

REVIEWS

Edited by Vergil E. Noble

Historical Archaeologies of Capitalism.

MARK P. LEONE and PARKER B. POTTER, JR., editors

Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, New York, NY, 1999. xiv + 248 pp., 6 tables.
\$85.00, \$37.50 paper.

Leone and Potter's edited book is based on a 1993 School of American Research seminar that considered "the use of historical archaeology as a means for understanding the origins, development, and modern condition of capitalism." This charge is larger than even a weeklong seminar can exhaust. Nonetheless, the collection offers strong evidence of how historical archaeology is contributing towards those ends. Though papers are primarily about the materiality of class as a productive and consumptive process, this is not an exclusionary focus. Importantly, gender and race are brought into a number of the analyses. None of the authors suggest they have had the final say, nor do any suggest that all other says must be reduced to class.

There are four sections to the volume. The first is an introduction, authored by Leone, based on short position papers on the themes of the seminar written by the participants. The second, acknowledging the cultural contingency of historical archaeology, investigates "Where the Questions Come From" and includes wide-ranging contributions by Potter, Epperson, and Wylie. The third looks at case studies concerning "Integration into Capitalism and Impoverishment" and includes Purser on Paradise Valley, Nevada, Orser on a comparative study of southern farm tenancy, Mullins on African-American life in Annapolis, Maryland, and Leone on the consumptive practices of Annapolitans over two centuries. The concluding section, "Beyond North America," contains a single, and singularly lucid, piece in which Matthew Johnson reflects on the directions and constraints that face a global archaeology of capitalism.

Leone's statement of key themes is a succinct and important positioning of the significance and promise of studying capitalism for historical archaeologists. His complex argument, in brief, begins with the precept that capitalism is a social and cultural system based on private property that produces social inequality. The extremes of inequality are contained in a significant way by ideological constructs. Archaeology is part of this ideology and therefore archaeologists are either confronting or acquiescing in the maintenance of inequality, through creating or deconstructing myths about the origins and functioning of the modern world.

Capitalism is but the most recent form of culture on the planet, and though it has a totalizing impulse, there are still aspects of life that are outside of the grips of its logic. This can be most clearly seen in the act of consumption, in which exchange values are converted into use values,

in which a way of life, rather than just a commodity, is produced. Sometimes this consumption can amount to a fetishism that blinds the consumer to the social relations that are the basis for their relations to things. Sometimes consumption can be driven by systemic logics external, and possibly oppositional to, capitalist accumulation. Consumption is a very local phenomenon, happening on scales that are usually accessed in archaeological excavations, thus it provides an important point to break into an appreciation of this larger process.

Viewing archaeology as part of the capitalism requires addressing the question of the second section: where do our questions come from? Potter finds issues for historical archaeology by first looking at his own identity, which includes that of weekend dairy farmer and purveyor of handcrafts, and with the help of Aronowitz, MacCannell, and Daniel Miller, discovers how historical archaeology can help his fellow citizens understand their contemporary identities in Annapolis and New Hampshire. Epperson surveys the documentary history of the African Burial Ground in New York City, and finds that historical archaeology all too easily falls into painfully familiar ways of understanding and thereby reconstructing the color line. Confronting histories that support power in the present is Wylie's agenda, and she develops clear epistemological guidelines for maximizing the use of archaeological data to meet that democratic goal.

What in the case studies is learned about capitalism? Variety is the keyword. For these authors, capitalism is not a monolith, mechanically working itself out in the same way everywhere. Instead they conceive capitalism as an abstractly coherent, necessarily global, infinitely fractured, and locally specific phenomenon. Variation and difference are due, in part, to time-space variation, as in Purser's insightful study of the replacement of local processing and maintenance economies by national assembly economies and Orser's empirical assessment of regional variation in tenancy patterns. Structural forces also drive variation, as Mullins documents in his study of how racist exclusion and community resistance shaped African-American consumer practices in Annapolis. Leone presents how the divisions between owners and workers, winners and losers, and participants and resisters result in markedly different ceramic assemblages. In his wide-ranging assessment, Johnson reminds us that time, space, historical context, and disciplinary proclivities, when confronted on a global scale, will disclose even more variety in the history of capitalism than is found in North America. The authors make their respective points by studying specific material objects, not just theory, and by refining familiar methodologies to achieve theoretical insights. For instance, Leone and Orser rethink how to do assemblage analysis; Purser works with new ways to integrate assemblage and regional spatial analysis; and Mullins derives meaning systems and practices from bottles, bric-a-bracs, fish bones, and buttons.

Of all the features of capitalism, the act of consumption receives the most serious attention. Consumption is a taken-for-granted aspect of any site's formation, an action previously plumbed by historical archaeologists for its

insight into status position and diet. The authors investigate how consumption is more broadly part of the capitalist way of life. For instance, the introduction sketches the theoretical terrain of consumption theories, making it clear that consumption is necessary for the realization of profit—but consumption by whom and for what ends? For Purser, consumption necessitates repair, something accomplished by local craftspeople or national corporations, a difference that has grave implications for the class structure of a community. Mullins considers consumption as part of the meaning system of capitalism, a practice that allows people to come to symbolic terms with its contradictions. Leone sees considerable variation in the extent to which households are willing to live the life of capitalist consumption in their ceramic assemblages. These are very different, but not contradictory, approaches to a topic that is receiving increasing attention in the discipline.

What gives this book even more intellectual heft than the individual contributions is that these are recent points on what are in some cases decades-long research trajectories. Leone's well-known work at Annapolis has considered how capitalism transformed this city's objects, estates, and town plan—studies that have contributed broadly to archaeology's coming to grips with ideology. Wylie's piece is the most recent installment in her generally significant investigations into an epistemology that should supplant the logical positivism of the New Archaeology and the radical contextualism of postmodernists. Potter has considered where our ideas come from in a number of pieces and especially in his innovative and systematic archaeological ethnography of Annapolis. Epperson has a provocative series of papers on the materiality and mentality of "whiteness," including the ways it mystifies the experience of African-descent people for the majority of practitioners of archaeology. Purser has a long-term interest in Paradise and its distinctly Western way of life that serves as an important counterpoint to disciplinary preoccupations with the East. Orser has laid out important issues in the theory and method of historical archaeology as well as developing the significant intellectual project of how capital, and resistances to it, has shaped the rural countryside of the United States, Brazil, and Ireland. Johnson's important monographs on the materiality of capitalism in England are essential for a theoretical understanding of this way of life's history. Mullins is the newcomer, and a most impressive one with his monograph on African-American Annapolis inspiring the conferral of SHA's first Cotter Award upon him. In other words, this book edited by Leone and Potter is but the tip of a very large iceberg.

In a previous collaboration, Leone and Potter boldly announced that historical archaeology was the archaeology of capitalism. In that volume, many, but not all, of the contributions supported that point. The present volume traces the maturation of this fruitful line of research. This collection of studies is worth careful attention as history, methodology, and theory.

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Material Culture.

HENRY GLASSIE

Indiana University Press, Bloomington,
1999. iii + 413 pp., 186 figs. \$29.95.

Younger historical archaeologists questioning the relevance of Henry Glassie's work need look no further than the dedication to *Material Culture*. The book is dedicated to the late Warren Roberts and historical archaeology's own Jim Deetz, who has spoken of his exposure to Glassie in the 1970s and the dramatic shift that resulted in his own perception of material culture. Henry Glassie presented a view of culture in which material items were symbols and grammar, a text through which one could understand the meaning and intention of historic actions and not merely their historical and economic consequences. In its age, the "Glassien" worldview was the counterpoint to the philosophy espoused by the new, processual archaeology.

Since the publication of *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia* (University of Tennessee Press) in 1975, Glassie's travels have taken him farther afield, for extended periods of research in Ireland, Turkey, Bangladesh, and elsewhere. Post-processualism has emerged as the apparent successor to the work of Glassie and Deetz, but much of the scholarship concerning material history in the United States, in historical archaeology and in other fields, has drifted toward a normative, hierarchical, and socioeconomic view of material culture. As Glassie writes (pp. 72-78), history has become conservative and uncritical. *Material Culture* is Henry Glassie's response; it is our wake-up call.

Material Culture is divided into an introduction, "Onward," and five essays: "History," "Material Culture," "One Life," "The Potter's Art," and "Vernacular Architecture." In his introduction, Glassie outlines the motivation behind *Material Culture*, his perception that the role of material culture in history, and the importance of traditional history, has diminished. He writes (p. 3), "Without the challenge of folk history or ethnohistory, . . . history will fail to reach its potential. . . . I write to get us back on track."

In "History," Glassie offers his construction of the past. He draws upon a diverse set of sources, including ethnographic interviews with Hugh Noland of Ireland, Ahmet Balci of Turkey, Haripada Pal of Bangladesh, and Siraj Ahmad of Pakistan. Intertwining their perceptions of history with the writings of Sartre, Lévi-Strauss, Braudel, and other academic historians, Glassie provides a view of history in which history is not simply time, nor is it linear. Challenging western society's construction of history as a series of changes following some logical progression, Glassie writes that history instead is a dialect between change and tradition, progression and regression. History is also not measured simply in days; in the case of Hugh Noland's Ireland and Ahmet Balci's Turkey, history is also measured in space and in the landscape. Glassie's conception of the importance of historic landscapes should be noted by practitioners of CRM and other scholars of the landscape. He writes (p. 39), "As space absorbed time, it became particular, rich, and holy."

The chapter "Material Culture" presents Glassie's take on the topic at hand. He notes that (p. 41), "material culture is an odd term, for culture is immaterial." He

recognizes in material culture, however, the ability of items to express cultural meanings: "Material culture is culture made material; it is the inner wit at work in the world. . . . [T]he study of material culture uses objects to approach human thought and action." To recognize and understand meaning, Glassie writes that we must seek patterning in material culture. Patterning in artifacts themselves is not difficult to see. What is difficult to see is patterning in the context of material culture, because use changes the meaning of artifacts. Using a Turkish rug as an example, he notes how the meaning of the designs woven into the rug and the meaning of the rug itself are read differently in different contexts: the maker's home, a mosque, a market, and on the floor of a home in a different country. Meaning is thus contextually driven, and Glassie encourages us to pursue the original meaning, the meaning of the maker, beyond the meaning conveyed by the consumer.

In "One Life," Glassie expands this concept through a lengthy interview on the life and work of Turkish rug maker Hagop Barin. He applies this same approach, understanding the meaning of material remains through interviews with their makers, in the following essay, "The Potter's Art," which draws upon interviews with traditional potters in Turkey, Bangladesh, Sweden, Georgia, New Mexico, Turkey, and Japan. In both essays, Glassie shows that traditional materials, like the cultures they embody, express the duality of history. "Pottery displays the values by which human life is shaped. It brings the old and the new, the practical and the aesthetic, the personal and the collective, the social and the economic, the mundane and the spiritual, into presence and connection" (p. 222).

"Vernacular Architecture" is the longest essay in the book and comes full circle, bringing us back to the folk housing of middle Virginia, and other places, and looks at how architecture captures and expresses cultural meaning. Glassie states (p. 231) that "Architecture works in space as history works in time. History interrupts time's ceaseless flow, segmenting and reordering it on behalf of the human need for meaning. Architecture intrudes into the limitless expanse of space, dividing it into useful, comprehensible pieces." In this essay, Glassie looks at the various dimensions of architecture—materials, technology, social order, plan, and embellishment—to establish the ways in which each contributes to the total meaning of a building. He also discusses the intrusion of time into space as buildings change form, the meaning of setting, and the importance of landscape to our understanding of historic architecture. He revisits the folk houses of middle Virginia, applies those lessons to a comparative analysis from western Ireland, and then follows with a broad overview of the architecture of the 19th-century United States.

Using architecture as his medium, Glassie offers in conclusion a new construct of history. In it, history is composed of three parts whose relationships and transformations are fluid more than temporal. He describes the first as "the period of the village," a time in which life was communal. The second he identifies as "the period of the house." Although houses occurred in villages, during this period the social focus shifted from the external to the internal, and house architecture changed, separating itself from other houses and its occupants from other occupants. The third period Glassie identifies as "the period of commodity." This is the period in which most of us in the

United States live, the period of industrialization and capitalism and the transformation of artifacts to goods. This construction is cultural more than historical and suggests different social contexts in which historical events can be interpreted.

As might be expected in a volume that relies significantly on ethnographic interviews, Glassie comments on archaeology's inability to access an artifact's creator directly (p. 273). He also models and presents his view of patterning as an archaeological context. Glassie observes that identity, particularly in the era of commodity, is not expressed in a single artifact, but rather is found in sets. He writes that "[s]uch units are what archaeologists hope to recover in laying bare one stratum of a dig to expose diverse fragments . . . that belonged once to a single household" (p. 82). Glassie's understanding of patterning as the basic technique for understanding culture in many respects echoes the work of Stanley South in his classic *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology* (Academic Press, 1977), with the fundamental difference that Glassie's search is for cultural identity and meaning, and South's for cultural laws.

Material Culture is a rich and complex book unlike any other. It is in one part autobiography and ethnography of Henry Glassie, the scholar; it is in another respect the best of Henry Glassie, incorporating elements of his work from around the world. *Material Culture* reads like a Henry Glassie lecture; it is Glassie, drawing from his work and life to elaborate and embellish his particular understanding of the past. He writes "I prefer big books, tight in focus and ample in detail. . . . This is not such a book" (p. 3).

Material Culture is by no means small. Everyone who uses material artifacts to form their basis of understanding people and their past should read it. While it may not dramatically alter perspectives the way that *Folk Housing* did more than 30 years ago, it will make the reader think about how they think about material culture, which is its goal.

