REVIEW

Editied by Annalies Corbin

“Upon the Palisado” and Other Stories of Place from Bruton Heights
JOHN METZ, JENNIFER JONES, DWAYNE PICKETT, and DAVID MURACA

In 1989 the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation (CWF) “acquired the Bruton Heights School” (p. 1), located at the margins of Historic Williamsburg. The CWF then initiated an archaeological and documentary research project that was to “last seven years” (p. v). Upon the Palisado summarizes much of the recovered record from the period prior to 1800, including information on a possible section of an important 6 mi. long palisade erected in 1634 when Middle Plantation was established. This palisade line may have crossed or bounded the property purchased by the CWF, believed to have been a part of the lands of John Page who was one of the vital forces in developing this early settlement. Excavations identified the brick manor house built by Page in 1662 and other structures composing this early example of a gentleman’s residential complex. Thus, this research provides an extraordinary view of life at Middle Plantation during its formative years and throughout the 18th century.

A brief preface by David Muraca and a page of acknowledgments provide an indication of the goals and complexity of this project as well as a listing of the many people involved. Chapter 1, the introduction, describes the archaeological work planned in association with the development of this property by the CWF. The authors summarize the transition planned for this site that, “for nearly a half century after 1940 … was a school for African American high school students” (p. 115). The goal was to use the renovated building and its grounds as the “Bruton Heights Educational Campus” (p. v) of the CWF.

Chapter 2, “Before the English,” begins the chronological review of the project’s findings with a description of two Native American procurement camps identified on the property. The term procurement camp is applied to transient or short-term occupation sites that native peoples “visited repeatedly over a long period of time” (p. 11). The findings from the prehistoric period are placed within the general context of Indian activities in this area over the past 10,000 years. The third chapter offers a summary of the complex relations that developed between the native peoples of the Powhatan Confederacy and the English settlers. In 1634, a year after “an Act of Assembly in 1632/3” established Middle Plantation as “the first major inland settlement for the colony” (p. 15), a palisade was erected that “stretched six miles across the peninsula” (p. 20). This palisade extended from Jamestown to Chiskiack, completely crossing the long neck of land then being colonized by the English. It was a larger version of the “two-mile long palisade [that] was constructed across a neck of land” by Deputy Governor Sir Thomas Dale after “he established the settlement of Bermuda Hundred” (p. 21) in 1613. Chapter 3 also includes a summary of the 1993 publication by Muraca and Jon Brudvig, entitled “The Search for the Palisade of 1634” (Quarterly Bull. of the Arch. Soc. of VA, 48:138–150). Other general data related to palisades provides readers with some of the information necessary in the interpretation of the archaeological evidence for this type of barrier.

“John Page and the Growth of Middle Plantation” (chap. 4) describes how Page “arrived in York County in 1655, a man from a prosperous English family” (p. 33) and rapidly put his resources toward amassing considerable property and to developing “a working plantation called Mehixton” (p. 34). However, Page’s land at Middle Plantation, purchased “soon after he arrived in the colony,” became the place that he chose for “the construction of his brick manor house in 1662” (p. 36). About 80 m east-northeast of the manor, and near a local clay source, Page erected a kiln and all the other facilities needed for making building bricks and roofing tiles. The manor and the other buildings around it were, therefore, constructed largely from materials that Page found on his own property. The archaeology of this kiln complex, a description of the social and economic implications of brick production, and the construction of brick buildings form the core of this chapter.

The archaeology of the manor house, the central feature of the Page estate, and of a particularly large brick structure “identified approximately fifty feet northwest of the Page house at Bruton Heights” (p. 64) is presented in chapter 5. Also included are the relevant historical documentation and a summary of the analysis of the artifacts recovered from excavations at the manor. Chapter 6, “The Emergence of Williamsburg,” reviews the growth in power and prestige of Middle Plantation during the last quarter of the 17th century. A major church as well as a college became part of the infrastructure of this important community. The extent of the shift in the importance of Middle Plantation, particularly after Bacon’s rebellion in 1676, set the stage for its becoming the capital after the 1699 Jamestown fire had destroyed that city for a second time. Middle Plantation then was renamed Williamsburg. John Page died in 1692 and did not live to see the transformation, but his legacy to this community was considerable. Page’s manor burned in 1727. In a peculiar way, that fire preserved an important record, here summarized in the description of the archaeology and the artifacts recovered from this important brick building.

By 1747 the land on which Page had built his manor, having passed through several hands, was held by Mathew Moody. Chapter 7 relates the historical record regarding these land transfers, and documents Moody’s sales of tracts as small as one acre from the property. In this chapter, footnote 4 to the brief section entitled The Historical Background (pp. 99–100) indicates that this unit “is an abridged version of Cathy Hellier’s research published in

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Muraca and Hellier (1992). The exploration of these lots, and the documentation of the record needed to interpret the findings, provides the focus for the concluding portion of this chapter. A brief epilogue (chap. 8) then summarizes this volume.

Of particular note in this work is the extensive use of the popular sidebar technique that features general information on important related subjects in special texts, here set off from the narrative by being printed on a gray background. These sections usually appear at the tops of one or more pages. For example, chapter 1 has a two-paragraph note on the environment. Nearly half of the text of chapter 2 appears as Tidewater’s Prehistory, in which an overview of local native history is separated from the specific findings of this project. Each of the other chapters has one or more sidebars, providing general information on subjects such as the manufacture of brick and tile, Bacon’s rebellion, and separate analyses of the vessels excavated, the animal bones, and the materials recovered from a separate midden. For general readers, these contributions bridge an important gap between the detailed archaeological and historical findings and a reconstruction of life in general as it was lived by the natives and the 17th-century colonists in this area.

