

*Port Essington: The Historical
Archaeology of a North Australian
Nineteenth-Century Military Outpost*

Jim Allen

Sydney University Press, Sydney,
Australia, 2008. 148pp., 56 b&w
photos, 28 illus., 26 maps, 95
tables. \$49.95 paper.

The military settlement of Victoria was established in the natural harbor of Port Essington in the remote north of Australia in 1838. In existence for only 11 years, it provides a unique time capsule, as there was no subsequent resettlement of Victoria and the land was given over to cattle ranching in the 1870s. Victoria was established to protect northern Australia from being claimed by the French and Dutch, and at the time southern Australia was home to the British colonies of New South Wales, South Australia, and Western Australia. The north of Australia represented a vast space not touched by European exploration apart from the mapping of the coast, and was seen as vulnerable in the British mind. The Dutch and French had colonies to the north of Australia, and were engaged in trade and exploration in the area. Consequently, they were seen as threats to British sovereignty in Australia. The settlement of Victoria was to be the subject of a doctoral thesis by Jim Allen, who conducted fieldwork in the area from 1966, submitting his thesis in 1969. *Port Essington* is the first publication of this work.

The monograph is the first in a series entitled "Studies in Australasian Historical Archaeology," published by the Australasian Society for Historical Archaeology in conjunction with the Sydney University Press. The society decided that a number of early works, both doctoral theses and major works by the pioneers of historical archaeology in Australia, still had value today to both general readers and professionals working in the field. The editors made the decision to retain the original structure of Allen's thesis to highlight what they saw as its seminal analysis. For the reader this has some major impacts. The

familiar context and history of the site which one normally finds in the first chapters are found in chapters 6 and 7. Chapter 1 presents a brief discussion of the research questions and describes the site, while the next chapter goes straight into a description of the excavation findings. Chapter 2 reads very much like a report rather than a thesis, and the familiar argument found in modern theses is lacking. Instead the thesis was a test of methodological issues in the emergent field of historical archaeology by a student familiar with prehistoric archaeology. The inclusion of a retrospective introduction by Jim Allen contextualizes how the thesis came about, the state of historical archaeology at the time, and gives insight into the thought processes behind the thesis.

For the reader unfamiliar with northern Australia and its history, the lack of context for the archaeological excavation chapter is frustrating. To appreciate the evidence fully and to enhance the reading experience, one needs to begin with chapters 6 and 7, and then read chapters 1 and 2. Alternatively, one has to go back over the early chapters after reading the whole work.

Chapter 3 deals with pottery discovered during excavation, chapter 4 with glass, chapter 5 with metal, stone, and bone, and each provides an analysis of the finds. Chapter 8, "Life at Port Essington," provides the integration of archaeology and documented history.

It is important to see this monograph as an historical document, and as such it presents limited artifact analyses that reflect the newness of historical archaeology. Allen describes his experience of trying to find studies to support the analyses he wished to undertake at the time, which highlights the substantial growth and change in artifact analysis over the last 40 years. The analyses use seriation and typology to understand the pottery and glass found, echoing James Deetz's work in America, and Allen does not present the type of analysis expected in modern monographs. The monograph contains numerous photographs and tables describing the finds, however, and these can be used for comparative purposes with other sites and provide the opportunity for modern reanalysis, particu-

larly in light of the time-capsule nature of the site. The *British Colour Council Dictionary of Colour Standards*, which Allen uses to identify pottery colors, is still available through the National Library of Australia and the Library of Congress in the United States.

Jim Allen was interested in prehistoric archaeology in Australia, and after completing his doctoral thesis he returned to that field, working at the University of Papua New Guinea. This experience provides one of the highlights of this monograph, as Allen included a section on Aboriginal reuse of glass from the site. From the monograph it is clear that Aboriginal people lived in the area before, during, and after the European phase of settlement, and the excavations undertaken included that of Aboriginal shell middens. Allen provides a detailed analysis of how bottle bases were used to create scrapers and retouched implements, and a well-thought-out discussion of possible nonhuman sources for the flaking observed is included. While it is known that Indigenous people and some Europeans reused materials to provide tools, there are few academic studies of this activity, and this section is an important addition to contact studies.

This monograph presents a unique glimpse of life in a remote area where the archaeology reveals the problems of establishing a new settlement with men without appropriate construction skills. The excavated buildings are described in vivid detail, including the addition, for short periods, of personnel with skills in brick making and the construction of chimneys and then their departure, taking their knowledge with them.

One of the few flaws with this monograph is the lack of a larger map showing the countries discussed beyond Australia. The reader has to resort to an atlas to understand the discussion of the political forces behind the settlement of Victoria. Similarly, the location maps for Australia could have been more detailed. These problems are a result of the monograph's nature as a replication of a thesis. The readers of the original thesis are likely to have been familiar

with Australian archaeology, unlike the wider international audience for this monograph.

Does the choice to replicate the thesis without modernizing it have value for today's audience? Yes, as a thesis written at the time of the beginning of historical archaeological studies in Australia it demonstrates the links between prehistoric and historical archaeology, the usefulness of contact studies that involve all occupants at a site, and highlights the development historical archaeology has undergone in the last 40 years. While not having the argument structure more familiar in modern historical archaeology theses, in the concluding chapter Allen highlights the value of integrating history and archaeology. He demonstrates that the trend, before this thesis was written, of leaving history to an historian who had not been exposed to the archaeology of a place, created an incomplete picture of life at the place. Allen argues that the archaeology provides a different plane of inquiry which complements and enlarges the blurred documentary evidence about Port Essington (p. 132). This has become the central argument for historical archaeology. The monograph then provides a study of how historical archaeology can be done, and would make a useful teaching text. The chapter, "Life at Port Essington," demonstrates how archaeology and history can be combined to build a fascinating glimpse of life, and the struggles of colonizing a location remote from civilization and in a completely unfamiliar environment, with the challenges of obtaining food, dealing with disease, gardening in a new environment, and building viable accommodations without a range of skilled artisans.

Overall this monograph is well written, well illustrated, and a thoroughly interesting read for everyone.

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Building Power: Architecture and Surveillance in Victorian America

Anna Vemer Andrzejewski

University of Tennessee Press,
Knoxville, 2008. 256 pp. \$39.00
cloth.

The act or concept of surveillance might initially seem an ephemeral or immaterial phenomenon, but it does have direct material consequences. In her book *Building Power: Architecture and Surveillance in Victorian America*, art and architectural historian Anna Vemer Andrzejewski presents a keen study of surveillance and its material correlates, or in her words, “the architecture of surveillance” (p. xiii), in late-19th- and early-20th-century America.

Organized into four thematic, tightly argued sections: “Discipline,” “Efficiency,” “Hierarchy,” and “Fellowship,” *Building Power* is perhaps most simply described as an appreciative critique and extension of Michel Foucault’s famous discussion of modern institutional surveillance. Andrzejewski’s two-part thesis posits that (1) discourses of surveillance are more complex than previously acknowledged, and in Victorian America these discourses informed the design and construction of not only “institutional buildings,” but “all kinds of everyday environments” (p. 3), and (2) in an argument that follows Foucault and others, that the importance of surveillance in the organization of space in Victorian America is directly connected with the rise of Western modernity. Andrzejewski’s work extends Foucault’s seminal conclusion though, by demonstrating how the *disciplinary* manifestation of surveillance he describes is only one facet of the intricate relationship between surveillance and modernity. The book is germane to historical archaeologists and particularly to those working on late-19th- and early-20th-century institutions and households, and in industrial and religious settings.

In chapter 1, “Discipline,” Andrzejewski interprets the architecture of surveillance in the context of the classic disciplinary institution of the prison. Andrzejewski’s contribution to this topic

is in her specific focus on Victorian American prisons, and in her findings which suggest that most of these prisons in fact made little use of that icon of anonymous surveillance, the panopticon. The design of Victorian American prisons, though informed by philosopher Jeremy Bentham’s ideas, incorporated surveillance in other, perhaps less persistent or pervasive ways. The radial prison layout in which a circle of cell blocks converges on a center point, is one example of a design descendant of, but distinct from the panopticon.

That the actualization of total surveillance through prison design had severe limitations, Andrzejewski argues, is demonstrated by the fact that prison design changed over time in repeated attempts to solve surveillance shortcomings. Though Foucault essentially argues that on the part of the prisoner, “resistance [i]s futile” (p. 30), Andrzejewski shows how the prisoners were able to defy: they broke solitary confinement rules by surreptitiously talking amongst themselves; and in the imperfect, quasipanoptic prisons that were built, they even returned the gaze of the ostensibly invisible surveilling guard.

The next three chapters take Andrzejewski’s refined conception of Foucauldian surveillance out of the archetypal institution of the prison, and extend it to other built environments and landscapes of turn-of-the-century America. A central point is the fact that in Victorian America, surveillance (and specifically, the gaze of the surveillant) was not only a mechanism of discipline, but also served other, oftentimes less-sinister, social and economic goals.

In chapter 2, “Efficiency,” Andrzejewski explains how surveillance was intimately integrated into workplaces (factories, machine shops, and typists’ rooms, for example) as a strategy to increase effectiveness and production output, and to reduce all forms of slacking off and stealing. A high point of the book is the author’s detailed and astute exposition of the secret rooms, hallways, and peepholes that permeated Victorian-era post offices. In its focus on workplace efficiency, this chapter reveals how surveillance can have both spatial and temporal components.

Surveillance also has the potential to shape hierarchical relationships between and among individuals and groups. In chapter 3, "Hierarchy," Andrzejewski analyzes architectural plans as well as the prescriptive literature of home economics (directed at middle-class women), to show how home-managing women seized on surveillance as a means of supervising live-in female servants. While architects were designing homes so that servant spaces were organized to provide employers with visual control over staff, advice writers were reinforcing the rightness of hierarchical social relationships by teaching mistresses to distrust and monitor, and benevolently instruct their hired help. The author's lament that "the lack of surviving documentation makes getting at servants' voices difficult, if not impossible, since many ... servants were illiterate" (p. 96), will of course jump off the page for many readers of this journal. As the founders of historical archaeology first suggested half a century ago, it is precisely in this between-the-lines gap that historical archaeologists are often most comfortable.

In the book's most novel section, chapter 4, "Fellowship," Andrzejewski extends her perspective on surveillance to Victorian-era Christian wilderness camp meetings. As she suggests, hierarchies were also most certainly at stake in these religious settings. At camp meetings there existed ladder relationships between nonbelievers and believers; between the congregation and the physically elevated, pulpit minister; and between everyone present and God. Within the confines of camp meetings, where tents and cabins were erected in extremely close proximity to each other and usually configured around a central covered tabernacle or an elevated outdoor preaching stand, *everyone watched everyone*. This surveillance was not only tolerated; it was invited. "Multiple" and "reciprocal" gazing (p. 155) operated as a means to help strengthen social and spiritual bonds. Thus Andrzejewski's interpretation of Victorian fellowship illustrates the shift from top-down to self-discipline described by Foucault, but also shows how surveillance in this context was for the most part an affirmative experience.

Andrzejewski suggests that though the means by which surveillance is implemented have changed over the last century, the motivations have not (p. xiv). Contemporary Americans live in the age of the Patriot Act and an already massive yet still expanding prison-industrial complex. Today, modes of surveillance are deeply intermeshed with the practices of policing, prisons, parole and probation, and militarized borders and immigration, to name just a few of the more sinister examples. Following Andrzejewski, researchers might also highlight other, less-explicitly disciplinary surveillances in 21st-century America, such as the public's (including archaeologists') increasing use of Google Earth for pleasure, profit, and knowledge production, or the now taken-for-granted ability to track (or gaze at) others digitally by monitoring Twitter posts, Facebook status updates, and iPhone GPS apps.

Built on strong and convincing case studies, and containing many instructive and at times entertaining historical architectural drawings, advertisements, photographs, cartoons, and illustrations, *Building Power* is very readable. It is timely and relevant, both as stand-alone historical information and perspective, and as research that clearly informs archaeologists' understanding of present-day practices and institutional structures. While *Building Power* will be of interest to all historical archaeologists, chapter 1 is particularly pertinent for archaeologists working on institutions, chapter 2 for industrial archaeologists, chapter 3 for archaeologists researching and excavating households, and chapter 4 for those working on religious communities. Perhaps most importantly, the book serves as another reminder that all historians, whether affiliated with history per se, art history, geography, archaeology, or otherwise, can and must continue to seek out the historical roots of often injurious phenomena of the present day.

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Archaeological Oceanography

Robert D. Ballard (editor)

Princeton University Press,
Princeton, NJ, 2008. 296 pp., 170
color photos, 8 illus. \$45.00 cloth.

Robert Ballard's usual books are coffee-table tomes filled with glossy pictures and fascinating stories aimed at the public. *Archaeological Oceanography* is not one of these. This book is geared towards the archaeologist and the oceanographer, as well as the interested layman. The work is intended to explain to those in both fields what Ballard and his associates have been doing under the sea for the past two decades.

Divided into five parts—"The Technology and Techniques of Archaeological Oceanography," "Contemporary Shipwrecks in the Deep Sea," "Deep-Water Shipwrecks in the Mediterranean and Black Seas," "Submerged Landscape Archaeology," and "Telepresence and Submerged Cultural Sites"—the sections outline the methods of deepwater exploration and how these are used to find shipwrecks both modern and ancient, include reports on the archaeological findings of ancient wrecks and submerged sites around the world, and address the benefits of engaging the public in archaeological preservation.

The first section deals with the tools and methods Ballard and his teams have used and developed to find and examine archaeological sites beyond the limits of human diving depths. Descriptions of remotely operated vehicles, how they function, and the advantages of one type over another are presented without *Star Trek*-like technobabble, demystifying these high-tech machines that are beyond the reach and budget of most archaeologists. Of particular interest is the description of a remotely operated tool for excavation: the "snuffer." This invention consists of a low-pressure water jet and a suction system working in combination that can apparently excavate an artifact or clear the overburden off a section of a shipwreck without compromising the archaeological data. It is simply fascinating. The leaps Ballard and his crew have made in deepwater archaeology as related

here are impressive, and for those archaeologists who are also technonerd this section is a bit of a romp. Conversely, the inclusion of a rather pedantic chapter on artifact conservation seems as though the authors are trying perhaps a little too hard to convince the archaeologist reader that what they are doing under the sea is legitimate and up to archaeological standards.

