book. This origin is important in understanding the volume: the World Archaeological Congress itself is a global organization and specifically established to give a voice to archaeologists from those parts of the world frequently marginalized in archaeological discourse. Its meetings are held every four years to allow for appropriate planning as it moves from country to country. Organizers deliberately choose to meet in countries not visited by mainstream archaeological conferences; accordingly, apart from its inaugural meeting in the U.K. in 1986, Europe and North America are excluded. So far it has met in Venezuela, India, and South Africa. It can be argued that for many of the citizens of such countries, the narrow focus of any particular “historical archaeology” will be irrelevant. A broader base of research—designed to include those who would be left out of a study of capitalism, for example—may have more to offer.

This is not to say that no themes are evident in the book. In part, they reflect the interests of the editors, and it is no accident that the specific contribution by each editor will be found among others exploring similar themes. Martin Hall’s chapter on “Subaltern Voices? Finding the Spaces between Things and Words” in the study of 18th-century Capetown, South Africa, is thus found in the section on “Archaeologies of Domination and Resistance.” This is a theme to which he clearly has an affinity, since he has published upon such things previously in a *One World Archaeology* volume (M. Hall 1994, “Lifting The Veil of Popular History: Archaeology and Politics in Urban Cape Town,” pp. 167-184, in G. C. Bond and A. Gilliam, editors, *Social Constriction of the Past: Representation as Power*, Routledge, London) and has been the theme of a previous *One World Archaeology* volume (D. Miller, M. Rowlands, and C. Tilley, editors, 1989, *Domination and Resistance*, Routledge, London). Similarly, Siân Jones’ chapter on ethnicity is in the section on “Issues of Identity, Nationalism and Ethnicity,” again reflecting her previously published work (S. Jones, 1997, *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and the Present*, Routledge, London). Pedro Funari provides two substantive contributions, one in the opening section on the “ambivalent” relationship between the disciplines of history and archaeology and a second in the section on identity. These themes are set against an American style of historical archaeology focusing on a narrowly defined set of themes relating to modernity. Instead, this volume offers

a global approach focused around broader, more inclusive issues: of domination and resistance; of identity formation; and of the interplay of the local and the global.

The editors and contributors represent people from every inhabited continent, although—perhaps inevitably in an English-language archaeology text—it is dominated by those from the West. Ten come from the U.K. and three others from the U.S. Further afield, Madagascar, Brazil, and Spain provide two each, with one each from South Africa, Australia, Canada, and Zimbabwe. The editors themselves represent three continents: South America (Funari), Africa (Hall), and Europe (Jones). Of the 19 contributions, 5 are general or theoretical. A further four relate to Latin America. The Mediterranean area is addressed in two, as is the U.S. Britain merits three contributions, while all of Africa merits the same number. One contribution considers an Australian example.

The book covers a range of historical periods, from the proto-historical period of Spain, through the Classical period of Greece and the Roman period of Britain into the European medieval, the early modern, and on to the almost contemporary. Here, a potentially narrow focus on high modernity as defined by Western standards is challenged by a redefinition of “the historical” to cover the literate and proto-literate phases of all cultures. In promoting this redefinition of historical archaeology, Matthew Johnson (p. 31) invites us “not to look *inwards* to construct a narrow definition of [practice] but to look *outwards*, to consider the cultural context of the discipline of a world historical archaeology.” Similarly, Funari (pp. 57-58) urges the adoption of a concern with “the material culture of [all] literate societies,” communication and dialogue between regional traditions and “a pluralist and interdisciplinary world perspective.” In this way, the book seeks to make a contribution to the aim of the World Archaeological Congress to achieve a recognizable “world archaeology.”

This “world historical archaeology” is not, however, the adoption of Old World (and especially European) categories under a new name. In fact, several of the “standard” themes of an “Americanist” historical archaeology are addressed in interesting ways within Old World categories. Duncan Brown searches for distinctions of social status and class divisions in medieval Southampton, U.K., by examining pottery. Richard Hingley seeks to understand the continuation of indigenous practices during the period of “Romanization” of the British population. David Small uses archaeology to tease out the social strategies underlying the long-term use of a Classical Greek cemetery. Martin Hall finds in the architectural details of 18th-century Capetown houses the “third space” within which the complexity and insecurity of a multicultural colonial environment can be discovered. Margarita Diaz-Andreu and Trinidad Tortosa identify how images of women in proto-historic Spain were used actively to create notions of gender. Three papers—by Maria L. Quartim de Moraes, Pedro Funari, and Michael Rowlands—concern the enslavement of African people and their transshipment across the Atlantic, a key theme in American historical archaeology. Here, the focus is upon Brazil rather than North America, and on the “runaway” slave settlement at Palmares. All of these case studies—and others—repay comparison with similar kinds of work in the modern history of the U.S.

Of more immediate interest to students of American historical archaeology will be those addressing case studies

from the modern period. Eric Kingelhofer’s study of the English settlement of Ireland under the Tudor and Stuart monarchs will reflect and contrast with the American experience of European colonization in the same period. Jane Lydon’s study of relations between white and Chinese Australians in Sydney will bear comparison with similar work elsewhere, and with Suzanne Spencer-Wood’s chapter on the formation of Jewish-American identities in Boston. It is particularly exciting to see the specifically African case studies from Zimbabwe and Madagascar. Innocent Pikirayi outlines how archaeology is contributing to the reconstruction of Zimbabwe’s late pre-colonial past and the history of its indigenous state societies against a background of the creation of a unified “Zimbabwean” identity. Similarly, Mike Parker Pearson and his colleagues demonstrate the value of offsetting archaeological data against written sources to chart the emergence of current ethnicities in Madagascar; this work is not only noticeably interdisciplinary but also highly internationally collaborative, and it is evident how these ways of working contribute also to the results.

Although initially cast in terms antithetical to “historical archaeology” as understood in the U.S., this book presents a more sophisticated approach than merely offering an equally parochial alternative. Instead, it offers dialogue and exchange between regional traditions and styles of the archaeology of the documented past. In doing so, the themes of much well-established archaeological work on recent times are presented with comparisons, similarities, and counterpoints that can add to the way historical archaeologies are conducted and made relevant. This “world historical archaeology” is not a bland monochrome, reducing the entire world to a single set of themes, but a vibrant mosaic of different peoples, different cultures, and different times that can speak to each other in meaningful terms.

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“I, Too, Am America”: Archaeological Studies of African-American Life.

THERESA A. SINGLETON, editor

University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville,
1999. xi + 368 pp., 57 figs., 7 tables.
\$59.50.

This collection of essays on African-American archaeology is the long-anticipated published record of the 1989 conference “Digging the Afro-American Past: Archaeology and the Black Experience.” More than a simple conference proceeding, this volume serves both as “a state of the field” address by the second generation of archaeologists analyzing the African-American past and a call to action to the third generation. Many of the themes and authors represented here will be familiar to those working in the historical archaeology of the African Diaspora. Contributions from an earlier generation that set the original agenda for African-American archaeology, including Deetz, Posnansky, Ferguson, and Noël Hume, are complimented by studies authored by their familiar students and intellectual progeny, including

Armstrong, DeCorse, Emerson, Heath, Deagan, and McKee. In the introductory essay, Theresa Singleton outlines both the “analytical frameworks used in African-American archaeology” (e.g., the “moral mission” to tell the history of the disempowered, identifying the material residues of ethnicity and acculturation, analyzing the negotiation of social position) and the specific themes addressed in this volume. The latter—“African-American Identity and Material Culture,” “Plantation Contexts,” and “Beyond the Plantation”—serve as the book’s primary organizing mechanism.

The first section of the book, “African-American Identity and Material Culture,” contains six chapters; two chapters by Africanists are sandwiched around four papers that deal primarily with locally produced ceramic objects. In Chapter 2, Merrick Posnansky makes an important point in reminding American archaeologists that they need to understand Africa before they can understand African-America; in doing so he reminds us of the complexity and variety of African societies and material cultures, and warns against reductionism and simplistic analogies. Chapter 3, by Jim Deetz, is a brief (8-page) abstract of the goals and preliminary results of the extensive archaeological investigation he has directed at Flowerdew Hundred. Deetz focuses his discussion on supporting the hypothesis—most thoroughly treated by Ferguson (1992, *Uncommon Ground*, Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.)—that colonoware found in the U.S. South was manufactured and used by Africans. Deetz supports this contention by correlating the appearance and subsequent disappearance of colonowares at Flowerdew Hundred with broader historical/social changes brought on by the racialization of slavery in the later 17th century. In Chapter 4 Deetz’s student, Matt Emerson, draws similar conclusions in his now-familiar analysis of decorated clay tobacco pipes from the Chesapeake. Using stylistic, ethnographic, and ethnohistorical evidence, Emerson makes a strong case that some—if not most—of the locally produced clay pipes recovered from historical sites in the Chesapeake were manufactured by Africans and people of African descent.

In Chapter 5, the Virginia archaeological establishment (Mouer et al., including co-authors from the Virginia Department of Transportation, Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia Commonwealth University, the National Park Service, the Mount Vernon Ladies Association, and the Jamestown-Yorktown Foundation), counter the arguments made by Deetz and Emerson while reasserting the old argument made by Noël Hume (a co-author of this chapter) that Native Americans manufactured what the authors persist in calling “Colono-Indian ware.” While critical of Deetz, the authors take particular issue with Emerson’s hypothesis attributing the manufacture of Chesapeake pipes to Africans (they dedicate 12 of their 20 pages to a point-by-point dissection of Emerson’s argument, as it appeared in his 1988 dissertation). Two good points emerge out of the authors’ critique: 1) that archaeologists should not be too quick to dismiss the role Native Americans played in the 17th-century Chesapeake, and 2) that exercises assigning a specific artifact type or class to a particular ethnic group may be too reductionist and simplistic an approach to understand the complexities of social interaction between people and groups from disparate cultural backgrounds. In Chapter 6, Leland Ferguson moves the discussion on colonoware from manufacture to meaning in a cogent summary of the evidence he has considered in drawing the conclusion that certain marks that appear on

colonoware vessels may represent Bakongo cosmograms. This first section of the book ends, much as it begins, with well-taken words of caution from an Africanist—in this case in a chapter by Chris DeCorse.

The second section of the volume consists of five chapters focusing on “Plantation Contexts.” The section opens with Chapter 8, by Terry Epperson, in which the author explores the relationship between the construction of racialist hierarchies of power and the construction of plantation social spaces in 17th- and 18th-century Virginia. Epperson’s thoughtful analysis of plantation space is followed by a chapter in which Doug Armstrong proposes a progressive research agenda for the archaeology of Caribbean plantations. Armstrong advocates an archaeology that makes linkages between African and diasporic heritage, examines through the excavation of plantation villages the processes of African-Jamaican cultural transformation, uses mortuary data to understand the biocultural processes affecting African-Jamaican lifeways, critically analyzes the socioeconomic and power relations that existed among African-Jamaican peoples and between them and Europeans, and that can contribute to the public interpretation of African-Jamaican history. It is difficult, indeed, to find fault in any of Armstrong’s proposals.

The final three chapters of this section deal in some way with Thomas Jefferson’s Monticello. In Chapter 10, Barbara Heath examines, through a consideration of architectural, archival, and archaeological information, how the material world of free white artisans attached to Monticello compared to that of the enslaved black population. With this comparison Heath takes an important step toward resolving the ambiguities that exist in the archaeological record resulting from simultaneously occurring race- and class-based hierarchies. In Chapter 11, Larry McKee analyzes the faunal assemblages recovered from Monticello, supplemented by material excavated from two other Virginia plantations (Flowerdew Hundred and Kingsmill). Synthesizing the faunal material with documentary data about dietary practices and arguing that food is as much a social as biological construct, McKee devises a “model of slave procurement” that considers the various roles master-provided rations and slave-procured foodstuffs played in the construction of slave diets. This second section of the book concludes with Chapter 12, an essay by Edward Chappell, in which he discusses the advantages and dangers inherent in museum interpretations of slavery, particularly contrasting the often-successful presentation at the reconstructed slave quarters at Carter’s Grove with the virtually invisible interpretation of African-American life at Monticello.

The third section of the book, “Beyond the Plantation,” consists of two chapters that examine the material life of free blacks. In Chapter 13, Kathleen Deagan and Jane Landers discuss work at Fort Mosé, a free black town established near St. Augustine, Florida, in 1738. This chapter is a summary of the important work conducted at Mosé and highlights the social and methodological problems faced by the Mosé team in excavating this controversial site. The volume’s final substantive chapter, by Beverly Bastian, is a fascinating look at an early 20th-century African-American community that had occupied an abandoned logging camp in Michigan’s Upper Peninsula. Rather than constructing an ethnicity-marking artifact pattern, Bastian focuses on describing the contradictions uncovered between local

newspaper articles disparaging the African-American pioneers and the material evidence that, beyond the racist harassment they faced, the community fared well until the local white population forced them back to Chicago. This section is followed by an epilogue in which Warren Perry and Bob Paynter present a thoughtful consideration of the major themes presented in the volume, particularly the multivalent nature of the material record.

As the data and conclusions presented in many of these chapters have appeared elsewhere, the greatest contribution of this important volume is in its bringing together of all of these studies under a single cover. *"I, Too, Am America"* belongs in the library of every serious historical archaeologist, and should soon find its rightful place as required reading for all students of the field, at both the graduate and undergraduate level.

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Hidden Lives: The Archaeology of Slave Life at Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest.

BARBARA J. HEATH

University of Virginia Press, Charlottesville,
1999. x + 81pp., 39 figs. \$12.50 paper.

This highly readable book fills a void in the study of late 18th- and early 19th-century archaeological slave sites from Virginia. While many such sites have been excavated during the last two decades, reports and syntheses have tended to be lost in the gray literature and regional journals. Heath's book, detailing a three-year excavation at Poplar Forest, Thomas Jefferson's plantation retreat near Lynchburg, Virginia, is unique in that it draws on one plantation's archaeological and documentary data to illustrate and narrate the story of the African-American community living there. The integration of documentary sources including lists of births and deaths, maps, paintings, letters, and account books with the archaeological remains discovered at three slave quarters, is a case study in how historical archaeologists can use both data sets to elucidate the past. Written for a popular audience, *Hidden Lives* has enough archaeological and historical data to be useful for the professional.

The book presents an overview of the Poplar Forest slave community based upon the documentary record, mainly Jefferson's voluminous writings. These records are interwoven into descriptions of family life, kinship relations, health and healing, and a detailed recounting of a year's work cycle. The calendar of work allows the reader, especially those not familiar with the cultivation of tobacco and wheat, to grasp how the life of a slave was tied to the passing of the seasons.

The quarters were identified in 1993 while surveying, prior to planting trees on the perimeter of Poplar Forest. The initial finds, historic artifacts located in the plow zone and a root cellar, correspond with a series of historic maps placing the site close to the core of Jefferson's first settlement. Heath convincingly argues that the root cellars, post holes, and associated artifacts are the remains of an early Poplar Forest slave quarters in existence from the early 1790s until 1812. This 20-year occupation left behind a wealth of

material that the author mines to describe the day-to-day life of the individuals working at Poplar Forest.

As the author transitions into the archaeological excavation, she acknowledges that the documentary record was created by those living outside the African-American community. Heath calls upon the archaeological record to answer questions about "how people coped with the hardships of slavery, how they exerted control over their daily lives, or, more broadly, how they blended elements of the African past with their current circumstances to create a distinctly African-American culture" (p. 27). She successfully answers these and other questions, weaving a personal and complex tapestry of life at the slave quarter from the features and artifacts recovered.

Heath's description of the recovered artifacts places them into four categories: tools, slaves as consumers, dining and food, and privacy. These categories provide the framework for a narrative of what life was like at the quarter. They also allow the author to address topics such as how slaves acquired and spent their money, how they augmented their diet, what their leisure activities were, and how work permeated their everyday lives. What emerges is a chapter that manipulates the 20,000 excavated artifacts to make statements about daily life, without relying on laundry lists and statistics. This chapter epitomizes how the archaeological record can be described for a popular audience.

One of the most fascinating aspects of the book is the detailed description of the site and the features uncovered. Located on a slope, the quarters were not ideally sited physically. Half the site was plowed, whereas the other half contained unplowed strata, and erosion had played a role in the formation of the archaeological record. Through meticulous excavation and numerous scientific analyses, Heath and her staff were able to document three separate buildings, fence lines, yards, and other spatial relationships of the settlement. These features are discussed in such a manner that the reader is able to discern how slaves altered their houses and yards "to fit their notions of domestic life, to meet their needs for privacy, and to suit their work habits" (p. 28).

Heath uses the archaeological record to provide a broader picture of slavery than exists in the documentary record. She successfully illustrates examples where individual choices, as seen through the archaeological record, shaped the lives of the African-American slave. Documents record theft, escape, and work slowdowns as some of the ways slaves resisted their condition. The excavations at the Poplar Forest quarters, Heath suggests, show that slaves succeeded in making choices in regard to personal adornment, privacy, spatial layout of their homes, diet, and as consumers. By depicting these choices, *Hidden Lives* not only presents a richer identity for the Poplar Forest African-American community than documents recorded but also portrays how archaeology can provide this texture.

Hidden Lives presents a concise yet vivid picture of a slave quarters inhabited during the early years of Thomas Jefferson's ownership of the Poplar Forest Plantation. Written in a clear, flowing, narrative style, the book presents a superb overview of how archaeological research is contributing to the study of African-American life. Well illustrated with both photographs and numerous period illustrations of slave life, the book is a quick and engaging read. Very fairly priced, the work should prove popular for educators, students,

the public, as well as professionals seeking an overview of the topic. *Hidden Lives* provides a superb example of how archaeology and history, artifacts, and documents can be integrated to reveal late 18th-century and early 19th-century slave life.

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*Landscape Transformations and the
Archaeology of Impact: Social Disruption
and State Formation in Southern Africa.*

WARREN R. PERRY

Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, New
York, 1999. xv + 180 pp., 23 figs. \$60.00.

As one of the most recent volumes in Kluwer/Plenum's *Contributions to Global Historical Archaeology* series, Warren Perry's book is the first to deal explicitly with historical archaeology in Africa and is a welcome contribution to the sub-discipline. Based on fieldwork conducted in Swaziland during the mid-1980s, Perry explores the wider issue of state formation in southern Africa and interrogates the causes, chronology, and consequences of events associated with the mfecane in the early decades of the 19th century. This "time of troubles," a period of profound social turbulence and dislocation, has engendered considerable, and often heated, discussion over the past decade, fostering a dialogue among historians, archaeologists, and social anthropologists.

At the heart of the debate are questions of causality. Was the violence a result of African activities, the expansion of the Zulu state under Shaka, and a militant imperialism exacerbated by demographic and ecological stresses, or was it the result of slaving expeditions and labor raiding by Europeans from the Cape Colony and Delagoa Bay? This latter position, expounded most vigorously in the writings of Julian Cobbing (1988, *Journal of African History*, 29:487-519), dismisses Zulucentric explanations as part of a white settler history in which African pillage left much of the interior of south-east Africa depopulated and open to white Trekkers (nomadic farmers) moving inland from the Cape from the early 1830s. Cobbing's argument dealt a decisive and widely accepted blow to the causal links drawn between the rise of the Zulu kingdom and the mfecane, but has stumbled over evidentiary constraints for slaving and his charge of intellectual justification of white settlement. Empirical lacunae, over-reaching extrapolations, and challenges of reductionism speak both to the conundrums of historical evidence and the nature of historiographical debate.

It is into this intellectual arena that Perry enters, drawing attention to the elucidating potential of an archaeological perspective. Like Cobbing, he questions the "anthropogenic environmental" premises and the under-valuation of European trade implicit in the settler model of the mfecane (p. 20) and further argues that traditional explanations are underlain by three assumptions about pre-European-contact southern African people: namely that society was composed of discrete ethnic groups, that these groups had limited, unsystematic interaction, and that Zulucentric forces ruptured the existing social relations in the early 19th century (p. 21).

As Perry points out, these assumptions entail archaeological correlates: implications about site sizes and locations, architecture, and artifacts for the pre- and post-mfecane periods. The adequacy of the settler model can thus be weighed independently from a material culture standpoint. Drawing on his own excavations and survey work in Swaziland, as well as the published literature on post-15th century research in South Africa (a total of 159 sites), Perry assesses changing settlement patterns, develops demographic estimates (based on territorial and site sizes), and considers the evidence for changing social hierarchies (using the presence of European trade items and the size of cattle enclosures as markers of status, wealth, and power).