As Muraca notes, “[t]his is not a site report” (p. iii). The work summarizes a vast and extremely important body of data of which very little has been published. A relevant master’s thesis and various reports filled with the CWF are listed in the references. Here, some of the information is combined with a rapidly growing database relating to these topics to provide a overview of the project and its importance. While there is much to critique about the data presented, a more obvious problem is the mode of presentation. The editorial process involved in the production of this volume leads me to wonder how the venerable and respected CWF could invest so much in the basic research and fail to provide the oversight merited by this publication. It may be the most poorly edited and frustrating work that I have ever read. The text reads like a good first draft but is far from being what I would accept as a publishable work. Problems with typographical and grammatical errors pale in the shadow of numerous ambiguities and repetitions. For example, the same brief texts from William Strachey and Ralph Hamor appear on p. 20 and again on p. 23. In addition to being repetitive, variations appear within the cited quotations! Slight as these may be, they provide distressing indications of editorial problems that were not resolved, including poor ordering of the data presented and plans reduced to a scale that renders some information blurry, if not illegible. The figures often include scales suggesting that the measurements of features differ considerably from those reported in the text, indicating that the text has not been edited for archaeological precision. I also find the excavation strategy to be puzzling. For example, why a simple “irrigation trench” (Fig. 4) would be traced for a distance that exceeds the exposed length of the supposed palisade of 1634. Only five postholes supposedly relating to that important 1634 feature have been revealed. The irregular spacing between these five holes leads me to question the interpretation. What these five features may represent is not adequately addressed here.

One may wonder how this volume passed through any editorial process and, particularly, that of the CWF. Since this work was published soon after the appearance of R. Handler and E. Gable’s critical review of the structure of the CWF (New History in an Old Museum, 1997), one might imagine that a special effort would have been made to monitor educational publications available to the general public. This publication presents a very poor image to its readers, not at all in keeping with the impressive record of research relating to the historical district that is Colonial Williamsburg (G. Kelso et al. 1998, in Northeast Historical Archaeologist). Those scholars who are concerned with specific questions might turn to the authors’ many cited works for clarification and, perhaps, more accurate information. How the general public will react to the problems evident in this volume might well be considered by an editor representing the research division of the CWF. I hope that a much revised and well-edited second edition is planned for this important volume, and that the CWF cares enough to rectify what seems to be an unfortunate oversight.

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Indians of the Greater Southeast: Historical Archaeology and Ethnohistory
BONNIE G. McEWAN, editor
University Press of Florida, Gainesville, 2000. xvi + 336 pp., 33 figs., 9 tables. $55.00 cloth, $24.95 paper.

Eleven Native American groups are presented by 12 of our most articulate and learned southeastern scholars in this well-written and edited volume. In the first three chapters, the authors deal with Indian groups (Timucua [Milanich], Guale [Saunders] and Apalachee [McEwan]) that were impacted directly by French and/or Spanish introductions into a region that would become La Florida from 1565 to 1704. Each essay begins with a summary of some of the archaeological data that exists for these Indian’s ancestors from a few hundred years before contact to the end of the Spanish colonial mission system that stretched north from St. Augustine, Florida, along the lower Atlantic coast and westward across northern Florida. After a brief overview of each area, the authors use archaeological, bioarchaeological, documentary, and ethnohistorical data to unravel the social, demographic, political, and economic aspects of the precontact and postcontact period groups, emphasizing continuity and change of the Timucua, Guale, and Apalachee Indians.

Jerald Milanich begins the volume with a succinct, informative chapter on the Timucua of northern Florida and southern Georgia. As he has in other books and articles on the Timucua, he considers the Timucua linguistic origin controversy (Central and South America versus southeastern United States), stating that the archaeological data refutes nonlocal ties and supports in situ development extending back hundreds, if not thousands, of years (pp. 4–6). Precontact Timucua histories differ, but each of the 30-plus chiefdoms appears to have been simply organized with a male or female chief and a hierarchy of chiefly officials after contact. With Franciscan mission takeover of the Timucua chiefdoms, which covered much of north central Florida and southeastern United States, 80% of the Timucua population has a large number of European, African, and Native American genes. Fossilized antibodies to Mycoplasma pneumoniae, a known cause of pneumonia, are traced back to the Timucua in the 17th century, and the Timucua economy was based on hunting and gathering, with only a small amount of agriculture. The Timucua lived in villages of 30 to 100 people, and each village was divided into separate groups called “quartons.”
Georgia, demographic changes prevailed as disease wrought depopulation, settlement shifts, political, social, and economic changes—forcing new ways of living. Although household structures seem to have remained the same at missions, the second- and third-generation mission Timucuan Indians accepted to some degree Catholicism, new tools, Spanish language, customs, and foods.

Indian slave raiding, an event that becomes more and more prevalent in subsequent chapters as English and French geopolitics emerge throughout the southeast, by British factions in the Carolinas and their Indian slavers forced the Timucuan Indians and other North Florida and Georgia groups to relocate to refugee towns near St. Augustine. In 1752 only 29 Timucuans were listed at the single remaining refugee town. By 1763, the last known surviving Timucuan was relocated to Guanabacoa in Cuba.

Rebecca Saunders’ chapter begins about A.D. 1150 and extends through the early-Spanish mission period 1565–1704 along the Georgia coast with the ancestors of the Guale Indians via the Savannah and Irene archaeological cultures. Here also, local long-term occupation exists and is used to discuss prehistoric and contact period lifeways as a basis for comparison of the changes induced by missionization. Comparison of the hierarchy of site types in the archaeological record indicates that the Irene chiefdoms were not as hierarchically organized or nucleated as the preceding Savannah period, with council houses replacing platform mounds and subterranean wattle-and-daub mortuary structures replacing burial mounds. By the contact period, a less-powerful social organization and more dispersed towns were the norm in coastal Georgia. Saunders carefully interweaves what the documents (e.g., Laudonniere and Fray Rogel) reveal, along with recent archaeological data (e.g., dendrochronology and isotope studies), to suggest a reevaluation of the extant controversial ideas about Guale settlement, subsistence, and health. Documents and archaeology of the mission period sites indicate that settlements became increasingly centralied, moved from the mainland to the barrier islands by the late-17th century, and were depopulated. Chiefs (caciques) had little to no power over their towns. This, in part, is the result of the missionization efforts as the Spanish friars usurped the education of Guale children, and the crown forced adult males into labor, undermining social, religious, and political organization. Mission period Guale villages are little understood as the majority of excavations have come from within the mission complexes. Relocation, amalgamation, and depopulation resulted in fewer than 20 recorded Guale residents at their last recorded village of Tolomatto in St. Augustine when the Spanish left for Cuba and the British took over in 1763.