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Archeologia Postmedievale: l'esperienza europea e l'Italia

MARCO MILANESE, compiler
Edizioni all'Insegna del Giglio, Florence,
Italy, 1997. 386 pp., 260 figs., 6 pls. No
price given, paper.

There has been a good deal of recent interest on the part of North American historical archaeologists in the post-medieval archaeology of Europe, particularly Great Britain. This is evidenced by the recent Society for Historical Archaeology/Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology joint conferences, as well as by field projects in Great Britain that have been initiated over the past several years by scholars from North America. We share a common language, thus, this collaboration is relatively straightforward. Linguistic, cultural, financial, and logistical barriers, heightened by our own parochialism, have kept our knowledge of the post-medieval archaeology of the rest of Europe at a minimum. Our focus on North America means that while we look

to Europe as the place where many colonists originated, we seldom consider Europe itself. How is post-medieval archaeology in Europe useful and relevant on this side of the Atlantic? As North American historical archaeologists, our interest in post-medieval archaeology in Europe might range from general intellectual curiosity about how the field is organized and affiliated, and how it is regarded from country to country, to more specific matters of method and technique, site types, and *comparanda* for our own work in North America. Knowing something about post-medieval archaeology in Europe enriches historical archaeology by placing it within a broad intellectual and developmental framework and by establishing a context for understanding the lifeways of Europeans, who adapted those lifeways after coming to North America.

Archeologia Postmedievale: l'esperienza europea e l'Italia resulted from a conference held in Sassari, Sardinia, Italy, in 1994. It provides an overview of the state of post-medieval archaeology in Britain, Holland, Spain, and France, while providing extensive information on the situation in Italy. Both general thematic and theoretical overviews, as well as regional summaries, comprise the 27 papers in this volume. Only two of these articles are in English. Another two are in French, one is written in Spanish, and the remainder in Italian. While this may prove daunting to many prospective readers, limiting ourselves to English precludes our participation in a global historical archaeology and limits the growth of our research.

The articles in this volume are divided into an introductory part plus four sections. The introduction consists of three general papers on the topic of post-medieval archaeology, including one by the volume editor, Marco Milanese, one of the most prominent post-medieval archaeologists in Italy. Milanese mentions the need to find thematic unity in the fragmentary field of post-medieval archaeology, and the need to go beyond strictly historical questions and objectives. He discusses the debate, so familiar to historical archaeologists, on the relationship between history and archaeology.

The book's first section, "*Il quadro europeo*," provides an overview of post-medieval archaeology in Britain, Holland, Spain, and France. The two English-language articles are those on Britain, by D. Crossley, and on Holland, by J. M. Baart. Crossley provides a good review of post-medieval Britain, in particular how landscape changes can be tied to agrarian industry. Baart's article is more specific, describing the archaeology of a particular 17th- 18th-century residential quarter in Amsterdam, focusing on different ceramic finds.

The articles on Spain and France are particularly interesting. F. Amores' article (in Spanish) details the difficulty of classifying post-medieval archaeology in Spain, as academic archaeology has been categorized traditionally as being part of prehistory or Classics. While this is changing to some extent, particularly at Amores' own institution, the Universidad de Sevilla, in general Spanish historians have shown little interest in "complementary archaeology." In contrast, a healthy field of industrial archaeology has emerged in Spain, in part attributable to the fact that its practitioners are not academic archaeologists, but engineers, architects, and non-academic archaeologists. In addition the government has provided opportunities through rescue, salvage, and restoration work.

P.-Y. Balut and P. Bruneau tell us (in French) that the term "post-medieval" is rarely used in France. Instead, just as medieval history is followed by "modern and contemporary" history, these terms are used in archaeology, as well. While archaeology in France has been seen as auxiliary to history, Balut and Bruneau tie modern and contemporary archaeology to geography, ethnology, and sociology. They see the emergence of modern archaeology as the opportunity to recast archaeology as an autonomous discipline of material science, defined by *ars* in the Latin sense, meaning skill, method, or technique.

Sections two and three focus on Italy, with six general statements about post-medieval archaeology in Italy ("*L' archeologia postmedievale in Italia*") followed by thirteen regional overviews ("*Le situazioni regionali*") all in Italian. P. G. Guzzo makes a plea for regional archaeological superintendencies and the universities to work together on behalf of the archaeological patrimony. Milanese reviews how post-medieval archaeology grew out of an increasing interest in urban archaeology in the 1970s and 1980s. He points to the significance of Daniele Manacorda's excavation and publication of the Crypta Balbi project, in Rome, as an important new step in providing "archaeological dignity" to post-medieval contexts. This was, in fact, a turning point in Italian archaeology and set a new standard for the treatment, interpretation, and publication of post-medieval components. D. Moreno explains the British influence in Italian post-medieval archaeology, from the use of the term "*postmedievo*" (in contrast to the terminology used in France, as reported by Balut and Bruneau), to the importance of historical ecology. Moreno looks upon this influence favorably, as a means of distancing archaeology from Braudellian historicism.

Some of the same issues brought to light in recent publications about North American farmsteads are echoed by J. A. Quirós Castillo in his article about the investigation of abandoned post-medieval settlements. Quirós Castillo bemoans the fact that the growth of post-medieval archaeology from urban archaeology has led to a marginalization of rural sites. Too often, rural sites are viewed as static, when country life was in fact dynamic and in continual transformation. While the early 1970s marked the beginning of medieval archaeology in Italy with the first publication of the journal *Archeologia medievale*, Quirós Castillo states that it is still rare to find studies of late medieval/Renaissance shifts in settlement and agricultural practices that, in fact, marked profound socio-economic change. He is concerned that these significant changes in the landscape will remain unknown, because of the problems of protecting rural sites from development due to lack of interest, dearth of information about site locations, and unclear authority for stewardship.

In his discussion about material culture, E. Giannichedda points to the difficulty of proceeding in a new field after the "pioneer" phase. That is, after chronologies have been defined, questions of more general interest need to be addressed. Giannichedda echoes Balut and Bruneau in discussing the notion of archaeology as the study of *ars*, though he is cognizant of the risk of turning archaeology into a history of potsherds. Giannichedda concludes by emphasizing the specific socio-cultural contexts of an

artifact's life cycle, and the importance of examining artifacts and behavior as conditioned by individual and collective choices.

While G. Poggi's article appears in the second section, "*L'archeologia postmedievale in Italia*," it is most interesting as an example of an historical ecological study and may have fit better in the book's third section about regional studies. Using historical topographic maps from Liguria, as well as additional documents from the 17th and 18th centuries, Poggi was able to trace the use of soil and variation in Ligurian meadows for at least 200 years. She used this information to look at gathering practices used to make a traditional local salad, still known as the "praebuggiun." This is one of the only articles in the volume to refer specifically to the documentary record, though none of the historical maps Poggi used in research is reproduced in the paper. While many of the other contributors make reference to historical documentary materials, North American historical archaeologists tend to be much more explicit in discussing the written record. It would have been interesting to read more about the documentary sources that were used for these projects, and how the documents were analyzed.

The regional overviews of Section Three ("*Le situazioni regionali*") primarily consist of list-like approaches to what has been accomplished within different parts of Italy. A good deal of the archaeological work is tied in with stewardship of historical and cultural monuments. Many of the authors' complaints are very familiar. For example, G. Pantò, writing about the Piedmont, notes that because of time and money constraints, post-medieval deposits go unexcavated or are only partly excavated, which reinforces the notion that these contexts are unimportant. Pantò also points to the lack of experienced post-medieval archaeologists to work on these sites. Similarly, S. Gelichi laments the fact that post-medieval projects in the Emilia-Romagna region are just tacked on to projects focusing on earlier time periods, and therefore no new research designs are developed and many projects go unpublished.

In another article, Gelichi and M. Librenti provide a discussion of ceramics in the region of Emilia-Romagna that includes excellent descriptions, profiles, drawings, and one page of photographs. This could prove a useful resource to North Americanists who work with similar ceramics, including majolicas and delfts. Milanese's article about Tuscany includes information about a 19th-century charcoal production site, as well as an icehouse, potentially useful *comparanda* for historical archaeologists working on similar sites.

The fourth and final section of the volume ("*Contributi pervenuti fuori convegno*") is for papers that were not presented at the actual conference. As this section consists of a single article (in French) on the topic of French post-medieval ceramics, it may have been better integrated into the first section of the volume, following the general overview about France.

This book provides a good overview of post-medieval archaeology as it is currently practiced in Italy, Spain, and France, with some information on Great Britain and Holland. Several contributions report on specific projects, holding the potential to help us better understand our own sites. The volume is most useful in illustrating the development of post-medieval archaeology in Europe, its struggles and successes. These issues are important in their own right, as

well as for establishing context for North American historical archaeology on a global scale.

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*Meaning and Ideology in Historical
Archaeology: Style, Social Identity, and
Capitalism in an Australian Town.*

HEATHER BURKE

Klewer Academic/Plenum Publishers, New
York, NY, 1999. xiv + 276 pp., 88 figs.,
tables. \$79.95.

This volume is a welcome addition to the study of architecture from an archaeological perspective in several ways. First, Burke's theoretical focus on the links between style, class, and identity, and the construction and maintenance of capitalist ideologies in rural Australia privileges a perspective that, despite notable exceptions, remains underrepresented and under-theorized in historical archaeology. Second, from a methodological standpoint, the use of domestic and public architecture as "artefacts" illustrates the usefulness of an archaeological approach to understanding the production of the urban landscape and class formation. Finally, this body of data from the rural city of Armidale will provide useful comparative material for similar studies undertaken in other former British colonies, for example, in the United States and South Africa.

The first two chapters of the volume provide the theoretical framework of the following analysis. Burke uses a Marxist definition of capitalism, which recognizes the relational nature of capital, rather than viewing it as a fixed thing (p. 6). Style is seen as a medium of communication that is not necessarily concretized as ideology, but rather as what ideology can accomplish (p. 8). Thus, Burke's definition fits generally within that of the practice theorists, where ideology is seen in its imposition and acceptance in daily life as:

false or deceptive beliefs and presuppositions implicit in ordinary ways of thinking, speaking or behaving in the world, which arise from the structure of society as a whole and the relations of the group to that structure, and which serve to reproduce that world by concealing contradiction and by perpetuating an unequal pattern of existing material relationships between and among groups. . . . Ideology may exist at more than one scale within the same society, or within the same individual (p. 15, emphasis in original).

It is the lower scale that is of interest for Burke, drawing from Terry Eagleton, where ideology is seen as less articulate and concerned with social practice rather than "formulated political doctrine" (p. 23). Though not wanting to separate the two artificially, it is presumably the ability of archaeology to reach the ideology of the quotidian rather than the more articulate ideology of "mind" that interests Burke here. Specifically, it is the mediation of style as a meaningful and conventional symbol between members of

a community, and thus related to the underlying nature of social relations: their construction and contestation. Style, or concepts of stylishness, speaks to pattern generation, or more concretely, to the generation of competing ideologies in 19th-century Armidale (p. 27).

The third chapter provides the historical context and sophisticated ideologies surrounding Armidale, a large, rural, 19th-century city with some industry, in the New England region of northern New South Wales. Burke places her analysis within three dominant, yet overlapping, periods of capitalism (based primarily on class divisions) operating in New England from the initial European exploration of the region by John Oxley in 1818. These were the pastoral capitalism of the squatters, which operated between 1830 to 1890; mercantile capitalism between 1860 to 1890; and industrial capitalism between 1860 and 1930. Within these is a period of class mobilization, that of the "Working Class Challenge," between 1870 and 1930. Burke argues that associated with these forms of capitalism are the following sophisticated ideologies: the moral ascendancy of the pastoralists over convict labor; that of respectability without hierarchy (more an ideology of progress and democracy) associated with mercantile capital; and finally the ideology of respectability of work and self-reliance (pp. 73-80).

It is in the remaining chapters, however, where the analysis of public buildings (associated with capital and service), and private residences, takes place. It is how such "sophisticated" ideologies intersect, especially in their relation to "unsophisticated" ideologies, which predominates in the second half of the volume (p. 81). Drawing on a sample of 222 structures that cross-cut the class-based sophisticated ideologies outlined above, Burke recorded variables relating to social context (where known), style (the exterior only), geographical context (view and visibility), and finally those relating to use and modification of the structure. Though the sample is weighted more toward mercantile capital private residences (n=141), the pattern that emerges is that, while stylistic features are represented in certain structures in Armidale at different scales, the combinations of certain elements are indicative of a whole range of relative social positions (p. 137). A brief example would be the readily affordable use of timber finials to suggest gothic style on workers' dwellings rather than representing the "totality of gothic" of elite or public structures (p. 141). Such articulations, Burke argues, mobilize relations of membership, and create and maintain boundaries, whether by design, choice or simple availability within the dynamics of capitalist ideologies.

Though not within the scope of her study (p. 102), Burke's analysis suffers somewhat from a lack of consideration of interiors, especially from workers' dwellings. This absence is understandable, given the problems of access and preservation of interior building fabric, yet I find it disconcerting that such a clear boundary can be drawn between interiors as private space and exteriors as essentially public with regard to the social construction of identity. Two contradictions to this would be entertaining areas for the former and private gardens for the latter. Burke is certainly aware of these limitations, in that she argues women are underrepresented in her analysis (p. 102), and that, though the symmetry of workers' cottages may mask internal variation while conveying a "public" sense of unity, this cannot be answered given the available data

(p. 170). For example, with the analysis of the General Charles Gordon stained-glass window in Booloominbah, an asymmetrical country mansion, we have one discussion of interior style and its relation to late 19th-century pastoral ideologies of "stylishness," which allowed the pastoral elite "to prove they were worthy" of ruling (p. 191). Interestingly enough, it is the same persistence of these ideologies, and emulation of stylistic elements through preservation (literally within the heritage movement) that allows (or privileges) such an internal analysis at one level (that of the elite), while masking it at others (those of the workers). Burke is certainly aware of this "Catch 22" (pp. 228-229).