His manipulation of a large data set is detailed and innovative and the results critically discordant with the predictions elaborated to test the settler model. Simply stated "it has the wrong people in the wrong places with the wrong political organization, and it incorrectly assumes a lack of political/economic ties between regions" (p. 139). The conclusion is important, but seems unlikely to raise a response from any but the most reactionary of historians. Indeed, the archaeological impugment of the settler model perhaps says more about the veracity of materially based approaches to the past than about prospects for interpretive overthrow. To claim, as Perry does, that "most historical research on southern Africa has uncritically accepted the role of Zulu state formation in the Mfecane/Difaqane" (p. 139), "that there is only minor variation among explanations for the Mfecane/Difaqane and all the variance is rooted in the standard settler model" (p. 20), or that "the notion of an internal, Zulucentric, Mfecane/Difaqane remains unchallenged" (p. 139) does a profound disservice to more than a decade of nuanced, reflexive debate.

Perry's comments carry an historical rather than a contemporary accuracy. This is puzzling for he is clearly aware of the more recent scholarship, but does not allow the implications to factor into his interpretations. A partial reason for this may lie in his close alignment with Cobbing and his too easy acceptance of the contentious slavery hypothesis. In debunking the settler model, Perry suggests his findings "are directly related to changing power relations among southern African polities and their European allies, revolving around the trade in African captives" (p. 138). This is doubtless a *part* of the mfecane explanation, but its *comprehensiveness* must be demonstrated rather than assumed. This point is really part of a much larger problem (one that goes beyond the scope of this book), involving an unfortunate tendency towards dichotomized arguments, a fissioning of the southern African past into conflicting "black" and "white" histories. This explains why Cobbing has felt the need to argue that everyone who recounts the mfecane "myth" produces settler history and why Perry inflicts upon himself a similarly troublesome logic.

The upshot is the unsatisfactory replacement of one extreme model with another. This is frustrating, for Perry's work is conceptually exciting and highlights the important contribution of archaeological data to wider historiographical debates. Perhaps it is simply time to move beyond, or around, the question of what caused the mfecane and to think instead about effect, a conceptual shift that is also, necessarily, "geographical," involving a move away from grand syntheses towards smaller scale investigations. New work emerging from South Africa (M. H. Schoeman, 1998,

Southern African Field Archaeology, 7(2):72-81) points to the potential of such approaches for engaging the full complexity of social domination, interaction, and resistance and reiterates Perry's happy conviction that "one of the most exciting archaeologies on the planet is the archaeology of southern Africa" (p. ix).

On a final, more practical note, I found Perry's book well organized and engagingly written. For the southern African specialist, the omission of a full site list is a frustrating gap (although this information is available in Perry's dissertation), and site plans for the Swaziland excavations would have been welcome. The reference to Figure 2 (p. 9) is a typographical error and refers to Figure 1.2 (p. 5), and sites S151 and S148 (pp. 57-58) appear (despite much avid searching!) to be missing from Figure 4.3 (p. 54).

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Inside the Rocks: The Archaeology of a Neighbourhood.

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Hale & Iremonger, Alexandria, NSW,
Australia, 1999. 240 pp., ca. 125 figs.
\$34.95 (AUS) paper.

Urban archaeology has been around for many years in Australia, particularly in Sydney where strong heritage legislation and the oldest permanent European settlement on the continent ensure that archaeological consultancies are commonplace. Several decades of work have resulted in a growing number of experienced professionals and a substantial literature of site reports, archaeological zoning plans, and significance assessments. That literature has not always been readily accessible to those outside of Sydney, and the methodological expertise has not often been translated into interpretations of equivalent sophistication. Several recent studies are beginning to rectify this situation, one of which is that documented in a new book by Grace Karskens. *Inside the Rocks: The Archaeology of a Neighbourhood* demonstrates that urban archaeology has come of age, not only as a powerful management tool but also as a significant contributor to academic discourse.

In the book, which is an interpretation of the results of one of the largest urban excavations in Australian history, Karskens tackles major issues at the heart of understandings of modern life. These range from the pace and process of industrialization to the growth of cities and the changing roles of women. Addressing such issues is no small task, as the evidence used is the archaeological and historical minutiae associated with the excavation of one city block in inner Sydney. Doing justice to the often-fragmentary data while keeping the big picture in mind is a challenge besetting every historical archaeologist, and it is a problem of which Karskens is keenly aware. Her approach is outlined in the Introduction, where she writes "Artefacts do not 'speak' for themselves . . . without historical and cultural contexts, none can tell us much about the people who used them" (p. 20). In response to this dilemma, she and her colleagues on what came to be called the "Big Dig" formulated an additional series of questions, some of which

were specific to the site itself and the interpretation of individual buildings or spaces, and some of which addressed middle-range problems including changing consumer behavior and the built environment.

Many of the questions concern the development of Sydney itself, and the particular neighborhood of the Rocks. A distinctive precinct bordering Sydney Cove, the Rocks characterizes Sydney to many visitors. When the first ships bearing British convicts and their military guards dropped anchor in 1788, the Governor's residence and other official buildings were established to the east of the Cove. The convicts were left to fend for themselves on the sandstone ridges opposite, and over time the straggling lines of huts coalesced into the Rocks, which became home to convicts and ex-convicts, small businessmen and women, waterside workers, sailors, non-English speaking migrants, and others; and always a colorful place set slightly apart from the rest of city. By the end of the 19th century the Rocks was the home of the working poor, described by outsiders as a "slum," and much of it targeted for demolition. Today the carefully preserved cottages, warehouses, and tenements that survived demolition are home to up-market shops and restaurants, and it is a heavily promoted tourist destination favored for its aura of heritage. It is the story of the neighborhood's 18th- and 19th-century development that Karskens addresses in this book.

Karskens is no newcomer to urban archaeology. She has many years of experience in consulting work, some of which has overlapped with her academic research on the history of the Rocks, and she has a variety of publications to her credit. *Archaeology of a Neighbourhood* developed out of her collaboration with the heritage consulting firm Godden Mackay (now Godden Mackay Logan) as part of their excavation of a block between Gloucester and Cumberland streets in 1994. The work was commissioned by the Sydney Cove Authority in anticipation of the commercial development of the property, with the intention of conducting a larger scale and more integrated excavation than had previously been the case. Karskens' involvement as project historian came about partially as a result of an earlier paper co-authored with archaeologist Wendy Thorpe (G. Karskens and W. Thorpe, 1992, "History and Archaeology in Sydney: Towards Integration and Interpretation," *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society* 78[3&4]:52-75), in which they called for a more historically contextualized archaeology, and set out a number of broad questions that archaeological data might address and by which a more integrated historical archaeology might be achieved. The excavations at the Cumberland/Gloucester Streets site proved to be the ideal opportunity in which to test the efficacy of such an approach, and the issues raised by Karskens and Thorpe formed a blueprint for the research design developed for the dig.

Those general themes of consumption, gender, and urbanization are returned to throughout the book. Chapters deal with convict lifeways, revealing their avid participation in the 19th century consumer revolution, and with the physical construction of the Rocks and its infrastructure of buildings, streets, and utilities. One chapter provides detailed background on the people of the Rocks and how they came to be there. Here family reconstitution is used to demonstrate the dense kinship networks in the neighborhood and their changing spatial relationships. In another chapter

a variety of artifacts from across the more than 100 years of the site's occupation are used to explore intimate details of work and family life. The final chapter chronicles the demolition of the neighborhood in the aftermath of a bubonic plague epidemic early in the 20th century.

The strength of the book lies in its materiality, which comes through most strongly in discussions such as that on the fabric of domestic life. Narrative vignettes about people and things are used throughout as a means of conveying immediacy and exploring particular issues. Individual artifacts, such as the broken fragment of a Maori greenstone ornament, are used as the starting points for wide-ranging considerations, in this case of the trade in exotica, and the experience of Maori in colonial Sydney. Gender also figures as a structuring principle in the analysis, and in the lives of the Rocks people themselves. Women emerge as dominant figures in the community, not only as mothers holding single-parent families together, but also as successful businesswomen. Details of individual lives are placed within the context of the changing nature of work for both men and women, a particularly revealing discussion considering the increasingly unionized male workplaces of the late 19th century.

It could be argued that the book contains insufficient archaeological data, and indeed there is no attempt to quantify artifacts or discuss taphonomy or context. Karskens is primarily a historian, however, and her purpose in writing is to demonstrate that the results of archaeological investigations can be incorporated into historical research and can reach a popular audience. The book is not intended as a site report, as that was published in 1996 and recently reprinted for wider distribution. Instead, Karskens has presented an integrative discussion, begun as her contribution to that report. Other specialists employed on the project should be encouraged to revise their contributions similarly for publication, thus making the archaeological data more readily accessible.

The book is intended for a general audience and is written in an engaging and entertaining style. It is also lavishly illustrated with historical and contemporary drawings, photographs, and maps, as well as photographs of the artifacts. While general, the audience is assumed to be local, with some understanding of Australian and, particularly, Sydney history. One example of this is the fact that there are no maps that indicate the location of Sydney Cove within Sydney, or Sydney within Australia. A more general introduction for the non-Sydney reader would have been helpful, but that aside, in documenting the "Big Dig" and its results, and in indicating the possibilities of archaeological interpretations, the book makes a valuable and welcome addition to Australian historical archaeology. At the same time, its concern with larger themes ensures that it is also relevant to any archaeologists with interests in urbanization and developing industrial economies.

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1890-1930.

JANE LYDON

Monash Publications in History, Department of History, Monash University, Clayton, Victoria 3168, Australia, 1999. xxii +276 pp., 54 figs., 17 apps. \$19.95 (AUS) paper.

Many Inventions is one of the most interesting books on historical archaeology I have read this year.

"The Rocks" was the rather unimaginative but eminently descriptive name given by 19th-century settlers to a neighborhood in Australia's Sydney Harbour marked by a series of sandstone outcrops. In a city where, as late as 1901, a remarkable 96% of residents traced their ancestry to the British Isles, the Rocks' mixture of whites and Chinese gave it an exotic atmosphere—as well as a reputation for gambling, drug-taking, and the kind of congress between the races that scandalized Sydney's genteel residents.

Lydon opens with a review of the literature on ethnic identity and cultural representation, laying the groundwork for the through-going critique of historical archaeologists' functionalist proclivities that she will complete in her final chapter. She correctly points out that if one conceives of ethnicity in purely functional terms—solely as a strategy to advance the well being of individuals and groups—much of the complexity of actual cultural encounters may be lost. Those outside the academy may have trouble cutting their way through the occasionally dense growth of academic lingo in the first chapter that, ironically enough, is titled "Pigeon English." It is well worth the effort, however, for it is here that the author introduces the idea of *pigeon*—a suite of mutually understood artifacts and behaviors—by which she conceptualizes the process of interaction between whites and Chinese in the Rocks.

"Life on the Rocks," the second chapter, focuses on the neighborhood's historical development and the efforts of domestic reformers to improve public health. Here Lydon incorporates archaeology in the form of domestic refuse associated with Mrs. Lewis' genteel boardinghouse. The variety and number of glassware and Victorian transfer-printed dining ceramics are interpreted as a representation of order and propriety, as well as where the household saw itself in the Rocks' "social landscape" (p. 54). Lydon asks, "What did it mean for a European to display a fourteenth-century porcelain figurine of the Chinese goddess of mercy, Guanyin?" (p. 59). Drawing on her earlier discussion of the discourse of Orientalism, her response emphasizes the multiplicity of meanings that may have been attached to this artifact in the context of Chinese-European interactions in the Rocks.

In case anyone should think that the Chinese of the Rocks were monolithic, either socially, culturally, or in relation to wealth, Chapter 3 focuses on the complexity of this stratified community. At the lower end of the social scale were laborers who lived in boardinghouses concealed behind very Victorian-looking building facades. Meanwhile, merchants used the system of personal relationships and mutual obligation known as *guanxi* to enhance their businesses and social standing with the non-Chinese community.

Many Inventions: The Chinese in the Rocks,

Again, archaeology is invoked; this time to suggest the role traditional material culture came to play in the creation and reproduction of identity in the household of merchant Hong On Jang.

Although the Chinese district was seen as a source of both physical and moral contagion by Sydney's genteel society, the remaining chapters demonstrate that contact across ethnic lines was far from uncommon. Lydon posits that gender, social standing, and respectability, among other factors, sometimes eclipsed ethnicity as the most significant basis for interaction in the Rocks. In spite of laws that sought to separate the races, and by means of "many inventions"—such as the creation of exaggerated public performances of "Chineseness"—ways were found to subvert these Victorian attitudes.

The book concludes with a review of archaeological research approaches in the study of the Overseas Chinese in North America and Australasia going back to the early 1970s. Here Lydon is especially critical of studies conceived within the "functionalist, logico-positivist approach of the New Archaeology" (p. 189). For my part, I find *Many Inventions* both evocative and convincing. Any critique, however, should recognize that people do not engage in symbolic behavior in order to give social scientists something to write about. Pointing out that behaviors have outcomes does not necessarily constitute vulgar functionalism, and, if nothing else, offers a coherent model of the past that might be lacking in a highly contextualized analysis emphasizing the fluidity of culture over its structure.

Students will welcome the book's low price, while senior members of the profession (who are surely squinting at the minuscule print of this review) will appreciate its slightly oversized font and uncluttered page design. Well-reproduced historic images occasionally break up the text, which is extensively footnoted and indexed. Even the photographs of archaeological ceramics and glass vials are, for the most part, clear and useable.

Archaeologists of a processual bent should beware: the Foucault-to-Binford citation ratio of *Many Inventions* exceeds 6:1. Lydon conceives of her goal as the creation of an "ethnographic collage" (p. 23) and is firmly committed to an interpretive approach whereby the meaning of behaviors, landscapes, and archaeological collections are inferred from the social contexts of their use. In spite of the fact that it emerges from a university history department's publication series, this imaginative and scholarly volume would be equally at home on the shelf of the anthropologically oriented archaeologist. The flimsy barrier between the fields is effectively dissolved in this theoretically grounded, wide-ranging analysis; and historical archaeology is better off for its disappearance. I have seen no book-length study of the Overseas Chinese that is as successful in incorporating documentary data, archaeological remains, and social theory into such a richly textured piece of historical anthropology. Lydon has produced a fine piece of work, thoroughly contextualized, and exhaustively documented. Those who want to see the future of historical archaeology will want to read *Many Inventions*.

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There by Design: Field Archaeology in Parks and Gardens.

PAUL PATTISON, editor

BAR *British Series* 267, Archaeopress,
Oxford, England, 1998. viii + 82 pp., 44
figs. £24.00 paper.

AND

*The Archaeology of the Landscape Park:
Garden Design in Norfolk, England, c.
1680-1840.*

TOM WILLIAMSON

BAR *British Series* 268, Archaeopress,
Oxford, England, 1998. iii + 330 pp., 81
figs., 52 pls. £36.00 paper.

Is it still archaeology if you do not dig any holes? The authors represented in this pair of volumes certainly think so—and the non-invasive field and documentary research techniques they use in their studies could be applied to a broad variety of historical sites.

The first book, edited by Paul Pattison, collects ten papers from a 1996 conference on non-invasive landscape archaeology held in London. The relatively brief papers are presented in the order in which they were given. Christopher Taylor opens the volume by exhorting his colleagues to disseminate their work on landscape to a broader audience of non-archaeologists, including garden historians. The second and third papers in the volume present the results of field research. Graham Brown discusses how a landscape park at Highclere Castle, Hampshire, preserves elements of earlier prehistoric and medieval landscapes. Brown's paper is straightforward and engaging, detailing the development of the castle's deer park and gardens under its medieval owners, the bishops of Winchester; the property's subsequent use as a 17th-century pleasure ground and park; and the 18th-century alterations made by the famous Lancelot "Capability" Brown. Graham D. Keevill and Neil Linford report on their use of topographical, aerial, and geophysical techniques to study a 17th-century garden and the medieval remains underlying it at Hamstead Marshall, Berkshire. The authors compare the results of each set of techniques, matching contour maps to aerial photo data to soil resistivity and magnetometer surveys to a ca. 1700 engraving.

Mark Bowden's paper examines how Iron Age ramparts at Stanwick, a landscape park in north Yorkshire, were reused by the park's 18th-century owners. He presents an interesting pair of questions: first, can the ways in which prehistoric landforms were reused in the designed landscapes of later periods help explain their prehistoric uses; and second, how were those landforms interpreted as parts of

18th-century designed landscapes? Despite his admitted inability to resolve these problems, they seem like good questions for historical archaeologists to ask.

John Phibbs' brisk, brash paper on "Recording What Isn't There: Three Difficulties With 18th-Century Landscapes" addresses some of the issues surrounding large-scale earth-moving by Capability Brown and his 18th-century contemporaries. While Phibbs makes cogent technical suggestions, his overt 18th-century chauvinism seems a little off. Perhaps from his perspective, "If we look for scale, ambition and attention to detail in landscaping, then the work of the late 18th century is far more to be valued, nationally and internationally, than anything that came before it." (p.30). Personally, I am not sure that scale and ambition are necessarily the most valuable characteristics of a cultural landscape.

It may be that Phibbs is simply reacting to what he sees as an over-emphasis on studying medieval and Renaissance gardens—in which case it is ironic that the next paper in the volume is Paul Everson's discussion of field evidence for medieval gardens and how they may be interpreted as symbolic entities. Everson steps beyond merely reporting on his findings and moves into a discussion of how the structures discovered during field surveys may have been seen by their original users.

The volume's seventh paper, by editor Paul Pattison, presents the results of fieldwork in London's Royal Parks. Pattison states that one of the most important purposes of the research has been to identify what archaeological remains still exist in the parks so they can be preserved appropriately. He also warns that the paper only glosses the bulk of the work he and his colleagues have been engaged in—but it is an interesting gloss, smoothly combining the archaeological and documentary records to explore the parks' development. Like Pattison's paper, Tom Williamson's contribution to this volume glosses a much more extensive project—a major survey of 18th-century designed landscapes in Norfolk. For those who do not need the detail he goes into in his larger work, reviewed below, this article provides a fair introduction.

Robert Wilson-North presents the results of two surveys of garden remains in Somerset. He focuses on the 17th- and 18th-century gardens of two sites that have long, complex histories, picking out this phase and exploring how it can be distinguished from those that precede and follow it. These studies have altered previous interpretations of both sites by allowing for the interpretation of short-lived landscape features.

The collection's final paper takes the reader out of England and into Wales—a principality whose landscape, author C. Stephen Briggs notes, has until recently been seen as suffering from "an aesthetic and functional provincialism." (p. 65). This view is unjustified, Briggs argues, and points to several ongoing studies of medieval and early modern gardens and landscapes throughout the region. One valuable technical point Briggs raises is about the importance of preserving macro- and micro-botanical remains; silted-up watercourses and other locations with deposits of seeds and pollens can provide details about historical plantings.

This collection of papers, while short, provides an interesting set of case studies and discussions of technical methods.

They did not strike me as directly engaging particular theoretical concerns (assuming we can all agree that using documents in our archaeological practice is an accepted part of the discipline), with the exception of Everson's attempt to read the symbolism of medieval gardens and deer parks, Bowden's paper on Stanwick, and Williamson's examination of power and landscape in Norfolk.

Understanding Williamson's engagement with theory became an interesting problem for me as I read his longer treatise, prosaically titled *The Archaeology of the Landscape Park: Garden Design in Norfolk, England, c. 1680-1840*. The volume is the rather dense result of an astonishing amount of research. Williamson has collected and digested a considerable volume of data ranging from archaeological surveys to 18th-century nursery catalogs to landscape design plans. He issues a disclaimer early on: books on social archaeology are too preoccupied with, and self-conscious about, theorizing. Williamson refuses to participate. His purpose will be "a simple one, that of supplying the kind of basic information about distributions and chronology which is generally lacking from studies of eighteenth-century landscapes" (p. 1).

I read that passage, smiled, and prepared for a dry, detailed report of survey results. Williamson certainly does provide a lot of detail, tracing the history of landscape developments through four consecutive periods: the "early" and "late geometric" gardens of the early 18th century; the rise of the landscape park between 1730 and 1760; the heyday of the landscape park, between 1760 and 1790; and the uses of landscape parks in the 19th century and beyond. This is not a book divorced from theoretical concerns. Instead, Williamson has worked his theory into his data, and it is precisely the volume and quality of those data that enables him to make some important theoretical points.

This is an approach I was unaccustomed to, familiar as I am with finding either an explicit negotiation of theoretical positions at the beginning of archaeological texts or the disclaimer that "this is a CRM report and we are just reporting what we found." Williamson is trying to build a middle path, where he can simultaneously report what he has found and approach issues of landscape, class distinctions, and culture (p. 47). For example, in the midst of a description of the history of Houghton hall and park, Williamson unfolds a really enjoyable discussion of the social context of Palladian architecture in England in the early 18th century. He then proceeds to dismantle the monolithic concept of the "Georgian Order" as used by historical archaeologists. Williamson is able to do this not despite the detail of his report, but because of it: the "Georgian Order" is really several different types of classically inspired architecture, each linked to a different social and/or political faction, each bearing a slightly different message to contemporary observers (p. 49).