The second section concerns Ballard's beginnings in archaeology with the discovery of *Titanic*, which he reveals was corollary to top secret searches for lost Cold War-era submarines. Ballard's narrative expands to the *Bismarck*, *Lusitania*, and PT-109, although this last wreck seems not to be proven definitively to be John Kennedy's vessel. For field archaeologists at least, this is section is engaging reading.

The third section concerns the archaeology of ancient shipwrecks in the Mediterranean and Black seas, beginning with Ballard's discoveries at Skerki Banks, and the examination of two Iron Age wrecks in deep water off Ashkelon near the Gazan/Egyptian/Israeli area of contention. A chapter on the ancient, highly intact wrecks in the Black Sea rounds out a tantalizing section that leaves the archaeologist wanting more news and opportunities in these seas.

In the fourth section, Ballard includes an introductory chapter on submerged landscapes, and specific chapters on efforts at examining these in southern New England and the Great Lakes. This is followed by the last chapter, combining the subjects of long-term preservation of wrecks and telepresence. Ballard and coauthor M. Durbin speculate in this chapter on methods for conserving iron wrecks in situ, in ways reminiscent of the heady days of the 1950s and early 1960s when other undersea explorers engaged in similar enthusiastic ideas. All in all, it is interesting reading.

Overall, the book is well written. The work could benefit from a bit tighter editing—a reading of Strunk and White's *Elements of Style* would have improved it, at least in avoiding the grating and oft-included phrase, "the fact that." The book is well illustrated with glossy color graphics and photographs, which is much appreciated as it makes for

better understanding of the work from the archaeological and oceanographical points of view. The glossary is sparse on oceanographical and technical terms, however, while leaning heavily toward the archaeological, apparently to explain things more to oceanographers, and this is a weakness. Some technical terms are nowhere explained in the book, and while this does not detract from understanding the work, it would have been beneficial to have included them in the glossary.

At first approach to the book, one is struck by the semantically clumsy title and term Ballard uses to christen his endeavor: *Archaeological Oceanography*. Indeed, Ballard in his introduction attempts to explain the need for the new term to describe what initially appears to be simply deepwater archaeology. A read through the book, however, demonstrates that

Ballard has moved archaeology into a new realm, combining oceanographic knowledge with the archaeological in an impressive way, in facets few archaeologists would have considered before Ballard became involved; thus, the term is fitting. One of Ballard's goals as stated in the book is to make available to archaeologists—and to his credit Ballard makes no claims to such a title—the tools and knowledge he has developed. Given his accomplishments so far, no one should discount his achievements as they are compiled in this work. He and his associates deserve a measure of praise, as does the book itself. *Archaeological Oceanography* should be a standard on any archaeologist's bookshelf.

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Historic Pensacola

John J. Clune, Jr. and

Margo S. Stringfield

University Press of Florida,
 Gainesville, 2009. 200 pp., 63 illus.
 \$27.00 cloth.

It is truly rare to see a book that so easily combines archaeological and historical research with beautiful illustrations in such a highly readable and affordable volume. The authors state in the acknowledgements (p. ix) that “[o]f all U.S. cities, Pensacola has one of the richest cultural heritages. The goal of this book is to share that history with the public.” Mission accomplished in *Historic Pensacola*. Not only is the book an impressive synthesis of decades of historical and archaeological research, but Clune and Stringfield present this (often dense) information in ways that are easily understood by a general audience. Museum professionals and academics often attempt to provide detailed research in museum exhibit catalogs and popularized histories with much less success, as they are often hindered with the challenge of presenting too much information in too little space. Those struggling with this challenge should look to *Historic Pensacola* for inspiration, as the authors have managed to impart the rich history of this colonial city in just 200 pages.

Each chapter outlines significant periods in Pensacola’s history, from the earliest Spanish exploration and settlement in the mid-16th century, until the end of the second Spanish period in the early 19th century. Using archaeological, archival, and historical sources, the authors are able to provide detailed information on settlers, settlements, and survival, as the city transformed from a Spanish garrison, to a French outpost, and to the capital of the British colony of West Florida. The authors’ focus throughout the volume is on daily life; how the different peoples of Pensacola endured hardship, disease, and hurricanes to help form Pensacola as we know it today. The information presented on daily life in each period is kept brief, but with ample citations for those who wish to know

more, allowing for an easy, informative, and fun read. Of particular interest to readers of *Historical Archaeology* are details of archaeological investigations and interpretation that are often placed at the forefront of the text, rather than just living in the citations. The inclusion of archaeological information in this way not only provides the general public with insight into the practice of archaeology and the kinds of detailed information that archaeology can provide, but also serves to highlight the substantial terrestrial and underwater archaeology that has taken place in Pensacola for several decades.

Visually, this book is a treat. *Historic Pensacola* is wonderfully colorful. Each chapter features historical and contemporary maps and drawings (most of which are in color), images of artifacts and museum displays, as well as some photographs and illustrations from archaeological investigations. Through these copious images, the reader obtains a real sense of the physical space of Pensacola and how it has changed over time. Perhaps one of this reviewer’s favorite parts of the book is the period recipes, such as hardtack and colonial punch. What better way exists to understand the daily lives of those living on this frontier than through food?

Historic Pensacola is the first of the University Press of Florida series “Colonial Towns and Cities of the Atlantic World,” edited by John J. Clune and Gregory A. Waselkov. If this is the model for the series, then the reviewer looks forward to seeing future publications. *Historic Pensacola* will appeal to academics and general readers. For academics and museum professionals, *Historic Pensacola* also serves as an excellent model for presenting detailed and nuanced histories in a concise and readable format for the general public. Kudos to Clune and Stringfield for producing such an outstanding contribution that truly celebrates the history of this unique colonial city.

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*The Same Under a Different Sky:
A Country Estate in Nineteenth-
Century New South Wales*

Graham Connah

John and Erica Hedges, Oxford, UK,
2007. 269 pp., 174 figs., 48 tables.
\$70.00 paper.

In addition to his well-deserved international reputation for African archaeology, Graham Connah is a pioneer of Australian historical archaeology. Between 1993 and 2006, with the help of 128 students and volunteers, Connah surveyed, excavated, and analyzed the archaeological record of Lake Innes House and Estate near Port Macquarie in northern New South Wales, Australia. The excavations at Lake Innes House have taken on almost a “Woodstock” status in Australian historical archaeology, as almost everybody one talks to at Australasian Society for Historical Archaeology conferences claims to have worked with Graham on the site. Unfortunately this reviewer was not one of them.

In 1831 Archibald Clunes Innes and his wife Margaret Macleay took up combined land grants of 3,840 ac., and commenced construction of what would eventually become a 22-room brick mansion surrounded by attractive gardens and extensive stables. Until the 1840s the Innes family lived the high life, with numerous servants and free convict labor to work the estate, but a combination of economic depression, the cessation of the convict assignment system, and rising debts meant that the family could not support its lifestyle. By the time of Innes’s death in 1857 the house was mortgaged to the bank. Although members of the family continued to live in the house, Connah reports that by the end of the 19th century the house was derelict, and was destroyed by fire sometime before 1905.

The comprehensive account of the archaeological investigation of the estate presented in this book is an invaluable addition to the growing body of historical archaeological literature in Australia. The book consists of 14

chapters, with chapter 1 giving the background to the estate and the project. Chapters 2 and 3 cover the initial surveys of the house site and 12 other named sites around the estate, including 4 brick-making sites. These two chapters provide 60 photos, plans, and elevations of the remaining structures on the site. Chapters 4 to 7 provide minute detail of the excavation program of the main house, the stables, and the servants’ quarters. All 10 excavated sites are dealt with similarly by providing a documentary background, descriptions of the site, the excavations, the features, and artifacts. Each description is followed by a limited interpretive statement summarizing the results of the excavation. Chapters 8 to 11 reconsider the artifacts (by type) and the faunal material. There are separate sections on the analysis of ceramics (written by Alasdair Brooks, who concludes that most of the ceramics postdate the Innes occupation), glass (Jean Smith), nails (Terry Moore), nonnail metal (Rob Tickle), buttons (Sylvia Yates), sewing items (Beryl Connah), clay smoking pipes (Kris Courtney), animal remains (Catherine Tucker), and coins, slate artifacts, and ammunition (Graham Connah). In chapter 12, Robert Haworth and Brian Tolagson report on the geomorphological factors that influenced the archaeological record of the estate, and Connah discusses the results of the 1,119 pH measurements and the inconclusive phosphate measurements taken during the excavations. Chapter 13 is a specialist discussion, by David Pearson from the National Archives of Australia, of the attribution of a painting that is believed to have once hung in the Innes drawing room. This chapter seems incongruously placed beside the highly detailed archaeological minutiae of the preceding chapters, but has probably been included for completeness. Chapter 14 is a short interpretive conclusion to the book and deals specifically with the concept of status, including the relative status of the different groups represented at the estate (owners, tickets-of-leave, assigned convicts) and the translation of British (Scottish?) ideals to the colony. After reading all the data it would have been good to have a more comprehensive interpretation of the place,

rather than a summary of the previously presented interpretations.

Connah makes it clear on the title page and in the preface that he is not the sole author of this work. It incorporates the work of 21 other people, and this is one of the main strengths of the book. Connah draws together some leading exponents in their fields, such as Alasdair Brooks, to undertake the various artifact analyses. The major value of this work though, is in the extensive and detailed presentation of data. The book contains 48 site plans, 24 elevations, 9 section drawings, 5 tables of context relationships, and 30 tables of artifact-related data, as well as 11 historical images, 40 site photos, 24 artifact photos, and 8 artifact drawings. Any historical archaeologist working anywhere in the world on British colonial activities of the early-to-mid-19th century will be able to use the data in this volume for comparative purposes. The reviewer envisages their incorporation into numerous doctoral and honors theses.

There are some problems with the book, including that because artifact analysis was undertaken by different individuals, there is no consistency in method or result. For example, Sylvia Yates analyzes the buttons by material, irrespective of site or stratigraphic context, whereas Catherine Tucker's study of the faunal material is organized chronologically by excava-

tion date. This means that it is difficult for the reader to understand the relationships between the different artifact classes. The photographs are also very poorly reproduced. All the photographs are very dark and the detail cannot be made out, but conversely all the site plans, elevations, and artifact drawings are of a high standard, and spatial relationships, etc., are easily discernable. There is a lack of standardization in the figures used throughout the book, but given that it is the culmination of 10 field seasons of survey and excavation, and a product of numerous contributors, this is understandable. An overall site plan identifying the location of all the archaeological features would have been a worthwhile inclusion.

Many archaeological excavations are performed with only summary (or no) data ever being published. So, to have this volume and quality of data available is of outstanding value. Graham Connah is a meticulous excavator and has done a thorough job in pulling together this archaeological report that will prove a data source for a multitude of future interpretations.

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Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South

Robbie Ethridge and Sheri M. Shuck-Hall (editors)

University of Nebraska Press,
Lincoln, 2009. 536 pp., 16 figs.,
index. \$35.00 paper.

Archaeologists are often asked to identify prehistoric artifacts, with a common accompanying question being: What tribe is it from? The book *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone*, which focuses on the turbulent period following first contact between Europeans and Indians in the southeastern United States, repeatedly demonstrates why there are few straightforward answers for such a seemingly simple question. The chapters in this volume approach the extraordinary transformations that occurred during the contact period through the concept of the Mississippian shatter zone, a model which recognizes that multiple factors created conditions of profound social and political instability across the Southeast from the late 16th through early 18th centuries. The concept of the Mississippian shatter zone sees the persistent and region-wide instability of the contact period as having developed from the social and political void left when the Southeast's politically complex but inherently unstable Mississippian societies were unable to withstand the epidemic diseases, integration into the world economy, and intensification of violence that were inextricable elements of the colonial process. Global economic forces and violence were fused at the local level in the practice of Indian slaving, the dominant economic activity of the shatter zone, which involved the commercially oriented capture and sale of Native Americans for labor in the colonial economy. It was within the region-wide turmoil of the shatter zone that the native cultural landscape of the Southeast was transformed, as the numerous, autonomous native societies encountered by the De Soto *entrada* in the 1540s either went extinct, or

coped with the aftermath of depopulation through disease and Indian slaving by dissolution, migration, and/or coalescence into new social and political entities. In the 1730s, at the end of this transformative period, the native political landscape mostly consisted of a few, large Indian polities, which constitute the historically known tribal groups of the Southeast (e.g., Catawba, Creek, Choctaw) that had been formed by the unique conditions of the shatter zone, as remnant groups came together to create new socially and politically viable societies.

Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone begins and ends with chapters by Robbie Ethridge, including an introduction that is impressive for its insights and breadth. The intervening 14 chapters are case studies that largely follow the chronology and geography of the effects of the shatter zone across the Southeast. William Fox's chapter shows how incessant raiding by the Iroquois displaced into the Southeast a group—the Westos—who would become the region's first militaristic slaving society. Maureen Meyers's consideration of Westo slaving as an effective, albeit short-lived strategy, shows their history of displacement, coalescence, empowerment through slaving, and extinction through colonial-sponsored warfare, as an example of the shatter zone in microcosm. Eric Bowne focuses on the pivotal role played by the Westos in initiating the cycle of slaving, displacement, and coalescence that would persist across the region for nearly two centuries. Robin Beck, Jr., traces the development of the Catawba from the Mississippian chiefdoms of the Carolina Piedmont to their emergence in the 18th century as a coalescent society of groups seeking refuge from slaving by the Westo and Occaneechi. Mary Elizabeth Fitts and Charles Heath focus on strategies—such as coalescence, ethnic soldiering, and shifting settlements to take advantage of trade with Europeans—that allowed the people that would come to constitute the Catawba not only to survive, but thrive within the shatter zone. Stephen Warren and Randolph Noe explore how navigating the shatter zone's ever-changing political landscape probably shaped the cultural ideals of mobility and travel

among the Shawnee, and led them to develop an identity that was not bound to any particular place. Ned Jenkins uses archaeological evidence to trace the prehistoric social foundations of the Creek confederacy, and to show that the migration, dissolution, and formation of societies had been occurring for centuries prior to contact. Sheri Shuck-Hall focuses on strategies, namely movement and coalescence, used by the Alabama and Coushatta to redefine their society within the context of the shatter zone. Matthew Jennings uses the formation of the Creeks to explore the use of violence as a strategy for empowerment and achieving goals. John Worth discusses the transformation and destruction of native societies in Florida through the strategic distribution of guns via colonial machinations and Indian slaving, which illustrates a process that occurred repeatedly across the region. Paul Kelton considers how the conflicts that led to the Yamasee War were exacerbated by population losses through epidemic diseases, increasing both demands by the English for Indian slaves, and native cultural practices of adoption as an alternative to slavery for enemies captured during raids. Patricia Galloway uses the Choctaw to illustrate the importance of considering native perspectives and motivations concerning their interactions with Europeans. Marvin Jeter explores the shatter zone in the lower Mississippi Valley, especially regarding the possible movement of the Quapaw away from the slave raids of the Iroquois and into a region that had been depopulated since De Soto. George Edward Milne discusses the Natchez, who are often presented as the last Mississippians, as a product of the shatter zone—a coalescent society that successfully carved out a place in the tumultuous world of the shatter zone by incorporating different ethnic groups through strategies such as diplomacy and intermarriage.

Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone is an excellent volume that is essential reading

for anyone interested in the late prehistory and early history of the Southeast. Its outstanding introduction and case studies provide an insightful and comprehensive overview of the shatter-zone concept and its application in the Southeast. This volume should be of much interest beyond the region as well, because of its more general contributions to the study of the aftermath of European and Native American interactions within a colonial context. One more general contribution is the shatter-zone concept's explicit recognition that multiple factors interacted in complex ways to create the instability that characterized the contact period. Although a number of scholars have studied Mississippian political organization and the effects of European diseases, trade, and warfare on native peoples after contact, the shatter-zone model considers how the forces of colonialism—namely disease, capitalism, and violence—acted on preexisting conditions in native social and political organization to create a 200-year period of region-wide instability. Another contribution, perhaps the volume's most important, is its emphasis on the extraordinarily disruptive and transformative effects of Indian slaving. One profound effect of Indian slaving was the development of numerous militaristic slaving societies, groups whose incredibly effective and destructive tactics caused the dissolution, migration, and extinction of other native groups. Ethridge (p. 26) states that "Indian slaving was one of the hammers that shattered the world in which they themselves existed," and nearly every chapter in this excellent volume demonstrates the profundity of the social and political transformations that resulted.

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The Archaeology of Native-Lived Colonialism: Challenging History in the Great Lakes

Neal Ferris

University of Arizona Press, Tucson, 2009. 240 pp., 10 b&w photos, 10 tables, 19 illus. \$50.00 cloth.

Understanding the nature of change that resulted from contact between indigenous cultures and colonizers has been a preoccupation of historical archaeology (cultural anthropology and history as well, for that matter) for decades now. Most practitioners have come a long way in their willingness to challenge conventional archaeological interpretations that fixated on a small number of nonindigenous artifacts as evidence of native lives and communities disrupted and displaced. In many cases, the task of analyzing data more holistically as part of a multisubfield exploration of the contact-period site has resulted in the conclusion that there is no master narrative explaining change. Instead, change is increasingly viewed as systematic and logical within the context particulars of nativecentric continuities that evidence social and political complexity, complexity that existed long before the intrusion of European influences.

In his latest work, *The Archaeology of Native-Lived Colonialism: Challenging History in the Great Lakes*, Neal Ferris convincingly challenges conventional assumptions about 18th- and 19th-century European impact on three indigenous nations living in what is now southwestern Ontario. Viewing data from material and documentary sources through an archaeological lens, Ferris resists the usual lopsided interactions and essentialist assumptions of native decline and ruin at the hands of European prowess, in favor of a far more dynamic interplay structured around dependable social institutions and processes that operated within and among indigenous families, communities, and nations over centuries prior to contact. Ferris's "changed continuities" thesis never once denies that change occurred, but instead locates change "*within* historically understood priorities about livelihood

and social organization" (p. 76). He likewise contextualizes the "implied opposition inherent in the concept of 'contact'" (p. 168), at least as pertains to the Great Lakes region, as more a continuation of the terminal Woodland period, in which intentional manipulation of "broad Woodland material innovations, social structures, geographic relocations and broad contacts with external peoples" (p. 168), than as evidence of forced adaptations in the face of overwhelming colonial pressures.

Utilizing an ethnographic archaeological methodology, Ferris explores the collective native-lived experiences of communities representing three aboriginal nations during the emergence of a colonialist presence in southwestern Ontario. Ferris first critically weaves together data from extensive historical and archaeological collections to glean the ways in which changes in subsistence, related mobility and settlement patterns, as well as material culture production and wage-labor innovations evidence critical life-ways alterations by traditional Ojibwa peoples experiencing European intrusion. In contrast to conventional assumptions that view changes to these systems as an abandonment of traditional life, Ferris argues instead that the data indicate Ojibwa livelihood, settlement, and social organization remained largely intact well into the 20th century, despite a European presence. Change is apparent, he contends, in activities like home-range reduction to reserve boundaries, and declines in distant hunting activities for example. Such changes, Ferris contends, are better characterized as historically informed ways of negotiating self and community in the region, however.

The same can be said for a Delaware (Unami-Unalachtigo) community that settled at Fairfield, a Moravian mission along the Thames River just to the south. Ferris's argument here is perhaps somewhat less convincing. In an effort to understand the native community's adaptive responses to the rapidly changing social and physical landscape in the region, Ferris examines mostly missionary diaries from the period of the founding of the community, roughly 1790, until the community's destruction by advancing American

forces during the War of 1812, a relatively short period of time for assessing change. Ferris himself acknowledges the inherent limitations of these records for understanding the Delaware, but maintains their importance for providing meaningful insight beyond the basic religious agendas of the diarists themselves (pp. 85–86). In addition, Ferris uses the archaeological data from excavations at Fairfield (1942 and 1946) by Wilfrid Jury. The excavations are of limited utility, as Jury used flat-edged shovels to slice through 40 separate house sites. Only a small sample of the collections remain.

Ferris does what he can to read the available data for clues about native life in the Christian mission, though at times his explanations feel a bit forced. Ferris deduces that despite being surrounded by the mission's particular world view, "it was the Delaware who defined what was important to them individually and as a community, both in terms of spiritual values and day-to-day life, be it Christian or Indigenous." This seems reasonable and logical under the circumstances, even if it is not an entirely data-driven conclusion.

Archaeology dominates Ferris's discussion of the Iroquois of southwestern Ontario. Skillful use of materials excavated from 13 separate locales at Mohawk Village (Kenyon and Faux, 1970s and 1980s) for example, adds a necessary corroborative dimension to the written data. Ferris's seamless integration of household assemblages recovered from the 19th-century sites (architectural features, faunal remains,

mass-produced and traditional ceramics, beads) with the ample historical record, both reasonably and scientifically reinforces the conclusion that the community was engaged in a continuous cycle of adapting and innovating "informing notions of value and self, but not undermining or replacing historically based notions of identity arising from specific cultural contexts" (p. 164). While the majority of mass-produced materials on the sites could be construed to reflect an assimilated community no longer distinct from the European Canadian society that surrounded them, Ferris reckons that "a consideration of historical context and recognition of the interplay of tradition and innovations revises the meaning and agency reflected in these households" (p. 164).

Despite some minor limitations noted above concerning the utility of data in certain contexts, Neal Ferris's text is a valuable and important read for anyone in the social sciences with interest in indigenous/colonial interactions. Ferris revisits, reconsiders, and relocates change as a result of "contact" from change as a means of survival to change that is historically locatable, situation specific, and autonomous. This book is highly recommended.

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The Archaeology of Environmental Change: Socionatural Legacies of Degradation and Resilience

Christopher T. Fisher, J. Brett Hill, and Gary M. Feinman (editors)

University of Arizona Press, Tucson, 2009. 320 pp., 7 b&w photos, 15 illus., 15 maps, 9 tables. \$60.00 cloth.

Environmental archaeology has emerged as a named discipline during the last three decades, and is particularly well known in the United Kingdom, Australia, and the United States. In general terms, it is an interdisciplinary study focusing on the past of humans' interactions in their physical and biological environments, and it encompasses fauna, flora, and landscape studies, with a goal of reconstructing ancient environments associated with archaeological sites. The discipline is often divided into three subfields: zooarchaeology, archaeobotany, and geoarchaeology. Geomorphology, palynology, paleoethnobotany, geophysics, landscape archaeology, paleodemography, human biology, human ecology, and—to some degree—cultural ecology and social archaeology, are among the major disciplines engaged in documenting and interpreting these interactions between humans and their environments. The major issues in environmental archaeology include paleoenvironmental reconstruction, seasonality, raw-material sourcing, subsistence and dietary analyses, and the short- and long-term effects of climate change.

Fisher (Colorado State University), Hill (Center for Desert Archaeology), and Feinman (Field Museum of Natural History) have assembled 11 case studies prepared by 16 scholars, which illustrate major components of environmental archaeology from a wide range of times and a variety of geographical loci, to demonstrate how archaeology can contribute to a better understanding of human interrelationships with the natural and physical environment. The three editors provide an "Introduction: Environmental Studies for Twenty-first-century Conservation"

in which they examine environmental disasters, human decisions, social and economic needs, and unintended consequences when human societies "fail to meet the inherent challenges associated with closely interconnected human/environmental systems." Humans, they continue, can fundamentally impact their physical surrounds so that even climate (once commonly thought to be outside the reach of human control) and other aspects of the environment may be significantly altered" (p. 3). In addition, they write that human societies have "created an environmental crisis through anthropogenic processes such as global warming" (p. 12). Societal collapse is briefly reviewed, noting some distinctions between the scientific and "popular culture" perspectives (e.g., Jared Diamond), and they point out that two recent Nobel Peace Prizes have been awarded to environmentalists (Wangari Maathai in 2004, and Al Gore and the UN IPCC in 2007).

The contributions to this volume provide the reader with a survey of some insights gained through "socionatural archaeology," following Sander van der Leeuw and Charles L. Redman's 2002 "Placing Archaeology at the Center of Socio-Natural Studies" (*American Antiquity* 64(7):597–605), who argued that environmental research based in the life, earth, and social sciences had paid inadequate attention to the long time span and slow-moving processes that frequently underlie environmental crises; an article well worth rereading. They contend that transdisciplinary research is needed to see how archaeologists can engage in the analysis of contemporary environmental issues. Van der Leeuw (now at Arizona State University's School of Human Evolution and Social Change) and Redman (Arizona State's School of Sustainability) practice what they preach, and the evidence is seen in their contributions to this volume.

Fisher, Hill, and Feinman provide case studies—some of which explore complex processes that highlight major factors affecting change, and others that provide counterintuitive interpretations that challenge prevailing wisdom. These studies are varied in geographic locations, perspectives, and chronologies, but focus on

three themes: multidimensional explanations, new theoretical frameworks, and suggesting new answers to old questions. Two focus on the North American Southwest: "The Resilience of Socioecological Landscapes: Lessons from the Hohokam" (Charles L. Redman, Margaret C. Nelson, and Ann P. Kinzig) and "Hohokam and Pima-Maricopa Irrigation Agriculturalists: Maladaptive or Resilient Societies?" (John C. Ravesloot, J. Andrew Darling, and Michael R. Waters). Three studies focus on Mesoamerica: "Creating a Stable Landscape: Soil Conservation and Adaptation among the Ancient Maya" (Nicholas Dunning, Timothy Beach, Sheryl Luzzadder-Beach, and John G. Jones), "Beyond Sustainability: Managed Wetlands and Water Harvesting in Ancient Mesoamerica" (Vernon L. Scarborough), and "Abandoning the Garden: The Population/land Degradation Fallacy as Applied to the Lake Pátzcuaro Basin in Mexico" (Christopher T. Fisher).

Sander van der Leeuw, in "What is an 'Environmental Crisis' to an Archaeologist?" provides a thoughtful comparison of the Argolid and Portugal, while North Atlantic cultures (especially Scandinavia) are reviewed by Tina Thurston in "Farming the Margins: On the Social Causes and Consequences of Soil-management Strategies." In "The Human-wildlife Conundrum: A View from East Africa," Chapurukha M. Kusimba presents two compelling assessments of the environmental effects of iron production and Tsavo elephants. Three contributions focus on the Mediterranean/Southwest Asia: "What Difference does Environmental Degradation Make?: Change and its Significance in Transjordan" (J. Brett Hill), "The Earliest Residents of Cyprus: Ecological Pariahs or Harmonious Settlers?" (Alan H. Simmons),

and "Social Changes Triggered by Younger Dryas and the Early Holocene Climatic Fluctuations in the Near East" (O. Bar-Yosef).

This volume brings together new research by well-known scholars who often refute popular ideas holding simple cause-and-effect relationships between humans and their environments. The authors and editors perceive human culture as interposed between these two dynamic variables, with humans not as inevitable destroyers of their landscapes or as the ill-fated victims of inevitable forces. As they demonstrate and document, there are numerous potential outcomes of these interactions, and these case studies illustrate three dominant conceptual themes (pp. 250–251): (1) the nonlinear recursive and multiscalar qualities of ecodynamic processes, (2) a limited number of process types that explain a large part of the diversity resulting from the interactions of the two variables, and (3) some new answers to old questions. The contributors to this compelling compendium—a very valuable set of global case studies—demonstrate clearly that archaeology and the historical record provide a significant way of looking at present-day social and environmental issues. The relationships to human and cultural ecology are clear, as Baker, Newman, Sanders, Livingstone, and Frake began to show nearly five decades ago (Paul T. Baker, *Ecology and Anthropology: A Symposium, American Anthropologist* 64(1):15–22, 1962).