On the whole, Burke's study well illustrates how contesting ideologies at a sophisticated level (the level of interest groups through ideologies of naturalization or of unification) articulate within the broader, more mundane ideology of capitalism. She argues that ideologies play a role in the construction of social identities, where style is seen as a mediator between the individual and the group. This leads to a concluding discussion of the production of social space, more specifically "rendering space as a controllable commodity" (p. 175) under capitalism, one which becomes renewed where the past becomes a source of stylishness in the present, under the ideology of heritage (p. 213).

A minor criticism in the production of the book is that several of the illustrations (notably those heuristic figures on analyzing ideology) are illegible. Such figures are perhaps unnecessary given the lengthy discussion in the text. Further, while the number of structures in the sample is reported as 222, the graphic representation in Figure 4.1 only tallies to 221.

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*The Historical Archaeology of Buenos Aires:
A City at the End of the World.*

DANIEL SCHÁVELZON, translated by ALEX LOMONACO

Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, New York, NY, 2000. xvi + 187 pp., 43 figs., 7 tables. \$72.00.

The publication of Schávelzon's *Historical Archaeology of Buenos Aires* provides English-language readers a first look at the culmination of 13 years of excavations on historic sites in one of the most important cities in the Americas. The author and various collaborators have an extensive publication record in Argentina, but this book provides North American historical archaeologists with an important summary of this work.

Schávelzon began an archaeological program in Buenos Aires in 1985, the first urban historical excavation program in South America. He has now explored 17 different properties throughout the city. He has founded a Center for Urban Archaeology and convinced the municipal government to create an "Area of Urban Archaeology" within the city. Anyone familiar with the challenges faced by Latin American urban centers can only praise Schávelzon's determination in creating an urban archaeology program that has had such

a large-scale and lasting impact. If funding is a serious problem for North American researchers, it is doubly so for colleagues in Latin America. The Buenos Aires work has been funded by a variety of organizations, both Argentinean and American, and along the way Schávelzon has spent considerable time creating connections to government and educational institutions.

In 1536 a small Spanish settlement founded by Pedro de Mendoza existed at Buenos Aires, but it was abandoned only five years later when the few survivors of starvation and disease moved on to other settlements. Juan de Garay founded a new European settlement at the same location in 1580, and it grew to become the modern city of Buenos Aires. The location on the Atlantic coast in the estuary of the Río de la Plata provided navigable access to the interior of southern South America and shaped much of the city's history. Early Spanish interest in the region was tied to keeping the Río de la Plata out of the hands of Portuguese Brazil; they also were interested in creating an alternate trade route to the Andean mining center of Potosí. The powerful elite in Lima, the viceregal capital, vehemently opposed this trade route, since it would have provided an alternative to the Pacific trade that they controlled. As a result Buenos Aires became a center for a massive contraband trade during the colonial period, exporting illegal Potosí silver to Europe in return for smuggled manufactured goods to sell in the colony. It also became the mercantile hub for the export of *yerba maté*, or "Paraguay tea," to a huge Andean market that grew steadily throughout the 17th and 18th centuries.

The results of Schávelzon's archaeological research are presented as a broad overview interspersed with several sections devoted to specific sites, most of them domestic. A clear map of the urban core guides us to all of the sites mentioned in the text. Schávelzon's research goals are wide-ranging, and the excavated sites include colonial houses of rich and poor, Native people and whites, *pardos*, Dominicans and Jesuits, and late 18th-century French immigrants. We are left with the feeling that there is such a rich diversity in the city's archaeology that a single volume cannot do it justice.

Few intact 17th-century archaeological contexts have been encountered, and Schávelzon's desire to find more contexts from this early period is clear. A mid-century context with very high proportions of European imports provides us with one of the few glimpses into the era. Colonial collections indicate an elite reliance on European imported ceramics, particularly majolica from Seville, Talavera, and Italy. The majority of the population used local coarse earthenwares. Readers interested in the locally made ceramics will be somewhat disappointed by the lack of artifact drawings and vessel profiles to clarify the author's extensive discussion of Native, Afro-Argentine, and European influences on the style of local earthenwares.

A discussion of colonial faunal remains is of interest. Historians of the city have long assumed that the region's heavy historical emphasis on feral cattle harvesting and hide exports led to an almost exclusive subsistence emphasis on beef. Schávelzon's work shows that in the 17th century the diet was actually quite varied, relying on cattle but also on sheep, poultry, and wild game. Other brief passages in the text are tantalizing. The excavation of several *aljibes*, or

colonial rainwater cisterns, is mentioned (p. 64) but leaves us looking for details.

In the 18th century Buenos Aires became the dominant Spanish city in the region and grew rapidly in size. In 1680 the Portuguese founded the Colônia do Sacramento across the river, and the two cities enjoyed a cozy trade in contraband silver and other goods until Spanish troops destroyed Sacramento in 1776. The late 18th-century creation of the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata, with Buenos Aires as its capital, brought the city to further prominence despite the collapse of the illegal silver trade. Cattle ranching became the dominant focus for the region, with Buenos Aires at its center, exporting hides and cured beef worldwide. Archaeologically the end of the 18th century brought a major shift, as British industrially produced ceramics arrived in large quantities. British creamwares and Italian majolica dominate late 18th-century elite ceramic collections.

In the first decade of the 19th century there were attempted British invasions, followed by the Wars of Independence. With the founding of the Argentine Republic came massive European immigration to the city, a bourgeois shift to new suburban neighborhoods, and the conversion of much of the historic core into tenements for immigrant families. By 1870, 70% of the residents in the city core were immigrants, and over 24% of the city's population was Italian (pp. 64-65).

The 19th-century archaeological record is a rich one, and it is one of the strengths of Schávelzon's research. In many of the excavated properties we see a transition from wealthy colonial single-family homes to tenements. The elites fled to new suburbs and in the historic core immigrants lived cheek-by-jowl alongside small businesses. Schávelzon provides extensive information on the architectural transitions throughout both the colonial and Republican city, particularly in its reflection of increasing urban congestion and demands on limited space. Archaeologically the mid-19th-century urban shift toward immigrant urban poverty was dramatic. The end of the local ceramic industries accompanied this, as members of all social classes turned to European ceramics for their tables. This dominance of largely British ceramics corresponded to a shift to individual table service, as well as the introduction of large quantities of bottled and packaged goods from Europe. Sanitation reform in the late 19th century is another of Schávelzon's themes, as he has encountered the canalization projects and abandoned privies that mark reforms brought on by 1870s cholera and yellow fever epidemics. Excavations at the huge *Caseron de Rosas* estate outside the city provide a sharp contrast to the urban poverty. This was the residence of the dictatorial governor Juan Manuel de Rosas, and shows mid-19th-century opulence in French floor tiles, English ceramics, and French toothbrushes. The governor prohibited European imports as a matter of national pride, but that regulation clearly did not extend to his own household.

A variety of local terms are used throughout the text, and are always accurately explained in a useful glossary. The volume is marred only by some problems in translation into English. Use of words and phrases such as "unsufficient" [sic] (p. ix), "in pursue [sic] of the routes" (p.5), and "Asunción casted [sic] into oblivion" (p.19) detract from

the flow of the text. When “ceiling” is used where roof was clearly intended (p.27), “lathe” for a potter’s wheel (p. 123), and “plumb glazings” for lead glaze (p. 139), we are in danger of losing the meaning. The uneven quality of Lomonaco’s translation needed proofreading. The book is profusely illustrated with good quality maps, house plans, site plans, and reproductions of historic artwork. A minor confusion of figure numbers (pp. 7, 49) detracts only slightly from the presentation. The bibliography is accurate, but does not cite much of the English-language literature in Spanish colonial archaeology. Schávelzon also cites none of the (limited) literature in historical archaeology published in other Latin American countries. This doubtless is owed not only to a language barrier, but also to a lack of bibliographic resources in the research libraries of Latin America. Despite this challenge, Schávelzon’s research comes through to us as sophisticated and thorough.

This book is an important one, as it is the first monograph-length work in the *Contributions to Global Historical Archaeology* series written by a scholar from Latin America. The book demonstrates Schávelzon’s mastery of archaeological method, the identification of historic artifacts, and the complexities of undertaking archaeological research strategy in an urban center. The subtitle, *A City at the End of the World*, may be geographically accurate, but he has proved that as a colonial and Republican urban hub, Buenos Aires was and is a fascinatingly cosmopolitan place. The book is a “must read” for archaeologists of the Spanish colonial era and a fascinating read for anyone interested in the 19th-century archaeology of cities throughout the Americas.

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*Constructions of Colonialism: Perspective on
Eliza Fraser’s Shipwreck.*

IAN J. McNIVEN, LYNETTE RUSSELL, and
KAY SCHAFFER, editors

Leicester University Press, New York, NY,
1999. xvi + 192 pp., 11 figs. \$24.95 paper.

Constructions of Colonialism is a collection of 12 essays by scholars of history, English literature, archaeology and classics, visual arts, a poet, a Badtjala artist, and a Butchulla elder. They explore how various aspects of a single incident—the wreck of the *Stirling Castle* and the subsequent misadventures and fate of the survivors, in particular one Eliza Fraser, among the Badtjala people of Fraser Island on the Great Barrier Reef—have pervaded the fabric of the Australian psyche and significantly impacted the subsequent relations and treatment of the Aboriginal people of that continent by the colonial powers for the past 160 years.

The first three chapters reconstruct and interpret the actual incident through the re-examination of the survivors’ accounts, official incident reports filed by the rescue party, the later account by the convict guide, the subsequent contemporary media articles both in Australia and England,

archaeological data, and, finally, ethnohistorical accounts of the incident as related through oral history by a Badtjala. This juxtaposition of perspectives highlights the profound cultural misunderstandings between the survivors and their aboriginal hosts that led to the tragic end for some of the castaways. In her critical examination of the pitfalls of using 19th-century texts for research, Lynette Russell explores several themes emerging from the Eliza Fraser saga that are applicable to the colonial and post-colonial studies on a more wide spread basis. She highlights how the native voices are always silent, the aboriginal individual is anonymous, the various bands are homogenous, and the widespread view that the barbarity and uncivilized nature of these people somehow justifies the actions of the Europeans in their quest to bring civilization and light to this continent. The powerful fifth chapter by Robert Macneil of the J. Paul Getty Museum continues the examination this incident through a structuralist framework analyzing a series of polarities that ultimately define the boundaries of the civilized and uncivilized.

The seven chapters of Part Two follow the allegory of the Eliza Fraser saga through more recent post neo- and anti-colonial interpretations of the event, including the three critical and influential series of modern paintings by renowned Australian artist Sidney Nolan and the contrasting interpretations of landscapes by Badtjala artist Fiona Foley. The final chapter is by Fiona Foley herself, in which she comments on the pervasive nature of colonization and how its destructive forces continue to influence the Australian intellect. She sees this *nouveau* colonialism demonstrated in recent publications of colonists’ narratives, the use of politically correct language and the process of reconciliation, and, finally, in the use of Aboriginal informants by academia in an unaccredited fashion (p. 164). She also talks about the strengths and experiences of the Aboriginal women on which history is oft silent. Finally, John Davidson, an historian at Victoria University of Technology, interprets the circumstances over the past 30 years in Australia that have led to the ongoing fascination in the Eliza Fraser incident and the meanings behind its many interpretations in literature, film, and art.

Extensive notes for the in-text citations follow each chapter and all sources are referenced in the extensive bibliography. The editors have also included an introductory section that provides a chapter-by-chapter analysis of the context and themes explored by each author in this collection of essays, as well as an index at the end of the volume.

This diverse team of academics, elders, and artists should be complimented for this wonderfully rich and critical examination of the events and experiences of Eliza Fraser’s five weeks among the Badtjala. Its exploration of the re-occurring themes of otherness, survival, the silence of key voices, the notion of empire, and, finally, the various aspects of colonialism that continue to shape and color Australia’s cultural history, serves as an example of the value, breadth, and power of interdisciplinary scholarship.

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Montpelier, Jamaica: A Plantation Community in Slavery and Freedom, 1739-1912.

B. W. HIGMAN

The University of West Indies Press,
Kingston, Jamaica, 1998. xv + 384 pp.,
99 figs., 29 tables. \$40.00 (J\$1,440.00,
£25.00) paper.

B. W. Higman has made an important contribution to the historical literature of the Anglophone Caribbean plantation world. *Montpelier, Jamaica* stands as one of the most complete efforts to integrate historical archaeological data and geographic data with detailed historiography, thereby developing a comprehensive account of life in a plantation village. Montpelier, while a large estate, was not the earliest, nor the richest plantation in Jamaica, and is therefore somewhat representative of large-scale plantations. It was primarily a sugar plantation during the period of slavery, yet it also (in its associated properties) included cattle pens, and therefore demonstrates several facies of the Jamaican plantation economy. Yet in other ways it was not typical. The property comprised three estates, two sugar plantations and one cattle pen, thus including two industrial complexes and several African-Jamaican settlements. In the post-emancipation period (after 1838) the plantation underwent other changes, becoming primarily a cattle pen, then later a citrus and coconut plantation, with experiments in tobacco and tourism. Furthermore, Montpelier remained in the hands of the same family for 160 years of its history. It is also of significant historical interest in that it was at the center of the great slave rebellion of 1831-1832. Thus, Montpelier is in some ways a microcosm of the plantation experience of the British Caribbean.