I also appreciated Williamson's breakdown of landscape parks by social class. The parks of the elite, he says, were different from the parks of the local gentry, which were different from the home gardens of the growing middle class. Exactly how these spaces were distinct from (or, at times, became more similar to) the spaces of other classes changed through time. Middle class gardens, for example, retained formal structuring of paths and plantings for decades

after “naturalistic” landscapes had become popular among the upper classes. There is even the hint that different kinds of gardens and parks might have been gendered spaces—surely an idea that deserves deeper exploration (p. 183).

I expect this volume has become a valuable source for Norfolk’s local archaeologists, with its thorough historical analysis and its terminal gazetteer of the county’s landscape parks. I also hope some of Williamson’s ideas will get exposure beyond Norfolk—he has collected a thorough volume of data, and is using it to ask and answer meaningful questions.

As a final note, I was disappointed by the quality of the graphics in both books. Maps are often missing scales, labels, or captions, and are located inconveniently far away from the text discussing them. The captions are reversed on two of the plates in Williamson’s book. These problems fail to render either volume unusable, but can make it hard to follow what is going on in the text.

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Cultura Material e Arqueologia Histórica.

PEDRO PAULO A. FUNARI, editor

Coleção Idéias 1, Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas. Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Campinas, SP, Brazil, 1998. 317 pp., 73 figs. R\$8,00 (\$10.00 US) paper.

This edited volume resulted from a meeting on historical archaeology at the World Archaeological Congress 3, held at New Delhi in 1994. At this forum, four of the papers—which can be considered the original core of this book—were given by Brazilian scholars. The main goal of this volume was to bring together this upcoming interest in material culture and the preliminary results of Brazilian young scholars’ research and also to encourage the debate in Brazil on topics and research programs scarcely developed in this country.

The ten papers published in this volume deal with topics as heterogeneous as archaeological heritage and museums, contemporary material culture (fashion, photography, the cities), historiography of museums and historical archaeology in Brazil, typology of ethnographic objects, gender studies, and the visibility of syncretism through material culture (the case of the post-World-War-II Italian colony of Pedrinhas and the case of Palmares, a 17th century Brazilian *quilombo*). What appears as material culture is a wide range of objects that include iconography of the city and of nature, maps, travel accounts, museum culture, and books displaying and spreading symbols in late 19th-century Brazil. With regard to this last point it is noteworthy that the author of the chapter, “The revival of the Orient in the 19th century West: influences of material culture,” underlines the importance of spiritualism and the passion for the occult in shaping the discipline of archaeology at the turn of last century. In so doing, she introduces some variety into the idea of archaeology emerging only as a symbol provider for the new nations and national identities.

The editor of the volume points out that Brazilian archaeology remains isolated from both the local academic fields of history and social sciences and the international academe (p. 6). The wide spectrum of the chapters published here is addressed to other Brazilian social scientists and attempts to display how material culture can be worthily analysed beyond “positivist and descriptive approaches” (p. 6). It is interesting to underline that “historical archaeology,” appears as a privileged field for developing such encounters among historians and archaeologists. All the authors, except for a Ph.D. student from the Department of Anthropology at Brown University, belong either to a Brazilian university department of history or to a museum. The different chapters do share the editor’s expectation of going beyond the traditional perception of archaeology as a secondary tool for historians.

Pedro Funari, in his chapter on the development of historical archaeology in South America (pp. 7-34), proposes to compare the history of the academic traditions of Argentina, Uruguay, and Brazil. A Latin American point of view shows us that the national histories have more in common than was assumed only a few years ago. A historiography that aims at going further than the limits imposed by the national boundaries would help in making visible both those local traits and the general aspects of Latin American institutions. It is important to underline that the development of historical archaeology in none of these countries emerges as a trait of the local academes. An explanation of its causes should deserve further analysis in the future. Although it can be used as one of the factors (p. 13), the political situations of our countries do not explain the micro-politics of universities and museums. In Argentina, for instance, the complete divorce of history and archaeology in the period that runs from the 1930s and the 1980s still needs its history to be written.

Two chapters focus on the clash between cultures and the “problems about the transmission of cultural elements” (p. 141). The first presents the case of Palmares, an Afro-Brazilian *mocambo*, which the author explains in terms of mosaic, and whose “Africanness . . . is best understood as the conscious manipulation of a symbolic and material world to stress separation from the colonies. This construction allowed the Palmarinos to emphasize their difference, while they continued to maintain economic and political relationships with colonial society” (p. 172). Inspired also by the works of Ferguson in South Carolina, this chapter explores the possibility of establishing a common ground for the analysis of colonial mosaic pottery. The second chapter, which emphasizes the clash between cultures, presents the cultural patterns of an Italian colony in Brazil of the 1950s, based on an iconographic collection of pictures and images taken by the colonists. These images are contrasted to the official and company plans and buildings. By means of photographs, documents, and interviews, the author attempts to understand the process of building a 55-year-old city and the identity of its inhabitants. Both chapters face the same problem: if material culture is a trace of that process, by which means can it be read? Interpretation and comparative studies seem to emerge as the most reliable device for all the works presented in this book.

In summary, this volume constitutes a very interesting sample of the topics of research, bibliographical references, and methodological frameworks that are seen as alternatives to the archaeology of the 1980s in Brazil.

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Bringing Back the Past: Historical Perspectives on Canadian Archaeology
PAMELA JANE SMITH and DONALD MITCHELL, editors

Mercury Series, Archaeological Survey of Canada Paper 158, Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, Quebec, 1998.

The editors of *Bringing Back the Past* have accomplished the difficult task of producing a compendium volume that is both chronological and thematic. The book outlines the history of archaeology in Canada, through four sections entitled "People," "Institutions," "Regions," and "Toward the Present." The introduction carefully states that this is not intended to be an exhaustive overview of the discipline's history. It is not—there are some significant omissions that will be discussed below, but the book *is* an excellent introduction to the subject for archaeologists and archaeology students.

The title echoes—consciously or unconsciously—that of Charles T. Currelly's 1956 book, *I Brought the Ages Home*, on the early history of Toronto's Royal Ontario Museum. *Bringing Back the Past*, the brainchild of the late William E. Taylor, Director of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, was developed by Pamela Jane Smith and Donald Mitchell. It contains a series of papers initially offered in symposia on the history of Canadian archaeology held at the Canadian Archaeological Association annual meetings in 1994, 1995, and 1996.

The book begins with a superb synthetic chapter (Kelley and Klimko) that outlines some of the ideological and theoretical milieu in which Canadian archaeology has grown and grown up, and lauds the growing involvement of Canada's Native peoples in heritage preservation. The following chapters contain some highly readable contributions that both give face to the names of pioneers in Canadian archaeology, and offer an evolutionary perspective of the discipline in respect to its academic, institutional, and governmental roles within the national culture. In the first, "People" section, chapters by Killian; Latta, Martelle-Hayter and Reed; and Noble describe personalities and projects that have literally gone down in history, while Richard ("Scotty") MacNeish's "My Life in Canadian Archaeology" offers a frank and chatty overview of the "frontier" days of government-sponsored and sanctioned research. Robert W. Park, in one of two chapters he has in the volume, discusses his research into the role models and mentors that Canadian archaeologists cite as having been most influential upon their later careers. The section closes with a very important chapter by Bruce Trigger on the evolution of theoretical approaches to the discipline as it evolved in Canada,

and also of himself as a Canadian archaeologist. He makes a case for the characteristically cautious Canadian approach to new scholarship, which he credits for the avoidance of extreme responses to new theories. This, he says, had enabled Canadian archaeologists to continue to build upon existing scholarship throughout what has been a very stormy period in the discipline as a whole.

The first section also contains the first actual publication of some excellent work, particularly that of Latta, Martelle-Hayter, and P. Reed's chapter entitled "Women in Ontario Archaeology: Reclaiming Voices." Unfortunately, this is the occasion for what was, at least for me, perhaps the volume's most jarring note; the piece is sandwiched between a chapter on early Ontario archaeology (Killian) and Noble's admiring overview of the contributions to Canadian archaeology made by J. Norman Emerson. Latta et al. convincingly demonstrate the critical contributions made by women archaeologists to the development of Canadian archaeology. Some of them later married the same eminent male archaeologists upon whom Killian and Noble's chapters focus. Yet Killian and Noble credit almost entirely to the male archaeologists the projects and publications in which they were involved.

The second section, "Institutions," details the transition of the Royal Ontario Museum from a basically antiquarian institution to one whose focus is on scientific research and accurate presentation (Pendergast). It also presents an interesting paper by Barnett Richling of Mount St. Vincent University on the state of public funding for archaeology and ethnology through the period of the First World War. Dyck offers insights into the major personalities who helped shape the archaeological research program for what was then the National Museum of Canada, whereas others (Pettipas, Mayer-Oakes, Monks, and Shay) describe the central role of the Department of Anthropology and Sociology at the University of Manitoba in the establishment of research, conservation, and advocacy programs—including early research in historical archaeology—within that province, beginning in the early 1960s.

The "Regional" section opens with Steven A. Davis' overview of the more than 150-year development of archaeology in Nova Scotia, a high point of which was the creation of the Nova Scotia Museums system and the concurrent growth of academic-based archaeology programs at St. Mary's and St. Francis Xavier universities in the 1970s. He ends on a hopeful note, citing the development of protective legislation as well as public support as witnessed by the foundation of the Nova Scotia Archaeology Society in the late 1980s. Charles A. Martijn then offers a very enlightening and original chapter on the development of research in Quebec prehistory, including an analysis of the impact of both legislation and of major developments such as the James Bay Hydroelectric project on the field as a whole. Next, University of Waterloo archaeologist Robert W. Park provides a comprehensive research history of Arctic and Thule archaeology in Canada. This is followed by Olga Klimko's provocative research study on the link between fur trade archaeology and the ideological developments that accompanied the growth of Canadian nationalism. The section closes with Donald Mitchell's analysis of the joint effects of the New Archaeology and the general increase in government funding for archaeological

research on British Columbian archaeology and archaeologists in the late 1960s and 1970s.

The section entitled "Toward the Present" is less thematically successful, although it contains what are perhaps some of the most significant chapters in the book for modern Canadian archaeologists. In the wonderfully titled "'I don't think we are in Kansas anymore': The Rise of the Archaeological Consulting Industry in Ontario," Neal Ferris shows how CRM has contributed to the continuity of archaeological research and conservation throughout what has been a truly devastating period of fiscal downsizing in the 1990s. This section also contains the only chapter in the volume that focuses mainly on the involvement of the Canadian public in archaeology, that of Eldon Johnson and Tim E. H. Jones. Their work details the role of avocational/professional society in the development of Saskatchewan's program of archaeological research and preservation. Stephen Loring's interesting article on Innu archaeology's evolution from the 1930s through the 1990s is oddly diminished by its positioning at the end of the volume; surely it would have been more appropriately placed in conjunction with Park's chapter in the Regional section.

As do many edited volumes, this one suffers from the lack of a really pithy and summative closing chapter. What does it all mean and where are we going from here? How does Canadian archaeology fit into the larger realm of global archaeology? What contributions can it make to current intellectual debates? There are other important editorial omissions to which I referred earlier. While these reflect what has been for generations the dominant archaeological culture in this country—a focus on academic and institutionally driven research into prehistory—it is something we are surely past as we enter the 21st century.

For instance, the huge and very public historical archaeology projects conducted as part of historic sites restoration work by Parks Canada over many years are the only archaeological research projects of which many ordinary Canadians are really aware. The superb material culture publications by the Parks staff are internationally known and renowned. Surely a single chapter on Parks Canada's national program of archaeological research and preservation, and on the National Sites and Monuments Commission commemorative work, which gives many archaeological sites their only public interpretation, would have been in order. Likewise strange, and particularly interesting for readers of this journal, is the nearly complete lacuna where a full discussion of the development of historical archaeology in Canada should be. Klimko's chapter on the fur trade and chronological mention of specific projects in the other chapters do not, and are not intended to, provide the sweeping discussion as the subject certainly warrants. A lack of any mention of urban, military, industrial, historic site archaeology, or even of the several World Heritage sites Canada boasts seems very strange in a volume that purports to "bring back the past."

Still, as an overview of the evolution of archaeological research at the academic, governmental, and institutional levels in Canada, this is a truly landmark effort. It sums up how several aspects of Canadian archaeology developed up to the turn of the millennium. Trigger's article is certain to be widely quoted in future. Park, Latta et al., Martijn and Klimko, to name only a few, have offered much fodder for future research into the history and meaning of the discipline. Bill Taylor's quoted comment that a national meeting of

archaeologists in the 1950s could have been held in a station wagon (!) is a wonderfully graphic statement on Canadian archaeology at that time. This book is important reading for students and scholars of archaeology and illuminates the people, research projects, theoretical approaches, and issues—both ideological and financial—that have influenced the way the discipline has grown over the past century and more. Perhaps a companion volume will help to fill in the few, but important, gaps noted here.

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*Carolina's Historical Landscapes:
Archaeological Perspectives.*

LINDA F. STINE, MARTHA ZIERDEN, LESLEY M. DRUCKER, and CHRISTOPHER JUDGE, editors

University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville,
1997. xvi + 283 pp., 12 figs., 16 maps, 11
tables. \$45.00.

This volume represents a milestone in the efforts of South Carolina's archaeological community to begin a synthesis of archaeological research within the state. This initiative, launched by the Council of South Carolina Professional Archaeologists (COSCAPA), has been named the South Carolina Synthesis Project, and the current volume is an outstanding product of that initiative. The editors have assembled 18 chapters, representing the work of 21 professionals in the fields of archaeology, anthropology, history, and cultural geography. The original essays were drawn from a 1991 COSCAPA symposium and a 1992 SHA symposium on South Carolina's historical landscapes.

The essays have been brought together under the perspective of landscape. In the book's introduction, Zierden and Stine argue that landscape is a powerful and compelling approach, providing a unified theoretical perspective through which one can examine "how people shape and are shaped by the land" (p. xi). The editors offer a concept of landscape as a means of creating "linkages among material, social, behavioral, ideological, and natural elements in a region of study" (p. xi). As the authors reiterate throughout this volume, a landscape perspective gives archaeologists a sense of scale and of context, pushing its practitioners beyond a site-specific focus to multiple scales of analysis. It is diachronic; it is interdisciplinary; it gives us a large body of method and theory from which to draw. It is, in fact, an ideal tool with which to shape our studies and with which to integrate existing data.

The book is divided into three sections. Part I, "The Value of Landscapes: Three Interdisciplinary Perspectives," offers valuable discussion and theoretical background from cultural geographer John Winberry, anthropologists/archaeologists Carole Crumley, Ken Lewis, and Stanton Green, and historian Peter Wood. These essays reveal the intrinsically interdisciplinary nature of landscape studies, and the authors call for an open exchange of method and theory among students of landscape. Winberry, in the opening chapter, examines the

cross-fertilization between cultural geography and historical archaeology. Crumley (Chapter 3) argues for a dialectical approach to landscape. Lewis (Chapter 5) and Green (Chapter 2) discuss the utility of certain archaeological concepts and analytical tools for devising a landscape perspective. Since archaeologists are known for the frequency with which they reinvent the wheel, these first chapters provide insightful observations for all who wish to develop an integrated, interdisciplinary landscape approach without retreading old ground.

There are distinct differences in the approaches that scholars take to studying landscape, most significantly in the ways they define landscape—from strictly morphological considerations to the symbolic and cognitive aspects of landscape design, construction, use, and perception. This is most evident in Part II, “South Carolina Landscape Studies.” These individual case studies, which constitute the bulk of the volume, will serve as a tremendous resource for students of South Carolina’s past. The essays cover diverse topics, from surveys of low-country plantation settlement, overviews of the brick and tar industries in Carolina, and the distribution of iron plantations and Piedmont farmstead sites, to the classification and systematic study of sites along waterways. There is a tremendous amount of information contained within these chapters. Many are site distribution studies and regional settlement pattern analyses in which the authors seek to define, classify, and link the features of a particular site type—for instance, an iron-making site or brick kiln—in a manner reminiscent of Hardesty’s feature system (Donald L. Hardesty, 1988, *The Archaeology of Mining and Miners: A View from the Silver State*. Society for Historical Archaeology, *Special Publication Series*, No. 6). Looking for patterns, they are then able to draw out the cultural-ecological relationships that shaped the distribution of such sites. Several authors use a cultural ecological perspective to focus upon human adaptations to the landscape.

While all of these essays fall within the purview of a landscape perspective—for, in each case, the land is shaped for human purposes—the fit with the definition of landscape proposed by the editors is sometimes awkward. In some cases the authors create linkages between the natural and human landscapes but then fail to explore the social or cultural significance of those linkages or to look for broader meanings in the landscape. Again, this goes back to how we define landscape and what we seek to find within. Each author views the landscape as the context for human behavior, yet many place a particular activity or process within a specific historical, economic, or ecological context while failing to place it within a broader sociocultural context—there is little connection to the social, cultural, or symbolic dimensions of landscape.

The essays by Joseph and Reed (Chapter 9) and Joyce (Chapter 14) take landscape to its broadest level of definition in the volume. In the former, the authors use archaeological and material remains, oral and historical records, site topography, plant surveys, and spatial relationships to consider gender divisions, the symbolic content of architecture, and the control and distribution of capital and resources at a Piedmont farmstead. Joyce puts a microscopic lens to the Charleston landscape during the years just prior to the Civil War. Arguing that social relations are encoded and intertwined in the material record and the physical landscape, she uses a variety of documentary records to place individuals and their households in specific location within Ward 5—a region heavily populated

with working-class natives, Irish and German immigrants, free blacks, and hired-out slaves. By looking at the concentrations of residents by race, ethnic background, and economic class, she reveals evidence of social group formation, as well as the construction and maintenance of boundaries, and the struggles of competing groups. Under this lens, the city appears as a landscape of shared and divided spaces.

I find these two studies most engaging because they examine the process by which a landscape is produced to inform us about social relations, cultural identity, and the symbolic dimensions of landscape. However awkward the fit under the umbrella of “landscape,” the studies in Part II nonetheless serve as essential building blocks, summarizing enormous amounts of data. Many of the authors also have taken the time to consider the question of what additional work is now required, most notably, the need to evaluate and refine survey strategies and distribution studies to counter the effects of erosion and site disturbance, spotty recording, the absence of documentary sources, the need for additional field work, and the importance of building and standardizing a regional database.

The final portion of this volume, “A Landscape Approach to Research and Management of Historical Properties,” is an apt demonstration of the utility of landscape for the construction of a regional database and as a management tool. This section provides thoughtful commentary on preservation and management issues. Drucker (Chapter 17) argues that a landscape approach, because it can be used to shape how the public perceives its past, can aid communities that hope to preserve this rapidly diminishing resource. Stine and Stine (Chapters 15 and 18) make compelling arguments for the benefit of a regional database that collates data from differing academic institutions, research firms, and state agencies. They urge its continued development and provide a detailed analysis of weaknesses to be addressed. Each of these essays calls for a broader vision, for a more encompassing view of landscape as an invaluable resource for archaeologists and managers, for preservationists, for the heritage tourism industry, and for South Carolina’s communities.

This volume is one of several recently released by the University of Tennessee Press. In this particular book, the editors provide footnotes, rather than in-text citations. Any difficulties in working with footnotes are more than offset by two noteworthy features found in most of the newer UTN volumes: an index, and a selected or a comprehensive bibliography at the end of the volume, to supplement the individual references found at the end of each chapter.

If the use of a definition of “landscape” as conceived by the book’s contributing editors is uneven throughout the volume, these are nonetheless excellent site studies, surveys, and essays. Perhaps the point of the editors is that these studies, brought together under a landscape perspective, become much more than what they are alone. Winberry argues that archaeologists have not yet reached agreement on a definition of landscape, judging from the far-ranging approaches contained within these essays and within the archaeological literature (pp. 11-13). I would argue, rather, that the chapters in this volume illustrate the diversity of approaches that can be brought to historical archaeology under a landscape perspective. I would also argue, however, that a landscape perspective, or landscape archaeology, is so much more when it builds upon settlement pattern studies and distributional analyses—static features fixed in space—to

consider the broader question of meaning in the landscape. It is the process by which a landscape is created that reveals social relations and social structure, cultural identity and social conflict, and human perception of place, both past and present, across time and space. This volume is at its best when its authors strive to look more closely at things written large in the landscape.

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*An Archaeology of Manners: The Polite
World of the Merchant Elite of Colonial
Massachusetts.*

LORINDA B. R. GOODWIN

Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, New
York, 1999. xx + 223 pp., 25 figs. \$75.00.