The Lake Jackson mound complex near present-day Tallahassee, Florida, is the primary excavated, precontact period Apalachee site and the subject of the next chapter. The potentially Muskogean-speaking Apalachee held many traits in common with the interior southeastern Mississippian groups, including “intensive maize agriculture, hierarchically structured sociopolitical organization, participation in an extensive exchange network, a fundamentally similar belief system, and a stratified settlement pattern” (p. 58). While documents of Narvaez and de Soto shed light on the Apalachee Indians’ daily lives, the protohistoric period represented archaeologically by Anhaica and Velda sites are the least understood in the province. According to Bonnie McEwan, while carefully excavated contact period archaeological sites (San Luis, Patale, O’Connell) are few, the documents are rich and rewarding (after years of transcribing and translating by John Hann and others). Focusing on mission San Luis de Apalachee, one of the most extensively and systematically excavated Apalachee sites, McEwan meticulously threads together the daily lives of the Spaniards and the Apalachees at this rather wealthy settlement. This wealth revealed in Lake Jackson sites as well as the mission sites reflects, in part, the edaphic richness of the province and the capacity to grow crops (corn and wheat) for food, tribute, exchange, and trade.

One of the many important issues that emerged from this synthetic research was uncovered during the excavation of the burial remains. McEwan notes that among the many structures that have been excavated are a large Indian council house and Spanish church, which sat across a major plaza from one another at this mission/fort complex. While indigenous building structures may have remained similar to prehistoric times, Apalachee burials in the floor of the Spanish church symbolized a European tradition. Yet, the adherence to placement of special grave goods revealed a compromise on the Catholic priest’s part as well as expressing Native American resilience in sticking to beliefs and burial practices and, probably, only a quasi-synchronization of the new beliefs. Much like the Timucua and the Guale of the first two chapters, disease and warring caused depopulation, enabling relocation of Apalachee Indians who were eventually forced out of their homelands when the British took control. Today, only one small group of descendants is known to live in Louisiana.

Chapters 4, 5, 6, and 7 geographically move into the more westerly areas of the greater southeast where, at first, the Chicsawas, Caddos, Natchez, and Quapaw Indians were indirectly affected by European contact, but eventually they, too, were directly contacted and impacted. By the late 17th and throughout the 18th centuries, the English and French explorers, traders, and settlers advanced into these areas as did the occasional Spaniard under mission or crown auspices. Like many other authors, Jay K. Johnson uses the de Soto chronicles to point out the first encounters with the Chicsawas in 1540. He noted, however, that it would be another 150 years before they would encounter Europeans again (e.g., LaSalle in 1682), when the British and French arrive in the Mississippi area in the late-17th century. At the time of de Soto’s entrada, the Chickasaw territory extended north and south along the western banks of the Tombigbee River in the uplands of the Black Prairie where the tribe had already abandoned the river terraces, platform mounds, and two three-tiered, hierarchical, full-fledged, chiefdoms. Apparently they still were deer hunters and corn farmers after relocating to smaller villages with decentralized social organization. Using subtle changes in ceramic temper (fossil versus live shell) and motifs (notched narrow fillet), Johnson and others have traced a northern Chickasaw Indian movement in the Black Prairie during the 15th–18th centuries. In the 17th century, the Chickasaw’s economy had shifted to the slave and deerskin trade as their territories and populations diminished. In the 18th century, they were spread out across northern Mississippi as subsistence and cattle farmers. By the Treaty of Pontotoc, the Chickasaw Indians were forced to move in 1837 from their southeastern...
homelands to Oklahoma. According to Johnson, the warlike practices and trading (enhanced by the role of the horse) enabled the Chickasaw Indians, one of the smallest groups, to obtain a territory nearly as large as the most populous Choctaw, Creek, and Cherokee Indians.

While chronologies were based mainly on ceramics, Johnson also included other archaeological data generated from European trade goods, including beads, faunal remains (from bison to more bear and domesticated horse, pig, and cow) and raw lithic resources, and finished goods (from Tombigbee River chert to gray tabular Fort Payne chert) to help differentiate early- to late-contact period sites. In collating the data sets, Johnson has correctly reminded us of the great value of untapped collections in state and national facilities. New documents (e.g., Nairne letters) and recent archaeological excavations in conjunction with Jennings and others’ detailed earlier works has helped refine our understanding of Chickasaw lifeways.

Ann M. Early concisely writes about the Caddo Indians of the trans-Mississippi South and indicates that unlike the mobile and warring Chickasaw Indians, the Caddos were well respected, organized, sedentary agriculturists who occupied the region west of the Mississippi River. Yet, Early points out that, they, too, brushed shoulders with the de Soto entrada and were affected biologically and culturally by Europeans before more-directed contact took its toll on the 30-plus early historic groups in the early-18th century. The Caddo tribe’s numbers, also, were reduced and consolidated from their eastern Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Oklahoma prairies into the modern Caddos. Impacts of the many alliances (imposed and otherwise) with the successful French traders and, by and large, the failed Spanish missionaries on this diverse (linguistically, socially, material culturally, and ecologically) population are not as well understood as other southeastern groups. European writers and, to some extent, modern Caddo descendants are the basis for what is known about the historic Caddo hierarchically organized (e.g., xinesi, caddi, canahas, amayxoya-warrior) yet matrilineally based kinship system. Settlement patterns minimally consisted of permanent farmsteads with circular houses, storage platforms, drying racks, and temple mounds near permanent water resources and ties to multiple communities. Early notes that no named historic sites have been located or studied by archaeologists, and those early-18th-century archaeological sites (e.g., Deshazo, Mayhew, Cedar Grove, McLelland, Joe Clark) that have been studied have been ephemeral and not forthcoming with European goods or hints at Caddo Indians’ adaptations. In addition, the Spanish and French sites (Los Adaes and Dolores de los Ais) have focused more on the Europeans acculturation rather than Indian adaptations, which also offer future opportunities for study in this increasingly important period and region.

Karl Lorenz carefully outlines the Natchez Indians who inhabited the Natchez Bluff region of southwest Mississippi from A.D. 1200 to 1730. Unlike other groups, the powerful Natchez of Quigualtam intimidated de Soto, who then retreated. Unfortunately, disease and changing power during the late-17th and early-18th-century colonization by the French and English would eventually impact this formidable people. Lorenz takes another look at the primary and secondary sources to unveil the extant controversy that stems from the variously perceived Natchez descent system and the political authority of the Great Sun over his people. Lorenz revisited asymmetrical descent and mandatory exogamy hypotheses/positions. Archaeologically he suggests that the Fatherland site is the most likely candidate for the Grand Village of the Natchez, as the prehistoric data from mound sites (Anna, Foster, Gordon, and Emerald) is limited. Evidence exists for the “waxing and waning” of political and economic power and settlement shifts, which continue into the historic period where European intervention created a schism (pro-French or pro-English). Archaeologically, this factionalism as well as the Natchez descent-system practices is revealed in burial treatments at the Fatherland and Rice sites. Ultimately, Natchez-French hostility resulted in wars and culminated in the Natchez rebellion of 1729 that further eroded political and economic power and authority, causing Natchez decline and dispersal.