The focus of Higman's work is on the plantation community, and that, naturally means an emphasis on the enslaved Africans who toiled in the fields and industrial works of the estate. Rather than move directly into a discussion of the African-Jamaican population, however, Higman organizes the book from the general to the specific. He begins with a brief discussion of the relationship of plantation history and archaeology as a way of reading between the lines of history and contextualizing archaeological data. The second and third chapters then deal with Montpelier's role in the sugar and slave economy of the 18th and early 19th centuries (Chapter 2) and the role played by the estate in the changing economy of post emancipation Jamaica (Chapter 3).

Higman gathers extensive documentation presented in chapters 2 and 3 that provides detailed accounts of the changing economy on the estates and demographic patterns within the African-Jamaican community. Population records from triennial slave registrations required from 1817 until emancipation describe negative population growth on the sugar producing properties, contrasted with population stability or even growth on the livestock pen. Chapter 4 discusses plantation space, placing the changing social and economic organization of the plantation landscape in the context of the natural topography of the property. Higman recognizes that in addition to the detailed record provided by maps, plans, and views of the estate, there were also other ways of organizing the landscape—ways used by the

African Jamaicans—that can only be hinted at because they defy the planters' organizational scheme.

Chapter 5 begins with a focus on the lives of the enslaved Africans on the plantation and it is here that Higman's long-term research at Montpelier shines. Discussing the social organization of the villages, Higman calls upon the very detailed register of household composition compiled in 1825 for the three villages of Old Montpelier, New Montpelier, and Shettlewood. This extraordinary document lists the number and makeup of each household, as well as the construction of the dwelling(s) and the possession of any domestic livestock. The document also lists the size of gardens cultivated by the enslaved Africans. This information permits Higman to conduct some very important demographic reconstruction, providing a highly detailed snapshot of African-Jamaican life: whether households were headed by men or women; whether the households consisted of one or more dwelling structures; what dwellings were like; whether children were resident with their mothers, or in adjacent houses; and so forth. Higman's work with the register allows a level of refinement in understanding the social world of the enslaved African Jamaicans that is rarely achieved.

Were Higman's work to end here, the book would be a highly recommended and important contribution to African Diaspora studies, yet he takes it a step further by integrating the results of archaeological research conducted at Montpelier between 1973 and 1980. By including archaeological work to supplement the historical and geographical data, Higman is able to explore African-Jamaican life as it changed through time, before and after the snapshot of 1825. The second half of Chapter 5 tests the data on village layout against archaeological remains and determines that the residents were able to express a degree of agency in the organizational strategies of village layout.

Chapter 6 explores this notion further by using archaeological data to investigate the architectural choices made by the village residents in constructing their own houses. Here Higman identifies the varieties of materials used to build the houses, and the different strategies of spatial organization, with some houses divided into two or three rooms while others were single room structures. Other house features include raised masonry platforms in some structures, and evidence for doors and windows with locks. The last portion of this chapter, where Higman explores the sources of the architectural styles used in the slave village, is of particular interest—especially for scholars seeking comparisons between plantation dwellings in various parts of the New World.

Chapter 7 will also be useful for archaeologists working on plantation settings elsewhere in the world. Higman presents a discussion of the personal possessions of the enslaved residents of the village, integrating archaeological and documentary data in an effort to develop a complete understanding of the variety of property possessed by enslaved individuals, whether land, animals, or material goods. Data on foodways, ceramics, pipes, objects of adornment, tools, furnishings, conspicuous consumption, and other items are compiled to document the development of a "creole aesthetic" in the village community.

While many historical archaeologists seek evidence of resistance in the material culture and spatial organization of African Diaspora societies, Chapter 8 explores much more concrete and overt evidence of resistance at Montpelier.

Higman describes four episodes occurring between 1824 and 1848 that embody rebellion to the system of slavery and its legacy. Those events, three of which were called wars by the African-Jamaican participants, had significant impacts on the relationships between the residents of the villages, and their wider world. Indeed, the Christmas Rebellion (or Baptist War of 1831-1832) saw some of its most significant actions at Montpelier and witnessed the key participation of some Montpelier residents.

In the ninth and final chapter of *Montpelier*, Higman seeks to place his research in the context of the Caribbean and the wider plantation world. He reiterates the importance of historical context to the understanding of the Montpelier community and argues for the existence of true plantation communities by the end of the period of slavery. He sees these communities as created or defined by five key characteristics (locality, kinship, language, values, and reciprocity), and it is this discussion that is thought provoking, particularly in comparison to the plantation and slavery experience elsewhere in the Americas. Lastly, two appendices, by Elizabeth J. Reitz and Karlis Karklins, provide, respectively, a discussion of the vertebrate faunal remains and of the glass beads recovered from the archaeological work.

Higman's book is a valuable addition to the corpus of historical and archaeological scholarship on the Caribbean plantation. The richness of the historical and geographical contextualization permits the archaeological work to reach its full potential. It is highly recommended for all who are interested in plantation systems and the African Diaspora, whether from a Caribbean, North American, or comparative perspective.

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*Maiolica in the North: The Archaeology
of Tin-glazed Earthenware in North-West
Europe, c. 1500-1600.*

DAVID R. M. GAIMSTER, editor
British Museum, *Occasional Paper*, No. 122,
London, England, 1999. vi + 188 pp., 64
figs., 13 color pls., 7 tables. £25.00 paper.

The contributions in *Maiolica in the North* document the proceedings of a colloquium hosted by the Department of Medieval and Later Antiquities at the British Museum, 6-7 March 1997. The volume's editor is affiliated with that museum department and is coeditor with Ian Freestone of *Pottery in the Making: Ceramic Traditions* (Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, DC, 1997; reviewed in *Historical Archaeology* 33[4]:91-92). Gaimster is also the senior coeditor with Mark Redknap of *Everyday and Exotic Pottery from Europe: Studies in Honour of John G. Hurst* (Oxbow Books, Oxford, England, 1992).

During the 16th century the technology associated with Italian-style luxury tin-glazed ceramics (maiolica or majolica) spread from the Mediterranean, via the Alps and Central Europe, to France, the Low Countries, and southern Britain, so that in the early decades of the 17th century, tin-glazed earthenware production held a key position in the metropoli-

tan industries of the English Channel region. The 18 papers in this volume combine multidisciplinary approaches—archival documentation, archaeological methods, and scientific analyses (particularly chemical characterization)—to enhance our understanding of the production and distribution of this important ceramic. The 16 contributors, all from western Europe, are the major scholars on the subject.

The volume contains Gaimster's prefatory essay, "Maiolica of the North: The Shock of the New," and chapters that vary in length from 2 to 34 pages. Collectively these 18 chapters encompass 666 endnotes, 752 references cited, 64 black-and-white illustrations, 13 color plates, and 7 tables. Three chapters also have artifact catalogs or appendices. Each chapter has its own endnotes (varying from 1 to 241) and bibliographic citations (ranging from 1 to 316); four chapters have tables, but only two chapters have no illustrations. There are two distinct clusters of papers; seven detail maiolica production and distribution in the Low Countries and the British Isles, while 11 chapters in Part II (2 to 10 pages each, averaging 4.5 pages) constitute descriptive and interpretive reports on specific artifacts found in British sites. In this review, I assess the seven main chapters; nonetheless, the short contributions on individual products and manufacturing loci are significant contributions to the growing interpretive tin-glazed ware literature.

The initial chapter, by Timothy Wilson (Ashmolean Museum), "Italian Maiolica around 1500: Some Considerations on the Background to Antwerp Maiolica" documents the historiography of Renaissance maiolica between 1475 and 1525, notably the centers at Deruta, Montelupo, Faenza, and Pesaro. The work of three Venetian potters in Antwerp is considered and we are apprised of Protestant-Catholic religious contexts. Hugo Blake (University of London) contributes "*De nomine Jhesu: An Italian Export Ware and the Origin of Renaissance Maiolica Pottery-making in the Low Countries*," in which neutron activation analysis (NAA) is used to establish that uniquely decorated maiolica jugs and vases in Spanish shapes found in northwest Europe, initially considered "Netherlandish" in source, were actually fabricated in Italian Tuscany. A third chapter by Michael Hughes (Department of Scientific Research, British Museum) and Gaimster entitled "Neutron Activation Analysis of Maiolica from London, Norwich, the Low Countries and Italy," is one of three related NAA studies by the British Museum on tin-glazed pottery (the other studies document Hispano-Moresque and Italian wares). The results of the analysis of 77 specimens from Antwerp, Amsterdam, Utrecht, and Haarlem enable scholars to distinguish 15th- to 17th-century earthenwares produced in the Low Countries from their counterparts manufactured in southern England, and to differentiate ceramics from each of these four production centers. John Hurst (retired, Stamford, Lincs) wrote "Sixteenth-century South Netherlands Maiolica Imported into Britain and Ireland," in which NAA was used to distinguish northern from southern Netherlands products and document 115 British sites where southern vessels were found. Netherlandish originals, subsequent English copies of maiolica tiles, and changes from realistic to geometric tile depictions are also clarified.

The fifth chapter, by Claire Dumortier (Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Bruxelles), "Maiolica Production in Antwerp: The Documentary Evidence," reviews the archival data on potters of Italian origin who settled in Antwerp

ca. 1500. Johan Veeckman (Stad antwerpen) contributes "Maiolica in Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-century Antwerp: The Archaeological Evidence," in which he combines historical and archaeological information—the latter from refuse deposits (cesspits and building debris), kiln sites and furniture, and wasters to confirm a strong Italian influence through at least 1572. A useful assessment of archaeological information, maiolica forms and decoration, and tiles is provided by Jan Baart (Stedelijk Beher Amsterdam) "North Netherlands Maiolica of the Sixteenth Century."

Eleven shorter contributions comprise Part 2 (chapters 8-18); these include: Julie Edwards's (Chester Archaeology) "A Group of Biscuit and Glazed Wares from Holy Trinity Priory, London;" Gaimster's "Imported Maiolica Vases Bearing the Royal Arms of England: A Reconsideration;" Alejandra Gutierrez (King Alfred's College, Winchester) and Duncan Brown's (Southampton City Museums) "Italo-Netherlandish Maiolica from Southampton;" and Gutierrez's "Some Italo-Netherlandish Pottery from Winchester and Wickham, Hampshire." Additional essays are John Allan's (Royal Albert Memorial Museum, Exeter) "South Netherlands Maiolica in South-West England," including a contribution by John Hurst; John Cotter's (Canterbury Archaeological Trust) "Imported Apothecary Jars from Colchester, Essex;" and Christopher Gerrard's (King Alfred's College, Winchester) "A 'Malling' Maiolica Jug from Shapwick House, Somerset."

Three chapters concern floor tiles: Ian Betts's (Museum of London) "Early Tin-glazed Floor Tile Production in London;" Gaimster and Hughes's "South Netherlands Maiolica Floor Tiles from the Broad Arrow Tower, Tower of London;" and John Hurst and Jean Le Patourel's (Leeds) "Imported Maiolica Floor Tiles from Whitehall Palace, London." The final contribution, by Gaimster and Hughes, is "The Earliest Maiolica Stove in North-West Europe: Re-analysis of the Dissolution Finds from the Abbey of St Mary Graces, London."

These are compelling, well-written contributions that provide new interpretations and suggest new research strategies. They demonstrate the utility of multidisciplinary research focusing on a single topic.

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The Whiskey Trade of the Northwestern Plains: A Multidisciplinary Study.

MARGARET A. KENNEDY
Peter Lang, New York, NY, 1997. xix + 181 pp., 14 figs., 4 tables, 2 apps. \$39.95.

Do not underestimate the contents of this slim volume. Its small size belies a large and important topic in fur trade research—the final manifestation of large-scale commercial American fur trading. Based upon Kennedy's 1991 Ph.D. dissertation, "A Whiskey Trade Frontier on the Northwestern Plains," this book broadens her examination of that trade. In the process, she brings together a wealth of primary and secondary historical documentation and archaeological data from whiskey trading post sites. In addition, the scant

information available for Native American views of the trade is presented, something few archaeological investigators of the fur trade have undertaken.

Kennedy begins her study with an overview of whiskey trade history, identifying the various Native American and Euroamerican participants and their motivations for participation in the trade. Alcohol had long been used as an item of barter in the fur and bison robe trade. Fur traders were aware, however, of the devastating effects alcohol had on Native American trade partners. If for no other reason, the trading companies' need to preserve their trading partnerships prevented alcohol from becoming more than a minor trade item until after the 1860s. Until the end of the Civil War, the American Fur Company (AMF) and Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) controlled the trade in the northwestern Plains and central Rocky Mountains. With the collapse of the AMF in 1865 and simultaneous weakening of the HBC, the field was open to small entrepreneurs eager to engage in the trade for the short term and maximum profits.

Over the ensuing two decades, trading posts were established in almost unbelievable numbers in northern Montana and southern Alberta and Saskatchewan. The ensuing intense competition set the stage for alcohol's use as a primary exchange commodity for bison robes. The Americans engaged in the trade knew their operations were illegal. Nevertheless, the area's isolation and rugged terrain, combined with legal loopholes, made it extremely difficult for authorities to bring a halt to the trade. With the Canadian government's crackdown on the traders in the mid-1870s, traders were forced to focus their activities in Montana until destruction of the buffalo herds in the early 1880s finally brought the trade to a close.