An Archaeology of Manners is based in part on the author's Ph.D. dissertation on the historical archaeological investigations of the Turner family, a merchant family in colonial Salem, Massachusetts. Intrigued with the notion of "manners," and the broad applicability that this cultural phenomenon has in addressing a wide range of topics relevant to social history, archaeology, material culture, and anthropology, Goodwin draws on these fields to study "one aspect of life (mannerly behavior) used by a small group (Massachusetts merchants) during one century (about 1660-1760)" (p. xiii).

As noted by the author, two primary themes related to manners are woven throughout the various discussions in the book. The first theme relates to the creation and maintenance of personal identities and the resulting archaeological manifestations of this process. During the colonial period, birth was no longer the sole deciding factor in establishing social hierarchies. Rather, it was knowledge of one's personal identity, one's place in society, and of appropriate material display that determined one's social identity (p. xiv). The second theme relates to the formation of group identities. In particular, Goodwin is concerned with how the burgeoning merchant class defined itself through the retention of a core of selected Old World values while adapting still other behaviors and norms to the unique social milieu of colonial New England.

In the first chapter Goodwin lays out her thesis, provides an overview of her data sources, and discusses her theoretical approach. The thesis of the book is concerned with how the advent of capitalism thrust the new merchant class in colonial New England to social and economic prominence and how that social flux renewed an interest in mannerly behavior, manifested in gender roles and use of material culture, as a means to establish their own social and civic authority (p. 2). The data Goodwin uses in her analysis are derived from several different sources. These sources include archaeological data from excavations at the John Turner house in Salem, Massachusetts, correspondence from two merchant families living in Cambridge, Massachusetts and in Italy, and from prescriptive courtesy literature. Goodwin's theoretical approach is performance-based and her subsequent analysis is couched in terms of a dramaturgical metaphor applying the notions of premise, character motivation, props (costume and settings), scripts, and roles (p. 7). This approach was found to be

very suitable and handled aptly throughout the book. The metaphor of theater is a very appropriate one, as manners are premised on the notions of conduct and behavior, derived from education and refinement, within ritualized social occasions. Merchants were, in the truest sense, actors upon a social stage establishing their roles through the use of scripted behavior and appropriate display of material cultural props.

In the second chapter, Goodwin provides an overview of the evolution of manners from the Renaissance to modern times using courtesy literature. An integral component of this overview is the development of historically accurate definitions of key concepts in the transformation of mannerly behavior. Mannerly behavior began with courtly literature in the 16th century and applied only to courtiers of proper birth. It was then transformed in the 17th and 18th centuries into polite or civil behavior by the landed English gentry, and later to the rising merchant class as a result of opportunities brought about by capitalism. Lastly, stripped of its moral strictures in the late 18th and 19th centuries, it again was changed to apply only to social situations as etiquette (p. 10).

In Chapter Three, Goodwin further defines merchant and elite, in both etic and emic terms, as a means to better understand the context within which class prominence, formerly derived from land and title, shifted to one based on deportment and manner (p. 11). Goodwin also provides historical detail on the three families, Turner, Mascarene, and Earle, from whom her data are derived.

Chapter Four deals with the material expressions of mannerly behavior. In this chapter, Goodwin addresses the concept of consumption as it relates to three aspects of material use and display in expressing social identity. These three aspects of material expression are luxury, novelty, and patina. She uses clothing to illustrate the notion of luxury as the "least convincing statement...of self-identification," as these items could be acquired by any individual through numerous means (p. 108). Goodwin states that it was the appreciation of the social ramifications of these items and their proper use that truly distinguished one's identity and refinement and led to the "quest for novelty" (p. 108). Foodways are presented as an example of novelty. She then uses architecture and landscape to illustrate the notion of patina as "an enduring indication of the historic legitimate right to high status" (p. 108). These material expressions also address identity at various scales, such that luxury items like clothing spoke to one's personal identity and aspirations; novelty items pertaining to such things as foodways made statements about group solidarity; and demonstrations of patina through architecture and landscape helped to further legitimize a community's standing based on heredity and tradition (p. 109).

In Chapter Five, the author uses courtesy literature and correspondence to address the three major roles of women in producing and reproducing elite merchant life (p. 12). Goodwin uses the term "deputy husband" to describe the role of elite women as assistants or surrogates to their husbands in helping to run the daily affairs of business (p. 176). The role of women as "social gatekeepers" helped to shape the merchant community through reinforcing class solidarity, serving as a means for inclusion and exclusion, and through cementing current and future social connections through business relationships and marriage (pp. 177-178). The third role of women as "informal advocates" involved women acting as intermediaries between their husbands and social acquaintances to convey information essential to merchant

business by informal means. These essential roles played by women as conduits of information and as bridges across social boundaries were also well regulated by the social strictures of mannerly behavior within the merchant class as well as by law. Nonetheless, they helped to create and produce the social and economic life of the merchant class.

The sixth chapter concludes the book with a discussion on the role of manners as boundaries, bridges, and frontiers. Goodwin states that manners established boundaries using exclusionary devices as a means of social identification and legitimation. As bridges, manners helped to facilitate communication within and between groups and thus served to "sustain fluidity in apparently static hierarchies, to reconcile wealth and brand new rank, and to permit gentlewomen to participate in the conduct of business" (p. 200). Manners also served as frontiers in negotiating change and turning social influence into political power. In this way, manners helped to justify their elite status while allowing merchants a way to still identify with the wider community upon who they were economically dependent.

Goodwin's book was both engaging and provocative. If any shortcoming were to be found, it would be only in the lack of more traditional archaeological analysis. The work largely emphasizes historical and material cultural studies analysis. The author in some ways acknowledges this in her introduction by discussing the appropriateness of using artifacts and material culture to construct context and offering that historical archaeology should not be limited solely to excavated material culture and documents but "has the whole of culture as its purview" (p. 6). Again, in her Preface, Goodwin states that, "Perhaps by drawing on so many fields, I shall satisfy no one completely, but it is my hope that this work will encourage others to explore related disciplines further, stimulating collaboration between these fields, as well as between American and British scholars" (p. xiii). Though Goodwin does give some historical details about the Turner family there was little about the archaeological field methods employed. As an archaeologist I was still left with wanting to know as much about the story behind the artifacts as I did about the story the artifacts could tell.

In all, the book is well written, logical, and accomplishes the goals set for it. Early on in the book a question is asked: "Is archaeology only dirt, only excavation?" (p. 6). The answer to that question is a resounding "No." *An Archaeology of Manners* is an authoritative work that places mannerly behavior in its proper historical development and defines the terms necessary for establishing a dialogue for scholars of different disciplines and geographic areas to engage in their work. Mannerly behavior provides an invaluable interpretive framework with broad applicability in addressing a wide range of relevant archaeological issues and concepts such as capitalism, domination and resistance, consumption, and social boundaries.

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Puerto Real: The Archaeology of a Sixteenth-

Century Spanish Town in Hispaniola.

KATHLEEN DEAGAN, editor

University of Florida Press, Gainesville,
1995. xxvi + 533 pp., 164 figures, 62
tables, 3 apps. \$75.00.

Dedicated to the memories of Gary Shapiro and Charles Fairbanks, this book reports on findings from seven years of archaeological, architectural, historical, and zooarchaeological research at Puerto Real, the site of a Spanish occupation between 1503 and 1578 on the north coast of what is now Haiti on the island of Hispaniola. Having been abandoned for more than four centuries, the site encapsulates the story of the rise and decline of the Spanish Empire in the Caribbean. Archaeological investigations at the site are set in a wide research realm that takes in the social and political climate of Spain and their influences on the Spanish colony; adaptations required by the site's occupants and imported domestic animals in adjusting to the New World; interactions between the Spanish occupants of Puerto Real and the non-Spanish indigenous population and imported Africans, and the aftermath of Puerto Real when it was relocated to Bayaha in 1578. One of the many strengths of the book, is its logical deductive approach to interpretation of the archaeological data. Throughout the book, archaeological evidence is supported by historical documentation and by findings of research in a number of disciplines. The authors are careful to point out questions or paradoxes that still remain, while selecting the most likely explanations by examining the archaeological data in light of their extensive research. The result is a satisfying and informative interdisciplinary "archaeologically grounded social history and historical ethnography of one of the earliest European towns in the Americas" (pp. 1-2).

Compiled by Kathleen Deagan into a logically progressive investigation of the Puerto Real site, each chapter of the book has been synthesized by its author or authors from longer works that generally were unpublished monographs, theses, or dissertations prepared in relation to the archaeological program at the site. The goals of the archaeological project include investigation of formal and informal Spanish templates for town life in the Americas; the nature of daily domestic life; dietary and economic adaptations of the Spanish colonists; the material aspects of multicultural and multiracial interaction in the early town; and implications and consequences of ecological changes introduced with the arrival of Europeans and their animals. The theoretical orientation of the work is described by Deagan as "materialist" and "empirical." A bibliography of published and unpublished reports of the research at Puerto Real is presented in the Introduction to the book.

While presenting the field methods and rationale for investigations at Puerto Real, Deagan points out that, among 15 towns settled between 1502 and 1506, Puerto Real was one of the first to be settled for colonization rather than pure exploitation of the Americas. It is also the only such site to be studied systematically and reported through an integrated program of historical-archaeological research. The collaborative project was begun by Ray Willis, a doctoral

candidate at the University of Florida, who with a team from the university excavated Building A in the central part of the site. Subsequently a program of subsurface testing and contour mapping was instigated, along with a resistivity study of the central area. A second large central structure was investigated by Rochelle Marrinan and her crew; and two residential areas, Locus 33/35 and Locus 19, were selected for investigation. Deagan became director of the Puerto Real project in 1982, when Charles Fairbanks retired, and in 1984, Locus 39 was excavated under supervision of Charles Ewen.

A highly commendable aspect of the Puerto Real project was the intense involvement of individuals and organizations in Haiti. The training and incorporation of local residents as field technicians and other assistants provided not only educational opportunities for local citizens but also important alliances for archaeologists in local communities where the scientists were privileged to conduct their research. The employment of this important public relations approach would benefit many research and contract archaeologists working in cultures, countries, or even regions different from their own.

The chapters of the book are organized into four parts, each of which is briefly introduced by the editor. The first four chapters, Part I, are introductory. Chapter One of the book is a riveting account by William H. Hodges of his fortuitous discovery of Puerto Real during his 35-year effort to find Columbus' fortress of La Navidad. Hodges describes his detective work in uncovering the identity of Puerto Real, which includes investigation of historical maps and recovery of preliminary archaeological evidence, including three cut stone gargoyles (which later were determined to be imported from the site of La Isabela founded during Columbus' second voyage to the New World). Hodges' discoveries and his contacts with Fairbanks at the University of Florida, Gainesville, eventually led to the formation of the Puerto Real Archaeological Project, which is described in Chapter 2 by Kathleen Deagan. Part I concludes with a chapter by Hodges, Deagan, and Reitz on the natural and cultural setting of Puerto Real and a chapter by Hodges and Lyon on the history of the town. The former chapter includes a discussion of geomorphological changes in the landscape in the vicinity of the site, and well-documented descriptions of ethnohistorically recorded Taino lifeways and early contacts with the Spanish. The chapter by Hodges and Lyon is well researched and provides a comprehensive historical background for the archaeological findings and interpretation.

Part II addresses various aspects of spatial patterning and urban organization at Puerto Real. It begins with a report by Maurice Williams on results of a systematic subsurface testing program along transects that covered the site of Puerto Real outside of the previously excavated central complex. The chapter contains distribution maps produced by a Symagraphic Mapping System, discussion of artifact classes, and informative tables quantifying materials recovered from the test pits excavations. Factor analysis is used to understand relationships among artifact groups and their associations with architectural remains. Findings of the survey, along with results of investigations of Buildings A and B in the center of town (reported in the final two chapters of Part II), indicate that Puerto Real conformed to city planning guidelines formalized by Philip II in 1573. They also suggest that the spatial organization of colonial towns on a linear grid plan had

been implemented nearly a century earlier at Puerto Real. Conforming to prescribed social ranking, at Puerto Real artifacts associated with higher economic status surrounded the plaza, whereas the majority of low economic status materials were found on the northern and western edges of the community.

In Chapter Six, Part II, Willis reports on excavations at Building A, a structure that on the basis of its central location, associated gargoyles, nearby cemetery, attached open area for schooling native converts, and other data are interpreted as a church. While ambitious in its objectives, in some instances the interpretations in the chapter suffer from a lack of well-constructed logical supporting arguments and would be enhanced by more complete and clear presentation of archaeological data. This is especially true in regard to post hole data and interpretation of two features identified as a part of a 16th-century beachhead settlement pre-dating Building A. Figures 6.7-6.11 are not easy to follow and would benefit from more extensive legends to assist the reader. Occasionally items listed in a caption cannot be found in the corresponding figure.

Rochelle Marrinan's report of excavations at Building B, also in the central area of town, is a well-written professional report of findings and unanswered questions at this structure. Her objective and honest approach to interpretation of the data is welcome, and one wishes that there had been more time and funds to allow her to continue her work.

Part III of the book reports the results of excavations at three "domestic" sites with some surprising results. The first two chapters of this section describe research at two domestic sites, Locus 33/35 and Locus 19. Chapter Eight, based on research by Bonnie McEwan and Charles Ewen and presented by McEwan, begins with a discussion of documented Iberian daily life and hypothesizes that Spanish colonists at Puerto Real shared these same cultural values and material expectations, to the point that even mundane items of Spanish origin took on new importance both symbolically and financially. Results of the archaeological investigations bear this out, however, the evidence also indicates the introduction of locally produced items such as ceramics, which is attributed to a lack of Spanish women, and marriage between Spanish men and local women. This material manifestation appears to be the beginning of a developing *criollo* Spanish America. The chapter contains many excellent photographs and quantitative tables that support the text and provide useful comparative information.

Investigations at Locus 39 are reported in Chapter Nine by Kathleen Deagan and Elizabeth J. Reitz. Research at this site reveals the usefulness of integrating faunal analysis with artifactual analysis in site interpretation. Careful excavations at Locus 39 revealed complex architectural features associated with faunal remains and European artifacts. Findings are presented in an impressive number of plats showing distribution of mammal and cow bone by number and weight, and distribution of masonry construction materials, architectural elements, European and non-European kitchen wares, *maravedis* (coins), and tools and personal items by count. The artifactual assemblage is quantified by level, feature, and spatial location in detailed tables that support an explanatory text. Recovered faunal material is also tabulated by species, count, MNI, and weight. Explanation for findings at Locus 39 is sought through examination of findings at other sites and investigation into aspects of cattle processing.

Through a meticulous process of examination and elimination, the authors conclude that Locus 39 was most likely a cattle-processing, commercial exchange, and perhaps also a living area.

The final two chapters of the main part of the book, Part IV, are synthetic and interdisciplinary, addressing topical issues that combine archaeological, historical, technological, biological, and ethnographic data to crosscut the excavations at Puerto Real. Chapter Ten, presented by Reitz and McEwan, is a detailed account of the dietary adaptations of the Puerto Real colonists and integration of American and Iberian traits. The chapter examines the relative adaptability of cattle, hogs, sheep, and goats, which had implications for colonial efforts in general. The authors analyze data on domestic animals from three sites, Locus 33/35, 19, and 39, tabulating MNI, estimating biomass, and determining the ages of animals by degree of epiphyseal fusion. Findings indicate that the Spanish diet at Puerto Real, unlike in Spain itself, included a wide range of wild and domestic animals, and there was little correspondence between meats in the 16th-century Iberian diet and those at Puerto Real. Variations in food preferences at the three sites at Puerto Real and between Spain and Puerto Real are examined in light of environmental conditions, the presence of a native population, the relative numbers of Spanish women, and other factors.

Chapter Eleven, by Greg Smith, analyses non-European material culture through time, and describes demographic fluctuations in the Indian and African populations at Puerto Real. Smith analyses non-European pottery from three occupation areas of Puerto Real, finding eight different ceramic wares. He finds that, perhaps because of the short-lived period of Taino survival, the influence of indigenous ceramics at Puerto Real is minimal, and Smith hypothesizes that a thick undecorated low-fired ware, described as Christophe Plain, was produced by African slaves that replaced Indian laborers on Hispaniola during the 16th century. The chapter includes discussion of the technological analysis of a selected sample of sherds, and provides numerous tables to support the text.

The final two chapters of the book, Part V, serve as epilogue and summary. Chapter Twelve, by Jennifer Hamilton and William Hodges, synthesizes historical and archaeological research at Bayaha, a site occupied between 1578 and 1605 by the relocated residents of Puerto Real and compares the research at both sites. The chapter ties together insights into community patterns, details of community life, and issues of early Spanish colonial adaptation. Chapter Thirteen, by Deagan, summarizes the historical archaeology at Puerto Real and reveals changes that occurred during the 75-year occupation of the site. In the ten years between founding of La Isabela in 1493 and the founding of Puerto Real, the medieval strategy of the Spanish explorers had been replaced by a centrally controlled and formally planned colonial environment, evident at the settling of Spanish Puerto Real. Two or three generations later, the dynamics of colonial life were those of a *criollo* (Spanish-American) population and culture, the beginnings of which are glimpsed at both Puerto Real and Bayaha.

Overall, the book, edited by Kathleen Deagan, is well presented and clearly written. It is easily understood and appreciated by professional archaeologists and the lay public. The book tells a fascinating story while adhering to professional archaeological reporting standards. It is an informative and

interesting view of a short-lived and profoundly influential period of colonial history in the Americas.

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A Typology of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Ceramics and its Implications for American Historical Archaeology.

RICHARD G. SCHAEFER

BAR *International Series* 702, John and Erica Hedges, Oxford, England, 1998 (available through Hadrian Books, 122 Banbury Road, Oxford OX2 7BP, England, U.K.). vi + 159, pp., 44 figs. £35.00 paper.

Historically—as the author is at pains to emphasize in the introduction to this work—the material culture of non-British ethnic groups in North America has been largely neglected by archaeologists. This book represents a brave attempt to redress the balance. Despite its inauspicious title (“typology” is hardly a word to get the juices flowing), the volume represents an attempt to provide something more than a basic catalogue of domestic pottery types. Schaefer sees the international trade in red earthenware not only as an index of commercial activity but also as a reflection of the profound cultural links between the New Netherlands and the United Provinces during the 17th to early 18th centuries. On one level, the stated ambition of the author is to provide a handbook for the identification of Dutch earthenwares found in North America. On another, the book forms a stimulating discourse on the transfer of European domestic lifestyles to the New World. Although more detailed in its treatment of the largest single category of export ceramics in the Dutch colonies, Schaefer’s book is a welcome return to the key material introduced by Charlotte Wilcoxon in her *Dutch Trade and Ceramics in America in the Seventeenth Century* (Albany Institute of History and Art, 1987). With the publication in recent years of a series of major urban studies of the medieval to early modern ceramic market in the Low Countries by Groeneweg, Clevis, Bartels, and others, there is a question mark as to whether this book represents a substantial enhancement of our knowledge of this most prolific category of post-medieval European ceramics.

Perhaps the volume falls short of its stated ambitions, being based on a limited range of 17th-century cess-pit assemblages from Amsterdam and Bergen-op-Zoom. Despite the useful breakdown of data by functional category (“cooking and baking,” “food storage,” “preparation and conveyance,” “eating,” “spices and condiments,” “drinking,” “heating and hearth,” “lighting,” “personal hygiene,” and “leisure activities”) and use of native—often historical—nomenclature, there is remarkably little cross-referencing to finds of Dutch redware made in North America—bar the odd footnote. Remarkably, in view of geography, there has been little attempt to compare these Amsterdam and Bergen-op-Zoom assemblages to others of the same type excavated in Dutch towns or countryside. Nor is there much discussion of production-site material in the Low Countries or neighboring Lower Rhineland, of which there is now so much in print. Despite several run-throughs I was also unable to establish any level of correspondence

between the European and expatriate markets for lead-glazed redware from the Netherlands.

Despite its admirable organization and innovative strategy for the division of material by functional category, I am unable to ignore a number of concerns about the substance of this book. There are simply too many inaccuracies and over-generalizations for comfort. In addition to a number of bibliographical glitches (including incorrect citations of my own work!), these range from the seemingly random choice and inappropriate interpretation of contemporary iconographic sources, by which paintings are used as a kind of typological index (pp. 9-10), and the use of arcane bibliography for the sections on the other main components of the 17th-century pottery market; namely, tin-glazed earthenware and stoneware (pp.15-19, 69ff.). While it will undoubtedly raise awareness of Continental European ceramics among the North American archaeological community, the advantage of an English text does not supersede the glut of recently published urban monographs from the Netherlands, Belgium, and the Lower Rhineland that provide vital comparative statistics and, consequently, a more coherent picture of competition between pottery producers and of the social distribution of particular wares across town and country.