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Beneath the Inland Seas: Michigan's Underwater Archaeological Heritage

John R. Halsey and Wayne R. Lusardi
Michigan Department of History,
Arts, and Libraries, Lansing, 2008.
89 pp. \$19.95 paper.

In *Beneath the Inland Seas: Michigan's Underwater Archaeological Heritage*, authors John R. Halsey and Wayne R. Lusardi have compiled a valuable resource on the practice and development of maritime archaeology in a state that boasts over 38,000 sq. mi. of bottomlands in four Great Lakes. As state archaeologist and state maritime archaeologist, respectively, Halsey and Lusardi combine years of professional knowledge with contributions from a variety of avocational divers and researchers to produce a volume sure to appeal to both specialists and interested members of the public alike. The state archaeologists define maritime archaeology and outline its potential before delving briefly into issues of theory, methodology, and legislation, focused on the Great Lakes. An additional 13 contributors discuss significant shipwrecks from individual state bottomland preserves. An impressive bibliography complements attractive archival images and photographs of wrecks in situ, resulting in a work that few interested in Great Lakes history and maritime archaeology can afford to ignore.

In their introductory chapters, Halsey and Lusardi provide a concise geologic and cultural history of the region from the prehistoric period to the present, while suggesting the unique possibilities of archaeology to offer new lines of evidence about this history. In keeping with Christer Westerdahl's influential idea of maritime cultural landscapes and developments in foreshore- and inundated-sites archaeology, the authors emphasize that maritime archaeological sites are not confined to the historical shipwrecks that fill the popular imagination, and instead encompass everything from shore installations to ancient fish weirs. The perennial fascination with the first European ship lost in the lakes, LaSalle's ill-fated *Griffon*,

is used to introduce a thoughtful summary of the evolution of shipping on the Great Lakes, reminding the reader of the intimate link between maritime transport and larger trends in social and economic history. Halsey does not neglect marine architecture, however, and discusses the transition from sail to steam on the lakes, and the development of bulk carriers from modest wooden-hulled vessels to the thousand-foot steel behemoths of today. These transformations are illustrated with individual examples, and the dozens of ships mentioned by name are all accompanied by their dates of operation in parentheses. This level of detail is sure to delight any ship enthusiast.

Of particular value is Halsey's discussion of legal and professional issues in Michigan maritime archaeology. He cuts through the jargon inherent in any legislation to define "bottomlands," and explains that the state of Michigan claims ownership of all abandoned wrecks in these areas, with the exception of those protected under federal law or the sovereign immunity of foreign states. This information will be of interest to sport divers curious about the legal status of the wrecks they visit, as well as professionals working in other states or countries. Halsey also describes the establishment, organization, and mission of the state's 10 Great Lakes State Bottomland Preserves, which complement the Thunder Bay National Marine Sanctuary and Isle Royale National Park. He stresses the vital role avocational groups such as the Michigan Underwater Preserve Council (MUPC) continue to play in the success of these initiatives. The authors' emphasis on the many successful partnerships between volunteers, enthusiasts, and professional archaeologists is a major strength of the work, and a refreshing change from the marginalization of those without formal academic credentials by some archaeologists. Michigan's proactive and collaborative approach in managing its underwater cultural heritage should serve as a model for other states, although some aspects of the relevant legislation remain dubious. While Public Act 452 of 1988 was apparently enacted to curtail abuses of

an earlier 1980 law, the statement that “it is now a felony to recover or destroy abandoned property with a fair market value of \$100 or more” (p. 30) raises several questions. Is it legal to recover artifacts worth less than \$100, and perhaps more importantly, who assesses the market value of an historical item? Despite this alarming loophole in otherwise sound legislation, the considerable public interest in Michigan’s Bottomland Preserves and the state’s maritime history in general seems to indicate a widespread shift towards more responsible stewardship by the public.

The final chapter, “Historic Wrecks from Michigan’s Lakes and Shores,” will perhaps be of the greatest interest to most readers. Here authorities such as museum curator C. Patrick Labadie and diver Cris Kohl discuss significant shipwrecks. A great diversity of vessel types is represented here, ranging from the schooner *Dunderberg* with its idiosyncratic figurehead, to vernacular fishing craft of Isle Royale, to the modern steel bulk-carrier *Cedarville*, which was sunk in 1965. As is typical with edited collections of this kind, the quality of contributions is somewhat uneven. While divers like Thomas Mercier and Carol Linteau tend to focus on their personal experiences under water, others like Labadie and former National Park Service archaeologist Kenneth J. Vrana provide detailed site descriptions using the more formal and specific language familiar to archaeologists.

The quality of the reproduced historical images and underwater photographs is superb, but unfortunately the same cannot be said for the maps which accompany the text on individual wrecks. Smaller images—details from a perfectly adequate map of the entire Great Lakes region found on page 29—appear rather cartoonish and mar otherwise excellent graphic design. Additional faults are minor discrepancies, and one wonders if the first steel ship on the lakes was the *Spokane* of 1886 (p. 9), or perhaps the tug *Sport* built in 1873 (p. 25). The claim that the *Walk-in-the-Water* (1818) was the first steamship on the lakes (p. 7) will likely be hotly disputed by historians across the border, who instead accord that honor to the steamer *Frontenac*, launched two years earlier in 1816. These are small criticisms, however, of an otherwise excellent volume that synthesizes a vast amount of data and does much to bring the different stakeholders in Michigan’s submerged cultural resources together. It is hoped the examples Halsey and Lusardi provide will inspire curious sport divers and other motivated members of the public to take an active role in studying and protecting the state’s maritime heritage.

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*The Millstone Quarries of Powell
County, Kentucky*

Charles D. Hockensmith
McFarland and Company, Jefferson,
NC, 2009. 216 pp., 107 photos, 2
maps. \$45.00 paper.

*The Millstone Industry: A Summary
of Research on Quarries and
Producers in the United States,
Europe and Elsewhere*

Charles D. Hockensmith
McFarland and Company, Jefferson,
NC, 2009. 283 pp., 84 photos, 16
tables. \$75.00 paper.

The archaeological study of quarries and quarrying is not a topic at the cutting edge. Much less interest has been displayed in this extractive industrial endeavor than in other kinds of industrial sites, and more articles have been published on mills than on the places that supplied the materials they needed to run. This may stem from a variety of factors, including access, the difficulty of locating and documenting sites under deep ground cover, and the unfortunate fact that the act of quarrying destroys evidence of previous activity. Quarries are sites that eat themselves.

This has not deterred Charles Hockensmith (and some others) from investigating this important productive activity, and these two books are the culmination of several decades of painstaking field and archival research. Hockensmith's interests in millstone quarrying, a specialized subset of the stone industry, have taken him from the hills of Kentucky to other states where millstone production was prominent in the 18th and 19th centuries, to Europe, where the timeline for production is longer and the network of scholars larger and better organized than in North America.

The two volumes, while overlapping in some details, are really quite distinct. The author's attempt to understand one small region, Powell County, Kentucky, is an excellent case study

at the local level. The other work is in many respects a multinational literature review. They serve very different functions but are likely to appeal to much the same scholarly audience. Of course the case study will also have a place in local and regional history collections.

Before examining each book in turn, a word about the acknowledgements sections of both books is in order. Acknowledgements are curious beasts, usually ranging from a minimal "thanks, everybody" to a more formal listing of those who helped the author in some significant fashion. Hockensmith goes a step farther, seemingly leaving no person contacted unmentioned, no editor, archivist or colleague unthanked, no conference attended left out. While this may seem like dull overkill to some readers, it actually reveals the history of his research and discovery process. As diaries of his intellectual endeavors, they are both exhaustive and impressive. Students and aspiring scholars should read them, both to recognize that nobody truly works alone, and as an exercise in the humility of scholarship.

Powell County, Kentucky lies in the rural eastern portion of the state, not far from its major market of Lexington, where many of its millstones resided. The best stone in this region is a sandstone conglomerate with quartz inclusions which was formed as channel deposits, and survives on ridges and hilltops. This type of stone was suitable for grinding corn and other coarse materials, but was not for wheat, for which French burr stone was imported for much of the 19th century. Hockensmith's case study examines six quarries he was able to survey and document, placing them in the larger context of region and state, as well as the millstone industry. He proceeds, through a series of 14 chapters, to summarize historical documents of various types (newspaper ads, correspondence, lawsuits, census records), field methods and results, and comparisons with other regions. Chapters are clearly related but somewhat loosely joined. In part this is a problem of the data available. Archival documents for the region are spotty and do not necessarily relate directly to the sites examined. The author presents the material regardless, perhaps in the

hope that later research by others will take his results to a more integrated level.

According to Hockensmith, the process of understanding quarries required time, not just the time needed to survey ridge tops in dense ground cover, but also to learn to recognize the telltale signs of worked boulders covered with lichens, drilled holes, debris, and rejects. Photographs suggest the difficulty of locating stones and deciphering quarrying activity even when standing in the midst of that activity. Despite such logistical problems he was able to examine 131 partially or largely completed millstones, 229 drilled boulders, and various tools left behind. These were all meticulously measured, and data tables present the results. The millstones were rejects (good ones would not be there) left behind for a variety of reasons—breaks, edge damage, large inclusions, undercutting—and provide a significant body of data to reconstruct their reduction sequence and manufacture. In Powell County, workers leveled the tops of stones with leveling crosses to map out the finishing process, and these were found in various stages of completion. He notes similar examples ranging from England to Pennsylvania and New York, and alternative methods for leveling from Virginia. Interviews with the few living millstone cutters in the abovementioned states supplied further information on manufacturing sequences as well as working conditions, injuries sustained, and other useful data. Hockensmith completes his discussions by examining the regional market for millstones, competition from imports near and far, transport of products, and costs. Throughout, the author provides detailed descriptions and tables of data when available.

In *The Millstone Industry*, Hockensmith makes clear that the European research scene is far ahead of North America's in millstone studies. More books and articles are published, more conferences are held, and even multilanguage websites are devoted to the topic (<<http://meuliere.ish-lyon.cnrs.fr/en/welcome.htm>>). In the largest section of the volume, a comparative chapter on the research in various countries, he draws heavily from these websites, as well as from visits to European quarries and the friendly sharing of information by scholars there. He begins the book with a section documenting millstone industry activities in the colonies and

during the Federal period, and reproduces the text of many documents—newspaper items, lawsuits over nonreceipt of goods (tucked in an appendix), county-history references, and other materials chosen for interest and color. Summarizing what might be drawn collectively from this mass of documentation, Hockensmith discusses initial dates of quarrying in various regions, prices and sizes, types of transactions between producer and miller, quality of stone, and transport issues.

His second chapter, focusing on the United States, reflects a synthesis of much of his previous research, and more than four dozen publications on millstone topics. He includes here a state-by-state account of the available research literature organized by stone type, especially conglomerates, granite, flint and burr stone, and sandstone. A quick survey of millstone makers in urban areas where raw materials were shipped for finishing, in chapter 3, leads to a discussion of the fluctuation and ultimate decline in millstone production due to import competition and then technological changes (steel rollers were introduced in the 1880s). The industry was all but gone by the mid-20th century.

A large part of the volume is intended to introduce American readers to the millstone quarry research outside the U.S., particularly in Europe (Latin America and Australia are unfortunately missing). Here the industry extends from the Neolithic period through classical and medieval times, and to the 20th century. Many quarries were operated for centuries, and considerably more is known there about related technologies and other topics than in North America. The inclusion of querns, small millstones for hand use, expands the field of inquiry. Hockensmith corrals this complexity in a country-by-country survey of research, with France, Great Britain, Germany, Spain, and Norway the most prominently represented. Much of the research summarized is not in English, and so this becomes an invaluable resource for comparative studies. Numerous excellent photographs provide additional light on quarry variations and conditions. The volume ends with a massive bibliography of more than a thousand entries.

Both volumes suffer from a few shortcomings. One might wish for greater chapter integration, but the second book's larger scope makes this difficult. There is also little mention of millstone production within the larger context of the stone industry. How the two interconnected

and whether millstone producers or workers also supplied dimension stone, gravestones, or other products, are topics yet to be analyzed. More serious is the lack of maps. One does appear in the Powell County volume, but it is essentially blank. Secrecy of site locations is an important consideration, but a topographic map would have been a suitable replacement to provide the reader with a better feel for the landscape. Maps of the European countries would have helped

greatly. Hockensmith has done a great service to those who study millstones and quarrying in general by providing an important case study and a grand survey of the millstone industry. Both will be indispensable to researchers.

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Pestilence and Persistence: Yosemite Indian Demography and Culture in Colonial California

Kathleen L. Hull

University of California Press,
Berkeley, 2009. 392 pp., 34 illus.
\$45.00 cloth

World renowned for its iconic landscapes, Yosemite Valley is a great slash in California's central Sierra mountain system. Photogenic scenery, however, masks the deep history of native peoples, which Hull variously labels "Awahnichi," "Sierra Me-wok," or "Yosemite Indians" in her narrative. Today, these people are the "American Indian Council of Mariposa County, Inc.," a federally unrecognized organization composed of descendants from several native Sierra cultures.

Hull's research focuses on the impacts of "pestilence" (e.g., introduced microbes of measles and smallpox) upon Yosemite Indians that resulted in sociocultural change during "colonial" historical time periods, "disease-induced depopulation," and cultural persistence through amalgamation and movement of these indigenous people. Early in her volume, Hull provides a useful narrative of native Yosemite Indian lifeways as reported by post-gold rush nonnative observers, including references to "black sickness" among the people before the 1850s Anglo-American military entrance into the Sierras. In order to quantify impacts of "Old World pathogens" upon these village-dwelling hunter-gatherer peoples, Hull presents a methodology of "demographic archaeology." This approach utilizes left-behind obsidian artifacts and debitage, site size, midden volume, and bedrock milling features as "proxies" for site inhabitants' cultural behavior (pp. 117–124). Hull uses site lithic assemblages, 2,900 obsidian hydration tests, protein residues on tools, and the comparison of knapping skills from 63 residential cultural deposits and statistical formulae to measure demographic change over time. These changes include minor "de-specialization" in family tasks, "simplification" of social structure,

and influences from other native cultures not as impacted by population reduction. Detailed analyses from two rockshelter sites occupied during the late 1700's to early 1800's—that is, spanning times with and without impacts from introduced illnesses—showed little lasting cultural change. Her "demographic archaeology" is a welcome addition to historical archaeology's methodological tool kit, with specific techniques to measure recovered technology from sites, not as artifact assemblages but as "stand-ins" for past cultural actions and behaviors. Hull notes that "[t]he story of the Awahnichi, then, is one of cultural persistence—with only the subtlest of changes in daily life—despite significant population decline. ... This conclusion runs counter to many characterizations of colonial-era native cultural change by archaeologists, anthropologists, and historians" (pp. 218–219).