One of the more unusual and innovative qualities of this book is Kennedy's attempt to bring the Native American voice into the discussion. This was done by consulting ethnographic accounts and collecting Native American oral histories. Unfortunately, the amount of information available in ethnographic studies is small, and oral traditions describing the effects of the trade are severely diminished since the trade ended over a century ago. What little remains, however, provides strong testimony to the destructive effects of the whiskey trade on the Native American participants. The evidence points to alcohol's effects on the Native American participants as equivalent to an epidemic of major proportions, causing social disruption and lowering resistance to disease.

Kennedy also presents archaeological and historical data to demonstrate the whiskey-trade-era posts' continuity with previous fur trade enterprises as regards trading post types, construction, and site plan. Post locations were more diverse, however, and new routes of supply had to be developed with American penetration into former HBC territory. Remnants of some of the more important trails continued to exist with the most important being the Whoop-Up Trail used by merchants at Fort Benton, Montana, to supply Fort Whoop-Up in Alberta.

The next chapter finds Kennedy examining the trade goods brought into the region for exchange. Archaeological investigations of the steamboat *Bertrand* and three whiskey-trade-era post sites provide a list of trade good types. Kennedy finds that trade good sources shifted from traditional sources used by earlier AMF and HBC traders. Prior to the Civil War, both American and Canadian traders depended

upon European sources for their trade goods. By the end of that conflict, America had become a major industrial power and was then the primary supplier for many, if not most, trade items. Shipping goods via steamboat from suppliers to trading posts or trading areas continued to put American traders at an advantage with larger quantities of goods made available at much lower prices than the Canadian competition could afford. She goes on to discuss the degeneration of traditional exchange ceremonies through time and the context of manufactured goods within Native American society.

Throughout all of this, Kennedy notes the overwhelming bulk of information available on the whiskey trade is from Euroamerican sources. This data bias is unavoidable due to the almost total lack of written records presenting the Native American view and, similarly, the general extremely low visibility of Native American sites of that era. Here, she is referring to those groups following the nomadic way of life, for there are certainly many high visibility sites in the northern Plains occupied by the Hidatsa, Mandan, and Arikara dating to the 1870s and 1880s. Those groups, however, were largely outside of the whiskey traders' area of influence.

In sum, I found Margaret Kennedy's book to be very informative. Although I would have liked more information on some issues, Kennedy's copious footnotes provide greater detail in some cases. Where that fails to satisfy, her extensive bibliography can be consulted for sources to follow down more specific corridors of inquiry. I would have appreciated more detail in her regional maps, but overall I found the illustrations, tables, and appendices complemented her text. The book is recommended to any reader interested in fur trade history and archaeology, or cross-cultural contact; it is an excellent example of historical archaeology's multidisciplinary investigative approach.

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*Retrieving Michigan's Buried Past: The
Archaeology of the Great Lakes State.*

JOHN R. HALSEY, editor

Cranbrook Institute of Science, *Bulletin* 64,
Bloomfield Hills, MI, 1999. viii + 478 pp.,
162 figs. \$42.00 paper.

This edited volume is a welcome addition to the literature on Michigan archaeology, really the first comprehensive volume since James Fitting's 1975 update (Cranbrook Institute of Science, Bloomfield Hills, MI) to his classic 1970 text *The Archaeology of Michigan* (Natural History Press, Garden City, NY). The 150th anniversary of Michigan's statehood in 1987 provided the impetus for the new volume. With the assistance of the Michigan Archaeological Society and the Conference on Michigan Archaeology, the editor, Michigan's State Archaeologist, canvassed the professional archaeological community for input regarding the type of volume needed.

Certainly the most important aspect for historical archaeologists is the volume's inclusion of a fairly comprehensive discussion of Historic-period archaeology in the state. While Fitting's earlier work included a brief chapter on the Historic period, it was focused primarily on Contact period sites and written quite early in the discipline's development.

The volume begins with Curtis E. Larsen's essay "A Century of Great Lakes Levels Research: Finished or Just Beginning?" The author provides a thorough, technical account of research on the Quaternary geological history of the Great Lakes. Understanding how Michigan achieved its current shape is essential for understanding the human presence on the landscape in both prehistoric and historic times. The glacial geology of Michigan affected settlement through the various landforms and many waterways and lakes shaped by the ice, as well as through its impact on soils and vegetation, particularly forest cover. In the next essay, "Michigan Late Pleistocene, Holocene, and Presettlement Vegetation and Climate," by the late Ronald O. Kapp, we "see how Michigan's landscape evolved from a frozen tundra to the vegetational mosaic encountered by the earliest European explorers" (p. 31). This chapter focuses mainly on environmental variation during prehistoric times, but also provides a good context for understanding the ecology of the region as Europeans engaged in fur trading and later began to harvest the area's vast pine forests. Kapp explains the vegetation of the state, primarily forest cover, at the time of European settlement, drawing on the work of J. O. Veatch and others.

The next several hundred pages contain a series of excellent essays on the early prehistoric peopling of Michigan, including detailed discussions on Paleo-Indians groups; Early, Middle, and Late Archaic settlement; and Early and Middle Woodland peoples. More directly applicable to the historical archaeologist are chapters that present the aboriginal cultures of Michigan in the last few hundred years prior to the arrival of Europeans. The chapter, "Late Woodland: Prehistory's Finale, History's Prelude," by Janet G. Brashler, John R. Halsey, Margaret B. Holman, James J. Krakker, Susan R. Martin, David M. Stothers, and Richard L. Zurel, carefully details what is purported to be the most complex of the prehistoric periods in Michigan, and the one that formed the basis for most of the tribal groups encountered by Europeans. In "Upper Mississippian/Oneota: People on the Margins of Michigan and the Fringes of History," authors Paul W. McAllister, William M. Cremin, and John R. Halsey examine the final and "most technologically advanced period" (p. 253) of aboriginal cultural development in Michigan prior to the arrival of Europeans, looking particularly at the dynamics of Upper Mississippian cultural formation in terms of Michigan's resident Late Woodland groups. In "Cultural Transformation: The Archaeology of Historic Indian Sites in Michigan, 1670-1940," Charles E. Cleland provides a brief analysis of sites associated with Indian groups that lived in Michigan after the enormously disruptive period of contact and subsequent settlement by French, British, and American groups. Although the written record for this period is quite rich, the archaeological record is surprisingly sparse; only a handful of these sites have been identified and excavated. Cleland notes that while these European groups had a major influence on Indian societies, it would be "a mistake to

believe that cultural change was either rapid or fundamental” (p. 280).

The remainder of the book focuses on Euroamerican settlement of Michigan beginning with the early French traders and missionaries. In “Euro-American Archaeology in Michigan: From Fleur-De-Lis to Stars and Stripes,” authors Donald P. Heldman, the late Arnold R. Pilling, Dean L. Anderson, and Mark C. Branstner, discuss the settling of Michigan by the French, British, and ultimately Americans from the 17th to 19th century. Heldman’s section on the French explorers covers the establishment of fur trading and missionary sites, the building and settlement of Fort Pontchartrain at Detroit, and the expansion of French interests across the state at sites such as Fort Michilimackinac. Pilling and Anderson’s essay, “Euro-American Archaeology in Michigan: The British Period,” takes up the story with the French surrender at Montreal in 1760 and the eventual British takeover of French interests in Michigan. The authors note that “archaeological evidence relating to British Michigan derives primarily from excavations at Fort Michilimackinac, Fort Drummond, and in Detroit . . .” (p. 314). The extensive work at Michilimackinac and Pilling’s important work in Detroit, however, get surprisingly little attention. Finally, Mark C. Branstner discusses the American period of settlement following the 1783 Treaty of Paris and the 1794 victory by Major General “Mad Anthony” Wayne at the Battle of Fallen Timbers. The author emphasizes the rich archaeological literature on the development of Detroit, the product of Wayne State University’s research program and more recent compliance-driven projects, but also covers a wide variety of sites across the state.

The last chapter in the volume, “Forts, Shipwrecks, and Thomas Edison?: Late Period Archaeology on Land and Underwater” by John R. Davis, C. Stephan Demeter, John G. Franzen, Gordon L. Grosscup, Bruce Hawkins, Kenneth E. Lewis, Patrick E. Martin, Terrance J. Martin, Kenneth R. Pott, Richard B. Stamps, and Nancy E. Wright, is an excellent introduction to and summary of a broad spectrum of more recent and diverse site types. These range from industrial mining and lumbering complexes, to early homestead and settlement sites, including Thomas Edison’s boyhood home, and to Michigan’s many submerged resources, particularly shipwrecks. The editor points out that many of these site types received little attention in Michigan prior to the advent of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 and Section 106 compliance. The authors offer compelling justifications for the study of these resources, and also highlight faunal studies, urban sites, and historic cemeteries. The essay on cemeteries, however, fails to draw on some of the excellent recent work by bioarchaeologists on historic cemetery populations.

Some of the most vexing problems with the volume result from it having taken over 12 years to get to publication. As the editor and contributors lament, several chapters present research that has been largely revised and/or superseded (e.g., Larson’s contribution) between the time of initial completion and publication. Several authors could not update their work, owing to time constraints, and two of the authors died before they could revise their chapters. While delays in publishing are not atypical in the scholarly publishing

industry, it is regrettable that this new “update” on Michigan archaeology is in some respects itself dated.

Another shortcoming with the book is that the editor and authors never seem to have arrived at a clear understanding of, or agreement on, their intended audience. The contributed chapters are very uneven in this regard, ranging from the highly technical and detailed to the fairly general and accessible. For example, the chapters on the geology and paleoecology of Michigan are extremely detailed and technical, requiring a fairly high level of expertise to digest them, while other chapters are quite general, non-technical, and accessible to the non-specialist. Furthermore, a number of the chapters read a bit like archaeological background chapters in survey reports—which is to say that they do an excellent job of bibliographic research on who did what and when, but do not always provide extensive synthesis of this information. For example, while the groundbreaking excavations at Michilimackinac are thoroughly cited and briefly described, the details on the results and the intellectual contributions of this important 30-year research project are disappointingly scant. In all fairness, many of the authors provide thoughtful, albeit brief, syntheses and do excellent jobs of presenting salient research directions for the future. In fact, the focus on broad and inclusive essays examining the existing literature and probing future research questions is a particular strength of the volume.

Finally, the book contains photographs of Native American burials and skeletal elements, and one has to wonder about the appropriateness of these given the current climate regarding treatment of human remains. It seems that line drawings could have been used just as effectively, and would have gone a long way toward respecting Native American groups’ wishes regarding the publication of burial photographs.

Unfortunately, broad synthetic volumes such as this can be very difficult to orchestrate and produce, owing to issues of overall page length, production timing, and basic stylistic differences among large groups of contributors. This last problem is alleviated in some respects by excellent editing throughout the volume; the reader is well aware of the multiple authors, but the text generally flows easily and the contributions are arranged in a way that avoids the sometimes-jarring experience of reading large, edited volumes.

Like Fitting’s earlier volume, *Retrieving Michigan’s Buried Past* is cleanly and professionally produced; the staff at Cranbrook Institute of Science are to be commended for the volume’s sharp design and accessible layout; however, numerous proof-reading errors and several more serious problems with figure captions detract from the overall effect. Graphics are numerous throughout the volume and generally clearly reproduced; however, the quality of some figures, particularly the line drawings, is uneven. In some cases, graphic captions lack detail and explanation, so that their relationship to the text and overall purpose is vague. The book is extensively referenced, and contains an excellent, extended bibliography that runs to almost 100 pages; this thorough bibliography is a major contribution of the volume and will no doubt become the basis for future bibliographic work on Michigan archaeology. The volume’s subject index

is complete and skillfully done, and the index of sites by site type is a nice addition to a volume of this sort.

Even with some shortcomings, the book provides an excellent overview of Michigan archaeology, one that expands on and seriously updates the work of Fitting. It will be a welcome addition to the literature as a fascinating volume for the seriously interested citizen, a resource for elementary and secondary school teachers, a beginning text for college students, and a starting point for future research.

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*Historical Archaeology in Wachovia:
Excavating Eighteenth-Century Bethabara
and Moravian Pottery.*

STANLEY SOUTH

Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, New
York, NY, 1999. xv + 442 pp., 310 figs., 7
tables, 1 app. \$90.00.

If one closely peruses book rooms at conferences, publishers' catalogs, and professional journals, it is apparent that there is little available information about historical archaeology in North Carolina when compared to its neighboring states. This is unfortunate, because there has been a sizable amount of substantive archaeological research on many historic sites across the "Old North State." Much of this information is not readily accessible to the general archaeological community or to the public, because it languishes on office shelves and in drawers as "gray literature" (i.e., file reports, CRM reports, and notes from unreported projects). The long-awaited publication of Stanley South's *Historical Archaeology in Wachovia*—one of the more important pieces of "gray literature" in North Carolina's archaeological past—is a welcomed edition and one that begins to fill this literary void.

South's original descriptive report, "Discovery in Wachovia," was completed in 1972, based upon his intermittent archaeological investigations conducted between 1963 and 1968 at the Moravian communities of Bethabara and Salem in Forsyth County. Its publication debut was suspended, however, when John Bivins, Jr.'s now-classic *The Moravian Potters in North Carolina* (University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1972) was published that same year (pp. ix-x). South made 12 copies of the manuscript and distributed them to various institutions (e.g., Old Salem, the Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, and the North Carolina Division of Archives and History) in 1975. *Historical Archaeology in Wachovia* is the first publication of the "Discovery in Wachovia" manuscript. It is published by Kluwer Academic/Plenum with only minor revisions, such as the addition of photographic captions, revisions for clarity, and several footnotes to reference archaeological investigations at Bethabara since 1975 (p. vii).