Although worthy, the choice of BAR for this volume is unfortunate. This subject deserves better in terms of illustration and presentation. I fear the scholarly appearance and poor quality of the final product will not help to endear the subject matter of Schaefer's volume to professional and non-specialist audiences alike.

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*Historical Archaeology and the Study of
American Culture.*

LU ANN DE CUNZO and BERNARD L. HERMAN, editors

The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, Delaware (distributed by the University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville), 1996. xi + 497 pp., 83 figs. \$39.95.

What can historical archaeology contribute to our understanding of American culture? For years, archaeologists have argued that one of the strengths of our research is our ability to provide histories for people poorly represented in the documentary record. Yet, this recognition carries with it an implicit acknowledgment of archaeology's "handmaiden" status: in the absence of living people and documents, there are at least artifacts.

Archaeologists anxious to avoid the appearance of handmaiden status took a position privileging the artifact (and its position in the dirt) over other kinds of cultural information. Documents were biased and untrustworthy; artifacts promised a more accurate representation of past realities. A rigorous objectivity presumably allowed artifacts to be understood as they "really" were; indeed, artifacts were seen as so obvious and so self-evident, that they almost "spoke for themselves," and they certainly did not "lie." While the popularity of

this approach has faded in recent years, in practice, many archaeologists continue to focus on artifacts (and stratigraphic information) with little attempt to integrate other kinds of evidence about the past.

Historical archaeology *does* allow us to foreground the material world, exploring how artifacts function in the continuous, everyday renegotiation of culture. At the same time, an increasing number of archaeologists have expressed dissatisfaction with an emphasis placed solely on artifacts. More than 20 years ago, Mary C. Beaudry and Garry Wheeler Stone called on historical archaeologists to acknowledge that our primary purpose is the study of culture, and to broaden our definition of what constitutes appropriate cultural evidence. More recently, growing numbers of archaeologists are urging what has come to be called a "contextual archaeology," seeking social and cultural information not just in artifacts but in documents, environmental evidence, literature, music, art, oral histories, and anywhere else we can find it. The potential of historical archaeology for understanding the past has never been more promising.

In *Historical Archaeology and the Study of American Culture*, Lu Ann De Cunzo and Bernard L. Herman consider the possibilities and implications of a contextual archaeology. This collection of 15 essays, originally presented by their authors in 1991 at the Winterthur Conference of the same title, examines the relationships between artifacts, material culture, landscapes, and documents in the study of American culture. The majority of the contributors are archaeologists, but some are not, and this allows the editors to explore disciplinary boundaries. The contributors vary in their understanding of what constitutes a contextual archaeology, and some essays are more successful than others. Nonetheless, all of these papers show that a contextual archaeology is far more than simply "adding" historical records or environmental evidence to archaeological interpretation. Indeed, Mary Beaudry's concluding essay calls for a "re-invention" of historical archaeology that acknowledges the field's focus on *culture*. While this may hardly sound revolutionary, in fact, it is a challenge historical archaeologists have not fully embraced.

De Cunzo and Herman begin the volume with their two essays, respectively. De Cunzo conveys the optimism of a contextual approach: the "endless possibilities" for considering culture through material culture, and the opportunities for exploring culture in time. Herman reminds us that objects allow us to ask "fundamentally different" questions about the past and explore "new kinds" of interpretive paths. Both authors emphasize the complex, multivalent nature of culture and the need to question totalizing conclusions about the past. Ann Smart Martin echoes this direction when she points out, rightly, that material culture "is not just the product or reflection of culture, it is embedded in culture. . . ." Culture, as Eric Sandweiss suggests, is a phenomenon that is negotiated, reconfigured, and reconstituted every day, everywhere. These are all the assumptions of a contextual archaeology.

A contextual archaeology is time-consuming and challenging, involving the integration and reintegration of all kinds of data, sometimes over a period of years. In their exploration of the 18th- and 19th-century household and smithy of Emerson Bixby in Massachusetts, John Worrell, David M. Simmons, and Myron O. Stachiw use an approach that begins with a site or household biography but moves out through concentric, "nested" research units to the neighborhood, the town, the

region, and back again. Similarly, Martha Zierden has logged many years behind her examination of the Charleston, South Carolina, landscape, and this perspective allows her to consider how tourists see “historic” Charleston today, contrasting this view with the urban landscape of Charleston in the late 18th and 19th centuries.

A contextual approach can enhance our appreciation of particular types or classes of material culture. Jane Perkins Claney considers Rockingham ware, and her detailed research shows how a single artifact type can provide a segue into larger cultural issues, in this case, class and gender. In their examination of textiles recovered from two 17th-century New England cemeteries, Linda Welters, Margaret T. Ordonez, Kathryn Tartleton, and Joyce Smith argue that, since archaeologists rarely encounter textiles, they tend to lump all textiles as “cloth.” Their argument, that evidence for certain kinds of culture is best known through documents, is a point made by Ann Smart Martin over ten years ago in her analysis of pewter artifacts and worth restating. Charles Orser’s presentation of a statistic—the “V means”—to identify variations in ceramic assemblages, while intriguing, is less successful. Orser foreshadows his critics by claiming that some will say he has “simply used new terms in an old analysis.” Ultimately, the V-means statistic is focused on *form* (in this case, ceramic patterning), rather than on *use*.

The papers by Gerald K. Kelso and Stephen A. Mrozowski demonstrate in very thoughtful ways the value of environmental and biological data for reconstructing diet, health, and landscape. In addition, Mrozowski offers a critique of structuralism, noting that the “broad generalizations [of structuralism] leave little room for context.” In particular, the nature-culture opposition of a structural approach has minimized the importance of considering “nature” when studying “culture.” Both Mrozowski and Kelso show how most archaeological deposits (not just the best-preserved ones) can provide important insight about environmental and biological issues.

Paul Mullins’ study of the potters of Rockingham County, Virginia is a very good example of what a contextual archaeology can produce. Mullins’ close reading of documents and archaeological evidence as well as his effort to avoid totalizing the 19th century shows the problematic nature of categories like “craft” and “industrial” production. Suzanne Spencer-Wood’s well-written overview of a feminist archaeology also critiques assumptions about gender categories and their use in archaeological interpretation.

These papers provide important case studies and justifications for practicing a “contextual archaeology.” As Worrell, Simmons, and Stachiw suggest in their paper, good contextual archaeology depends on good methodology: admitting new kinds of data, and analyzing and interpreting it in thoughtful ways. At an abstract level, this seems obvious and self-evident. In practice, however, it is not clear that contextual archaeology has been universally embraced. A sampling of reports recently reviewed by the Maryland Historical Trust (Maryland’s State Historic Preservation Office) indicates that the “Carolina Artifact Pattern” and its many derivatives are still used uncritically to compare archaeological assemblages. Good contextual archaeology can be time-consuming and expensive. The challenge will be to prevent a methodological and interpretive gulf from developing between cultural resource management and long-term research projects. J. Ritchie Garrison is the only author who discusses CRM work, and

he does not seem especially hopeful about its contribution to the study of rural outbuildings of low visibility. Is this a function of the nature of the database, the nature of CRM methods, or both? Since we simply cannot afford to assume that the sites preserved today as museums or historic places are any kind of complete or “real” representation of the past, perhaps the next challenge will be to expand this discussion to CRM work. In the interim, *Historical Archaeology and the Study of American Culture* suggests what good contextual historical archaeology can be.

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Diving up the Human Past: Perspectives on Maritime Archaeology, with Specific Reference to Developments in South Africa until 1996.

BRUNO E. J. S. WERZ

BAR International Series 749, John and Erica Hedges, Oxford, England, 1999 (available through Hadrian Books, 122 Banbury Road, Oxford OX2 7BP, England, U.K.). xvi + 214 pp., 14 figs., 10 tables, 15 apps. £40.00 paper.

This book is divided into three chapters: a general review of maritime archaeology, a review of maritime archaeology in South Africa, and three South African archaeological case studies. It is an interesting book with a lot of information about the maritime archaeological situation in South Africa, archaeological, public and political. In the usual “basic” BAR format, the book has a number of peculiar typesetting anomalies that make reading difficult. There are numerous strange line breaks and a disturbing convention that, where a table runs across the two columns of text, the text resets to the top of the right hand column and then restarts under the table on the left column. Minor, but irritating points. A more serious problem occurs with numbers and the use of a comma instead of a decimal point; thus we have “5,0 km,” but even more problematic is “98,434 kilogrammes,” which means 98.434 kg, and “2 362,406,” which correctly translates to 2,362.406 kg. None of this would be standard in English text, but elsewhere the author uses “6.25 per cent,” which makes the problem even more confusing.

The introductory section in Chapter One on general maritime archaeology is a straightforward, if brief, review of the subject with the usual discussion on maritime, marine, underwater, nautical, hydro- and aquaeology. It includes a robust discussion on the limitations of Muckelroy’s definition of the field and a rather interesting section where Werz proposes a classification of sites based on functional characteristics of sites. He proposes four types of sites: natural-static (occupation sites); artificial-static (buildings, etc.); natural-dynamic (rivers, beaches, sandbanks, etc.); and artificial-dynamic (vessels, etc.). Personally, I have some difficulties with this system; it is a useful alternative to some of the more site specific definitions, but it needs a lot more development.

In this first section, the discussion gradually moves towards the Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC), or United East India Company, which will be the main focus of much of the other chapters. The transition here between a discussion of the philosophical concepts of the role of seaborne activities into the structure of the VOC is rather abrupt. While the VOC is an interesting example of the role of seaborne vessels and maritime activity, it is not representative of the wider activities of seaborne vessels. Werz quite rightly emphasises the significance of the historical record and makes the point that many archaeologists tend to underrate this evidence. He states: "The main subject matter [archaeological sites], however, is represented by people in the past, their actions, motivations, achievements and sentiments. Artefacts can only partially reflect these aspects and therefore it is essential to study other, non-material sources in conjunction. Historical texts form the most important and diverse sources of this nature and should be used where ever possible to reveal and explain the complexity of the past human existence" (p.136).

The following section on the restrictions and limitations of diving is not really appropriate in length or content. Two pages on diving physiology is either too superficial or could have been reduced to a few paragraphs. It sits in a three-part section entitled "Archaeological sites, material evidence and related site information" with the sub headings: "A functional classification of archaeological sites," "Archaeological sites in their geographical context," and "Restrictions to underwater archaeology."

The following and final section of Chapter One, "Lines of evidence provided by historical research," deals with three case studies: the sinking of the *'t Vliegende Hert*, and the precious metals and orphans on board the *Amsterdam*. Werz discusses these in the light of the documentary evidence alone and concludes: "By applying historical research, events which resulted in the foundering of the VOC ship *Vliegende Hert* could be interpreted in greater detail" (p. 30). What is interesting is the fact that neither site has provided much archaeological evidence to place in a comparison with this historical evidence. The *'t Vliegende Hert* has not been properly or adequately published as an excavation report and there has been considerable concern expressed about the fact that some of the "archaeologically" excavated material ended up in the auction house. The *Amsterdam*, on the contrary has been methodically excavated, although the project has come to an unfortunate halt with only a small section of the vessel excavated.

Chapter Two of the book deals with the perspective of maritime archaeology in South Africa, and here, naturally, the author is on much firmer ground. He describes the history and geography of the country in some detail and then addresses the sites in terms of his classification scheme. It is here that some of the more serious issues relating to the lack of appropriate government support and commitment to the preservation of underwater cultural material becomes apparent. It is obvious that, although the South African shipwreck resource is still under serious threat, no adequate system of control has been established, nor has any management of authorized salvage activities and the associated curation of the recovered artifacts reached an acceptable standard. Werz bemoans the fact that although there is considerable public support and interest in maritime archaeology there is a lack of

commitment by the authorities to take a responsible approach to the whole issue.

The final chapter deals with the Table Bay area and the work carried out on three projects: the search for the survivors camp of the VOC shipwreck *Haerlem* (1647), Operation Sea Eagle, a cultural resource management survey around Robben Island, and the survey and excavation of the VOC ship *Oosterland* (1697). The *Haerlem* is an example of a search for a survivors' campsite, based on archival sources. The fieldwork, written in a forthright manner (typical of the author's approach in this book) outlines the mishaps and shortcomings of the work, something that one suspects is often glossed over by some authors. The aerial photography, thus did not achieve its objective, the terrestrial photography was short on control, the site was littered with modern rubbish making metal detecting difficult, and test excavations revealed no material indicating the site. At the end of the day, the campsite was not found. I wonder why a magnetometer was not used if the site were fortified with cannon. This at least would have been a quick diagnostic, although there may have been geophysical reasons why this was not practical. At one level this could be an example of how archival information is not helpful in finding a site! The historical account is fascinating, describing the survivors firing cannon at the wreck to break the hull open to ventilate the orlop, which could not be entered due to the poisonous stench of the rotting cargo. Operation Sea Eagle was a survey of 22 wreck sites around Robben Island, showing the interaction of archival research and wreck inspection. The *Oosterland* project describes the history of the vessel, the survey, excavation, and artifact analysis. The book ends with an impressive 976 endnotes, extensive references, and appendices.

Much of the introductory and second chapter of this book reads like the lamentable situation that occurs in maritime archaeology throughout the world. For some reason, cultural material lying on the seabed is treated in quite a different way than cultural material found on land. It seems that there is a small, vocal group of people, usually, but not necessarily, treasure hunters or people who salvage things from wrecks, who can influence the political will. It can only be when more of the general public says "save our wrecks" that realistically the situation will change. Attempts to convert treasure hunters is a lost cause; attempts to work with treasure hunters is, in the long run, counter productive; education and involvement of the public in the programs, the abandoning of the elitist attitude that can occur in maritime archaeology, is the way forward.

The final chapter shows the progress and way forward. One must commend Werz on helping to start this process in South Africa. One hopes also that the book will be widely read and be a real incentive for the development of maritime archaeology in South Africa and elsewhere. I found the book really interesting; it made me think about the problems and how they can be resolved.

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Feast of the Dead: Aboriginal Ossuaries in

Maryland.

DENNIS C. CURRY

The Archaeological Society of Maryland, Inc., Myersville, and The Maryland Historical Trust Press, Crownsville, 1999. xi + 108 pp., 61 figs. \$15.00 paper.

This handsome little book, attractively bound and most attractively priced, is a welcome addition to the literature of pre-European aboriginal mortuary traditions. The author explains that the data were compiled for NAGPRA compliance. It is presented in this format to make the resulting information available to concerned First Nations and also, incidentally, to physical anthropologists and archaeologists.

The author briefly summarizes existing information from 34 excavated components at 19 locations in the state of Maryland. Each summary typically includes a short synopsis of excavation history, a statement of the number and distribution of human remains found, and estimates of the age of the burial based primarily upon presence or absence of European trade goods. Publications are cited and the present location of the remains indicated. Where possible, the author includes historic photographs of the site and its excavators. Anyone who has tried to trace the history of long-destroyed archaeological sites will appreciate the labor that lies behind Curry's tidy presentation.

I have a slight problem with Curry's definition of "ossuary" (p. 5), which is not consonant with either common archaeological usage (Douglas H. Ubelaker, 1974:8, *Reconstruction of Demographic Profiles from Ossuary Skeletal Samples: A Case Study from the Potomac Tidewater*. Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology No. 18, Washington, DC) or with its medieval origins. An ossuary is not exactly the same thing as a multiple secondary burial. Multiple secondary burials are common from Late Archaic to Historic times in most parts of eastern North America (Varney, Tamara, and Susan Pfeiffer, 1995, The people of the Hind site. *Ontario Archaeology* 59:96-108). An ossuary is "a receptacle for the bones of the dead; a bone-vault, charnel-house; a bone-urn" (Oxford English Dictionary, 1999). Ossuary burials typically involve the disarticulation and mixing of skeletal members within a common and carefully prepared receptacle, but ossuaries, such as those in European medieval monasteries, may contain primary burials. Secondary burials may be individual, separate events. It does not clarify this analysis to mix these two practices together.

It is probably inevitable that any survey of ossuary burials would cite Père Jean de Brebeuf's account of the *Ossossané* Feast of the Dead, given by the *Attignawanton* Nation of the Huron Confederacy on the Monday after Pentecost, 1636, and published in the *Relation* for that year (Thwaites, R. G., editor, 1959:279-311, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France*, Vol. 10. Reprint of 1896-1901 edition, Pageant Book Company, New York). Kenneth Kidd's (1953, *Excavation and Historical Identification of a Huron Ossuary*, *American Antiquity* 18:359-379) field work was excellent for its day, but his analytical standards were necessarily limited by the available database and the *Ossossané* ossuary appears to have been unique in a number of facets. It might have been interesting to include some of the more recent archaeological

and osteological literature compiled on Huron and other aboriginal mortuary traditions in this area.

By the way, the human remains from *Ossossané*, together with their grave goods, were returned by the Royal Ontario Museum to the Huron-Wendat First Nation, who conducted a Solemn Feast of the Dead in September of 1999 and reburied them in the original location.

Curry provides a brief analysis section, and he is to be congratulated for making an attempt to extend the data beyond simple reportage. It would be unfair to expect sophisticated interpretations from what is essentially a survey report, particularly a report on data that are frequently incomplete and often inaccessible, but the reader should be cautious in attempting to extend conclusions beyond the present analysis. For example, spatial analyses lose meaning when they are warped by modern political boundaries. In this case (pp. 8 and 68), the fact that there are relatively few sites on the west side of water may reflect the fact that the largest watercourse, the Potomac estuary, forms the western boundary of Maryland. Any sites on the west side of this river system are, by definition, excluded from this survey. Likewise, distinctions between interior and waterfront sites (p. 68) raise the question of the etic versus emic definitions of "waterfront." How far must a site be located from a lake or marsh to be classed as "interior"? Is the author's distinction based on size of the watercourse (oceans are large, creeks are small), on the nature of the water (fresh or brackish), on nature of the shoreline, and so forth?

That many of the sites are destroyed and their contents now lost is a tragedy that no amount of contemporary effort and regret can repair. The purpose of the present volume is to inform interested parties about the current state of extant burial collections in the state of Maryland. This goal is admirably achieved.

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Historic Contact National Historic Landmarks in New York State.

ROBERT S. GRUMET, editor

Special issue of *The Bulletin: Journal of the New York State Archaeological Association*, Number 114, Rochester, NY, 1998. ii + 72 pp., 31 figs. No price given, paper.

These carefully edited articles describe six archaeological sites in New York State that have been designated National Historic Landmarks. All date to the Historic Contact period, and each article began as a nomination report, later modified into an article for publication. Robert Grumet, archeologist for the Northeast Region of the National Park Service, served as guest editor for this thematic issue of *The Bulletin* of the New York State Archaeological Association, and it was he who organized the Historic Contact National Historic Landmark theme study that gave rise to this special issue. All of the sites are well known, and most have been the subject of frequent publications in the past. Three, in fact, were the

bases for doctoral dissertations, which gives an indication of the importance of the sites.

The first, Fort Corchaug, is located on eastern Long Island, and was occupied by Corchaug peoples between 1630 and 1660. The senior author, Ralph Solecki, began work there in 1936, whereas the junior author, Lorraine Williams, excavated there in the late 1960s. Williams subsequently used data from Fort Corchaug as the basis for her Ph.D. dissertation, a comparison between Corchaug and the Mohegan site of Fort Shantok. Corchaug was important as a center of wampum production until its people were displaced by English settlers, but it is also one of very few Historic Contact sites to survive anywhere on Long Island.

Contemporary but very different is the site of Fort Orange, created by the Dutch West India Company in 1624 and occupied by Dutch and then British garrisons until its abandonment in 1676. Fort Orange was built on a bend on the west bank of the Hudson River, and this small, fortified earthwork was the focus of trade between the Dutch and Native Americans until it eventually was replaced by the city of Albany. The position of Fort Orange was unknown, and it was buried under landfill until 1970 and 1971, when Paul Huey, who wrote the article in this volume, directed salvage excavations at the site. Since then, Huey has written a host of articles about Fort Orange, including his doctoral dissertation, and his discoveries have provided the very best evidence for trade between the Dutch, the English, and their Mohawk and Mahican neighbors. The rich collections of artifacts found at the site include hundreds of trade beads, Dutch tin-glazed and lead-glazed red earthenwares, Westerwald stoneware, delicate glassware, and great numbers of tobacco pipes. Archaeology has successfully conveyed the myriad ways in which Fort Orange was a trading post of major importance.