To see if the Yosemite Indians' history is unique regarding disease impacts, Hull presents case studies from 10 non-California cultural areas—Salishan, Puebloan, Middle Missouri, Eastern Prairies, Caddoan, Natchez, Choctaw, Upper Creek, mid-Atlantic Piedmont, and Iroquoian. From these examples, Hull sees common threads of group aggregation or emigration, continuity of technology, prior social experience with adjustments of population shifts, attachment to place, and effectiveness of native leadership as aspects of native persistence, negotiation, and accommodation—in the short and long terms—to the stresses of "pestilence" in many forms.

Hull's approach is strictly archaeological but with strong doses of ethnohistory, robust laboratory analysis, and broad regional comparisons. Actual effects of some diseases on human bodies are not discussed, probably because small pox and measles are soft-tissue illnesses and skeletal malformation evidence may be unrecorded, absent, or inaccessible for study. A reader would benefit from brief descriptions of symptomatic and physiological results of infections. Hull does compare historical Yosemite Indians to current hunting and gathering peoples (e.g., Dobe !Kung, Hadza, and Ache) in terms of total fertility rate and life expectancy (pp. 139–145).

This volume is well produced, with historical photographs of abandoned Yosemite Valley villages, graphs of debitage diachronic trends, obsidian hydration dates, fire-scar frequencies, and regional maps of California colonial missions, the 10 case-study areas, and excavated valley sites. One appendix—"Population Proxy Data"—and notes for each of Hull's 10 chapters provide a reader with comments pertinent to references used.

Persistence of cultures in the face of adversities will continue as a prime interest for many cadres of anthropologists, as with the late Edward Spicer.

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*Underwater and Maritime
Archaeology in Latin America and
the Caribbean*

Margaret E. Leshikar-Denton and Pilar
Luna Erreguerena (editors)

Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, CA,
2008. 314 pp., 50 illus., 10 tables.
\$79.00 cloth.

In this edited volume, Leshikar-Denton and Luna Erreguerena present a wide variety of archaeological research, both prehistoric and historical, as an overview of the current state of the field in Latin America and the Caribbean. The book incorporates laws and legislation, specific archaeological research, management perspectives, archival documentation, and existing ethical issues in a summary of the varying approaches taken in different countries regarding their respective underwater cultural heritage. Most importantly, this volume serves as a call for collaboration in order to aid countries in Latin America and the Caribbean that might lack the infrastructure, funding, and other resources necessary to protect their underwater cultural heritage successfully.

In the opening chapter, the authors provide a detailed overview of the ICOMOS Charter, the UNESCO Convention on Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage, and the various legislative efforts of the countries represented in the volume. They place emphasis on heritage management as the key to enact effective legislation successfully, mitigate site impacts, create site inventories, protect and interpret sites, properly excavate sites, conserve recovered artifacts, and involve the public. Chapter 2 outlines the submerged cultural heritage of Mexico, detailing the creation of the Departamento de Arqueología Subacuática (Department of Underwater Archaeology) within the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia (National Institute of Anthropology and History), and reviewing some of the department's work, such as the New Spain Fleet Project, and the Cenotes and Inundated Caves Project in the Yucatan. The department

specifically involves the public in its projects and collaborates with specialists from other countries, in addition to stakeholders in local communities. The author outlines an overview of Mexico's laws, as well as the steps leading to the nation's ratification of the UNESCO Convention. Chapters 3 through 8 delve into the specific research in Mexico: the *Nuestra Señora del Juncal*, flagship of the New Spain fleet of 1630–1631; analysis of 17th- and 18th-century nautical charts as a method of extracting information on potential shipwreck locations; site interpretation of a 16th-century wreck and an 18th-century British shipwreck; prehistoric faunal and human remains in submerged caves; and Mayan mortuary deposits in cenotes. Chapters 9 and 10 shift the focus to Argentina, covering national legislation, the HMS *Swift* Project, and environmental components of site formation and deterioration. Chapter 11 gives an historical overview of maritime activity in the Río de la Plata, Uruguay in which the author relegates underwater archaeology to being simply an “auxiliary of maritime history,” yet does point out the fact that archaeology provides tangible findings qualitatively different from historical documents (p. 199). Bermuda is the geographical focus of chapter 12, demonstrating how hard work and perseverance on the part of archaeologists, collaborators, and other interested parties resulted in the enactment of national legislation protecting the nation's shipwrecks, thereby upholding the rigorous standards of archaeological ethics following years of fighting treasure hunting and commercial salvage efforts. Chapter 13 covers the search for the slave ship *Trovadore*, which is extremely important in regard to archaeology and descendant communities. The shipwreck has the potential to connect members of the modern community directly to their ancestors, who were freed following the wreck and subsequently made the islands in Turks and Caicos their home. The Cayman Islands' Maritime Heritage Trail and the push to preserve and protect said heritage on land and underwater by involving the public are the subjects of chapter 14. Chapters 15 through 17 discuss the efforts of public archaeology and

protecting the submerged cultural resources of Jamaica, the excavations of Port Royal, and the conservation of the artifacts recovered from the aforementioned excavations. Chapter 18 covers the use of in situ preservation in the development of maritime archaeological tourism in Curaçao, evidenced specifically in the site of the *SS Mediator*; and chapter 19 reviews the findings of the investigations at the anchorage of Kralendijk in Bonaire.

Although the research findings are fascinating, the underlying theme is that of the problems inherent in the geographical region that is the focus of the volume, and the achievements accomplished in light of said problems. It is this underlying theme that should call attention to the need for assistance in funding, training, and infrastructure in Latin America and the Caribbean. Luna Erreguerena succinctly summarizes the challenges that underwater and maritime archaeology faces in Mexico, which also translate to most other countries in the region: insufficient funds, lack of qualified archaeologists, the high costs of underwater research, and fights with treasure hunters. Despite these challenges, the countries represented in this volume have been very successful at conducting meaningful and lasting underwater and maritime archaeological research and the efforts described for managing their respective underwater cultural heritages are wonderful. Almost each chapter includes some mention of at least one of these challenges, yet few specific solutions are provided. In chapter 9, Elkin touches on the need to find “alternative and creative ways to study and manage ... underwater cultural heritage” (p. 169). While there is a focus on the problems, few specific solutions are elaborated. Mexico has been able to accomplish much in its efforts to investigate and preserve its submerged cultural resources. Both Mexico and Argentina use multi-institutional approaches, collaborating with international partners and sponsors in the public and private sectors, yet very little

of these chapters is spent outlining a specific management framework for discussing how other Latin American countries might possibly mirror the success achieved by those in this book. Additionally, with the exception of Jamaica and certain areas of Mexico, the countries represented in this volume are not representative of the poverty-stricken, less-developed countries of Central America and the Caribbean, such as Nicaragua, El Salvador, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic, for example. Although it is meager, Argentina does have a budget and a department for researching and managing underwater cultural heritage, as does Mexico. Bermuda, Bonaire, the Cayman Islands, Curaçao, and Turks and Caicos all receive significant revenue streams from foreign tourism; nor is Uruguay considered a “third world” country. The question remains: How can less-developed Latin American countries mirror the success of their neighbors? How can the field of archaeology as a whole, and specifically the underwater subfield, assist to build capacity for research, management, and preservation in these countries? As Harris states, “it is time to reverse the trend whereby those countries that can least afford these heritage losses are being exploited by citizens of those lands that are already wealthy” (p. 206). While there is much to be done in the future for the underwater and maritime archaeology of Latin America and the Caribbean, the authors have done an excellent job detailing the importance of the field, each country’s specific projects and their significance, and calling attention to the needs of the region as a whole. It is hoped the future will bring about translations of this book into other languages—such as Spanish, Portuguese, and French—for the benefit of other Latin American and Caribbean countries.

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*More from the Illinois Frontier:
Archaeological Studies of Nine
Early-Nineteenth-Century Sites in
Rural Illinois*

Robert Mazrim

Illinois Transportation Archaeological
Research Program, Champaign,
2008. 170 pp., 87 figs., 10 pls., 9
tables. \$20.00 paper.

More from the Illinois Frontier summarizes and synthesizes archaeological excavations at several pre-1850, frontier-context archaeological sites in rural Illinois. These excavations, conducted between 2002 and 2005 as part of various CRM transportation projects, examined nine short-occupation domestic sites from the American frontier period of Illinois; one site also contained a dwelling converted into a blacksmith shop. The volume, no. 2 in the "Transportation Archaeological Bulletin" series, is a publication of the Illinois Transportation Archaeological Research Program (ITARP) in conjunction with the Illinois Department of Transportation. ITARP has long worked to disseminate the results of its CRM projects to both professional and public audiences. As such, the "Transportation Archaeological Bulletin" series focuses on bringing together, into a single volume, research on similar topics that offers scientific analysis and theoretical insight of import to the broad professional community. The volume under review expands on Mazrim's 2002 publication, and no. 1 of the series, "*Now Quite Out of Society*": *Archaeology and Frontier Illinois*.

More from the Illinois Frontier is organized into 11 chapters. An introductory chapter sets out the volume's overall approach, and each site is presented as a separate chapter. A summary chapter provides observations on the clear patterns and apparent discontinuities in the data, organized within a series of frontier-context research themes. Each chapter is divided into three sections: the archival history of the site, the results of the excavations, and the results of artifact analysis. Author Robert Mazrim notes that he intends the volume to "provide

the reader with a thorough discussion of the features, artifacts, interpretations, and apparent patterning at each site" (p. xiii). Importantly, the analysis at these sites was completed using a consistent analytical methodology and reporting scheme facilitating intrasite comparison and synthesis; Mazrim notes that these research protocols are also consistent with those employed in his previous volume (*Now Quite Out of Society*), allowing an "opportunity to revisit certain themes and hypotheses" developed in this previous study (p. xiii). Mazrim expresses disappointment at the lack of similar summaries offering meaningful comparison among pre-1850, frontier-context sites in the Midwest, and challenges colleagues to provide similar studies.

The investigations at each site are well contextualized in terms of local, typically county-level, historical developments. Mazrim also places each site within a series of broader regional and national themes such as the evolution of frontier communities from initial settlement to the "closing" of the frontier, government land survey and sale, transportation infrastructure and commercial linkages, and the development of government institutions. The author cautions against the generic periodization of sites from this era, using terms like "pioneer" and "frontier" for site inventory reporting, pointing out that both terms are "laden with meaning and connotation well beyond the temporal bracketing for which they are used" (p. 3).

The archaeological investigations at each site consisted mainly of feature excavation. The majority of the features at the sites consisted of subfloor cellars, exterior cellar/storage pits, cisterns and wells, privies, postholes, and activity-related pits. Mazrim does an excellent job of comparing these features, showing how their use, function, and abandonment changed over time on the Illinois frontier.

In terms of the artifact analysis, Mazrim focuses on providing clear comparative data within and between the sites, drawing on minimum vessel counts for "each significant feature sample" (p. 4). He notes that in general "each site produced one or two such samples ... for the discussion of consumer behavior at the site"

(p. 4). While Mazrim draws on a suite of standard sources for sorting and identifying refined ceramic vessels, his work points to the lack of any well-developed system for consistently reporting and analyzing artifacts at the regional and national level. That said, the author goes to great lengths to consider the compatibility and comparability of feature types, deposition history, and artifact-sampling approaches.

In laying out his interpretive agenda for the sites in terms of their ability to address various research themes, Mazrim cautions the reader about the types of information that archaeology is both effective and ineffective at retrieving from sites of this period. For example, he doesn't embrace "certain traditional topics" like socioeconomic status in his analysis, as he argues that "they have been shown to be largely invisible in most historical material-culture assemblages in rural Illinois" (p. 7).

Overall, this study is well written, clearly organized, accessible to multiple audiences, and nicely illustrated. The volume provides excellent contextual data, particularly at the local level, and is thorough in its analysis of the sites without getting overly enmeshed in quantification. A comparative study of early-19th-century sites in this region is welcome indeed, particularly given the overall paucity of contextual models and frameworks for rural 19th-century farmsteads in the Midwest and elsewhere. This study covers resources that are ubiquitous, but gives close

and thoughtful attention to their significance. This is valuable research that is made even more important because resources of this type are often written off based on a lack of well-conceived frameworks and research themes. With this study Mazrim makes an eloquent contribution of contextualized data from each site in order to build "a foundation to enhance our overall understanding of early-nineteenth-century Illinois lifeways" (p. 7). He clearly mines the potential of each site to contribute to larger research topics, themes, and patterns. The collection of sites in this volume illustrates the nuances of lifeways on the Illinois frontier, and provides a clear appreciation of what sites—even those represented by a single feature—can contribute to the larger story of the region. Mazrim is to be commended for demonstrating the value of CRM research data for regional analysis and synthesis.

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Chinese Sewing Baskets

Betty-Lou Mukerji

AuthorHouse, Bloomington, IN,
2008. 201 pp. \$49.95 paper.

Basketry began in China in the Neolithic period, and the continuity of basketry technique in China is so pronounced that a tomb from the early western Han period contained baskets that are similar to what is currently being made in Hunan province today. Bamboo baskets were first made in the southern Sung period (A.D. 1127–1279) in Fujian province, and it is from southern China that Chinese immigrants came to the United States during the 19th century. Basketry has always been part of the decorative arts in China, with baskets being used by all social classes. Although the baskets that Mukerji illustrates were made for ordinary people and not for the elite, they have shapes familiar in the history of Chinese baskets, making the study of earlier reference works relevant.