George Sabo III introduces us to the Quapaw Indians of Arkansas by noting that they openly welcomed the French Jesuit missionary Marquette and his party in 1673 as they sought geopolitical relationships that would afford them access to European trade goods, in particular, firearms and munitions. Our time frame in which to see how the indigenous Quapaw Indians responded to French and Spanish colonists and became active participants in the development of a multicultural “middle ground” is 120 years. Archaeological data is scant for Quapaw sites but informative, while documents are the primary focus of this piece. Four primary issues are outlined that had an effect on the Quapaw Indians cultural systems: (1) consolidation and relocation as the geopolitical circumstances changed, (2) population decline due to disease and warfare, (3) shift in economic organization (from self-sufficient agriculturists and part-time traders to a more diversified and international market-based economy), and (4) political realignment (traditional calumet ceremony to pragmatic “medal chief” emergence). Nevertheless, Sabo, as others do, points out the Quapaw Indians’ resilience as demonstrated by maintenance of their geographic position (eastern Arkansas homeland), dualistic social organization (two moieties), and religious beliefs (e.g., Wakonda).

In the last four chapters, the various authors take us through the Cherokee, Creek, and Seminole Indians’ individual stories, yet reveal some of their historical ties and relationships. First, Gerald Schroedl looks at the four-centuries-long period from 1540 to 1838 of the Cherokee contact with Spanish, English, and American alliances (divided into seven periods) in this well-organized chapter. Overall the ethnohistorical evidence is excellent, and the archaeological evidence is far greater than we see for most regions, presenting a more equitable and fuller record of Cherokee culture change and survival. The American Revolutionary War was viewed as a threshold. Pre-American Revolutionary War period was characterized by the survival of the large nucleated towns with townhouses, summer and other domestic houses, and an adherence to traditional religious systems and social organization. Yet, the onset of economic (mostly lessen in lithic tools for guns, knives, hoes), subsistence (introduction of Old World plants and animals), and political (town autonomy compromised) change was unfolding. Post-American Revolutionary War settlements are augmented to dispersed farmsteads. Isolated towns and house styles change from vertical-post architecture to log-crib buildings. European foodstuffs, white potato, sweet
potato, chicken, cow, and pig are adopted and become more dominant. Increased quantities and types of Euroamerican trade goods are recovered at latter period sites, and limited Indian-manufactured vessels (shallow pans and large jars) are present. Decline of the deer trade and warfare impacted the economy, and Cherokee males change from hunters and warriors to herders and farmers, while underlying remnants of matrilineal descent and clan organization survive as the Cherokees adapted to Anglo-American economic, political, and legal systems. During the American Revolutionary War period (1776–1794), the Cherokee were almost annihilated as English suppliers (whom the Cherokee Indians had become dependent upon) were cut off, American troops attacked, and smallpox epidemics swarmed into Overhill and other Cherokee towns. During the following federal period (1795–1818), a directed program of Cherokee acculturation was implemented by the U.S. government, which resulted in abandonment of communal living and imposition of individual family farmsteads. However, it is during this period that Sequoyah developed a syllabary for writing the Cherokee language. This along with the missionary efforts of this period facilitated literacy and aided in survivals. In particular, ceramic and other material culture remains are reviewed along with Muskogee and Hitchiti linguistic and folkloric evidence to reveal immigration as well as in situ cultural development. Population relocation has been an integral process noted by many authors in this volume and impacting many groups, the Chattahoochee Valley being one such area of population coalescence.

While supporting abandonment, Worth notes that controversy exists over the apparent total or partial exile of Lower Creeks from the Chattahoochee River Valley to their reestablishment along the fall line of the Ocmulgee, Oconee, and Savannah Rivers by approximately 1692. Eastward mobility is viewed as a response to the English/Spanish geopolitical circumstances, whereby male roles (e.g., deer hunting and slave raiding) changed more rapidly to advance trade, while female roles provided cultural stability through agriculture (matrilineal control of land) and household activities (retention of aboriginal pottery) (p. 284) (see Waselkov and Smith for female roles to cultural survivals and stability [p.257]). By 1716 this movement was reversed, and Lower Creeks resettled with Yuchi and Chiaha immigrants in many of the same Lower Chattahoochee River Valley towns and adjacent areas. With the resettlement, demographic rebound increased over the next century along with town growth and expansion (eastward to Flint River) into dispersed farmsteads and “daughter” communities. Once again documents are perceptively compared to locate 18th-century Lower Creek towns and correlate them to their archaeological sites (e.g., Lawson Field phase).

Last, but far from least, is Brent Weisman’s insightful and well-written essay on the archaeological study of Seminole ethnogenesis, which he believes culminated through governmental force and stress surrounding the Second Seminole War. After a brief chronological overview of a scanty but distinctive archaeological record, he carefully bridges data from anthropological and historical sources with the archaeological record to discuss, “How the Seminoles became Seminole but managed to be unconquered given insurmountable odds” (p. 307). Military buttons, the archaeological manifestation of clothing, are shown as symbols of equalizing power relations during this transition from Creek to Seminole. Interestingly, the lack of Euroamerican ceramics, once esteemed to be status markers in late-17th century by Seminoles, are cautiously suggested to reflect a rejection of American society and a strengthening of a Nativistic movement and identity. Lastly, burial goods recovered from sub-adult burials but not found with adult individuals is suggested to indicate ceremonial exchange.
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that could be conceived as evidence for reinforcement of reciprocal relationships between clan groups, an underlying structure of contemporary Seminole society.