While Fort Orange reveals the military and mercantile presence of the Dutch in New York State, a well-to-do Dutch residence was constructed at the nearby site of Schuyler Flatts in Colonie in 1642-1643. The attached house and barn were the home and trading post of a Dutch colonial diplomat, Arent van Curler, who traded with Mahicans, Mohawks, and others traveling along the Hudson River. Later owners, structures, and even refuge communities of Mahican and Mohawk families gave the property an impressive history, and the last house finally burned in 1962. Extensive excavations at the site by Paul Huey between 1971 and 1974 form the basis for his article in this volume, work that was prompted by a threat to the site from a proposed restaurant and mall. Huey excavated the remains of multiple structures at the site, including the Van Curler House cellar, and Schuyler Flatts represents one of the best instances of intensive trade and contact among multiple cultural groups.

The Mohawk Upper Castle Historic District, located in the village of Indian Castle in Herkimer County, contains archaeological and architectural survivals from Nowadaga, the westernmost part of the Mohawk Indian community of Canajoharie. Dean Snow directed the archaeological work that was conducted here as part of a long-term survey of sites throughout the Mohawk Valley, and David Guldenzopf directed the excavations at a key site, the Joseph Brant Homestead, in 1984-1985, forming the basis for his doctoral dissertation. The article by Snow and Guldenzopf presents the results of their excavations at key 18th-century Mohawk sites, and

they also describe this District's rich, above-ground survivals from the 18th century, notably the Indian Castle church and the Brant Family Barn.

Moving to the western edge of New York State, an article by Patricia Kay Scott presents evidence for relations between Indians and Europeans at Fort Niagara during the Historic Contact period. The Old Fort Niagara National Historic Landmark is situated on the east bank of the Niagara River, 14 miles north of Niagara Falls, where it dominated the Niagara Portage route and was the focus of alliances between the French and Indians. Construction of Fort Niagara began in 1726, and it was a key French site up until 1759, when the French and Seneca defenders were forced to surrender the fort to an attacking British army. Patricia and Stuart Scott have conducted archaeological excavations there since 1979, revealing intact deposits that span from 1678 until well after the American Revolution. While only a tiny proportion of Fort Niagara has yet been excavated, archaeology has recovered many artifacts that date to the period of trade between the French and Indians, and the site as a whole has the most complete collection of 18th-century military architecture that survives in the United States.

The last article in this volume is by Stuart and Patricia Kay Scott, and it describes the Lower Landing Archaeological District National Historic Landmark, located about seven miles south of Fort Niagara. This is very much a companion site to Fort Niagara, and the two sites together form what was designated a Colonial Niagara Historic District in 1998. The Lower Landing is located on the only natural waterway that connects Lakes Ontario and Erie, so it has always occupied a strategic position, key to Indian and French use of the region. René-Robert Cavalier, Sieur de La Salle built a small storehouse there in 1678-1679, and other forts, trading posts, and storage facilities followed. The Lower Landing has now become the Earl W. Brydges Artpark, and small excavations have been conducted there since the 1950s, revealing stratified deposits from the Historic Contact period.

In reviewing these six articles, this volume makes a very nice addition to the literature of the Historic Contact period. The editing has been meticulous, the bibliographies are rich, and the site maps are clear and well chosen; however, most of the photographs are unacceptably fuzzy. I believe this special issue would have been even more useful if it had opened with a several-page overview of the history of the Contact period in New York State, furnishing a context into which to fit these very site-specific reports. It also would have been helpful to include a map of New York State in the front, showing exactly where these sites are located, and then to conclude the volume with a synthesis of conclusions or of "future directions" for Contact period research. I also would have enjoyed seeing a listing of the other National Historic Landmarks in New York State and a clearer indication of which other properties reflect the Historic Contact period.

Still, these are fairly minor complaints, and each chapter stands alone as a solid, albeit short, description of some very significant sites. Grumet and his colleagues at the National Park Service deserve our thanks for turning these nomination reports into highly informative articles that reveal the richness of New York State's Historic Contact National Historic Landmarks. Too many reports of this type merely end up in file cabinets, so Grumet has provided an excellent

service by making these nominations available to a much larger audience.

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The Story of "Woodville": The History, Architecture, and Archaeology of a Western Pennsylvania Farm.

RONALD C. CARLISLE

Pittsburgh History and Landmarks

Commission, Pittsburgh, 1998. xiv + 170 pp., 133 figs. \$18.95 paper.

In *The Story of "Woodville,"* author Ronald C. Carlisle presents a synthesis of about two decades of research into the history, architecture, and archaeology of a late 18th-century western Pennsylvania farm. As houses go, "Woodville," which now operates as an historic site in the Chartiers Creek Valley about seven miles southwest of Pittsburgh, represents an important survival. Presently standing on just a fraction of its original acreage and hemmed in on all sides by modern intrusions, this house survives today as a rare architectural link to the settlement of southwestern Pennsylvania. "Woodville" represents one of the oldest homes in the area, but more interestingly, the house also testifies to some of the regional intermingling that characterized the Pennsylvania backcountry at the end of the 18th century. "Woodville" was built by John and Presley Neville, transplants from Frederick County, Virginia, who not only brought with them ideas about what the proper configuration of a house and plantation should be, they also brought their slaves.

The Nevilles, whose Pennsylvania plantations witnessed the first insurrections of the 1794 Whiskey Rebellion and whose politics influenced the Federalist party in western Pennsylvania, held several state and local offices and eventually became major landowners in the region. Three other families subsequently owned "Woodville," and the house received a series of additions before it was taken over in 1973 by the Pittsburgh History & Landmarks Association and the Neville House Associates. "Woodville" thus stands today not only as a significant artifact with both Pennsylvania and Virginia roots, but also as an outstanding piece of evidence that offers the opportunity to explore a number of important issues. *The Story of "Woodville"* focuses primarily on explaining the history and physical transformations experienced by this house and landscape, leaving several larger questions tantalizingly underdeveloped or unasked.

The book is organized into seven broad sections. A brief introduction explains the author's intent and focus and provides a thumbnail account of "Woodville's" origins. The next section focuses on the Neville family and offers a more-or-less chronological treatment describing the early settlement history of the Chartiers Creek Valley area, the Neville family genealogy and some of their military careers, the development of the Neville estates and the roles of those estates in the Whiskey Rebellion, the involvement of the Nevilles in the Federalist Party in western Pennsylvania, and Presley Neville's subsequent move to Ohio.

A section entitled "Building a Virginia Plantation on the Western Frontier" examines the early development of "Woodville," "Bower Hill," and other Neville plantations in the valley and compares "Woodville" to possible Virginia antecedents. The Nevilles were heavily committed to slave ownership, and, by 1790, John and Presley Neville owned more slaves than anyone else in Allegheny County. The Nevilles also represented elites who maintained both rural estates and urban residences. This pattern of maintaining multiple residences "was part of a widespread behavioral 'package' among those of the eighteenth-century elite who were wealthy enough to afford it"; the Nevilles thus shared "a wider geographical and experiential world than did the bulk of the contemporary population" (p. 64). The latter part of this chapter explores "Woodville's" actual appearance during the Neville occupancy. Based on the author's own research, as well as field examinations by several others, the original house, which evinced some Chesapeake building characteristics including false plates, probably stood as a center-passage frame dwelling consisting of two first-floor rooms separated by a passage. A detached kitchen stood nearby, and other outbuildings may have also stood on the grounds. The author utilizes some wonderful evidence here to reconstitute "Woodville's" 18th-century farmscape: when the mansion house and outbuildings on another nearby Neville estate known as "Bower Hill" were burned during the 1794 Whiskey Rebellion, John Neville compiled a list of the possessions and buildings that were destroyed. This list provides a documentary "snapshot" of the historic landscape from which Carlisle is able to speculate about the types of buildings that may have once existed at "Woodville."

The next section explores the changes that "Woodville" experienced after it passed out of the Neville family in 1814 and into the hands of three subsequent owners including the Cowans, the Wrenshalls, and the Fausets. Once again, the author is blessed with several fabulous pieces of evidence, including an 1835 room-by-room estate inventory that itemized household possessions and outbuildings, and a miniature watercolor depicting the mansion house and its surrounding landscape ca. 1835-1845.

A short chapter describing the restoration of the mansion house and providing a brief tour of the interior follows. The two final sections are each disappointingly brief. The first describes the results of five archaeological studies at "Woodville," and the final section examines issues of preservation, public history, and education at the site. The end matter includes both a bibliography and an index.

This book, a labor of love on the author's part, represents the product of over 20 years of research at "Woodville." Carlisle's initial research began in 1977-1979, as part of an archaeological study of the north yard of the home; it was extended during further archaeological studies undertaken in 1989 and again in 1998. The end result was a much longer manuscript "supplemented by over 250 footnotes" that provided not only the sources of the author's information but additional explanation (p. viii); this longer manuscript was then distilled to create *The Story of "Woodville,"* which is aimed at a general audience. A number of editorial decisions that were apparently made during this process of distillation and publication, however, seem to have left some gaps. Readers intent on investigating the author's conclusions in greater depth may well be frustrated by the absence of any kind of citation linking specific portions of text with appropriate

sources. Also, while the author marshals wonderful evidence throughout the book, some of the maps are so small that they are barely legible. A few additional photographs or drawings, and appropriately placed references to them, would have been helpful, especially in the section where “Woodville” is compared to possible Virginia antecedents, or in the discussion of the evolution of the house over time. Some sections of the book appear to have been greatly condensed. Curiously, the chapter on archaeology at “Woodville” reads almost as an afterthought to the rest of the book, again, perhaps, because of editorial decisions. Considering that the germ of this research originated in archaeological investigations at the site, a very small portion of the book is devoted to interpreting the archaeological record or to integrating those findings into the broader narrative. More seriously, though, the process of distillation has rendered the narrative somewhat episodic and unfocused, and has allowed several broader questions to remain underdeveloped. How, for example, did the elite slave-owning Nevilles actually fit into the larger context of slaveholding in the Pennsylvania and Virginia backcountry? And what does the story of “Woodville” actually suggest about the complex processes by which we canonize historic landscapes as they pass from the earliest stages of settlement to the present? These are compelling questions that emerge naturally from the material, yet they remain just below the surface.

Despite these flaws, readers who are curious to learn specific details about the Neville family, “Woodville,” or the western Pennsylvania region during the early national period will find this book to be a gold mine of information. *The Story of “Woodville”* will be of value to anyone who has an interest in early backcountry landscapes.

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Managing the Historic Rural Landscape.

JANE GRENVILLE, editor

Routledge, New York, 1999. xvi + 179 pp.,
23 figs., 3 tables. \$90.00 (\$135.00 CDN),
\$27.99 (\$39.99 CDN) paper.

Managing the Historic Rural Landscape is a collection of 13 papers presented at the Society of Antiquaries in London (1997) and provides a snapshot of the current policy and practice of rural landscape management in Britain. Jane Grenville, a lecturer at the University of York, organized the session. While focusing on British policy, the book confronts many of the issues and challenges facing rural landscape preservationists worldwide. This book provides an educational introduction for heritage management professionals and students.

Grenville’s intention is to outline the changes and practices over time in agricultural and land management policies in Britain in terms of the global, European, and national agendas. Recent interest in “agri-environmentalism” focuses on sound environmental conservation policy through regulation of agricultural practices and land management. Concern for historic landscape and archaeological site preservation within this context has a long history. In the late 1980s, archaeologists responded to the “green movement” by examining the

relationship between ecological and archaeological conservation in a series of conferences and papers, outlined by L. MacInnes and Jones C. Wickham in *All Natural Things: Archaeology and the Green Debate* (1992, *Oxbow Monograph* 21, The David Brown Book Co., Oakville, CT). Grenville’s book details the integrated policy structure and practices in Britain that resulted from these historic debates and how social perceptions of countrysides have also been incorporated. Not only does Grenville provide a timely update of this ongoing process, but she also brings to light the tensions, successes, and inadequacies of current multidimensional policies.

To accomplish this, Grenville arranges the book into 4 sections with a total of 13 short chapters. Contributors represent a variety of disciplines, including academics, archaeologists, land managers, conservationists, and museum planners. Many hold positions with government agencies, such as English Heritage, the National Trust, and the Forestry Commission.

Part I, “Policy Background,” consists of three chapters designed to ground the discussions of emerging policies. Agricultural policy dominates the framework for historic landscape conservation in Britain, especially since the adoption of the European Union’s (EU) Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) in 1973. The results have been unfavorable, and it is likely that farmers will see a significant decrease in support in the near future. This will serve to worsen preservation issues, as farmers are forced to restructure their methods in order to remain profitable. David Thackray examines the use of conservation plans to determine the historic, environmental, and ecological significance of landscapes, which helps managers to look at all factors when determining priorities. Most importantly, they also allow local involvement in the process by identifying vernacular features of unique significance and serve as bench marks for assessing the impact of change. Conservation plans are very similar to environmental impact statements of the American system.

Graham Fairclough evaluates the policy and legislative tools that protect the cultural landscape, such as scheduling, listing, and designating properties. Although many avenues are available, they tend to constrain the process to discrete areas, as opposed to districts. English Heritage, the agency established in 1979 to take charge of Britain’s cultural preservation programs, and other land-use agencies are currently conducting historic landscape survey programs to establish policies that are broader and farther reaching.

Part II, “Mechanisms and Instruments,” consists of two chapters that cover in great detail the implementation of policies and legislation that are used to manage archaeological and environmentally sensitive areas in the face of new development and agriculture. These chapters stress the importance of total landscape management and demonstrate how current policies can be applied to access, plan, and manage landscapes effectively. It is difficult to follow how these chapters differ in scope from the previous section, other than by providing real management examples.

Part III, “Users and their Objectives,” identifies three primary users of the rural landscape and demonstrates how their specific interests are integrated into historic landscape management. While mining, forestry, and military operations are inherently destructive to cultural and environmental resources, the results of these activities are more predictable and, consequently, manageable than modern agricultural practices. All chapters give attention to how these activities

are mitigated to reduce their impacts, especially upon areas of archaeological sensitivity, emphasizing the importance of in situ preservation. The final chapter demonstrates how Britain's national parks landscapes are under multiple use pressures from industry, development, and recreation. Sustainable management of archaeological resources involves balancing modern development and public needs with preservation, through better understanding of resources, a wider application of their significance within the entire landscape, and more public involvement. This section provides a clear path for understanding some of the modern demands placed on the British landscape and demonstrates how policy and law are applied toward sustainable management in each individual case.

The final section, "Integration," contains three chapters that demonstrate the mutually beneficial and essential integration of environmental conservation and historic preservation. The first chapter, for example, notes that afforestation of Britain is an issue of debate among historic preservationists, environmentalists, and industrialists. Detailed ecological information that is collected in pursuit of forest and habitat management also contains valuable information on the location and condition of archaeological sites. Sharing these data among the groups results in the development of an integrated replanting plan that satisfies the needs of all three. The next chapter describes how ecological conservation programs are supported by historic properties in Norfolk County. Patterns of lawn mowing and the maintenance of stone structures follow specific techniques that preserve and promote on-site ecological systems. Here, the mutual benefits of integrated, whole landscape management are described in functional detail. The final chapter, "A Sense of Place," summarizes why a sense of place is important, and suggests that the elements that confer a sense of place include both physical and human factors. Carefully maintaining the ever-changing landscape is essential today, in face of our ability to impact the environment profoundly in such short time. Integrated policies and a deeper public understanding of the sense of place ultimately lead to the proper balance between all of the interests at hand.

Managing the Historic Rural Landscape provides the archaeological community with contemporary insight into an issue that has developed internationally, particularly over the past 50 years. Although focused on British policy, one of the many outstanding points of the book is its explanation of national policies in response to international and European policy making. The majority of the contributors are involved with Britain's national policy agenda, which accounts for the primarily institutionalized viewpoint that sets the dominant tone of the book. Grenville consistently attempts to bring threads together, pointing out where similar issues are discussed. Although her editing may seem ultimately positive, at times it is not clear who is writing the article, or what the differences are between authors.

The short, concise articles provide a comfortable format for this policy-laden topic. As a book specifically about management, it makes sense of national policy and legislation by using actual case studies. These examples give the book relevance to a wider audience, particularly archaeologists in the United States, who are dealing with similar issues within a heavily institutionalized framework. In this way, the book

provides an excellent overview of the values and practices of the British system as well as to the topic in general.

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Archaeology of Colonial Pensacola.

JUDITH A. BENSE, editor

University Press of Florida, Gainesville,
1999. xviii + 294 pp., 37 figs., 24 tables, 4
apps. \$49.95.

Pensacola, Florida, is probably best known as a Navy town, a frequent site of hurricanes, and the home of the *Blue Angels*. As this volume documents, however, it is also one of the oldest sites of European occupation in the country and arguably has one of the most diverse and turbulent colonial histories anywhere in North America.

Tristan De Luna first settled Pensacola Bay in 1559, but the fledgling colony was destroyed by a hurricane after only five weeks. The Spanish did not resettle the area until 1698, in response to French presence in the Gulf of Mexico, and over the next 150 years Pensacola was governed variously by Spain, England, France, and the United States. It was also a home and active trading center at different times for the Panzacola, Apalache, Choctaw, Creek, Tallapoosa, Alibamos, and other Native American groups.

The settlement around the bay was destroyed by hurricanes, rebuilt, and relocated at least three times during the colonial period, which, although a tragedy for the unfortunate inhabitants of Pensacola, provides an unusually clear-cut physical periodicity for archaeologists. In 1964, Hale Smith directed a short excavation on Santa Rosa Island in the Bay of Pensacola, where the town was located between ca. 1723 and 1752, but no systematic archaeological work at the present site of Pensacola (settled in 1756) was done until some 20 years later. In that year, Judy Bense, who had just joined the faculty of the University of West Florida as a geoarchaeologist and prehistorian, was propelled into historical archaeology by witnessing a common-enough sight at that time on a construction project in the heart of historic Pensacola: "People were metal-detecting, collecting, digging and sharing with their children how to destroy an archaeological site in broad daylight in downtown Pensacola" (p. xv.).

Bense, together with her colleagues and students, developed a program of salvage, research, education, and public archaeology in collaboration with the city and citizens of Pensacola that has been underway since 1983. They lobbied for and succeeded in getting a city-wide ordinance and archaeological review process implemented and, since then, have combined University of West Florida field schools and research projects with salvage excavations, state and federal CRM programs and local volunteers to build one of the most successful community archaeological programs in the country. *Archaeology of Colonial Pensacola* is the first widely available synthesis of that public archaeology program's accomplishments.

Bense's introduction to the book is followed with two chapters by historians William Coker and Jane Dysart,

respectively, who recount the documented history of the colony. Coker provides an overview of the complex European institutional, political, and military events that shaped the frontier settlement, and Dysart considers the equally complex Native American history of the area. Together they provide a balanced historical framework with which to integrate the archaeological information.

One unusual and very valuable aspect of the Pensacola project has been the close integration of marine and terrestrial archaeology. Pensacola has always been a naval town, and a formal program of maritime archaeology has been underway there since 1988, documenting sites dating from the mid-16th century to the present. The approaches and results of this State of Florida-University of West Florida collaboration are synthesized in a chapter by Roger Smith, who shows how important the integration of marine and terrestrial archaeology is in understanding the past of a maritime site like Pensacola (to say nothing of the public excitement and involvement it generates).

The data from twelve of the terrestrial sites excavated as part of this program are described and discussed by Bense in two chapters. These data pertain predominantly to the period from about 1760 to 1821 and come from primarily military contexts. The first chapter provides a staggeringly detailed description of the artifacts and features from the excavations (much of this might have been left to the data tables, of which there are many). The material assemblage is treated quantitatively by Bense using approaches found commonly in prehistoric archaeology (material composition categories; counts versus weights), as well as those common to historical archaeology (functional activity categories; socioeconomic categories known from documents). This emphasis on multiple and overlapping ways of ordering and organizing artifact data provides a very comprehensive understanding of the structure and organization of the archaeological assemblage itself, but is, perhaps, somewhat less evocative in communicating the human experience of Pensacola's past.

The descriptive material was enhanced, however, by Bense's second chapter, which places Pensacola of ca. 1760-1820 in a wider Southeastern context, considering both broad historical processes, and inter-site comparisons of archaeological assemblages. The archaeological comparisons follow South's method of creating statistical profiles of site assemblages based on functional activity groups (1977, *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology*, Academic Press). These were compared across temporal and regional boundaries, concluding that the archaeological assemblage of Pensacola during the Spanish and British occupations were consistent with those of Spanish and British occupations, respectively, in other parts of the region. The comparisons also confirmed the suggestion made by studies in other late colonial Spanish sites that, by the late 18th century, economic status was a more reliable predictor of the shape of the archaeological record than was ethnicity.

The final chapter of the book, by Thomas Muir, provides a thoughtful overview of four decades of historic preservation, public archaeology, and archaeological interpretation in Pensacola, placing it within the larger debates and concerns of several disciplines (history, archaeology, architecture, museology). Some readers might want to read this chapter first, in fact, as a good background to the program developed since 1983 and reported in this book.