South's text is organized in two primary sections. The first section focuses on the history of the Moravians and the

archaeological project at Bethabara. The chapters in this section are devoted to summaries of individual architectural features, such as taverns, shops, residences, wells, and the palisade. Each chapter contains brief historical narratives of each feature drawn almost exclusively from Adelaide L. Fries' *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina* (8 volumes, State Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, 1922). Those accounts are followed by non-technical descriptions of each feature from South's excavations. The majority of the descriptions are architectural, although several chapters also contain humorous anecdotes from the investigations. The last chapters in this section (20, 21, and 22) contain important personal reflections and notes from South on the stabilization of the architectural ruins, the restoration and development of the historic site, and the artifact processing procedures. This section offers the modern archaeologist a wonderful insight into the method, practice, and reporting style of historical archaeology during the mid-to-late 1960s.

The second section of *Historical Archaeology in Wachovia* is devoted to a study of the Moravian potters Gottfried Aust and Rudolph Christ, the archaeological investigations of their pottery shops and kiln waster piles, and descriptions of their locally-made earthenwares. Again drawing heavily from Fries, South presents individual histories of Aust (Chapter 23) and Christ (Chapter 27) and their recorded activities as master potters in the Wachovia community. Chapters devoted to the excavation of Aust's pottery shop, dependencies, and kiln waster piles (24), as well as the Christ-Krause kiln waster piles (28), provide excellent stratigraphic and contextual information for the recovered ceramics.

This section also describes the lead-glazed earthenwares produced by Aust and Christ. Based on sherds recovered from his investigations, South classifies 15 ceramic types made by Aust at Bethabara between 1755 and 1771 (pp. 213-215). His criteria for defining a pottery type are based on the different clay pastes (red or white firing) and mineral oxides combined with slip clay to produce colored decorative techniques. South takes painstaking efforts to identify 35 forms produced by Aust. In an excellent diagram (Figure 26.44), he quantifies specific clays, glazes, and decorative motifs used on each form. The information on the ceramics recovered from the Christ-Krause kiln waster pile (Chapter 28) is not as well detailed as the Aust material, nor is it quantified. South's discussions of this material does offer an interesting perspective on the imitative aspects of Moravian ceramic traditions with those of European ceramics, such as "fayance," tortoise-shell ware, creamware, and stonewares (chapters 29-31). Noteworthy are the experiments of potters Rudolph Christ and William Ellis to reproduce local versions of those imported wares. Throughout the discussions on Moravian ceramics in this volume, standardized color charts (e.g., Munsell) for the different clays, glazes, and slip colors would have made this study useful for comparative analyses.

The abundant figures complement the text well. South and George Demmy's wonderfully hand-drawn base maps and vessel forms are superb. Those detailed, handcrafted figures represent a lost art in an age dominated by simplistic digital images. The numerous photographs of the archaeological investigations could comprise a separate illustrated history

of the project. Many images of the excavations, artifact processing and restoration contain familiar participants in South's investigations during this time, including Demmy, Jewel and David South, Johnny Miller, Garry Wheeler Stone, Brad Rauschenberg, and many of the African-American males who constituted South's excavation and support crew. The photographs of the reconstructed Moravian ceramic forms and kiln furniture are well done but appear only in black and white. The only color images of ceramics appear on the cover, and they are not reproduced in their true colors. Examples reproduced in true color would have enhanced the volume, especially given South's detailed classification scheme for these ceramics. Several of the same photographs appeared in Bivins' work but do not detract from their use in this volume.

It is unfortunate that *Historical Archaeology in Wachovia* was not published at the time of its original writing or revised more to reflect additional recent research on Moravian pottery and its place in North Carolina's craft heritage. It would be a worthwhile exercise to reconsider the ceramic assemblage from these excavations with the past 30 years of research on Moravian and other ceramics produced in North Carolina, like alkaline-glazed stonewares and other backcountry potters who produced slip decorated, lead-glazed earthenwares. Additionally, it is notable that some of the information contained within this volume has been previously published, such as the identification of Aust's anthropomorphic smoking pipes in *The Florida Anthropologist* 18[3]:49-60, 1965).

Despite minor qualms, for its discussion on the Bethabara site and the archaeology of the Aust and Christ-Krause shops and kiln waster piles, this volume stands as a valuable companion piece to Bivins' *The Moravian Potters in North Carolina*. It further details ceramic forms and decorative motifs in what Bivins' classifies as the "early" and "middle" periods of Moravian ceramic production in central North Carolina. As an individual work, it provides information on the archaeological investigations at Bethabara and the context of the excavated Moravian ceramics more accessible to the archaeology community, ceramic researchers, and the general public. South's text is equally accessible to all of those groups, but at \$90.00 it is overpriced for the public. Only time and future publications will judge the acceptance of South's ceramic types by scholars and ceramic researchers.

Kluwer Academic/Plenum's issue of South's descriptive publication coincides, perhaps unintentionally, with the resumption of large-scale archaeological investigations at Bethabara by The Archeology Laboratories of Wake Forest University. *Historical Archaeology in Wachovia* and the original work at Bethabara it represents stand as testament to the dedicated and prolific Stanley South, whose outstanding contributions to historical archaeology in North Carolina during the 1950s and 1960s have now begun to be fully recognized and appreciated.

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*The Material Culture of Steamboat
Passengers: Archaeological Evidence from
the Missouri River.*

ANNALIES CORBIN

Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, New
York, NY, 2000. xvii + 237 pp., 66 figs, 8
apps. \$95.00.

The third in Plenum's underwater archaeology series, *The Material Culture of Steamboat Passengers* opens with a humorous anecdote by Roderick Sprague of the University of Idaho. Herein, he makes an excellent point: many useful contributions to archaeological knowledge languish as obscure Master's theses, often receiving little circulation or professional recognition. This study represents an encouraging countertrend. It stems from a Master's thesis at the East Carolina University Program in Maritime History and Nautical Archaeology, reflecting this school's blending of anthropological and historical research methods. The result is a fine piece of research that will be of interest to scholars of the material culture of the American West and of Missouri River steamboat wrecks.

The first chapter contains a brief overview of westward expansion and the development of the Missouri River steamboats, or "mountain boats," as evolutionary offshoots of the more familiar Mississippi River designs. The second chapter provides brief histories of the two steamboats that are the subject of this study, the 1865 wreck of the steamer *Bertrand*, and the 1856 wreck of the steamer *Arabia*, as well as cursory overviews of the respective archaeological excavations and salvage of the two vessels. This is a focused study of two collections and not a detailed analysis of the vessels, their architecture, or a critical analysis of archaeological methods and findings. In particular, the author touches only lightly upon the controversial issue of commercial salvage that has surrounded the *Arabia* project. This is undoubtedly a necessary form of diplomacy in a study that asked voluntary research access from the *Arabia* salvors.

The author lays out her research methods including a series of five hypotheses on the material culture of western steamboat passengers to be tested in the study. The hypotheses collectively state that gender, socioeconomic differences, relative age (child vs. adult), and in some cases occupation of steamboat passengers are discernible patterns in the archaeological record, patterns that may be discovered through careful classification and analysis of well-provenienced archaeological materials. "Well-provenienced" is a necessary qualifier, as the author's method requires the analysis of closely associated sets of objects, in this case, the contents of shipping containers belonging to distinct individuals. The patterns described, however, may be of use in analysis of unprovenienced or partially provenienced materials.

The heart of the study lies in the detailed descriptions of the contents of five wooden shipping containers from the shipwrecks. From the *Bertrand* comes a box belonging to a mother and son; a box belonging to two sisters; a box addressed to a male, but containing female items; and a cobbler's tools and supplies packaged in a small keg. From the *Arabia* comes a carpenter's toolbox and associated tools.

The object descriptions are thorough and well illustrated, forming an engaging catalog of material culture of 19th-century westward expansion. As much of this material has not before been closely analyzed, this is a significant addition to the archaeological documentation of the two wrecks. The description and classification of the container contents includes additional information on excavation methods and factors such as differential preservation of materials.

The author's five hypotheses are then tested after the 1,685 objects have been identified and classified, and variables and value labels have been assigned. Statistical analyses including mean standard deviation, frequency distribution, and logistic regression are performed using the SPSS 1990 application. A key omission is a statement as to how the archaeological sample was obtained. There appears to have been no random sample applied to the collections. Four relatively intact containers with associated historical data were selected from the *Bertrand* and one container was selected from *Arabia*, possibly the only containers from these wrecks with reliable provenience. Unfortunately, those selections may have inadvertently biased the study's results.

For example, a hypothesis stating that single men traveled chiefly with occupational-based items (such as tools) will be easily proven by examining only a carpenter's tool chest and a cobbler's stores. How do we know that those men did not also have many undocumented personal possessions and luxury items aboard? Similarly, a hypothesis that states that females traveled with a greater preponderance of personal and luxury items than was true of single males will be easily proven by examining the boxes in question, but how do we know to whom belonged the rest of each ship's vast utilitarian cargo? A woman could have easily owned many of the utilitarian objects found on board either vessel, but these did not appear within the sampled containers. A curious find, a ceramic doll found in the carpenter's box (which could suggest the presence of a child or is at least an unusual adult male keepsake) is largely dismissed as anomalous.

The author does present a well-advised caution against assigning economic labels such as "luxury item" to objects as "there are no accepted archaeological standards for wealth attributes for artifacts" (p. 111). As the acidic waters of the Missouri River did not preserve apparel made from vegetable fibers in these shipwrecks, including lower status apparel such as cotton dresses, the archaeological sample is biased towards what is commonly accepted to be higher status apparel such as silk. The author states that many of the loose buttons and hooks in the boxes likely came from deteriorated cotton or linen apparel; nevertheless it is difficult to index the relative proportion of luxury items accurately in the face of such missing data.

I believe that the author's general hypotheses are historically and archaeologically sustainable, but the study needs to make much greater recognition of potential sample bias, and of the limits to which archaeological materials may be analyzed. The hypotheses represent what were likely historical norms on the American frontier (single men traveling with occupational items, families traveling with household goods, personal items and children); however, an important goal of historical archaeology (in my mind) is to challenge,

or at least provide new insights into, historical assumptions through tangible evidence of variation in behavioral and cultural norms.

My methodological quibbles aside, Corbin's work is a remarkable accomplishment as a Master's thesis. In addition to the descriptive catalog, the appendices make this work particularly valuable to researchers. These include inventories of the five containers in this study, the full cargo inventory for both the *Bertrand* and *Arabia*, and a very useful 79-page alphabetical listing of Missouri River steamboats and wrecks developed by the author. The work is rounded out with a five-page bibliography and index.

The Material Culture of Steamboat Passengers is not only an important milestone in the author's evolving body of published research on Missouri River nautical archaeology, but also represents a trend towards greater recognition and publication of quality Master's theses. Across the globe, many archaeological collections and sites would greatly benefit from the type of focused analysis afforded by a Master's thesis project; many graduate students would benefit from the practical exposure to readily available and underexploited archaeological data.

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Historic Shipwrecks: Discovered, Protected, and Investigated.

VALERIE FENWICK and ALISON GALE
Tempus Publishing, Stroud, Gloucester,
England, 1999. 160 pp., 60 fig., 16 color
pls. \$24.99 (£14.99) paper.

Authors Valerie Fenwick and Alison Gale address the successes and failures of Britain's Protection of Shipwrecks Act passed in 1973 by presenting a compendium of research focusing on the 47 wrecks currently protected by this act. The authors discuss how the wrecks were discovered and how they were protected. The book also details the kinds of investigations that have been carried out on those sites. The presentation of this information educates a general audience as well as the professional archaeologist about the current state of Great Britain's submerged cultural resources and her ability to protect them.

The opening chapter of the book examines the historic background behind Britain's attempt to protect her maritime past. The authors discuss British maritime history, the way ships are lost, the way shipwreck sites are discovered, and the salvage costs. The authors explain that salvage is a legitimate enterprise when attempting to recover natural resources from the seafloor. When such activities are applied to cultural materials found in an underwater context, however, the archaeologist's ability to reconstruct past human behavior is severely limited. Fenwick and Gale point out that excavation is only a small fragment of the work conducted by archaeologists and that the majority of

research is conducted in the course of artifact conservation and analysis. The authors note, and I strongly agree, as do most researchers, that collections should never be divided between institutions. Sale of items, of course, is considered a violation of professional ethics in most countries around the world. The authors explain that problems continued, however, and with the advent of SCUBA, more and more people were able to access these wrecks. In an attempt to curtail these activities and the continued loss of her submerged cultural resources, the British government implemented the Protection of Wrecks Act in 1973. This act allowed for the:

designation of a restricted area around the seabed site of a vessel on account of the historical, archaeological or artistic importance of the vessel, its contents or former contents. It applies in UK waters excluding the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands. It is an offence for unauthorized persons to tamper with, damage or remove any part of the wreck or its contents; to carry out diving or salvage operations; and to deposit anything which would obliterate or obstruct access to the site (pp. 23).

The act mandates that anyone who wishes to access the wreck sites must obtain a license. According to the authors, the license is necessary for survey, excavation, the recovery of exposed materials, and to visit a site even on a recreational dive. The Protection of Wrecks Act, however, has not provided the protection for which it was designed. Instead, authority for the act has moved from one governmental department to another, and enforcement of the regulations by local authorities is limited by the lack of resources necessary for the task. The problem is further compounded by delays encountered when a wreck is first reported and the time it takes to bring the site under the act. Meanwhile, salvage activities may continue on the site until it is deemed important enough to be protected.