These chapters individually and collectively are a rich and rewarding compilation. McEwan has done an admirable job as the chapters are well organized and edited. Another volume (soon to be released from Smithsonian Institution Press) will complement this volume, based on an informative chapter by William Marquardt on the Calusa Indians of southwest Florida. The latter's authors were asked to focus on the period from 1450–1750 to reveal the emergence and decline of eastern North American Native American groups. In so doing, Marquardt (2001) suggested that Calusa social formation (intensely hierarchical and tributary) as described by the Spaniards was likely biased by whom the Spaniards were in contact with as well as by a response to Spanish invasion rather than providing an accurate precontact period pattern. Similarly, the current authors alluded to similar androcentric views and recognized that social, geopolitical, economic, and religious change was a bias of chroniclers or a response to European invasion. Nevertheless, amazing human survival is revealed in each chapter, despite disease, depopulation, relocation, accommodation, imitation, and amalgamation. By the integration of documentary, ethnohistorical, and archaeological resources, these authors decidedly combined methods, data, and thoughts into a marriage that any one discipline alone could not have achieved. Geopolitical, economic, social, and cultural information was reviewed and archaeological correlates unfolded to expose the many changes imposed on these Native American peoples. This volume, no doubt, will become a valuable teaching tool that any one discipline alone could not have achieved. Geopolitical, economic, social, and cultural information was reviewed and archaeological correlates unfolded to expose the many changes imposed on these Native American peoples.

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Robert Weddle really knows his stuff—he has been researching and writing about La Salle for many years. In this book, he pieces together La Salle’s activities in North America, including his unsuccessful attempt to establish a French colony on the coast of Texas as well as the events leading up to his murder. He points out that it is extremely difficult to assess the personality, abilities, and mental state of La Salle or even some of the things that he was supposed to have done from the dubious, confusing, and contradictory historical records. Dealing with these records is a challenge in itself, as some of them were deliberately falsified and many of them are incomplete. Despite these constraints, Weddle puts together a coherent and reasonably comprehensive account of La Salle’s exploits.

As a traditional history, this book suffers from some of the problems associated with focusing on a single, significant individual, or “great man.” The text then provides very little detail concerning the lives and deaths of the common men, women, and children who attempted to colonize the Texas coast in the 17th century. Indeed, there is still some level of debate about basic facts, including the exact numbers of colonists. Few of these people are known to history by name, and we have only hazy impressions of the difficulties they faced in the wilderness.

Occasional problems that were slightly distracting arose from poor proofreading. Possibly the worst example was the date of birth given for Robert Cavalier of 21 November 1683 (p. 21), which was clearly some 40 years after his actual birth in 1643. The direct translation of the French term abbé, or priest, into the English term “abbot,” or head of a monastery (p. 77), was also confusing. Quite clearly, it is unlikely that the companions of La Salle would have been abbots in the English sense of the term.

The sad tale of the interference, damage, and abuse of the Russell Island site that was once reputed to be La Salle’s Griffin is a salutary reminder of how relatively recent are the efforts to protect, preserve, and archaeologically investigate shipwreck sites in the USA. Weddle implicitly recognized that it was probably fortunate that La Salle’s vessel La Belle was not located until the 1990s. If it had been found in the 1950s, it could well have suffered the same fate as the Russell Island wreck.

This is a nicely presented hardback book, printed on quality paper, complete with 20 black-and-white illustrations, including 8 maps (both historic and modern). The modern maps are good and clear; however, large historical maps with enormous amounts of detail don’t always make great illustrations when reduced to fit a standard book size. There are also some photos of the wreck site taken during the archaeological excavations and of artifacts from the
site. The lack of a scale on most of them is annoying, particularly as the photos are credited to the Texas Historical Commission whose archaeologists should have known better.

La Salle was an important explorer but a spectacularly unsuccessful colonizer in 17th-century North America. Weddle’s biography provides valuable insights into the personal qualities that La Salle clearly needed but equally obviously lacked. It is a beautifully written work based on extensive research—a great story and an excellent read.

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Archaeology and the Social History of Ships
RICHARD A. GOULD
Cambridge University Press, New York, 2000. xiv + 360 pp., 74 figs., 3 tables. $74.95 cloth, $29.95 paper.

In this volume, Richard Gould continues to plumb the intellectual and theoretical depths of “shipwreck anthropology.” In fact, it could be considered the sequel to the publication by that name that he edited in 1983. As such, its intended audience is probably academicians and their students. Comparing this book to Shipwreck Anthropology (School of American Research, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1983), those depths are still cold and dark, even after the passage of 17 years. After some considerable head scratching, this reviewer was left wondering. Are we really still asking the same fundamental questions about our discipline? How do shipwreck archaeologists justify what they do? Where is the intellectual grounding, the “unified field” theory that makes underwater archaeology a science? What common goal should we be working toward? Or for that matter, to what extent is shipwreck archaeology required to follow in the wake of its mothership anthropology, which, often as not, appears to be disinclined to steer a direct course to anywhere in particular?

There is a great deal of literature review all through the book, but its theoretical thrust can be summed up in a single sentence: “Most shipwreck and maritime archaeological research so far has employed scientific techniques but not social-scientific hypotheses” (p. 2). Paraphrasing the author somewhat, the purpose of the book is to highlight underwater archaeology’s contribution to identifying and studying extinct sociocultural systems by comparing past social institutions with those of the present. By way of example, Gould compares the story of the breakup and sinking of a T-2 tanker in 1983 (evidently due to age and poor maintenance) with the wrecking of La Trinidad Valencera, one of the scores of ships lost in the Great Armada fiasco of 1588. The nugget in all this seems to be that people still keep unseaworthy vessels in service longer than they should. This is a socioeconomic revelation?

The book’s organization is somewhat unusual. After introducing in the first 20 pages his plea for including more social history, Gould goes on to devote several chapters to reviewing the literature on underwater archaeology. He distills into less than 300 pages the state of the art of underwater archaeology, the basics of ship construction, the variety of shipwreck sites, the transition from sail to steam, developments in naval warfare, the global history of seafaring, the evolution of shipbuilding, and the development of maritime infrastructure (seaports). Some of the author’s asides are a bit distracting, but I have to admit that I found something I had been searching for unsuccessfully for several weeks: the date the Royal Navy introduced the use of iron hanging knees, an obscure but important turning point in the history of ship construction. The synthesis is impressive, but, needless to say, coverage of these subjects is general, too general in some important aspects. When one considers how conservation-intensive all underwater archaeology projects are, the fact that the author devotes only three pages to the subject is a little disappointing. In this reviewer’s personal experience, most discoveries and revelations are made (and most analyses originate) in the conservation lab, not in the field. Another disappointment was the absence of any meaningful comment on ballast. In the 11 pages devoted to ship design and construction, this important topic—one of the few truly new research directions in shipwreck archaeology—was mentioned very cursorily only once, and it does not appear anywhere in the book’s index.