It is also, however, a fine concluding chapter, since, ultimately, historical archaeology in colonial Pensacola since 1983 has very consciously constructed itself as a public, community-based archaeology, with a serious commitment to site preservation and salvage in this rapidly growing city. Pensacola's non-archaeological community has been significantly involved in all aspects of this program, from funding, to participation in fieldwork and analysis, to the popular dissemination of results. Perhaps because of the program's integration of those whose pasts are being studied, and its emphasis on the questions that interest them (What used to be here? What did it look like? How did people live?), archaeological and social theory have so far played minor roles in the program. Those seeking an articulation of "meaning" in terms of the past others, or insight into the ideological conflicts that shaped past community dynamics and the patterns of power and inequality will not find them in this book. Nor will those interested in the roles of individual people and human agency in Pensacola's past find themselves as enlightened about those issues as they will be about the community-wide organization of the archaeological assemblage.

Addressing those questions, however, was not the intent of this book. *Archaeology of Colonial Pensacola* offers a descriptive baseline of solid archaeological, maritime, historical, and architectural information for the community (both local and archaeological) that until now has not been available. It is grounded in meticulous, well-controlled, and thoroughly documented field research and an enthusiastic and effective commitment to interdisciplinary collaboration. It provides a model of community-based archaeology. It is also, as Bense notes in her preface, the first stage of Pensacola's long-term archaeology program, establishing its goals, parameters, and strategies. Perhaps most importantly, the community support and archaeological infrastructure that have been organized during this effort have ensured that a resource base of archaeological sites useful for any number of research agendas will, in fact, survive well into the next millennium.

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*Native Americans at Mission Santa Cruz,
1791-1834, Interpreting the Archaeological
Record.*

REBECCA ALLEN

Institute of Archaeology, University of
California, Perspectives in California
Archaeology, Volume 5, Los Angeles, 1998.
vii + 119 pp., 29 figs., 24 tables. \$25.00
paper.

For over a century the missions of *Alta California* have been the topic of hundreds of books, articles, and "gray literature" reports, based on archaeological, documentary, and ethnohistorical sources. The views presented in the form of published books have either been highly polemical or descriptive, but rarely integrative. Within these parameters, it would

be accurate to say that fewer than a dozen published books have integrated all three data categories in the interpretation of life on the California frontier. A welcome new addition in this research category is this volume by Rebecca Allen.

Allen asks, through the archaeological, documentary, and ethnohistorical record, if the missionization process, as epitomized at Mission Santa Cruz, resulted in acculturation (wherein a subordinated society is forced to change), assimilation (such that there is passive acceptance by the subordinated society of the cultural norms of the superordinated group), or adaptation (active selection of new ideas by the subordinated group). She posits that, in this case, the neophytes of Ohlone and Yokut descent did not acquiesce or passively accept "wholesale" the culture presented in the mission. Rather, they adapted and retained many of their pre-contact values and practices.

To support this thesis, Allen provides the reader with convincing evidence, from both the archaeological and documentary records, for cultural continuity and change. Each mission had its own unique set of challenges, thus researchers are obliged to understand how idiosyncrasies of individuals and local history influenced the character of the colonial experience. Chapter 2 presents an overview of California mission history with specific attention to Santa Cruz. For example, we learn that during the first eight years of Mission Santa Cruz's existence there was a turnover of six priests at the mission. Later, when the mission is evacuated in anticipation of a pirate attack, it is looted, not by the marauders, but by the citizens of the nearby pueblo of Branciforte. Each suggests that the lifeways of both the newcomers and the indigenous peoples in this corner of the colonial world were troubled at best.

In Chapter 3, Allen uses the ethnohistorical record to illuminate the lives of the Ohlone of the Santa Cruz region and the Yokut of the San Joaquin Valley before their entry into the mission. This is one of the finest distillations of the technological, social, political, and ideological aspects of contact-era Ohlone life penned in the past decade. The reconstruction includes a detailed look at local fauna and flora and its contribution to Ohlone subsistence.

The next chapter reviews archaeological work at this and other mission sites. She notes the paucity of published reports beyond the "gray literature." Further, and more importantly, Allen notes that the archaeological record was mute when it came to separating Yokut from Ohlone.

Chapter 5 investigates how the mission changed the physical environment. This includes the construction of permanent housing, the creation of fields and pastures, and the introduction of exotic plants and animals. Allen notes the end of such pre-contact environmental controls as burning. She also notes the disappearance of acorns as a primary food source and their replacement with Old and New World domesticates.

It is in diet and work that Allen is best able to demonstrate cultural adaptation at the mission. Two behaviors are noted. The first is based on the introduced agricultural and animal husbandry practices of the Spanish colonial world. This includes the production and preparation of new foods. Even with the new foodways some traditional comestibles, such as fish and shellfish, continued to play an important role in neophyte diet. Perhaps the most interesting aspects of these observations are the changes in male and female procurement roles in the dietary regimen. While males tended livestock and worked in the fields, women were still involved in the

collection of shellfish and some vegetal foods. We can thus see adaptation and modification, rather than assimilation or acculturation.

Material culture from the neophyte housing is examined in Chapter 7. In addition to descriptions of glass beads, an iron plow tip, and a rare religious medallion, the majority of artifacts were locally made using traditional technologies. These include shell and bone jewelry and a variety of lithic artifacts. The latter include projectile points made of chert, chalcedony, and porcelain, as well as other hide- and wood-working tools of chert, obsidian, and glass.

In Chapter 8, Allen brings her archaeological, documentary, and ethnohistorical findings together in support of cultural modification. To summarize, the neophytes retained much of their traditional culture and only selectively added European material culture. They maintained a separate system of value from that of colonial newcomers. It was a value system based on prehistoric patterns, but incorporating introduced material culture. They did not control the goods produced by their labor as part of the mission system, thus they were marginalized by the military and civilian populace. As a result, ethnic differences between Yokut and Ohlone faded and were replaced by a generalized neophyte "Indian" identity based on an indigenous value system.

Well produced and profusely illustrated with drawings, photographs, and tables, this is a volume that should be part of everyone's library on California's mission past.

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The Forgotten Soldiers: Historical and Archaeological Investigations of the Apache Scouts at Fort Huachuca, Arizona.

REIN VANDERPOT and TERESITA MAJEWSKI
University of Arizona Press, SRI Technical Report 71, Tucson, 1998. xv + 157 pp., 90 figs., 12 tables, 5 apps. \$25.00 paper.

Historical Archaeologists often investigate the lives of poorly known and/or poorly understood groups of people. In *Forgotten Soldiers*, Vanderpot and Majewski chronicle one such group. Fort Huachuca was established in 1877 in southern Arizona to block Apaches from escaping into Mexico from the San Carlos Reservation and to protect the settlers moving into the area. At the time, local Apache were fighting encroachment and their forcible removal to reservations by attacking both settlers and soldiers. The U.S. military needed experts for their attempts to pacify the Apache, and they turned to other Apache who knew the lifestyles and customs of their fellow tribesmen. Over the next nine years the Scouts aided the Army in this effort, helping to secure peace for southern Arizona in 1886. Afterward, the Scouts took on new roles—border-patrol work, hunting down renegades, and policing the nearby San Carlos Reservation. Eventually, the Scouts took on other duties, patrolling the reservation, working on fences and trails, and, most notable, marching in costume at parades. The last Scouts retired in 1947.

Extensive archival research, supplemented by interviews with relatives of the Scouts and an archaeological survey,

pinpointed likely areas where the Scouts lived at Fort Huachuca. Subsequent archaeological work documented a turn-of-the-century trash dump, the remains of an adobe housing complex where the last of the Apache Scouts lived in the 1930s and 1940s, a small prehistoric site, and two other possible Apache campsites. The archaeologists discovered that there was no artifactual or architectural evidence that could be directly linked to the Apache Scouts prior to 1930 at the sites investigated. No distinctive Apache artifacts were found. Pre-1930 architectural remains could be expected to be quite ephemeral, given the use of wickiups and tents, and this proved to be the case. Examination of faunal and ethnobotanical materials identified both domesticated and wild resources, and interviews with relatives of the Apache Scouts suggested that a traditional diet, with hunting and the collection of wild plants, was adhered to at the Fort.

Vanderpot and Majewski's report presents a detailed overview of the lives and actions of the Apache Scouts of Fort Huachuca. While the archaeological investigations failed to uncover distinctive pre-1930 Apache features, such features may exist in other areas obscured by trash dumping and development. Perhaps the most important contribution of the report is the historical overview of the Apache Scouts and their lives at Fort Huachuca. Discussions with informants about the lives of the Apache Scouts in their last years at the fort have preserved memories of the soldiers and their families. Lithic analysts will find the experiments on flaked-glass artifacts very interesting, as will archaeologists finding similar glass items throughout the Southwest. There has been some controversy as to whether flaked-glass artifacts found in Arizona were intentionally created or were the result of cattle and human trampling. The study in this report suggests that many of those items are not tools and that trampling can result in edge wear similar to intentionally crafted artifacts.

Vanderpot and Majewski are to be complimented on their preparation of a well-written report that is also jargon free and, as a result, accessible to the average reader—especially people with a strong interest in the role of Native Americans in the United States Army.

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*Sri Lanka Department of Archaeology Report
on the Joint Sri Lanka-Australia-Netherlands
Galle Harbour Project 1996-1997.*

JEREMY GREEN, SOMARASIRI DEVENDRA,
and ROBERT PARTHESIUS, editors

Australian National Centre of Excellence for
Maritime Archaeology, Special Publication
No. 4., Fremantle, Western Australia, 1998.
xv + 68 pp., 73 figs, 6 apps. \$22.95 paper.

An active port in pre-Christian times, Galle rose in importance after the Portuguese entre in the 14th century and achieved greatest prominence from 1640 to the late 18th century, with the ascendancy of Dutch power in the region. During these years the Dutch East India Company considered it the second most important harbor in all of Asia. It remained

the major port in Sri Lanka after the arrival of the British in 1796 until 1873, when it was superseded by the construction of the port of Colombo.

Given this history, it is noteworthy that the research covered by this document, and the document itself, was a joint undertaking of Sri Lankan, Dutch, and Australian participants. Although they were engaged in a program of essentially salvage or rescue archaeology in the face of development pressures, the team laid out an approach that eschewed simple locating and salvaging of artifacts for one that sought broad relationships and an understanding of regional maritime dynamics. This focus was evident in their efforts both in the archives and in the field.

Investigators laid out a series of problem domains to be addressed in their research. They emphasized the identification of ship types in the intra-Asia trade and between Asia and Europe. Also, they used the archaeological record to increase understanding of technical development in the survey area during the 17th and 18th centuries and the organization of shipping behavior in the harbor, including repairs, equipment, crews, etc.

The stated goals of the researchers also showed state-of-the-art thinking in terms of resources management. This included establishment of a GIS database of shipwreck sites in Galle Harbor, an explicit plan for selected site testing and the training of an infrastructure of archaeological students and divers for future projects. The team was also able to build a broad base of support in the government and the local community. Sri Lankan Sub Aqua Club divers played an important partnership role throughout the research.

It is tempting to ignore long forewords in reports, but a reader interested in the public archaeology process would be making a mistake in this case. The Director General of the Sri Lankan Department of Archaeology, S. U. Deraniyagala, describes in detail the sociopolitical effects of the research. As in other nations, the battle to have submerged resources recognized as valuable patrimony worthy of rescue in the face of a needed development project was intense. Part of the outcome was the changing of national law to accommodate these sorts of projects in the future and the assigning of 1% of development funds to rescue archaeology.

Minor weaknesses of the report include the fact that remote sensing methods and results could be more clearly detailed. There are 160 targets reported observed during the side-scan sonar survey (p. 6), and it is not clear how many were investigated. Negative evidence, particularly for areas that may be impacted from construction activities is as important as site evidence in cultural resources management practice. One gets the impression that the field methods were innovative and intelligent but that the group lacked adequate funding to conduct the comprehensive, systematic survey required to mitigate damage to archaeological sites fully in the impact area. Magnetometer transects are not specified and it is not clear if magnetometer survey were only an adjunct to the wide transects of the side-scan sonar search. The text only states that the magnetometer was used in areas missed by the 1996 side-scan sonar survey and recommends a more detailed survey in the future, although parameters for such a survey are not suggested.

There are also some technical problems with the publication. Although the difficulties of producing a multi-disciplinary work with international authors are acknowledged, the work could have benefited from the services of a professional editor.

Besides some spelling and grammatical errors, there are more significant faults. The figures are not numbered, some do not include scales and the only general map of the study area appears on the title page with no caption or reference in the text. Some areas discussed in the text (p. 9) do not appear in any figure at all. Many references cited in the text, some quoted from at length, do not appear in the bibliography.

For the most part, the weaknesses are technical and formal. The substance of the report and its importance for submerged cultural resources management, particularly in the part of the world covered by the document, is indisputable. Those interested in Sri Lankan and regional maritime studies, and/or the process of interdisciplinary and intergovernmental maritime heritage programs should obtain this publication.

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Wine Drinking in Oxford, 1640-1850: A Story Revealed by Tavern, Inn, College and Other Bottles.

FAY BANKS

BAR British Series 257, Archaeopress,
Oxford, England, 1997. iii + 211 pp., 117
figs., 6 tables. £35.00 paper.

The book is a study of Oxford, England, from a specialized approach, wine drinking with its related activities and objects. The study material falls into three general categories, although they are not arranged as such: (1) Background and Documentation (Introduction, Life in Oxford, Wine Drinking, Summaries of Wills, Wine Accounts, Articles of Magdalen College); (2) Technical (Wine Bottles, Glossary, Glass Merchants, Cork Cutters, Chemistry); and (3) Catalogues (Tavern Bottles, College Bottles, Ashmolean Catalogue).

The first section places Oxford in its geographical, historical, and cultural context for the period 1640 to 1850. The development of Oxford as a city was directly related to the presence of the university. As with most "town-and-gown" situations, the relationship of the university and the city reflected the strains of the privileges of the university. The trade in the city with the university was beneficial for the inhabitants, so a sometimes-uneasy peace was maintained. Taverns, inns, and alehouses provided drink and some food for the university students, but the tavern operators were the ones licensed to sell wine.

Histories of the five main taverns include records of the license holders. Many of the taverns continued to operate for years by the same family or those who married into the family. Often the women kept the business after the death of their husbands, running it on their own or with their children. The study traces out families and relationships using a wide variety of documentary evidence. The licenses themselves provide information about the tenants; both the university and the city had the right to issue licenses, which caused some strife.

Wills (given in an appendix) that related to the tenants of some of the taverns give an indication of the household goods and the amount of money or property that they had.

Maps of the location of taverns and even the layout of some of the blocks within the community provide another look at the town. The discussions of the various taverns, their owners, and the licenses shows their function within the community. A short, interesting section is on the varieties of wine, the countries from which they came, the types that were popular, and the derivation of some of the designations for wines.

Wines could be drunk at the taverns or taken out. Since bottles were sent out from the taverns to the colleges, sealed bottles were necessary to identify them for return. Bottles and seals from the five major taverns and some of the lesser-known ones are shown and dated.

In the early 18th century, the colleges decided to have cellars of their own where they could store casks of wine that were obtained wholesale. They bottled the wine there for their own use. The colleges then marked their own bottles with seals, which are identified and illustrated in the book. Many of the colleges have preserved wine books that give lists of the purchases made and from what supplier they were purchased.

The second section includes a variety of technical information. The author wished to examine the chemistry of the glass, but because this would be destructive of the bottles it was necessary to take samples were from poorly provenienced and dated bottles. The testing thus failed to produce the hoped for results. A short section on glass manufacturers and cork makers helps to identify possible sources for the Oxford bottles. The section on wine bottles traces out the changes in shape and string rims and discusses the methods of manufacture.

The third section catalogues the various tavern and college cellar bottles by means of the seals. Illustrations, both photographs and line drawings, follow the discussion of the individual taverns and of the various college cellars.

Banks has done an excellent job sorting and typing the seals from various taverns and colleges. The photographs are generally of high quality and show good detail. The study is a very thorough examination of an artifact type that can be dated both stylistically and through documentary research—stylistically from bottle shape, and by documents that relate person's names to their initials and known tenancy of a tavern or to a college cellar. The information included is fascinating, but since the study is restricted to a single town, its appeal maybe limited. It serves, however, as an excellent example of the historical detail that can be extracted concerning a single artifact type with thorough documentary research.

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From Sail to Steam: Four Centuries of Texas Maritime History, 1500-1900.

RICHARD V. FRANCAVIGLIA

University of Texas Press, Austin, 1998. xvii
+ 324 pp., 98 figs., 22 maps. \$34.95.

From Sail to Steam provides a comprehensive sweep of the rich, vibrant, and at times disastrous maritime history of Texas. It is the author's discussion of nautical disasters

(i.e., shipwrecks and naval casualties) used to illustrate the development of the state's entrance into the world maritime network, that those who practice nautical archaeology in Texas will feel justifiably proud. For Francaviglia is one of the rare historians who acknowledges the fruit of underwater archaeological research by relying heavily on the works of the Texas Historical Commission, Texas A & M University, and even delving into the gray literature of cultural resource management reports, to underpin his work. The author in return provides the archaeologist an historical context from which to help interpret the state's many shipwrecks and to the general reader a well-researched and written book.

The author's purpose for writing this book was to provide a general and comprehensive overview of Texas' maritime history, which has been overshadowed by events like the Battle of the Alamo, cattle drives and cowboys, and the oil boom and bust. Focusing on blue-water navigation, Francaviglia discusses shipping along the coast and the vessels sailing or steaming in these waters. Riverine traffic plying the interior waterways is discussed, but only in light of its role in supporting coastal commerce. The maritime maturation of the Texas coast is portrayed in the context of history, geography, and the history of technology. As mentioned in the title, the book spans 400 years of the Historic period of Texas, from the first contact with the coastline by the Spanish, in some cases literally (e.g., the Padre Island shipwrecks), concluding with the devastating hurricane of 1900 that practically destroyed Galveston.

The book comprises an introduction, eight chapters, conclusion, and a glossary of nautical terms, along with notes, bibliography, and an index. The eight chapters are chronologically arranged and detail the evolution of shipping and infrastructure, or lack thereof, under the guidance of Spain, Mexico, Republic of Texas, United States, and the Confederacy. Information is presented as a series of topics that discuss historical events crucial to the development of Texas shipping, including naval warfare, sea routes, commodities, navigation improvements, and ports. These topical sections are interspersed with vignettes of individual ships' histories, mostly devoted to shipwrecks, such as the Padre Island shipwrecks and *La Belle*, that played a crucial role in the maritime development of the state. Other topics of study include coastal geography, prehistoric coastal inhabitants, marine remote sensing operations, and Age of Discovery shipbuilding. The author concludes his work by reflecting on Texas' maritime legacy that included the transportation of many immigrants via sail or steam to the state, place names along the coast, and a heritage worthy of exploration and preservation. The author also hopes that, through state's laws aimed at preserving this nautical past, "Texans are ensured that future discoveries in both the archaeological and written records will permit a better understanding of their state's maritime history." (p. 276).

Relying on a diverse array of sources, the author references eyewitness accounts, secondary sources, archaeological reports, charts, and newspapers. Included in the book are generous numbers of black and white photographs, charts, and archaeological drawings of the Texas coast and ships, as well as the more mundane infrastructure of port facilities, cargoes, and other maritime features from each period of study. Showing a great appreciation of the role of the nautical

or maritime archaeologist in providing information about the past, the author states, "Their work, which interprets the written records with the material found on site, helps to bring the state's maritime history to life." (p. xvi). Obviously, Texas underwater archaeologists have a good working relationship with this historian.

From Sail to Steam should find its way onto the shelves of those underwater and terrestrial archaeologists who practice their craft in the waters or along the coast of Texas. For an out-of-state archaeologist, the book could serve as a regional maritime history for comparative analysis and study.

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*Texas' Liberty Ships: From World War II
Working-Class Heroes to Artificial Reefs.*

J. BARTO ARNOLD III, JENNIFER L. GOLOBOY,
ANDREW W. HALL, REBECCA A. HALL, and
J. DALE SHIVELY

Texas Parks and Wildlife, Bulletin No. 99-1,
Austin, 1998. vii + 136 pp., 63 figs., 3
tables. No price given, paper.

In the mid 1970s, the state of Texas acquired twelve surplus Liberty Ships from the Maritime Administration Reserve Fleet and sank them at five locations along the Texas coastline to create artificial reefs for marine life. In 1994, Texas Parks and Wildlife and the Texas Historical Commission moved to designate the "Liberty Ship" reefs as heritage sites. This monograph report documents the history of each vessel, gives precise (DGPS) locations for them and provides some background about the Texas Liberty Ship Artificial Reef program.