The book continues by providing a description of the 47 wrecks currently protected by the act. The wrecks discussed in the book demonstrate Britain's long maritime tradition ranging from Bronze Age vessels, Spanish galleons, frigates, and ships-of-the-line to the more recent tradition of steamships and submarines. To present this information the book is divided into 11 sections that discuss these various wrecks. Within each section the authors effectively describe the wreck site by providing a guide containing the location of the wreck, the surrounding area that is protected by the act, the kind of vessel and armaments recorded at the site, and how it was lost. For many wrecks additional information on cargo, details of the wrecking event, the rescue of people, and salvage are presented. Following this succinct guide, an account of the discovery of the site, its historical and archaeological significance, materials and artifacts recovered, and a site description is provided. Finally, the data are further complimented with a site plan, a viewpoint (where the site can best be viewed from the coast), photographs of artifacts, and further readings.

In addition to this information, the history of each wreck under the Protection of Wrecks Act is discussed. Some of

the sites, such as the *Durat Point* wreck, have been successful in incorporating public awareness, data for publication in journals and popular magazines, and protection to the site. Others, such as the *Studland Bay* wreck, have contributed a wealth of archaeological information. Here researchers using local support have been able to investigate this wreck and have generated data on everything from tin-glazed plates to botanical remains.

Certain sites, however, such as the *Rhinns of Islay*, are not as fortunate as the *Durat Point* or *Studland Bay* wrecks. The *Rhinns of Islay* is a multi-component site that was once covered by the Protection of Wrecks Act. This site contains the remains of several shipwrecks, none of which has been identified. This is due, in part, to the dynamic nature of the site, which makes it difficult for archaeologists to determine the age, function, or nationality of these wrecks. This site is located in a high-energy area and few materials have been recovered, therefore, the site's status under the act has been revoked.

A final disturbing example of how the act has failed in protecting shipwrecks is seen in the case of the *Invincible*. This site has provided a wide array of information about shipboard life in the Royal Navy. The site was excavated and many artifacts were recovered. The authors point out, however, that to offset project expenses and conservation costs some of the artifacts were auctioned off. The site suffered physical damage when a ship ran aground in the area designated for protection.

While the book provides valuable information, no citations exist outside the cursory further readings listed at the end of each section. Additional research, with the appropriate citations, would make the book more useful for the professional. Although the book contains a generous number of photographs, most of the color photographs are quite poor in quality and some of the photographs of artifacts lack a scale for comparison. Finally, a small problem appears to exist when the authors define magnetometers as measuring resistivity, but this may be a result of terminology differences between American and British researchers.

Outside of these few criticisms, the book reinforces the value of protecting submerged cultural resources. Other nations can benefit by comparing the approaches used in Britain to their own. Finally, this book may aid scholars in understanding the need for public outreach programs and further attempts to educate the public about the importance of protecting archaeological sites and involve them in research. Archaeologists sometimes forget that it is the public who often foots the bill for these projects and they should be made aware of what problems may face the investments that they make into their community. After all, it is the public who loses in the end if we cannot better protect these sites.

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*Building the Los Angeles Aqueduct:
Archaeological Data Recovery at the
Alabama Gates Construction Camp.*

THAD VAN BUEREN, JUDITH MARVIN,
SUNSHINE PSOTA, and MICHAEL STOYKA

Report submitted to Environmental Analysis Branch, District 6, California Department of Transportation, Fresno, CA, 1999. x + 216 pp., 124 figs., 43 tables, 3 apps. No price given, paper.

The Los Angeles Aqueduct, built between 1908 and 1913, is symbolic of the quest for water that has guided the development of the arid west. Often, the politics behind a system, its designers, engineers, and purpose capture the attention of historians. *Building the Los Angeles Aqueduct* shifts the focus from the aqueduct system and its politics to the men who labored to build the system. The end result blends historical and archaeological data to provide a thoughtful reconstruction of the lives of a small army of men who occupied one desert work camp between April 1912 and February 1913.

The Alabama Gates Construction Camp was only one of 57 transient work camps that came and went along the LA Aqueduct over a five-year period. It is also the only one at this time to have been investigated archaeologically, thanks to its location within the route of a proposed highway-widening project. Compliance with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act was the driving force behind the investigations at Alabama Gates, and this report was the final step in meeting the agency's legal obligations prior to construction.

Prepared under the umbrella of CRM, the report is well organized and thorough in the presentation of material. The first chapter outlines the project history and discusses locational and environmental data pertinent to the site. "Slaking a Big Thirst," Chapter 2, provides a well-researched historical context. It begins with a history of the forces behind the aqueduct and its construction, and moves on to discuss life in the construction camps and the work force employed by the water company. It then provides a general discussion of the working conditions and strikes that occurred over the five-year construction phase, and finishes with a brief account of the Alabama Gates camp.

The research design developed for the project is presented in Chapter 3. A discussion of previous work completed at western work camps is wide ranging, moving from dam and hydroelectric camps to logging, mining, charcoal producing, and railroad construction camps. The common theme developed through this discussion is the use of each site for a transient, work-related occupation, touching on many research topics. Specific questions are then posed, focusing on the themes of demography, camp layout, subsistence patterns, daily life, ethnicity, social stratification, labor relations, external interactions, health and safety, and industrial

processes. Chapter 4 presents the methods used during the course of the project.

The bulk of the report, 116 pages, is presented in Chapter 5, appropriately titled "The Residues of Camp Life." This chapter begins with a detailed discussion of the investigated features: housing facilities, the mess hall and kitchen, blacksmith shop, refuse deposits, pits, and others. It then continues with an analysis of the artifactual material, by function. The chapter is richly illustrated with both historical photographs (to illustrate footwear and clothing apparel favored by the work force) and drawings and photographs of individual and grouped artifacts. Numerous tables and bar graphs also enhance the text.

Of special note in this section is Psota's analysis of the 503 buttons recovered from the site. Most of the buttons are related to work clothing, and many have impressed marks. The histories of 16 companies and/or brand names are provided in the button discussion, along with numerous illustrations and drawings of the individual specimens. This contribution will be an invaluable source of information for those conducting future studies of work-related apparel.

The final chapter weaves the historical and archaeological data together to tell a story based on the research design. Comparative information from other work camp investigations is used throughout this discussion. The chapter is divided into five parts: "Work Camps as Designed Communities;" "Who Lived at the Camp?;" "Daily Life in the Camp;" "Identifying Class and Struggle;" and "The Camp as a Moment in Time." Each section interprets a different aspect of camp life, while the final pages tie the pieces together into a cohesive whole.

There are a few minor deficiencies in the document. For example, the legend and most of the text in Figure 1, the project vicinity map, are unreadable, and the lines are out of focus. Many of the button illustrations are presented as computer scanned images, in a half-tone gray, and also appear unfocused. Chapter 5 is overly long and would have been presented better in two chapters, one discussing the investigated features and another detailing the artifactual material.

As a whole, however, this work is a well-researched and thoughtfully presented study of a particular work camp occupied during a very short period of time. As such, it should become a standard reference for investigations of similar transient work-related occupation sites. As pointed out in Chapter 1 (p. 1), the purpose of the report was to document and preserve the story of the Alabama Gates Construction Camp site and its occupants for future generations. The authors do an admirable job in attaining this goal.

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Archaeology at the Whitley Site: An Early Historic Farmstead on the Prairies of Eastern Illinois.

BONNIE L. GUMS, LUCRETIA S. KELLY, and NEAL H. LOPINOT

Illinois Transportation Archaeological Research Reports 5, Illinois Department of Transportation, Springfield, and Department of Anthropology, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1999. xiv + 124 pp., 62 figs. No price given, paper.

The recent reissue of Bonnie Gums' *Archaeology at the Whitley Site: An Early Historic Farmstead on the Prairies of Eastern Illinois*, makes this report available to a wider audience. Originally prepared in 1991, this report, like many other CRM reports, had a limited distribution in its first printing. The fifth volume in the series of Transportation Archaeological Research Reports published by the Department of Anthropology at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, this report describes excavations conducted at an early 19th-century farmstead on the Illinois frontier. First settled in the 1820s by a family from Kentucky, the Whitley site had a short occupation span, making it an ideal location for archaeological investigations. The site represents a time period and location that are just beginning to be studied by archaeologists.

Since this is a CRM report, it has, as its primary goal, the description of Phase II and Phase III investigations conducted at the site by the Contract Archaeology Program of Southern Illinois University at Edwardsville. The investigators were able to conduct quite extensive Phase III investigations, exposing most of the main occupation area, consisting of the farmhouse and associated features, outbuildings, and fences. Although time and financial constraints prevented the full excavation and careful screening of fill from these features, the investigators were able to sample a large percentage of the site and to recover artifacts from each feature. Features included the cellar of the farmhouse, several outbuildings identified as smokehouses, other unidentified outbuildings, at least two fence lines around the property, two wells, and four cisterns. Each of these features produced copious numbers of artifacts, including a variety of diagnostic ceramics and other household debris.

The description of the excavations is clearly written and well organized. Any archaeologist interested in the mid-19th-century frontier, or who does research on farmsteads, would find this an interesting comparative study. It is particularly interesting because the house and associated structures were completely exposed, allowing the researchers to determine spatial relationships between the different activity areas at the site.

While this material is an important contribution to the archaeological database, like many CRM reports this publication is weakest when it comes to interpretation. The authors mention several interesting areas for future research, but are unable to follow through on the analysis in the context of a technical report. For instance, the section of the report that

deals with the history of the site begins with an interesting discussion of the establishment of transportation networks in the region. It is clear that the construction of roads and the development of waterways are of critical importance in determining settlement patterns. It would be interesting to explore how the inhabitants of the Whitley site developed and maintained ties to the larger community and how their location influenced their patterns of consumption and resource use. It would have also been helpful to include a map showing the location of these transportation routes.

Another graphic that would be useful is a map of Illinois showing the location of the site. When a report like this is distributed to a larger audience (i.e., researchers outside the state), many readers will have a limited knowledge of local geography and may not be familiar with the location of Paris, Illinois, the largest town mentioned in the text.

Despite some frustration with the limitations of the technical report format, I applaud the efforts of the Illinois Transportation Archaeological Research Program in making this report available to the larger community of archaeologists.

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*Archaeology at Mobile's Exploreum:
Discovering the Buried Past.*

BONNIE L. GUMS and GEORGE W. SHORTER, JR., with contributions by KRISTEN GREMILLION and DIANE SILVIA MUELLER

Center for Archaeological Studies
Monograph 4, University of South Alabama,
Mobile, 1998. viii + 82 pp., 73 figs., 22
tables. \$15.00 paper.

Most of us do not equate historical archaeology in the South with urban archaeology, yet Gums and Shorter's *Archaeology at Mobile's Exploreum: Discovering the Buried Past* highlights the potential for urban archaeology in this region and documents the development of Mobile, Alabama, from a small colonial town to a major Southern port. This report of archaeological findings of a single downtown block is a much-needed contribution to southern urban archaeology and clearly demonstrates how much we can learn of urban processes in the South ranging from commerce and land reclamation to domestic town life.

The first chapter provides a detailed historical background of Mobile and summarizes previous archaeological work conducted in the downtown area. It outlines the history of French, Spanish, British, American, and Confederate control of Mobile. Mobile was established in 1711 with the construction of Fort Condé/Charlotte as an important military and trading center for the French. In 1763, the French government forfeited the territory east of the Mississippi River, and Mobile fell under British rule. The Spanish

colonial period began in 1780, when the Spanish army from New Orleans attacked and laid siege to Fort Charlotte. Through much of the colonial period Native Americans lived in the area and traded with the Europeans. In 1813, the United States placed West Florida under the jurisdiction of the Territory of Mississippi, then the Territory of Alabama, and, in 1819, Alabama received statehood status. In 1861, Alabama seceded from the United States and joined the Confederacy.

Chapter 2 documents the occupation of the project's city block through a series of historical maps and other records. The block investigated by Gums and Shorter was immediately adjacent to the first fort, a wooden structure named Fort Louis, built in 1711. In 1720, Fort Louis was replaced by Fort Condé, which was built of stone and brick. Eventually, Fort Condé was renamed Fort Charlotte.

The project block was located in the esplanade, a large area that was left vacant to deter enemies laying siege to the fort. In 1804, Antonio Espejo owned part of the project block, where he was to fill in the land that was affected by high tides and rain and build a small house to store wood to be used at his bakery nearby. Espejo died in 1805, and his widow, Catalina, married a neighbor Sylvain Montuse. It is likely that Montuse built a tavern on the property shortly thereafter, and when Montuse died, Catalina continued running the tavern. These structures were replaced in 1835 by a row of brick buildings known as Hitchcock's Row, a commercial development that housed numerous businesses until the 1950s when they were torn down to make way for the Mobile City Police Building. A large cotton warehouse, built between 1824 and 1838, occupied another part of the lot. A public market, in operation in the 1820s, was located on another area of the city block. It was replaced in 1855 by a larger market building and city hall. This building housed a vegetable market, a fish warehouse, a broom factory, an armory gunroom, a saloon, and meat markets. The City Hall portion survives today and is the home of The Museum of Mobile, a local history museum run by the city. The rear of the building was torn down and replaced with the Matt Sloan Building, constructed in 1916.

Chapter 3 briefly describes the fieldwork and research design. The investigations proceeded in two phases. First, the Matt Sloan Building was investigated, which included excavations at the base of the elevator shaft and along the north wall of the building. The second phase of excavations opened large blocks and trenches in the area of Hitchcock's Row and the Espejo/Montuse property. A backhoe was used to remove overburden and 19th-century rubble in large block areas. The blocks were then gridded into 2 x 2-m units, which were excavated by hand. In all, four areas were investigated: the Matt Sloan Building on Water Street; a large block on Government Street; a large block on Water Street north of the Matt Sloan Building; and a trench on Government Street.