For a book printed by a university press, the editing is substandard. I noticed a citation for which the source is missing from the references; the text contains punctuation and spelling errors; and there is a mislabeled figure. Additionally, I caught several mistakes relating to dates, quantities, ratios, and terminology with respect to the Padre Island shipwrecks, the Molasses Reef Wreck, the Quanzhou ship, and medieval ship design.

A theme that runs all through the book is the nature of the ongoing conflict between archaeologists and treasure hunters. In the last sentence of the book, Gould predicts, “The future of underwater archaeology may well depend as much upon its practitioners’ [sic] willingness to engage and oppose the treasure hunters and their ‘phony baloney’ alternative pasts as upon further improvements in technique and theory.” I could not agree with him more, but I do not share his optimism. With so many schools now cranking out archaeologists who have never had a class or even a seminar in professional ethics and with so few legitimate jobs available, the temptation for graduates to sell their credentials to treasure-hunting schemes will be great.

Returning to the fundamental questions asked in the first paragraph of this review, is there really a dearth of social history research in underwater archaeology? Or could it be that any project, large or small, properly carried through to completion cannot help but result in important social history connections or observations? A simplified way to look at the stages a project must go through to be considered “complete” might start with the contemplation phase, during which the archaeologist weighs the cost of disturbing the site against what might be learned. Then comes the commitment every archaeologist makes the moment the first spade full of earth is disturbed. With underwater archaeology the next stage is conservation, which generally takes much more time and resources than the fieldwork. Concurrently, the archaeologist must make connection with the rest of the scientific community, both to describe what has been found.
McCarthy's book presents one of the first systematic approaches to studying iron-hulled steam vessels, which are often dismissed by other researchers, relying on numerous Australian as well as international examples to develop its theoretical orientation. A great deal of attention is paid to the important issue of the site formation processes critical to credible inferences in any archaeological study. In chapter 3, the author discusses several transformations that affected Xantho and the state in which it was found by archaeologists. Interestingly, the "first transformation" McCarthy discusses is a predepositional examination of the vessel's last refit and change in operating context. The idea is discussed in terms of Schiffer's cultural formation processes, and, as the author points out, it has direct influence on the material record observed by archaeologists. In addition, other transformational processes investigated, both pre- and post-depositional, include the sinking itself, abandonment behavior, contemporary salvage and natural degradation, all discussed within the context of how they have affected the archaeological record and McCarthy's rich archaeological interpretation of the site. Later, there is a thoughtful discussion of iron wreck-formation processes in more general terms, including how iron ships typically deteriorate in high-energy environments. After time, most iron hulls, including Xantho, collapse, except for the bow and stern "triangles" and, possibly, the reinforced engine-room spaces. This generalization seems to hold true for most merchant vessels, although iron and steel warships, in particular 20th-century battleships, seem to follow a different curve of deterioration. Nonetheless, this study lays the foundation for systematic and theoretically informed investigations into iron shipwreck formation processes, including accounting for different vessel types and environmental conditions.

From a methodological point of view, McCarthy and his colleagues developed techniques and approaches on the Xantho project that have become the accepted norm in contemporary maritime archeological studies since their project began in 1983. They completed a predisturbance survey of Xantho to make baseline measurements of a variety of environmental factors relevant to site preservation, especially the electrochemical state of the iron hull and machinery. Previous shipwreck corrosion studies had been conducted mid- or post-excavation. In terms of methodological advances, this concept was extremely progressive and a significant step forward in managing underwater archaeological sites. In addition, the Xantho project was one of the early pioneers of in situ anodic protection of large, iron features on shipwrecks—a technique that has become commonplace on sites in Australia and, increasingly, in Europe, though it is still not widely used in the United States. The Xantho project was also one of the first to employ underwater in situ recording of corrosion potential and other factors that allowed prediction of corrosion rates and processes. This, in turn, led to a management decision, based on scientific data, to recover the vessel's engine for conservation and display. The reasoned, scientifically justified approach to archaeological recovery used by McCarthy and other researchers at the Western Australia Maritime Museum set a standard for investigating and managing iron shipwrecks.
In terms of maritime archaeology’s place in mainstream historical archaeology, this work is extremely significant. It is an example of substantive historical archaeology conducted in a maritime context. McCarthy’s complimentary use of documentary materials and the material record paints a complete picture of the ship, its owner, and the context in which it operated. He develops an historical context that allows the _Xantho_ and its owner, Charles Broadhurst, to be evaluated and interpreted on their own terms. At first, indications were that Broadhurst was a naïve owner who operated an obsolete and inefficient steamer in a remote frontier setting with no source of freshwater (for boilers), had few sources of fuel, and was far from engineering facilities. Over the course of analyzing the material record (the engine), however, and pursuing further archival research, an alternative hypothesis was formulated. The horizontal trunk steam engine was one of the first mass-produced steam engines, allowing ease of repair with widely available spare parts. In this context, perhaps Broadhurst made a calculated decision to operate the vessel where and how he did. This analysis places individual action within the larger sweep of historical process and leads to several behavioral generalizations that are hypothesized with regard to operating steam vessels in remote, colonial frontiers. Additional comparative studies might support or refute these ideas and further refine broad patterns of human behavior.

Finally, _Iron and Steamship Archaeology_ is an example of how to excavate a complex artifact, in this case the horizontal trunk steam engine, and the things that can be learned about the past in the process. McCarthy documents in detail the methods used, including deconcreting, disassembling, and conserving the engine and its components. Given that he and his colleagues were breaking ground in treating the engine this way, they had successes and failures. McCarthy is frank about things they would have done differently, hoping this information can serve as a guide to treating other large, complex, iron objects in the future. This frankness, lacking in much of underwater archaeology, is in the best traditions of scientific inquiry and adds significantly to the overall contribution of this work. The book has one slight problem of a technical nature. Page numbers referenced in the table of contents, index, and in-text references to previous or subsequent pages are off by several pages. This is a minor annoyance, however, and does nothing to detract from the value of this book to our discipline.