In the two introductory chapters the author explains her interest in sewing baskets and describes how she began to collect them, discovering that there was little information available. Although several museums had collections of Chinese baskets, they could not provide the information she was looking for, so she has performed an important service by her research and writing. She explores the history of these objects, collected by ordinary American women, which have been neglected because they fit into the category of folk art rather than high art.

She was able to find collectors of Chinese sewing baskets through the Internet, and was interested in the baskets as artifacts of a time when American women were expected to do needlework such as quilting and darning for their families, and were delighted to own Chinese sewing baskets as symbols of their sophistication. The baskets also showed the impact of interchange with Asia, especially during the time of the aesthetic movement in design in Europe and America when Japan had been opened to trade with the West, and when, during the late 19th century, many large exhibitions and world's

fairs were held at which Asian objects were displayed.

Originally the baskets were sold in various "Chinatowns" in the United States, in shops that catered to the Chinese population, such as in San Francisco, but later they were sold to Americans or bought as gifts. As they became more popular, Chinese merchants returned to China and established factories to make baskets for export to the United States, where embellishments such as beads, bangles, tassels, and lining were added. The baskets were also painted in the United States during the early 1900s, and they reflected the influence of Asian asymmetrical design.

There are chapters about the various shapes of the baskets as well as discussions of the various types of ornamentation. Domed sewing baskets are an ancient Chinese shape, and Mukerji's suggestions for repair seem to be sensible, with important tips on how to preserve the stability of the baskets. Tea baskets, some of which never held tea, are illustrated, while others have a tin box inside to hold tea.

Cleaning and preserving the baskets, as well as care and repair, display and storage are discussed. She describes the construction of the baskets with information about how to preserve stability, has interviewed many collectors, and provides useful information about how to clean and repair the baskets. Some suggestions are really basic—one collector suggests using a garden hose to clean a soiled basket. Water soluble "sticky glue" is suggested for the repair of baskets, which is fortunate, since what is done to conserve and repair any valuable object should always be reversible.

Some of the baskets were painted in China with simple designs of fruit or flowers, or stylized landscapes, while some plain baskets were painted in America with various designs, including people, exotic birds, and landscapes.

There is a discussion of the work of Sally Patchin, who lived in New York State and in the early 1900s painted Chinese baskets with floral designs, and also a bird called a "filly-filloo." The illustration of one her works, with the bird and foliage disposed asymmetrically,

indicates that she was influenced by the admiration of Asian exotica prevalent in the United States during the latter part of the 19th century.

Bangles imitating jade, which were used to ornament the baskets, were made of both translucent and opaque glass. These were not handles, but were meant as ornamentation. Mukerji's section on cleaning and repair of baskets with bangles seems to be exceptionally practical and easy to follow. Since the bangles are glass and therefore fragile, great care is needed.

Beads to ornament the baskets were most likely made in Canton. The author makes the point that "imperfect glass beads and bangles were not of great value, therefore it became common practice to use them as decorations on such lowly articles as sewing baskets" (p. 111).

Silk tassels on the baskets may have become fragile and worn with age. Sometimes they have disintegrated completely, and again the author has provided practical advice.

Coins of various periods sometimes ornament the baskets, and the author provides an interesting chronology to help to identify them.

The author's illustrations are the most valuable part of the book, since she shows objects that have probably not been previously illustrated. Her chapters on shapes and weaves, notes and marks, linings, hinges and handles, and jewelry are all useful because of her lively commentary. This thorough study of baskets made in China for ordinary American women fills a need because these objects were formerly neglected.

The author's resourcefulness is seen in her acknowledgments and in her bibliography. Her task was difficult because there were no other relevant works, and because she made an effort to collect information on not only baskets, but also on all the ornamentation on the baskets, such as glass beads and coins. It is impressive to see in her bibliography an article about glass beads by one of China's most eminent archaeologists.

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*Warfare in Cultural Context:
Practice, Agency, and the
Archaeology of Violence*

Axel E. Nielsen and William H. Walker
(editors)

University of Arizona Press, Tucson,
2009. 344 pp. \$60.00 cloth.

This book approaches warfare through the lens of practice theory, with case studies emphasizing relationships between war and other domains of social life. From this perspective practice is social action shaped by culture and history. The actors are individuals who are knowledgeable, experienced participants in their own cultural settings, and may choose to follow rules and expectations or challenge them. Both cultural persistence and change are outcomes of social actions that can both reproduce and transform social patterns and structures. Social actions relevant here include participation in violent encounters, the development of ideology related to warfare and violence, and the development of mechanisms for making and maintaining peace.

Drawing upon oral history and ethnography, Polly Wiessner traces the development of Enga warfare and exchange in New Guinea. After intense warfare during the 1700s and 1800s, trade networks collapsed, large tracts of land were abandoned, and then regional ceremonial exchange networks developed. In the late 1800s and early 1900s, formalized battles known as the Great Ceremonial Wars set the stage for exchange, gift giving, and social interaction between villages. Across many areas of New Guinea there developed practices connecting warfare (conflict resolution) with exchange (reconciliation and reparation). Despite deeply rooted egalitarianism in Enga culture, leaders did emerge during warfare—ceremonial exchange led to even more pronounced status differences and leadership roles in Enga communities.

Archaeologists often identify scarcity of land and other resources as major causes of warfare, and hierarchy and centralization as major outcomes of it. There are cases in which those points apply, but also cases in which they do

not, as Wiessner argues for New Guinea, and as Eduardo Neves demonstrates in his chapter on embankments, ditches, and stockades at prehistoric villages in Amazonia. Of course, war and war honors can be associated with hierarchy and elite ideology as in the case of the ancient Maya, and late-prehistoric Mississippian societies of the American South. Charles Cobb and Bretton Giles relate depictions of Mississippian warriors and weaponry on shell gorgets and copper plates to a warrior ideology emphasizing success in warfare as a major dimension of power, status, and identity, and they identify temporal trends in these themes in Mississippian iconography during the early second millennium A.D. Takeshi Inomata and Daniela Triadan note that war was commonly depicted in Maya iconography, although actual battles may have taken place relatively rarely. During the late first millennium A.D., the focus of Maya warfare changed from ritualized battles in fields, emphasizing status rivalry, to direct attacks on major Maya centers with the intent of sacking settlements and monuments.

War is not always conducted to acquire land, but warfare and violence do shape the built environment and cultural landscape. Elizabeth Arkush describes hilltop forts (*pukaras*) and mortuary towers (*chullpas*) that dotted the central Andean landscape from A.D. 1000 to 1400, after the collapse of the Tiwanaku and Wari empires, and before the spread of the Inka Empire. Arkush identifies concentrations of *pukaras* connected by lines of sight, corresponding to areas with distinct pottery types and the locations of historically known ethnic groups, with buffer zones between them. Axel Nielsen notes evidence for widespread warfare in the southern Andes between A.D. 1200 and 1500, and he interprets evidence for feasting and other activities at *pukaras* and *chullpas* as evidence for the development of ancestor veneration, one means by which people anchored themselves to particular places in the midst of conflict and instability. Notably, Nielsen sees evidence for the persistence of exchange in the southern Andes alongside widespread warfare, comparable to connections between warfare and exchange in New Guinea.

Taking a longer-term view of warfare in Andean prehistory, Theresa and John Topic consider changes to warfare in the Peruvian North Coast region from 3500 B.C. through A.D. 1470. At the early end of this sequence are examples of coastal sites with piles of slingstones, reflecting threats of attack and the need for collective defense. By 1200 B.C. there are stone carvings depicting warriors and dismemberment of war captives. After 1000 B.C. many forts are placed on high ground above villages. From A.D. 200 to 650 warfare and human sacrifice dominate the iconography seen on Moche painted pottery—highly structured combat between elite warriors wielding clubs and shields seems to have been significant to Moche ideology, cosmology, and politics. From A.D. 650 to 750, as the power of the Moche state declines, the focus of Moche warfare shifts—stout fortifications and piles of slingstones at many Moche settlements reflect threats of attacks. From then on hilltop forts are common and warfare is one strategy by which the Inka Empire—and the Chimú Empire before it—attempted to dominate coastal Peru during the 1400s and 1500s.

Droughts contributed to increased warfare in the Andes during the early second millennium A.D., to changes in Maya warfare during the late first millennium A.D., and to conflict and warfare in late-prehistoric southwestern North America. As William Walker notes, sedentary villages and farming became widespread in the Southwest during the late first millennium A.D. Droughts led to abandonments of many areas in the Southwest during the early second millennium A.D., and cultural upheavals during this period led to migrations, settlements in cliff dwellings and in other defensible settings, and aggregations of different groups in large pueblos. These developments have parallels in Puebloan oral traditions, which refer to journeys, community strife, famine, floods, and warfare. Many myths blame witchcraft and other spiritual activity for the destruction and abandonment of pueblos, as punishment for the misdeeds and moral shortcomings of the residents. Aban-

doned and ruined pueblos—some of which were burned down—were and still are visible on the landscape, serving as reminders to people of the outcome of moral deficiencies.

This book concentrates on cases of prehistoric warfare in the Americas, but it is relevant to historic archaeology for several reasons. First, chapters in the book consider the ways in which warfare and violence had shaped the societies encountered by European explorers and colonists, and the ways those practices shaped native responses to European contact. Second, as Timothy Pauketat comments, many European colonial regimes imposed and maintained peace, but in so doing they often displaced conflict and warfare to borderland areas. Meanwhile, collapses of colonial regimes have sometimes contributed to the resurgence of conflict and warfare. Such developments have shaped the archaeological record at historical sites, and the prehistoric cases considered in this book (and elsewhere) offer points for comparison. Meanwhile, as Pauketat and Wiessner emphasize, conflict and violence can lead to efforts to form alliances—practices of “war” and “peace” both deserve consideration by prehistoric and historical archaeologists.

All archaeologists interested in warfare will find much to contemplate in this book, which would make good reading for graduate seminars and advanced undergraduate courses. It covers many world areas and periods of prehistory, arguments by authors are framed within broader archaeological and anthropological dialogues about warfare, and each chapter develops its own approach to practice theory as an interpretive framework. This book moves the archaeology of warfare and violence in provocative directions primarily by relating warfare and violence to other domains of social life.

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The General Carleton Shipwreck, 1785

Waldemar Ossowski (editor)
 Polish Maritime Museum in Gdańsk,
 Gdańsk, Poland, 2008. 475 pp.
 \$17.00 cloth.

The General Carleton Shipwreck, 1785 is the first volume in a new series of works produced by the Polish Maritime Museum (PMM). Edited by Waldemar Ossowski, the book is printed in Polish and English; it consists of a series of 17 expert reports and a well-illustrated catalogue of finds recovered from the site. The book is divided into two major parts: a collection of themed essays on the ship itself, and a catalog of the 775 artifacts recovered from the site.

The *General Carleton* sank on a return journey to Gdańsk from Stockholm, where it had been loaded with iron lasts and birch tar. The wreck, known as W-32 before its identification, was discovered in the Baltic Sea close to the mouth of the River Piaśnica near Gdańsk in 1994 by an amateur archaeologist attempting to verify a fisherman's tale about the wreck. The PMM was informed of the discovery and investigations of the site began in 1995. Excavation of the site took place over four years until 1999, when the wreck was heavily covered by sediment.

The book's first section consists of five chapters, beginning with an introduction by Jerry Litzwin on merchantmen and warships in the Baltic. The chapter provides an uncomplicated review of the political climate in the Baltic during the 18th century, and discusses the ship characteristics and building technologies in use during the period. Although simplistic, the chapter provides an indispensable background on the developments in merchantman and warship design for those readers who may be uninitiated in the innovations of the period. The second chapter, by Waldemar Ossowski, is an essay on the excavation of the wreck. This clear, concise account begins by presenting the previous work conducted by the PMM prior to the wreck's discovery. Although not specifically about the

book's title subject, the section provides the reader with an informative background on the PMM's work experience. Ossowski then continues to present the excavation report, including discovery, working conditions, fieldwork seasons, site formation processes, and wreck identification. The essay highlights the difficult excavation of the wreck due to challenging working conditions. Shifting sandbanks and heavily concreted artifacts combined with the site's swamping, meant examination of the hull remains below the ceiling planking was never completed.

The third chapter, by Stephen Baines, is divided into two sections: section one contains two essays, of which the first is an extensively researched historical background on the *General Carleton* and other ships associated with her. The second essay focuses on the artifactual and documentary evidence relating to the ship, identifying the people who sailed on her, ownership, construction history, and working history. The second section details the port of Whitby, England where the *Carleton* was built, and Whitby's shipbuilding enterprises during the 18th century. Baines discusses Whitby's importance as shipbuilding center and postulates that the Whitby-built *Earl of Pembroke* (Cook's *Endeavour*) may have been built in the same yard as the *Carleton*.

The fourth chapter, based on the shipwreck and artifact analysis, begins with an essay by Beata Jakimowicz and Irena Rodzik describing the methodology of conservation and restoration of the range of materials recovered from the wreck, which is followed by an essay on ship construction and equipment by Waldemar Ossowski. Ossowski creates a possible hull reconstruction of the ship based on the partial data recorded and on other similar ships built in Whitby during the period. This suggests that the ship was a bulk-carrying ship known locally as a collier, built with bluff bows, firm bilges, and a flat bottom. The section is a detailed and informative analysis; Ossowski builds hypotheses plainly and allows the evidence to present itself.

The book continues in a familiar style, presenting the artifacts discovered and their historical context. Elzbieta Wroblewska describes the ship's

bell and Piotr Czerepak presents the military artifacts found onboard. Interestingly, the ship was discovered with a selection of weaponry not recorded by Lloyd's register. This included a swivel gun, an item commonly used by ships traveling to American colonies to provide defense at close quarters, and a range of handguns. Of the finds recovered, the collection of clothing found onboard offers the most numerous and securely dated set of ordinary 18th-century sailors' clothing found to date. Lawrence Babits and Matthew Brenckle present the finds, discussing their context within the ship and the character of working clothing at sea. Their discovery cannot be overstated, as few examples of sailors' working clothing survive beyond artistic and written depictions of what they wore. The preservation is such, that for example, a woolen knit cap with decorative motifs suffered little or no damage; from its life on the seabed there was only some discoloration from tar or sediment. The chapter continues, presenting essays on buckles, leather artifacts, ceramic vessels, glass artifacts, and clay tobacco pipes. The final chapter in the analysis section is completed by articles related to the anthropological and petrographic analysis of remains recovered from the site.