More than 2,500 Liberty Ships were built in the United States between 1942 and the end of World War II. These virtually identical vessels were mass-produced at shipyards throughout the coastal states of the continental U.S. They carried cargo and troops on many of the essential Allied supply routes, including the North Atlantic convoys and the dangerous run to Murmansk in northern Russia. This work contains the stories of some of the survivors—twelve Liberty Ships that survived World War II to end their days as artificial reefs off the coast of Texas. For those interested in 20th-century maritime or naval history, the life histories of these vessels provide a balance to the many books on the "War at Sea" that chronicle the loss of vessels because they are often seen as the "best" or most interesting stories.

For many, the overwhelming impression about the underwater remains of ships is that they must inevitably have arrived there as a result of shipwreck and associated tragedy and death. While this monograph has one notable example—the explosion that sank the tanker *SS V. A. Fogg* and killed all 39 men on board—it is interesting to see how regular and ordered the life histories and the ultimate end of some 20th-century vessels could be. Even vessels built specifically for wartime service managed to travel thousands of miles on dozens of voyages surviving relatively unscathed and often suffering few casualties.

The tensions in the relationships between the Naval Armed Guard, the civilian crew, and the dockyard workers made for interesting reading and some of the human stories have been drawn out from the normally dry, technical, and uninteresting reports written by the Naval Armed Guard as part of their everyday duties. There were some lovely tales about what could go wrong at sea, including the attempts to deploy the Mark 29 anti-submarine gear (hydrophones) from the bow and stern of SS *Conrad Weiser* (p. 60-61) that inevitably ended with the cables securely wrapped around the propeller. Another good idea, but apparently equally difficult to use under operational conditions, were the anti-torpedo nets (p. 21).

For the diver visiting or living in Texas the most interesting part of this publication will be the site plans and position details (pp. 94-101). These include clear site plans, high quality side-scan sonar images, and differential GPS positions not only of each vessel but also the boundary corners of each "Liberty Ship" reef. The course to steer and distance to travel from the nearest main port in the area are also provided and importantly the DGPS positions clearly indicate the datum used (NAD 27 or NAD 83). One hopes that this sort of information is also made available at the local level in a more "diver friendly" format, such as waterproof information sheets or booklets, as has been done by underwater cultural heritage management agencies elsewhere. The report also documents the background legislation for the Artificial Reef Program, the selection of site locations as well as the procedures associated with the sinking of the vessels—all of which provide valuable models for doing similar things in other places.

Overall the text is well written, using a nice clear font, and there were very few spelling mistakes or typos found in the work. SS *George Dewey* was built in 1943 (as the Vessel Status card on p. 109 clearly indicates), not in 1942 (p. 23), and the first two references (p. 104) were in reverse alphabetical order (Bunker then Britton). The discovery of two spelling mistakes in the names of ports in Australia—Port Kembla, not Port Kembele (p. 15) and Fremantle, not Freemantle (p. 48)—perhaps only serve to identify the reviewer as a pedantic Australian.

Generally the images are good and plentiful (63 black-and-white photographs, line drawings, and maps). Figure 1 is a very nice map, but a bit too small, and a few of the "historical" photographs are a little dark and unclear primarily due to the poor original quality in the sources from which they were reproduced. For the serious researcher more detail is sometimes needed to indicate exactly where an image was obtained, rather than simply "The Imperial War Museum."

A minor printing problem with the copy that this reviewer received was that pages 122-123 and 126-127 were totally blank (unprinted). Fortunately these were in Appendix 3, "The Instructions to Armed Guards," and thus not in the most critical part of the work. Nevertheless, one wonders if other copies of this publication have other and more important sections of the text missing.

Overall this is a thorough and competent piece of underwater cultural resource documentation containing some very useful ideas and approaches for using surplus vessels as artificial reefs. Texas Parks and Wildlife is to be commended for its

efforts in this area and one hopes that more state and national park services will do more to follow suit.

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*Archeological Investigations in Skagway,
Volume 6: Residential Life on Block 39.*

DOREEN C. COOPER

U.S. Department of the Interior, National
Park Service, Klondike Gold Rush National
Historical Park, Skagway, Alaska, 1998.
392 pp., 124 figs., 14 apps., 70 tables.
Free upon request, paper.

One of the chronic problems associated with cultural resource management (CRM) is that the resulting reports are often published in small numbers for the directly involved agencies: governmental offices, development proponents, perhaps a few academic departments, and the repositories of the CRM firms or agencies themselves. While additional copies may usually be purchased or obtained from a CRM firm, there is often poor awareness of such publications, leading to the classification of "gray literature" as a category of little-known, under-utilized research products. This is unfortunate, as research that has been conducted and paid for, usually at public expense, often does not reach the larger public or research community so as to aid in historical understanding and assist additional research.

Some significant attempts have been taken to counteract this problem. A fine example is the *Archeological Investigations in Skagway* series, published out of Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park in Skagway, Alaska. These volumes are large, thorough reports designed to reflect academic rigor while also being accessible to the non-academic public. The topics all reflect work undertaken under Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act within the Skagway National Historic Landmark. By early 1998, six volumes had been published in this series for free distribution via the U.S. National Park Service. The last of these, Volume 6, by Doreen Cooper with appendix contributions by David Huelsbeck, Kathryn Puseman, Karl Reinhard, and David Temple, is the focus of this review.

This volume documents aspects of Skagway within a specific residential area—Block 39. Skagway originally developed in 1897 as an important landing and staging point for the great influx of hopeful miners heading for the newly discovered Klondike gold strike in what is today the Yukon Territory of Canada. The significance of this event led to the declaration of Skagway as a National Historic Landmark in 1976. There were also significant phases of Skagway history after the Gold Rush, however, which have not been accorded similar research attention. Among these are the development of the town as an international shipping/railway terminus to Canada and usage in World War II as an American military base in response to Japanese aggression. Investigations on

Block 39 were especially useful in elucidating these later historic periods.

Cooper does an admirable job of constructing a research design for the topic area, mitigated due to a proposed new park maintenance facility within Block 39. Historically of non-commercial character, this was perhaps not the most glamorous Skagway area to study. Despite the constrained nature of this research choice (as with most CRM examples), however, it did lead to interesting possibilities in research questions or goals. These included first looking for recognizable remains of the Klondike period, then considering if the subsequent decline of 1900 to 1920—well documented in the demographic literature, was also likewise archaeologically visible.

Social, economic, and cultural issues were also to be examined via the archaeological record, including the role of Skagway within the larger world markets of manufacturing and distribution. A very interesting question, relating to domestic occupations of Block 39 in both the original Klondike Gold Rush period and the later World War II occupation, focused on what similarities and differences could be noted between these two different “boomtown” situations. Comparisons of highly unequal male to female ratios, the temporary nature of living in a boom environment, and the degree of voluntary purposes in coming to live at Skagway were possibilities in this context. Final research goals included examining impacts to early cultural resources by the later World War II usage, and making the research particularly open to others in this field by allowing both the records and artifacts themselves to be available for review.

Organization of the book is straightforward. A nice feature is a summary, placed immediately before the Table of Contents, containing abstracts of each of the seven chapters. The reason given for this inclusion is to provide a chapter by chapter guide for “laypersons” who may not be interested in all portions of the report. As such, this is a timely addition but it also seems a useful feature for the professional.

The main text begins with Chapter 1 setting out the purpose of the research and the research design itself. Chapter 2 gives a brief background to the environment and early history of the project area, whereas Chapter 3 provides a lot by lot history of Block 39—concluded by discussion of the “invasion” of thousands of American military personnel during World War II. Chapter 4 describes the archaeological fieldwork, involving test units and excavations of features, including several privies. Chapter 5 covers artifact description from non-privy deposits, and Chapter 6 is devoted to the privy-derived examples. Chapter 7 is devoted to interpretative discussion, followed by the bibliography.

After the bibliography is a substantial number of appendices—14 in all. These comprise several large, multi-page tables, as well as reports by the contributing authors. Being specialists in specific areas of archaeological analysis, the resulting reports include faunal analysis by Huelsbeck, privy macrofloral analysis by Puseman, privy parasitological and palynological analysis by Reinhard, and coin analysis by Temple. It is nice to see this degree of analytical collaboration of specialists from across North America.

Completing the volume are 12 oversized, fold-out maps of Block 39—including the structures and features present when mitigation was undertaken, the proposed new land uses, and a series of historical layouts of the block throughout its

history since the Klondike boom. The last maps detail the excavations and stratigraphy.

In evaluating the work it is clear that this is an ambitious, very comprehensive report with a good multi-phase emphasis—including analysis and interpretation of that which clearly falls beyond the strict Klondike-era interpretive mission of the Klondike Gold Rush National Historical Park. This is laudable, as the Klondike years were only a small part of Block 39’s century-long historical past and to a large degree the most interesting questions involve the years after the rush. During research of a specific historic site it is common to contextualize the targeted temporal realm by studying prior uses, but it is less common to continue that contextualization after the targeted time period. Ironically, this report includes little discussion of prior uses, as within Block 39 no archaeological evidence of occupation prior to the Klondike period, such as by Tlingit peoples, was recovered.

In terms of discussing the questions regarding the gold-boom downturn and the comparisons with the military-boom environment, Cooper found that there was little archaeological evidence of the actual Klondike frenzy of 1897-1898, although three dwellings from that time still exist. This paucity seems to reflect the transient nature of that time. The excavated privies mostly date from about 1900 to World War I, helping support the study of those who stayed after the boom. Following the height of residential development on Block 39 at about 1910, the population declined but the new White Pass Railroad soon led to some revitalization and eventual ownership of most of Block 39 by that concern. The military appropriation of all vacant space in Skagway during World War II was evidenced on Block 39 by mostly structural fragments; food remains were scarce, as there was apparently organized garbage removal at this time. Even the footprints of the many steel Quonset, or “Butler,” huts was minimal, as they were set slightly off the ground surface on wooden piers. These huts were all removed by 1945, with the World War II occupation having then minimally disturbed the earlier historic phases. A more permanent, early 1950s military communications facility, however, possessed deep foundations that radically impacted part of the Block 39 strata.

Oddly, this 392-page report—nearly “overdone” in terms of the research design, analysis, and interpretation—lacks a substantive and necessary conclusion. A summarizing point that seems obvious from the interpretative discussion is that many “boom” scenarios, such as gold rushes and conflict-era military occupations, leave very little behind in terms of the archaeological record. Hence, these brief high-density occupations may be difficult to interpret via archaeology. Meanwhile, “decline” scenarios ironically may leave behind a much greater amount of archaeological remains and landscape impact, albeit from fewer but more settled community members, with the concomitant archaeological record therefore richer and more interpretable. This is a valuable observation that may apply to frontier communities across many regions and time periods.

Cooper’s report is ultimately a good piece of work that should serve as a template for what is possible with CRM projects and subsequent reporting when aggressively tackled with a thorough research design and followed through with a rigorous analysis and interpretation. The collaboration of specialists is a good feature, as is the priority of a

comprehensive distribution of the report to the wider public. Beyond these aspects the report also ultimately succeeds by contributing valuable observations to the larger realm of frontier studies within the scope of historical archaeology.

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*The French and Indian War in Pennsylvania,
1753-1763: Fortification and Struggle
During the War for Empire.*

LOUIS M. WADDELL and BRUCE
BOMBERGER

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum
Commission, Harrisburgh, 1996. viii + 108
pp., 32 figs., 6 maps.

Late colonial Pennsylvanian military sites, stratagems, and supply routes have been subjects of intense interest since the province became a central part of the battleground for control of the North American continent during what has variously been called the Seven Years War, the Great War for Empire, and, for a long time in this country, the French and Indian War. As this volume's useful annotated bibliography points out, comprehensive archive-based historical analyses of the struggle have appeared in such works as Francis Jennings' *Empire of Fortune* (1988), Richard White's *Middle Ground* (1994), and Laurence Henry Gipson's magisterial multi-volume *British Empire Before the Revolution* (1936-1970). Happily for archaeologists, there also has been no shortage of studies devoted to the physical record of the conflict in the province. William Hunter's *Forts on the Pennsylvania Frontier* (1960), Charles Stolz's *Outposts of the War for Empire* (1985), Paul A.W. Wallace's *Indian Paths of Pennsylvania* (1965), and the two-volume *Report of the Commission to Locate the Site of the Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania* (1916) stand out as valuable compendia of information of archaeological interest. Unhappily, with the exception of Wallace's *Indian Paths*, much of this class of documentation is hard to find and out of print.

The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission (PHMC) has taken a major step in remedying this deficiency by publishing a new survey of French and Indian War forts and transportation routes in the commonwealth. Begun in 1989 and initially focused on the southwestern part of the commonwealth, the survey eventually grew to encompass all sites in Pennsylvania. Funds provided by the Southwestern Pennsylvania Heritage Preservation Commission (SPHPC) and the National Park Service to the PHMC were used to engage the services of Louis M. Waddell of the Commission's *Bureau of Archives and History* and Bruce D. Bomberger, of the Commission's *Bureau of Historic Preservation*. Waddell, a specialist on the history of the struggle, wrote the extended essay providing an historic context for the forts, camps, paths, and wagon roads identified, evaluated, and inventoried from published sources, manuscript records, and archaeological field notes surveyed by historic preservation specialist Bomberger.

The result of this collaboration is a carefully organized, well-written, and copiously illustrated indispensable guide

to anyone interested in French and Indian War era sites in Pennsylvania. General readers will find Waddell's historical summary a useful starting place; specialists will appreciate his fine-grained descriptions of Fort Necessity and other posts, as well as his detailed delineations of the routes of the Venango Path and the Braddock and Forbes roads. Readers will also welcome Bomberger's comprehensive fort and site inventory and the many clear and well-reproduced period maps, plan views, and other illustrations.

Explicitly acknowledging the shortcomings of a study almost exclusively relying upon documentary data and limited site inspection, a limitation imposed by the necessarily circumscribed parameters of any initial survey project, Waddell and Bomberger propose a series of recommendations for further research. First and foremost, both writers call for more archaeological research. Both authorities call for increased emphasis on forensic analysis to better understand the physical impact of the war on the people caught up in the fighting. Further research is also suggested to determine the locations of poorly documented forts (particularly those built by private individuals) and to trace the routes of incompletely known paths and roads of the period. Both also urge that greater efforts be made to preserve archaeological and architectural resources associated with French and Indian War-era forts, camps, and roadways in Pennsylvania. The report ends with recommendations that the PHMC, SPHPC, and the Pennsylvania Heritage Parks Program of the Department of Conservation and Natural Resources work together to undertake a series of preservation measures to assure that future generations will be able to use that most compelling of teachers, the physical record, to profit from lessons so painfully learned during Pennsylvania's trial by fire in the French and Indian War.

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*Preservation of What, for Whom? A Critical
Look at Historical Significance.*

MICHAEL A. TOMLAN, editor

National Council for Preservation Education
(PO Box 291), Ithaca, NY. ii + 234 pp., 87
figs. \$29.00 paper.

This book is a compilation of papers presented at a symposium sponsored by the National Council for Preservation Education, the National Park Service, and Goucher College, Maryland. As the title implies, the *status quo* of how preservation laws are implemented (mostly in the U.S.) is critically examined from a number of different perspectives in this volume. The authors include historians, state, and federal agency representatives, curators, architectural historians, urban planners, landscape architects, and even an archaeologist or two. Given the vast literature on significance that archaeologists have generated over the last few decades, and given that we daily make decisions affecting the preservation of cultural resources, one wishes for more than a token presence in a work such as this one, especially given claims that the field of historic preservation is becoming more archaeologically informed (e.g., the closing chapter by Tomlan). Some editorial input from an archaeologist also would have been useful,

not least so that nonsensical phrases like this example might have been avoided: “Just as the most recent object in an archaeological assemblage dates the assemblage, so the most recent alteration to a building dates the structure and the latest object in a room dates the room” (Petravage, p. 154).

There is a strong dose of post-modern hyper-relativism in many of the papers, especially the chapter by Pannekoek in which he decries “The Rise of a Heritage Priesthood.” Pannekoek is sharply critical of professionals in the historic preservation field and advocates getting them out of the picture altogether except as “advisors.” Professionals should not “impose truth” upon communities by using their expertise to decide what is and is not significant; rather, the communities should decide such matters for themselves. Professionals should wait in the wings to offer assistance—if called for—while the disparate elements within a “community” (not defined by Pannekoek) struggle to reach a consensus on just what “truths” they find suitable for recognition, interpretation, and preservation.

Having communities take the lead in historic preservation is not a new idea, nor is it a bad one. Nevertheless, Pannekoek, and others in this book to a lesser extent, take the relativistic stance too far by insinuating that any sort of revisionist, uninformed, subjective “truths” reached by a community are as legitimate as those reached via “the perils of unfettered professionalism” (p. 36). By this logic, the uncomfortable “truth” of the Holocaust should not be “imposed” if a community decided that such an historical event had never happened and emplaced interpretation to that effect. Bradd Shore’s recent description of hyper-relativity as “black holism” definitely applies here (Bradd Shore, 1999, *Anthropology News* 40(9):5-6.). Fortunately, other authors (e.g., Shubinski, Gordon) in this volume offer more useful and balanced perspectives on how to “democratize” the historic preservation process.

The two papers that most directly concern archaeologists are one on sacred sites and burial grounds, by Sherene Baugher, and one on “the historical significance and value of archaeological sites,” by John Sprinkle, Jr. Baugher’s paper is anthropologically naïve (e.g., “For all nations, including Indian nations, places for the dead are sacred.”). It is also politically naïve in that she counsels preservationists to consult with the “traditionalists” among Native American groups rather than the legal representatives of those groups. I find this to be a fatuous suggestion for two reasons: 1) how does one legitimately evaluate who is or is not a “traditionalist,” since anyone could make the claim; and 2) archaeologists have come a long way since the inception of NAGPRA when it comes to communicating with tribal governments on matters concerning repatriation. Are we now to break those bonds that we have forged, to ignore the wishes of tribal councils and elected leaders if persons representing themselves as “traditionalists” should approach us with a different view on how things should be handled? I don’t believe that it is being elitist, conspiratorial, or condescending to acknowledge the right of Native American groups to choose representatives who will act as their spokespersons. To argue that we should bypass those representatives *is* a patronizing suggestion, however, and one that need go no further than this review.

Sprinkle criticizes the “research exception” inherent in the National Register process that allows archaeological sites to be excavated for the information they contain in lieu of

preservation-in-place. While his arguments have merit, they are overstated and overgeneralized, as when he states that “our students, and our clients, learn through the everyday workings of the current regulatory framework that archaeological sites are expendable” (p. 170). The students at my own institution certainly do not learn such a thing, and they have helped find and preserve nearly 300 sites for a nearby client (a federal agency) who is taking great pains to avoid those “expendable” resources. The decision to mitigate sites through excavation is a situation-specific one and indeed may be the only option in many cases other than simply letting the sites (and the information they contain) be destroyed. If that information is used to refine the system of site location/evaluation/mitigation, then Sprinkle’s legitimate concerns in this regard should be largely met. His closing argument that we are discriminating against “Native Americans, African Americans, and poor people of all ethnic groups” by disproportionately excavating, rather than preserving, their sites is unconvincing. One could just as easily argue that the amount of money spent on investigating such sites is disproportionately high; therefore, middle and upper class Euroamericans are being discriminated against by not having their past be equally investigated.

The majority of papers in this volume exude a kind of professional *angst*, a feeling that the “general public” has grown tired of historic preservation in general (and paid preservationists in particular) and are about to ditch the whole enterprise by electing officials who will tie permanent knots in the purse strings. One would think that historians would have enough long-term perspective to look beyond year-to-year, or even decade-to-decade, political posturing in this regard. Historical preservation is *not* going away; indeed, it will continue to grow as pressures on the resources increase. Those pressures will be met by adapting the process we currently have, not by discarding it and starting over with something new.

The one revelation emerging from this volume—one that I very much doubt was intended—is that the historic preservation process in the United States has in fact been astonishingly successful in identifying, building context for, and preserving a vast array of cultural features of different types, sizes, and styles. Specific examples cited by the authors include small schoolhouses and industrial schools for ethnic minorities, vernacular architecture, high-style houses, battlefields, prehistoric mounds, company housing complexes for industrial workers, Native American sacred sites, “gendered spaces” (a Ladies Rest Room in Tennessee), historical landscapes, churches, municipal historic districts—and the list goes on. If all of these can be considered “significant” under the current system, one has to wonder what preservationists are so worried about. The papers in this volume are often contradictory in terms of the perceived needs, shortcomings, and operational problems facing historic preservation today. The contributors themselves may therefore be the best audience for this book that, if nothing else, certainly offers a lot of different views on how the current process does, does not, and perhaps should, work.

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