As we move into the 21st century, management agencies are devoting increased attention to developing preservation plans for large iron and steel shipwrecks. Shipwrecks from World War I, World War II, and later are deteriorating at an accelerating rate, and agencies responsible for managing these sites need to develop plans for their long-term preservation and study. Methodology and techniques developed by McCarthy and his colleagues are fundamental to planning and implementing research and preservation plans for these important historical resources. At the same time, McCarthy demonstrates that solid, anthropologically based research can be conducted within a management framework on these sites. _Iron and Steamship Archaeology_ is important for anyone involved in research on iron and steam-powered ships, anyone interested in how larger historical issues can be illustrated by maritime archaeology, or anyone seriously pursuing theoretically oriented historical archaeology of any kind.

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_The Archaeology of Difference: Negotiating Cross-Cultural Engagements in Oceania_  
_ROBIN TORRENCE and ANNE CLARKE_, editors

Routledge, London, 2000. 418pp., 72 figs., 32 tables. $57.00 USD cloth, $17.95 USD paper.

From personal experience editing proceedings of a local Pacific Rim heritage conference, I know that guiding such volumes into print is arduous, but the outcome is worth the work. Editors Robin Torrence and Anne Clarke note challenges in their decade-long assembly of papers, late submittals, lost manuscripts, and presenters publishing elsewhere. The final result, however, is a valuable volume, worthy of a wide readership because the concepts and case studies described are innovative and stimulating. The volume is No. 38 in the World Archaeology Congress’ _One World Archaeology_ series. Thirteen papers by researchers based in Australia (10), New Zealand (1), New Caledonia (1), and United Kingdom (1) discuss their work in seven Australian localities, at Chuuk Lagoon in the Federated States of Micronesia, within a river valley on North Island, New Zealand, on New Caledonia, and regarding museum artifacts from Admiralty Islands, Papua, New Guinea. These 13 studies utilize excavated site materials, “rock art” resources, nonnative historical accounts, or ethnographic collections discussed within an ethnohistoric context and with extensive use of cultural landscape applications. These papers clearly establish that, “... Oceania is a place of contrasts with a complex history of cross-cultural engagements … which provides the opportunity to compare and contrast cross-cultural negotiation in a very wide range of settings contained within a single geographic region” (p. 4). The editors state that, “The aim of this book is to re-interpret the interactions between the native populations and colonial/settler societies in the recent period [within Oceania] by focusing primarily on the Indigenous archaeological record” (p. 2). Each case study interprets crosscultural processes during recent historic times of engagement, that is, the cultural contact encounter situation at a specific locality.

Since the term “encounter” is used by Oceanic researchers to denote crosscultural interactions, a dominant theme is “negotiated outcomes” in which both sides make conscious decisions to become or not become involved with each other (p. 16). Writers in this volume stress the importance of considering decision making or decision sustaining by native parties as might be expressed in traditional stories, artifactual resources, and whole sites.
What are social-landscape or material-culture manifestations of crosscultural negotiated encounters between regional indigenous peoples and European visitors as they engaged each other from the 1500s to modern time? The authors and editors urge consideration of the “alternative archaeological record” in which indigenous voices about conflicts, exchanges, negotiations, and symbiotic relationships will be heard as answers to this question.

Accompanying this viewpoint, the volume also includes examples of the social landscape value of European goods in native barter networks wherein the social relations were more important than the “better” object (Michell chap. 7 or chap. 9 by Isabel McBryde) or the cultural landscape function of rock art reflecting loss of traditional land uses practices (Frederick chap. 11). Landscape changes over historic times are the unfolding theater scenes within which natives and nonnatives conducted their engagements and encounters, leaving physical archaeological evidence, historic records, and remembered social geographies (Rainbird chap. 2, Clark chap. 6, Sand chap. 3, Phillips chap. 4, and Rose chap. 8). By contrast, Paul Rainbird’s discussion of World War II Japanese transformation of the Chuukese view of their landscape now includes the process of “forgetting” and withdrawal from that land-use history. Indigenous cultural continuities, serious disruptive change, and aspects of selected intensification in some native lifeways are also well described by Sarah Colley in chapter 10, and Judy Birmingham’s chapter 13. Perhaps the most integrated case study is chapter 12 by Steven Hemming, Vivienne Wood, and Richard Hunter. They address the Aboriginal knowledge and associations to Australia’s longest waterway, the great River Murray, along its reaches in the modern state of South Australia. Through oral histories, personal experiences of living Aboriginal elders, colonial and federation period histories, and archaeological research at a long-occupied mission station, these authors believe that, “… post-contact archaeology, in association with oral histories and documentary evidence, at Aboriginal sites … [illustrate that such places] are part of an Aboriginal cultural landscape …” (p. 352).

In all, The Archaeology of Difference gives Oceanic-region specialists a conceptual and data overview expressed at an annual meeting of the Australian Archaeology Association and a World Congress event some time ago, now matured by the leavening of time and additional papers. To other readers, however, even greater value is gained, perhaps globally, from the fresh perspectives of appropriate concepts to examine the dynamics of cultural interactions between different peoples in time and space, illustrated by interesting, well-presented examples from the Oceania cultural region. Although the page size is 6 x 9 inches, line drawings and most half-tone photographs are clear and concise. References are placed at the end of each chapter and are useful to nonregional specialists.

Moving beyond traditional historical archaeology, Torrence and Clarke and their colleagues strongly urge readers to look at the physical record of “... the relationships, conflicts, negotiations and exchanges” that are the indigenous experiences of contact and the landscapes wherein networks operated between the native and nonnative. Clearly, this volume represents the viewpoints of some regional research-ers who successfully combine native involvement, multidisciplinary approach, and a broad consideration of landscapes to increase the benefits of historical archaeology efforts in Oceania.

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After the Backcountry: Rural Life in the Great Valley of Virginia, 1800–1900
KENNETH E. KOONS and WARREN R. HOFSTRA
University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, 2000. 352 pp. $48.00 cloth.

After the Backcountry is a collection of papers first presented at a conference at the Virginia Military Institute in 1995 that was funded by the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities and Public Policy. The conference was organized in response to the dearth of scholarship on the passing of the backcountry frontier and the transformation of the valley to a rural, agrarian, market-oriented society. While focusing on the social, economic, and cultural processes that shaped the lives and experiences of ordinary people, the essays in this volume attempt to understand the many ways valley inhabitants “secured livelihoods, interacted with one another, built or transmitted culture, ... and the values and mentalities that informed the conduct of these activities” (p. xi).