Chapter 4 outlines the excavations at the Matt Sloan Building that occupies a portion of the City Market built in 1855 and which, from the late 1820s to the early 1850s, had been the location of cotton warehouses. The excavations in the northeast corner unearthed the brick foundation of

the cotton warehouse. The brick foundation rested on large timbers laid perpendicular to the brick wall. Evidently, this construction method of placing brick foundations on courses of timbers was typical of the period and area. Excavations of the elevator shaft also revealed a remnant of a brick wall that was likely a part of the cotton warehouse.

Chapters 5 and 6 describe the excavation and artifacts of an area approximately 11.5 x 18 m (Block 1), which revealed evidence of a post-in-trench Spanish colonial building, probably associated with Antonio Espejo. Only a portion of the building trench with posts remained intact, and it is estimated to have measured 4.5 m wide and between 3.5 m and 5.75 m long. Other colonial period deposits include numerous post holes, three corncob smudge pits that are commonly found at 18th century Indian sites in Alabama, colonial era refuse pits, and pine pitch pits; midden and gully deposits were also uncovered in the excavations of this block. The historic-period Native American artifacts hint at the importance of the interaction between Indians and Europeans. Antebellum features and remains in Block 1 include remnants of Hitchcock's Row and kitchen-related refuse.

Chapter 7 briefly describes the excavation of a 51-meter trench (9 m wide) near Block 1, which revealed another series of wooden spread footings that supported other brick walls associated with Hitchcock's Row. Additionally, the stratigraphic profile at the east end of the trench revealed evidence of early 19th-century episodes of marshland filling that made use of timbers from the ruins of Fort Condé/Charlotte.

Chapter 8 outlines the excavations and Chapter 9 the artifacts of Block 2, an area approximately 12 x 14 m situated north of the Matt Sloan Building. This block contained rubble from the demolition of 19th-century structures, additional evidence of marshland filling, and evidence of a wooden structure dating to the 1830s.

Chapter 10, the conclusion, recounts how the archaeological investigations of this single city block have added significantly to our understanding of urban archaeology and the development of Mobile from a French fort and settlement, through the Spanish colonial period, and the American period. Land reclamation in the marshy area was a concern from Spanish colonial times and continued into the American period. The success of the land reclamation is documented by the subsequent development of the block into a major commercial area of Mobile, with markets, cotton warehouses, and other businesses.

The work by Gums and Shorter is the first significant archaeological investigation of a Spanish-colonial domestic site in downtown Mobile including a partial small square or rectangular post-in-trench foundation. It also uncovered evidence of early land reclamation in downtown Mobile that used timbers salvaged from nearby the ca. 1720 Fort Condé/Charlotte. The presence of historic-period Native American artifacts and features highlights their interaction with Europeans, posing intriguing questions for future investigations. The glossy format, richly illustrated with photographs and line drawings, makes this archaeological study appealing to a non-professional audience, while the detailed descriptions of excavations, features, and artifacts

make it an excellent resource for students in urban archaeology. This report will also be useful to professionals interested in urban archaeology in the South.

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*Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century
Domestic Site Archaeology in New York
State.*

JOHN P. HART and CHARLES L. FISHER,
editors

New York State Museum Bulletin 495, New
York State Education Department, Albany,
2000. xv + 241 pp., 69 figs., 31 tables.
\$34.95 paper.

This recent volume, edited by Hart and Fisher, is the result of a colloquium held at the New York State Museum in October 1997 to explore the variety of domestic sites recently excavated in New York State and the theoretical approaches being used to interpret them. As a result, the book is both a useful introduction to the primarily agrarian domestic archaeology of New York and to some of the most recent method and theory on excavating and interpreting such sites.

All of these articles, except the final two, deal with essentially rural sites. The book presents a fascinating cross-section of information useful to historical archaeologists throughout the Northeast and upper Midwest. The volume is well illustrated, with uniform locator maps for almost all of the sites. Ample black-and-white photographs, tables, and figures supplement the well-written text. The mix of theoretical and methodological discussions with specific applications is especially interesting and valuable. In addition, all of the excavations reported here were undertaken in order to comply with federal or state historic preservation law—an excellent example of both the necessity and the value of moving information out of the “gray literature” into the wider discourse of historical archaeology.

The first section begins with Kuhn and Little’s evaluation of the significance of 19th- and 20th-century domestic sites and the National Register of Historic Places. They conclude that more research on these sites needs to be conducted and entered into contextual statements, and more sites need to be nominated to the National Register for future comparison. Next, Wurst, Armstrong, and Kellar emphasize the paucity of recorded and examined material on domestic sites in central New York and the variation between them. In his article, Huey emphasizes the need for historical archaeologists to be current with the historical literature and to use this material as a way to expand knowledge about the past. He further suggests the creation of an enormous searchable database of all information about all late 19th-century sites and artifacts, and the formation of a permanent panel of archaeologists and historians to update and study it. Finally, Peña focuses on the smaller scale of individual farmsteads, which she points out include all outbuildings and landscape features.

She calls on historical archaeologists to develop methods and techniques for excavating and interpreting the often-scattered and fragmentary archaeological evidence of farmsteads both with and without intact, datable features. In addition, and just as important, Peña points out the vital necessity of getting information out of the “gray literature” and into the larger archaeological community.

In the first of two papers that more explicitly concern method, Versaggi makes the excellent point that, while they are often the primary evidence for many historic sites, sheet middens are under-utilized for analytical purposes. She suggests considering them in terms of spatial and temporal attributes, compositions, and context. In addition, she raises questions of sampling strategies, especially for different types of middens. Then Fisher discusses the changing cultural landscape of the early 19th century. He illustrates how roadside CRM surveys often encounter buildings and disturbed soils representing changes related to the transformation of the rural domestic landscape in domestic front yards.

The next three chapters represent case studies of specific New York farms. The first is a short site report on the M’Clintock house of Waterloo, New York. Pendery and Griswold apply the tenets of landscape theory to interior spaces by focusing on the excavation of a demolished rear wing. This application of landscape theory to the interior of the house is both productive and well worth emulating. The second study is a well-illustrated examination of a family cemetery in light of changing health and mortality, and changing social attitudes toward death and burial throughout the 19th century. Here Raemsch and Bouchard illustrate the interpretive power of combining historical data, domestic archaeology, and cemetery excavations to illustrate these processes more completely. Finally, Rafferty argues that, while ubiquitous, farmstead sites are nonetheless undervalued. Through full use of both documentary and archaeological resources, a uniquely complete analysis of change over time in domestic relations, the decline of the dairy industry, and the comparison of rural and urban middle-class production and consumption behaviors can be revealed.

In the first of the two more comparative case studies, Sopko compares three farmsteads in different parts of New York. The plethora of data from Phase II excavations allowed a relatively fine-tuned interpretation of each site and a more general comparison between the landscape and material culture of these quite different sites. The chapter by Affleck examines a collection of farms in the far northern part of the state. Although these more remote farmers were eventually integrated into the capitalist economy, they maintained the ideal of self-sufficiency longer than those closer to urban areas. Despite the expected transformation of relations between men and women—especially in dairy production and related artifacts, Affleck notes it is not possible to discern what these men and women thought and felt about this radical alteration of their way of life.

The final section addresses interesting non-agricultural sites. First, LoRusso describes a free-black domestic site from the early 19th century. Although he attempts to establish the influence of African-American cultural traditions on this modest domestic site, his conclusion is that not enough archaeological evidence exists here or for other Northern free-black sites for meaningful comparison. Pickand’s article examines a boarding house site from the

early 20th-century wilderness logging frontier—currently the only site of its kind excavated in New York. This boarding house site may not offer much potential for the examination of the lives of known individuals, but it can greatly illuminate the differences between urban and rural industrial housing and material culture.

Very few improvements could be made to this useful and fascinating volume. The 13 articles are not divided in the table of contents by informative sub-headings, though loose groups are mentioned in the Forward. Likewise, abstracts of the articles would help guide the reader through the material more conveniently. Several articles also suffer from the lack of internal subheadings. In addition, a large map of New York State with all of the counties labeled would be very useful to those not as familiar with the geography. These very minor matters, however, barely impact on the overall value of the volume.

Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Domestic Site Archaeology in New York State is an invaluable contribution to the literature of domestic landscapes and their transformation in the 19th and 20th centuries. The utility and implications of these papers extend well beyond the borders of New York State, having an impact throughout the region and on the literature of cultural landscapes. This is also a fine example of the contribution that CRM and other “gray literature” studies have to make to the wider professional audience. The real problem is that more volumes of this type are not being published.

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The La Salle Expedition to Texas: The Journal of Henri Joutel, 1684-1687.

WILLIAM C. FOSTER, editor

Texas State Historical Association, Austin,
1998. x + 350 pp., 22 figs. \$39.95.

The primary source of our knowledge of French explorer Robert Cavelier de La Salle's ill-fated expedition to Texas is based on Henri Joutel's journal. Joutel was La Salle's faithful companion and confidant, as well as the self-appointed chronicler of this epic undertaking. The first edition of the journal in English was published in London in 1714 and entitled *A Journal of the Last Voyage Perform'd by Monsr. De la Sale, to the Gulph of Mexico, To find out the Mouth of the Missisipi River* (Church, No. 859). It was reissued with a new title in 1715 (Brinley, *Catalogue*, No. 4498), and again in 1719 (Sabin, 9, No. 36733). The original manuscript, since lost, was transcribed by the French archivist and historian Pierre Margry and published in 1879 in *Découvertes et Etablissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'É'Amérique Septentrionales, 1614-1698* (Paris, 1876-1886). The fact that William C. Foster's and Johanna S. Warren's work is much more than a mere translation quickly becomes evident in the 45-page introduction, which provides the reader with historical background information on the various players in this human drama as well as on the political and historical setting of the expedition itself. The natural environment and human

ecology of central Texas are also addressed as they play an important part in this modern interpretation of Joutel's account.

When one begins reading the first chapter, “La Salle Sails to North America,” it becomes immediately clear that the footnotes are all important in the understanding and interpretation of Joutel's narrative. The original text has been somewhat modified to make it less ambiguous and easier to read, something explained in the Translator Notes (pp. 327-328). Throughout the book, maps have been inserted in strategic places, making it easier for the reader to follow the route of La Salle's expedition and identify various geographical locations mentioned or alluded to in the text. In this first chapter, however, the fact that Abbé Jean-Cavelier, La Salle's older brother, was a Sulpician, has been omitted, something that would have contributed to a better understanding of the intrigues and rivalries pitting the various religious factions represented. The Sulpician Order (Society of Saint-Sulpice) was the Jesuits' main foe in New France (Canada), and Abbé Cavelier had been instrumental in helping his younger brother, who had resigned from the Company of Jesus, to establish himself in Canada by arranging the gift of a large Sulpician domain on the island of Montreal. This act set the stage for the explorer's last and tragic expedition 17 years later.

In Chapter II, “Across the Gulf,” we learn of the route taken by La Salle from the island of Hispaniola into the Gulf of Mexico, managing to avoid detection by the Spaniards. A footnote on the first page of the chapter (p. 60) indicates that the term *pacsis* has not been identified. *Pacsis* is an archaic term that designated the foresail and mainsail, a word that had practically disappeared from nautical terminology by the end of the 17th century. The footnotes shed some interesting light on the fauna encountered by the expedition members on the Isle of Pine, off the southwestern coast of Cuba, and point to the various, if not numerous, navigation problems experienced by La Salle.

Divided into 16 chapters, this new translation of Joutel's Journal is clear and abundantly supplemented by numerous footnotes that help clarify the downward progression of the ill-fated expedition. Foster's interpretation of the place-names mentioned by Joutel, as well as the names of the Indian tribes encountered by the French, gives us a much more precise idea of the various geographical locations visited by La Salle and his men, and the route taken by the survivors to reach Canada. This work also allows us to understand better La Salle's complex persona, his strengths and his weaknesses, and why this expedition was doomed to failure before the flotilla even sailed from La Rochelle.

The three appendices that follow Joutel's journal are of great interest. Appendix A is the interrogation and deposition of Pierre Meunier by Spanish officials at Mexico City in 1690. Meunier was one of the few survivors of the expedition and a reliable witness of the events surrounding La Salle's assassination. This is the first time that this document, kept in the Archivo General de Indias, in Seville, has been translated into English and published. Appendix B is a most interesting listing of Indian tribes mentioned in Joutel's account. Foster did a magnificent job of correcting and interpreting Joutel's often-confusing spelling of Indian tribes and villages, and in identifying their correct geographical locations. Appendix C is a chronological reconstruction of Joutel's itinerary from Fort Saint-Louis, on

Garcitas Creek in Texas, to the middle Mississippi River, at a point identified by Foster as being just southeast of Deerfield in Arkansas.

It is unfortunate that a mistake made by numerous historians in the past was repeated in this work: mentioning La Salle's first name as being René-Robert. La Salle's baptismal record from the parish of Saint-Herbland, in Rouen, clearly indicates his first name as being Robert. The original document, dated 22 November 1643, is now kept in the Bibliothèque Municipale (Public Library) of Rouen. There are a few other minor errors, such as referring to Beaujeu, the captain of the warship *le Joly*, as Captain Beaujeu when, in fact, it should have been Captain de

Beaujeu, a noble. These small errors do not, however, diminish the merit of this work, a book that represents a valuable and indispensable research tool for historians, cultural anthropologists, and archaeologists. The recent discovery and excavation by the Texas Historical Commission of the wreck of the *Belle* has generated new interest in 17th- and 18th-century French expansionism and colonial effort in North America; the publication of *The La Salle Expedition to Texas* could not have come at a more appropriate time.

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