The volume is completed by an extensive finds catalog using the *Hollandia* cataloguing system. Methodically detailing the items located during the excavation, finds are divided into four main groups: parts of ship, artifacts, parts of artifacts, and nonartifactual remains. The finds are then presented in main categories, subcategories, and artifact definitions in alphabetical order, with the description of each find provided by the material specialist. Although conservation of all the artifacts has not yet been completed, the excellent illustrations show most of the items after conservation.

The PMM really should be lauded for this first-rate publication. Publishing this report as a complete monograph gives the reader a vital source of reference on merchant vessels during the 18th century. It would be hoped that the PMM may one day complete its previous research goal of analyzing the ship's structural elements below the ceiling planking and complete the study of this significant discovery.

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Myths and Realities of Caribbean History

Basil A. Reid

University of Alabama Press,
Tuscaloosa, 2009. 144 pp.,
76 illus. \$19.95 paper.

The author of *Myths and Realities of Caribbean History* attempts to debunk 11 myths of precontact- and contact-period Caribbean history. From Christopher Columbus to the Arawaks and Caribs, to island hopping and cannibalism, Reid takes on many of the fundamental teaching points of early Caribbean history and shows how this history is more complex than typically interpreted.

Though the book's title refers to Caribbean "history," the work is largely archaeological in focus. As the author acknowledges on the last page of the conclusion, "archaeology is the primary medium through which aspects of Caribbean history are distilled and presented in this book" (p. 130). This is a product of the book's underlying paradigm that ongoing archaeological investigations have revealed new information that exposes "traditionally accepted theories and assumptions" as "myths based on a Eurocentric world view" (p. 130).

The archaeological focus of the book does not distract from Reid's historical accounts, though it takes a cursory amount of background knowledge to follow the arguments. Reid argues that whenever native societies are the subject of investigation, "archaeology will invariably be the major source of information" (p. 6). This is true, and these acknowledgments allow the reader to move on, focusing on the elements of the discussion.

The book is laid out in 11 short chapters, each taking up a different myth about Caribbean history that has been widely held or argued. The myths mostly take up arguments surrounding Columbus's contact with Caribbean populations. These include misinterpretations that other researchers have drawn from early Columbus accounts and the archaeological record.

Each myth is clearly outlined in an initial paragraph at the beginning of each chapter.

These introductions are set off from the rest of the text directly under the chapter heading. This aid is a great help in establishing a context for reading the chapter. One is reminded of the old teaching adage: "Tell them what you are going to tell them." Likewise, the excellent introductions are followed at the ends of the chapters by equally clear conclusions.

The writing style of the individual chapters is very academic and occasionally pedantic. The bookends of the introduction and conclusion to each chapter, however, make the book easily digestible and a good resource for the undergraduate classroom or the casual history reader. The author clearly articulates the main points of the traditional myth and often breaks these down into numbered points. He then dissects each point to show the fallacies inherent in the myth. The review author found himself going back and rereading the introductions and conclusions as a way of keeping the arguments fresh before moving on to the next chapter.

The first chapter of the book takes on the myth that Caribbean history began with the discovery of the islands by Christopher Columbus. This chapter also serves as a pseudo-introduction to Reid's view of history and his reasonable focus on archaeology. Reid argues that Caribbean history of the precontact and contact periods cannot be viewed through a Eurocentric lens.

Reid makes a very good point arguing that most of our concepts of history are developed through the Eurocentric concept of linear time; this does not work in the Caribbean. The "conventional definition of history, which is based exclusively on written records has demonstrably created false dichotomies between the Western and non-Western world" (p. 129). Reid argues for a "total history" approach that "embraces the whole of human activity as history" (p. 130).

The book argues for a deeper appreciation of the civilization and culture of the Caribbean. One of the myths taken up by Reid is that the Arawaks and the Caribs were the two major groups in the Caribbean. Another myth is that the Arawaks were the first potters and farmers to have settled in the Caribbean. To begin with,

Reid points out that the word Arawak describes certain native groups in South America and is a “misnomer” for the northern Caribbean. Reid argues that there were many peoples and cultures that settled in the Caribbean between 800 B.C. and A.D. 500, mostly denoted by variations in pottery found archaeologically.

The archaic peoples comprised a number of different cultural groups. It is easy to see why most historians fall back on the idea of two main groups. The variety of cultures argued by Reid can become confusing. The names used to denote each group, however, are clearly reasoned in the text. This may be hard for a general reader to follow, but the graph on page 44 brings all of the text together and helps a great deal to make the connections among the various cultures discussed. The review author understands why the myth of “two major groups in the precolonial Caribbean” is the theme usually taught. It is easy to comprehend. But according to Reid this simplification simply does not match the depth of cultures present in the Caribbean.

Another myth taken up by Reid is that of cannibalism. He argues that the cannibalism attributed to the Carib culture is not a result of archaeology, but ethnohistory. European accounts of native populations contributed to this idea.

These accounts are “often laden with racial and cultural biases” (p. 93). Even in the latest *Pirates of the Caribbean* movie this can be evidenced. Considering cannibalism within Carib society, the author points out that “no physical anthropological research has been conducted” in the region to prove this, and “there are no confirmed Island-Carib sites” (p. 91).

It has been suggested that the Spanish brought civilization to the Caribbean. The societies that existed before Columbus had advanced forms of social interaction and political organization. These societies had a long history before Columbus and they were more culturally diverse than often discussed. *Myths and Realities of Caribbean History* makes this clear in a way that is accessible to a variety of readers. The use of maps, graphs, and illustrations aid greatly in navigating the advanced nature of some of the text. The book is a good addition to many Caribbean reading lists, and it will work well in the classroom. This is a book that should be read by everyone who teaches Caribbean history.

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*Ships' Graveyards: Abandoned
Watercraft and the Archaeological
Site Formation Process*

Nathan Richards

University Press of Florida,
Gainesville, 2008. 304 pp.
\$65.00 cloth.

Ships' Graveyards is one of a growing array of books ostensibly on maritime archaeology that all archaeologists should read. Richards's work is archaeology without either the cultural hang-ups or lack of theoretical heft, of which maritime archaeology in particular has—sometimes—been guilty in the past. That is, this is simply a very good book written about a series of very important archaeological sites from which all archaeologists can learn something. In a clear and concise writing style free of technological jargon, Richards describes the methodological and theoretical frameworks that underlie the deliberate abandonment of watercraft, and their distinct place in the archaeological record.

Richards contributes to “micro” perspectives of culture and technology associated with specific communities, as well as distinct archaeological enquiries, especially debates concerning site-formation processes. This work also offers “macro” perspectives on the social impetuses underlying deliberate abandonment of materials. Expressly influenced by Schiffer's theories of natural (n-) and cultural (c-) transformations in archaeological site formation (p. 51), *Ships' Graveyards* offers one of the first (possibly the first in the maritime archaeological subdiscipline) formal steps beyond Schiffer's and similar work in exploring the impact of deliberate abandonment, rather than deliberate placement on and in the archaeological record. The archaeology of deliberate, “positive” placement is one thing in the archaeological record. Its opposite, deliberate “negative” abandonment, is a much less well-known phenomenon with a very different series of cultural impetuses. Consequently, *Ships' Graveyards* is of particular relevance for future studies of historical vessels, prehistoric watercraft, and other types of

potentially abandoned materials. It is particularly relevant where this choice, and then process of abandonment is clearly visible in the archaeological record, and where abandonment may be part of a much larger social process associated with “ritual” deposition. For example, it is interesting to place Richards's conclusions in comparison with the recent analyses of the “abandonment” circumstances of the Dover Bronze Age boat from southeast England. Useful comparisons can also be made with later period vessels, such as the Barland's Farm Romano-Celtic boat from south Wales, where the investigators have hinted at a similar deliberate abandonment of that vessel.

Chapter 1 introduces both the concept of vessel abandonment and the author's work in this field of study, which have their origins in a research project (the Abandoned Ships Project) undertaken in South Australia between 1997 and 2002. Richards outlines here his data-collection sources and methodologies, undertakes a preliminary review of literature on specifically Australian abandoned ships, and explains the different possible circumstances of the loss of any vessel. Chapter 2 expands on the latter theme, discussing in detail the concept of, and archaeological as well as historical evidence for abandonment. This is an extremely thorough and welcome critical review that draws on a wide geographical as well as chronological range of sources. Chapter 3 returns to the theme of broad “site formation processes,” and explores the theoretical basis for ship site-formation processes as widely informed by archaeology. Richards accomplishes this with an impressive and persuasive blend of site-formation theory drawn from both maritime and terrestrial archaeology.

The remaining chapters of the book explore in detail the broad themes addressed in earlier chapters. In chapter 4, Richards considers the particular circumstances of watercraft abandonment in Australia. Here, he first considers the economic aspects of late-19th- and early-20th-century ship abandonment, before moving on similarly to consider the effects of war (from the Crimean to the early days of the Cold War). Richards notes “distinct economic processes of

boom, depression, conflict and the repercussions of war ... behind the abandonment of watercraft in Australia” (p. 82). This reinforces the conclusions of previous studies of Australian maritime technology and material culture in regard to the finely balanced socioeconomic climate of 19th- and early-20th-century Australia, where relatively minor technological or economic shifts could have a profound impact on specific communities, as reflected in archaeological assemblages. Building on chapter 4, chapter 5 explores the environmental and regional impacts of Australia on watercraft abandonment, considering a raft of site location factors. Of particular interest to readers of *Historical Archaeology* is likely to be the section on the growth of alternative modes of transportation and communication, and how road, rail, and eventually air transport may have adversely affected maritime transportation and so influenced deliberate vessel abandonment (pp. 108–113). Chapter 6 then considers “archaeological signatures of use.” He begins with the “first stage” of the abandonment site-formation process; modifications to vessels prior to or during abandonment, particularly the use of vessels as different types of “hulk” for the

storage of materials, as well as the more modern practice of deliberately sinking vessels to create artificial reefs. Chapter 7 builds on chapter 6 to consider the “signatures of discard.” This is the “second stage” of the abandonment site-formation process, that which follows the disuse of watercraft. These two chapters have much to offer other archaeologists, who should take away Richards’s considerations to see how his model fits or requires adaptation to their own examples. CRM or CHM archaeologists faced with undertaking archaeological investigations of “hulks” in advance of site clearance and development should also pay particular note to the subtleties and different types of modifications associated with “discard” on such sites described in these two chapters. Chapter 8 then concludes the book with a brief but thoughtful series of comments on discard as both a process and event, and potential future research directions.

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Mortuary Practices and Social Identities in the Middle Ages
Duncan Sayer and Howard Williams
(editors)

University of Chicago Press,
Chicago, IL, 2010. 320 pp.,
55 halftones. \$110.00 cloth.

Anglo-Saxon burials are famous for the grave goods they contain, and although many were furnished with nothing or only a simple knife, the significant minority with weapons and jewelry has been the subject of intense interest from antiquarian times. To historical archaeologists these cemeteries belong to a period with limited contemporary or near-contemporary texts, yet these have had a profound effect on the archaeological categorization and interpretation of the finds and the people who owned them. They are generally seen to represent the burial (mostly by interment, but in some regions by cremation) of peoples who had migrated across the North Sea, bringing with them a Germanic culture that led to a language change that means that English (of varying kinds) rather than Welsh is spoken in Britain; and attitudes and institutions that formed the basis of the English nation state.

Heinrich Härke, a German scholar who studied and worked in British universities for four decades, has been influential in challenging some, and reinforcing other traditional interpretations of the early Anglo-Saxons, combining a Germanic style of scholarship with that of the anglophone world. As a tribute to his contribution to what is often termed "Migration Period" archaeology, some of his past students and colleagues have produced a collection of essays that examine his work, which with his return to Germany will not cease but will take a different course. There are a few papers by colleagues who are prehistorians and late medievalists (with one by Astill linking nonchurch burial and settlement, and another by Gilchrist considering masculinity), but the most interesting focus in the book for this journal's readership would be those papers by

early medievalists (in Scandinavia the late Iron Age covers the period from A.D. 500 to 1000, and so is contemporary with what is termed the early medieval period to the west and south).

In a valuable first chapter, the editors set a series of Härke's influential papers and monographs against the prevailing views at the time they were written and the understanding of these issues today. They usefully summarize some key themes on identity and material culture that may be of interest to historical archaeologists in a number of ways. They reveal that many assumptions underlying the interpretation of burials with grave goods on the edge of literate cultures can be problematic; they highlight assumptions and agendas in traditional and indeed revisionist interpretations on ethnicity and gender; and they show how different scholarly traditions (here largely British and German) affect what is asked of data and how it is answered.

A significant number of papers deconstruct some of the assumptions that are based on historical sources, supported by selective emphasis of archaeological data. These may be interesting to historical archaeologists for what they reveal about the ways by which early medievalists combine material culture and text, how noncontemporary sources may be combined, and how inferences derived from sources across cultural groups may be applied. Whilst some social anthropology may be in places apparent, these papers are largely written in a paradigm where archaeology, albeit theoretically aware and applying science including DNA analysis (see the paper by Hills), sits closer to history than to any other discipline. Burmeister examines the process by which Germanic elites developed and maintained their position across a swathe of northern Europe, whilst Hakenbeck combines anatomical identification of females with skulls modified and distorted in childhood and their distribution across Europe with finds from their graves, suggesting that they acquired local identities wherever they ended up living and dying, but that their physical form demonstrated an alien though not necessarily always Hunnic, origin. Nielsen discusses in detail the archaeological evidence for the cremation process and associated ritu-

als, and compares that with written sources both earlier and later, considering variation over time and space and what meanings to the participants these activities held. Sayer has a more obviously anthropological stance, examining the 7th-century laws of Aethebert (A.D. 602–603), Hlothhere, and Eadric (A.D. 673–685), all kings of Kent, and those of one Wessex king, Ine (A.D. 688–694). These are compared with the social information to be derived from two extensively excavated Kentish cemeteries that have some phases that overlap with the times that the laws were written. Sayer argues that the state laws attempt to undermine the power and importance of familial relationships and obligations visible in the earlier archaeology but also continuing in changing forms, partly through resistance and partly through effects of the changes brought about by the laws.