Editors Kenneth Koons and Warren Hofstra outline several key issues or objectives that drive both the approach and the organization of this volume. The first is to demonstrate the interconnectedness of economic activity, social environment, material life, and cultural fabric of the region that characterized life in the Great Valley in the 19th century (p. xi); second, to understand the role of wheat culture in shaping the unique social and economic milieu of the valley (p. xii); third, to address the concept of region and the role of regionalism in understanding how its economic base, views on slavery, and secession formed the political stage on which antebellum Virginia played out its role in the Civil War (p. xiii); fourth, to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the driving force of capitalism in the shift from a commercial to a capitalist economy (p. xiv); fifth, to more vividly link the past with the present in assisting modern residents of the valley to explore and appreciate their rural heritage, especially at a time when agricultural lands are at their most threatened by development (p. xiv); sixth, and finally, to help fill a gap in scholarship of the history of women and gender relations in the region (p. xv).

The editors accomplish these objectives by arranging the book into four sections with a total of 19 chapters as well as an introduction and epilogue. The four sections are titled Space, Patterns, Relations, and Power. The primary approach of the volume is “microhistorical” in perspective, using case studies of specific locales or regions to elucidate larger patterns or processes. While the authors are primarily from academia, their areas of expertise as well as the research contributed to this volume span a wide range of disciplines,
including history, archaeology, geography, religious studies, and cultural landscapes.

In the introduction, the editors lay the groundwork for understanding the transformation of the valley from frontier to market-oriented society by discussing the importance of wheat to the region. The editors discuss ways that wheat agriculture shaped the lives and well-being of its producers, served as the catalyst for town growth and commercial linkages with other regions, increased the market orientation of economic activity on farms, and promoted the values associated with a capitalist society (p. xviii).

Part I, “Space: Economic Growth in Town and Country,” consists of five chapters that take a more detailed look at wheat agriculture’s role in the economic and settlement fabric of the valley. The chapter by Koons looks specifically at the rise and persistence of wheat production, while Kenneth Keller’s specifically addresses the wheat trade in terms of the valley’s transportation and economic networks with other regional and foreign markets. Robert Mitchell’s chapter looks at the geography of settlement structure in the valley and uses population and settlement changes to explain subregional contrasts. The chapter by Hofstra and Clarence Geier describe two archaeological surveys in the vicinity of Opequon Creek and what the results revealed about the “evolving material life of settlement distribution, economic interaction, social patterns, and architectural expressions” in northern Virginia (p. 48). In the last chapter of this section, Joseph Rainer looks at the economic and trade networks of Yankee peddlers and the eventual introduction of market changes into the valley, such as “intensification of trade, consumer culture, the intrusion of impersonal market relations in local exchange, and the growing interdependence of hinterland markets and the Atlantic economy” (p. 72).

Part II, “Patterns: Landscape and Material Culture,” consists of five chapters that look specifically at the material expressions of cultural change in the Valley. The chapters by Judith Ridner and Ann McCleary provide good case studies using architectural form on a local level to measure the effects that America’s consumer and housing revolution had in the backcountry (p. 77). Tonia Woods Horton looks specifically at kitchen gardens in Lexington as hidden landscapes that spoke to personal aspirations, domestic ideals, and commercial horticulture. The last two chapters use archaeology to look at broader commercial, economic, political, and ideological trends. Specifically, Kurt Russ, John McDaniel, and Katherine Wood focus on understanding the transformation of the plantation system on the social and political development of the valley, while Audrey Horning addresses the social and economic complexity of Blue Ridge inhabitants in the early-20th century in stark contrast to the cultural backwardness long thought to characterize these mountain communities.

Part III, “Relations: Religion, Race, and Society,” contains five chapters devoted to the otherwise quiet minorities in historical scholarship, African Americans and women. The first chapter by Susanne Simmons and Nancy Sorrells looks at the adaptation of slave-owning practices in Augusta County to the seasonal character and supporting infrastructure of a grain economy through heavier reliance on the hiring out of slaves owned by others. Julia Longenecker’s chapter deals with the slaveholding practices and worldviews of three prominent nonconformist denominations—Methodists, Mennonites, and Dunkers—in the valley and why Methodists were more prone to drift to the center of the spectrum on slaveholding. Ellen Eslinger discusses the lives of small-town free blacks in Rockbridge County and how they negotiated the difficult social, economic, and political climate through their interactions with whites and slaves alike. David Coffey’s chapter also deals with race relations between free blacks and whites within the context of the Reconstruction period in terms of how the social milieu of Lexington was affected by the “Redeemers” movement. In the last chapter of this section, Joan Jenson presents problematic, identifying landmark studies and relevant issues on the need to better address the integral role women played in the history of the South.

Part IV, “Politics and Political Culture,” consists of four chapters that look at the politics of westward expansion and the power of information and technology to effect change. L. Scott Philyaw discusses the attempt to transplant Piedmont plantation culture and institutions into the western frontier and the role ethnicity, sectionalism, and other factors ultimately played in creating separate and distinct regional identities in the western counties. The chapters by David Rawson and Lynn Nelson look at the influence of information and technology on rural development in the valley. Specifically, Rawson examines the role of the postal system on the social and political development of the valley, while Nelson presents a case study of one eastern Virginia planter’s attempts to adapt to changing market conditions by integrating mixed agriculture and rural manufacturing into “plantation society without disrupting the hierarchies of race, wealth, and power” (p. 266). Finally, Michael J. Gorman addresses the antebellum political climate in Frederick County and its role in the context of Virginia’s eventual secession from the Union.

Hal Barron provides the epilogue for the volume on the current state of rural history and identifies important issues for future scholarship such as expansion of the market economy in the countryside, its relationship to traditional agrarian values, the study of rural family economy, and the role of women on the family farm.

While the editors make no claims to the volume’s exhaustive coverage of the valley in the 19th century, this volume still stands alone in the sheer magnitude of the many facets of valley history and life that are covered and in the various approaches used to better understand them. Rather than detract from the volume’s cohesiveness, the integration of the various disciplines further enriches our understanding of the historic fabric of the Great Valley and serves as a call for similar multidisciplinary studies in creating a more holistic view of the past.

The book is well organized with each section retaining its thematic unity, despite the fact that several chapters deal with subject areas that are physically outside the valley. Both the volume’s subject matter and the various approaches used to explicate each theme will appeal to a wide audience of professionals and laypersons alike. It is a necessary addition to any scholar’s library, whether a student of the Grand Valley or of rural life in America at large.