North American archaeologists have legal and cultural forces acting upon them with regard to studying mortuary data and publicly displaying it. There are also distinct regional traditions in how archaeological evidence and reconstructions from this may be depicted. The chapter by Williams, “On display: envisioning the early Anglo-Saxon dead,” considers how antiquarians and archaeologists have recorded and illustrated burial, how graves and funerals have been reconstructed on paper, and how skeletons and burial reconstructions have been displayed in museums. That this is on early Anglo-Saxons

is significant, as these are largely thought of as pagan burials and therefore not covered by UK legislation regarding the treatment of Christian remains. Historical archaeologists from non-British contexts may find this a fascinating comparison with how their archaeological traditions have recorded and illustrated burials in the past and what is now acceptable in their contexts today.

This is a well-produced book with fine-quality illustrations and a consolidated bibliography. It contains well-written papers, despite a significant number not being written in the authors’ first language. The contributors and the editors should be congratulated on the clarity of what is presented here. This book offers an up-to-date route into an important arena for the theoretically aware but data-rich field of early medieval mortuary archaeology, to which Heinrich Härke has made such a distinctive contribution. It allows historical archaeologists interested in later periods access to case studies that link with many themes with which they are concerned, and institutional libraries should be encouraged to purchase it.

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Birds

Dale Serjeantson

Cambridge University Press,
Cambridge, UK, 2009. 512 pp.,
61 tables, 1 map. \$43.00 paper.

This book joins several other zooarchaeology-related titles in the “Cambridge Manuals in Archaeology” series. This is not a guide for how to identify individual bones, nor is it a study of ornithology and avian paleontology; Dale Serjeantson’s focus is on the relationships between birds and humans through time. The use of birds as food of course receives much attention, but ritual, sporting (e.g., falconry and hawking), and pleasure (i.e., as pets) uses are given extensive coverage.

Taxonomy and early evolutionary history are handled briskly in less than a page, where the author alludes to controversy in bird taxonomy over the past 20 years or so but provides no details. Once past this, the reader will find a good, practical overview of avian skeletal anatomy with helpful tips on distinguishing bird bone from mammal, and bone-by-bone reviews of differences among different types of birds. A short section on pathology written by Tony Waldron (who has written a separate book, *Paleopathology*, in the same series) is also included.

There is a quite good use of illustrations, with clear, well-chosen drawings used to reinforce the skeletal distinctions highlighted in the text. These are very useful, since as Serjeantson points out, the identification of bird bones “often poses greater problems than that of mammals (though not more than fish)” (p. 63). Indeed, one gets the impression throughout the book that method and theory in avian zooarchaeology still lag behind mammalian zooarchaeology in some ways, presumably due in part to fewer archaeologists specializing in birds, but also to some characteristics of birds themselves. For example, the bird skeleton ossifies completely soon after fledging (i.e., within a few months) and birds have no teeth, so bird bones are less amenable to aging than mammal bones. Distinguishing between males

and females is also difficult, although two of the better markers, spurs on male Galliformes (chickens and related species) and medullary bone deposits in the internal bone cavities of egg-laying females are addressed in detail.

Serjeantson also covers well much of the recent, often innovative research on avian taphonomy conducted by Véronique Laroulandie and others. Topics addressed in the book include recovery techniques, natural accumulations, disarticulation sequences, water sorting, bioerosion (from cyanobacteria, algae, and fungi), and natural predation (including bone modification marks created by beaks and claws of eagles, falcons, hawks, vultures, and owls). Identifying human use of birds for food can be difficult. Skinning marks on bird bones tend to be rare because after birds are plucked the skin is usually eaten with the rest of the bird. In the Old World at least, cut marks of all kinds become less common on bones after the Paleolithic, possibly due to a change from roasting birds to stewing them in ceramic containers. Consequently, avian specialists have developed criteria for identifying both butchery without tools and human chewing marks.

A separate chapter deals solely with eggshell and includes interesting ethnographic and historical accounts of egg collecting. When whole eggs are recovered, simple measurements may be able to identify them to species, but identifying eggshell fragments to species usually requires a scanning electron microscope. The following chapter covers feathers, skin, and other products, which in some areas such as Egypt and the American Southwest, can be rather common archaeological finds. For the rest of the world, the author reviews proxy evidence for feather use including species and element representation, cut marks, and even siding: in England, a disproportionate amount of wing bones from the left side may indicate the use of feathers for quill pens. There is also a nice, if brief, discussion of feather taphonomy.

Bird fat has long been used for heat and light, most interestingly in the Faroe Islands where storm petrels were used as lamps by threading a wick through their bodies and then

lighting it. Serjeantson asks if any archaeological evidence of this has ever been identified, but apparently no one has yet looked. Bird bones have been transformed into a myriad of tools and ornaments including awls, pins, projectile points, needles and needle cases, tubes or straws, beads, flutes, and spoons. Unfortunately, it “remains true” (p. 228) that a comprehensive review of bird-bone artifacts has never been completed. This chapter is mainly descriptive; more guidance on how to analyze bird-bone tools, such as identifying and interpreting manufacturing techniques and use-wear, would have been welcome.

The use of wild birds as food, including a broad review of ethnography, hunting technology, and archaeological data is finally addressed in chapter 10. Although Serjeantson touches on foraging theory and nutrition she appears less comfortable with these types of analyses. While “in general, birds are difficult to catch” (p. 237), there are many exceptions to this rule. Island birds like the now-extinct great auk and dodo, who had no natural fear of humans; molting birds unable to fly; nesting birds; and flocking or migrating birds can provide attractive targets for human predation. The technology used of course also affected the type and numbers of birds procured; the greater availability of guns in Europe has been seen as the reason for an increase in the use of small birds in the late Middle Ages and postmedieval period.

Domestic birds, including turkey, goose, duck, and pigeon are reviewed, but *Gallus gallus*, the chicken, receives its own chapter, and rightly so. It is, according to Serjeantson, the “most widespread domestic animal in the world” (p. 267), and she reproaches other zooarchaeologists for not recognizing its importance. Significantly, the chicken may have been domesticated first

for feathers and cockfighting rather than for meat and eggs, which has implications for general theories of domestication. There are potential zooarchaeological indicators of cockfighting, but few unambiguous archaeological examples. Chicken can also have important symbolic or ritual uses: chicken heads and feet were apparently sacrificed at Pompeii, and at least 238 chickens were used in a feast at a Roman-period Mithraic temple in Belgium. In fact, archaeological evidence for symbolic use of birds is fairly widespread, as various species of birds have been found interred in human graves, intentionally mummified or included in medicine bundles.

Although Serjeantson does not delve too deeply into the subject, she does not see evidence of climate as a factor in bird extinctions, emphasizing instead human predation as a causal factor, especially on islands and with species like the moas, great auk, and dodo, while also noting the potential role of habitat destruction, introduced predators like rats and dogs, and disease.

This book is a comprehensive review of the literature on birds in archaeology with particularly strong sections on identification, taphonomy, domestication, and human nonfood uses of birds. Serjeantson makes an admirable effort to include all world areas, but there is a definite emphasis on Old World sites and ethnography. Anyone who deals with bird remains, whether an avian specialist or not, will want this book. It neatly summarizes much of the state of the art in avian zooarchaeology, should provide inspiration for future research projects, and is a valuable reference guide to keep around the lab.

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*Sàngó in Africa and the African
Diaspora*

Joel E. Tishken, Toyin Falola, and
Akíntúndé Akínyemí (editors)

Indiana University Press,
Bloomington, 2009. 376 pp., 25 b&w
photos, 2 maps, 12 figs. \$27.95
paper.

The chapters in this edited volume may not on first look seem to offer much of specific interest to historical archaeologists. A careful reading of the individual chapters, however, demonstrates that several do speak to an archaeological audience for a variety of reasons. As the most-powerful and often most-feared deity among the Yorùba people, Sàngó and the spiritual practices associated with him are found in West Africa and throughout the diaspora. The spread of this religious practice to the New World followed enslaved Oyo Yorùba during transatlantic slavery. This volume brings together 16 contributors from diverse backgrounds. The collection has three goals: (1) add to a growing general knowledge of Yorùba spiritual beliefs, including the definitional complexity of Sàngó himself; (2) add to neopagan studies, as Sàngó is part of the larger Yorùba polytheism; and (3) include contributions from the broader community of worshippers.

The book's introductory chapter groups definitions of Sàngó into three broad areas of mythic, historical, and syncretic versions. Mythic Sàngó is the embodiment of thunder, and his power is so great that one of the four days of the Yorùba week bears his name. The historical Sàngó is the deified fourth king of the old Oyo Empire in Yorùbaland. Numerous stories now circulate about the historical Sàngó and have inspired different versions and identities of the deity based on characteristics which are differentially highlighted in the various stories. The syncretic Sàngó arose in the homeland and New World as he combined with other, sometimes non-Yorùba characteristics. This blending is partially responsible for the variability in both Sàngó himself and associated rituals around the world.

The rest of the book is organized into four parts, the first of which focuses on defining Sàngó in his homeland of West Africa. The first chapter in this section is by Akíntúndé Akínyemí, and is titled "The Place of Sàngó in the Yorùbá Pantheon." It focuses on the central position Sàngó occupies in Yorùbáland, stating that this is due to a variety of factors. These include the attachment of this deity to Oyo kings, as well as Sàngó's ability to resolve human problems, commitment to social justice, and association with thunder and lightning. The next chapter, by Àrìnpé Gbékèlólú Adéjùmò, titled "The Practice and Worship of Sàngó in Contemporary Yorùbáland," focuses on two aspects of the deity. The first examines the influence of early missionaries, demonstrating how the current academic understanding of the historical Sàngó was crafted as much by Christian thought as by accurate ethnographic information. The second aspect describes how important the worship of this deity remains today regardless of historical representations. Chapter 4, by George Olúsolá Ajíbádé, explores "Sàngó's Eéríndínlógún Divinatory System." This piece discusses how divination as memory practice survives even with the widespread growth of Islam and Christianity in the area, and how the continued representation of Sàngó's masculinity by diviners reinforces the historical image of Sàngó. The final contribution in this section, by Marc Schiltz, discusses "Yorùbá Thunder Deities and Sovereignty: Àrá versus Sàngó," and examines alternative representations of the deity in West Africa. While acknowledging the association of Sàngó with the Oyo lineage and the imposition of this worship upon neighboring communities, Schiltz focuses on the way in which these other areas combined Sàngó with their own thunder deities, allowing these border areas to perform loyalty while maintaining familiar religious traditions.

Part 2 begins with a chapter by Diedre L. Bádéjo titled "Sàngó and the Elements: Gender and Cultural Discourses," in which the author teases out the various ways this deity straddles male and female relationships and meanings in society. The following chapter by Dúrótoyè A.

Adéléké is titled “Reconfiguration of Sàngó on the Screen,” and explores how Sàngó embodies dichotomies such as destruction and healing when represented in film. Next, Stephen Foláránmí explores “Art in the Service of Sàngó,” as this *òrìsà* continues to motivate artists within and outside the Yorùba diaspora. This part of the book ends with another chapter by Akíntúndé Akínyemí and a turn towards “The Ambivalent Representations of Sàngó in Yorùbá Literature,” demonstrating the complex representational transformation that occurs in regard to historical and mythical figures following colonialism; particularly when Western writers conflate the two.

Part 3 is introduced by Kamari Maxine Clarke’s chapter on “The Cultural Aesthetics of Sàngó Africanization,” focusing on the importance of the Internet in forming the modern image of Sàngó in diasporic locations. In the U.S. this produces a Sàngó whose meaning is increasingly derived from Santería’s representation. Next, “Sàngó? An Inquiry into Sàngó’s ‘Authenticity’ and Prominence in the Caribbean” by Stephen D. Glazier, explores how various groups in Trinidad are deciding which images of the *òrìsà* are true, and which ones are too syncretic. Then, Luis Nicolau Parés looks at “Xango in Afro-Brazilian Religion: ‘Aristocracy’ and ‘Syncretic’ Interactions” and the deity’s growing popularity in this country. Laura Edmunds follows with her examination of “The Literary Manifestation of Xango in Brazil: Esmeralda Ribeiero’s ‘A procura de uma borboleta preta,’” demonstrating how symbols associated with Sàngó are interwoven in Ribeiero’s work. The final chapter in this section, by Henry B. Lovejoy, is titled “Drums of Sàngó: *Bàtá* Drum and the Symbolic Reestablishment of Òyó in

Colonial Cuba, 1817–1867,” and traces various cultural practices from the Bight of Benin to Cuba and through time until today.

The final part includes two chapters from believers who actively worship Sàngó. The first chapter in this section is by Olóyè Àiná Olomo and considers “Sàngó beyond Male and Female” by stating that the patriarchal representations of the deity should be seen in the light of the patriarchal societies in which they develop, not as an accurate manifestation of Sàngó in the world. The final chapter describes an interview between Sàngó priest Ernesto Pichardo and Michael Atwood Mason, titled “Searching for Thunder: A Conversation about Changó.” Pichardo describes his belief that one cannot fully understand the various aspects of Sàngó and worshipers find meaning by continually reevaluating their relationships with the deity throughout their lifetimes.

In the end, this book will appeal to historical archaeologists for several reasons. First, as archaeologists increasingly explore transnational and syncretic cultural practices, this book provides several examples of possible ways for doing so. Also, several of the chapters contain information about religious items, of possible interest to researchers working on sites with Yorùba residents in the past. Finally, the book presents recent examples of how colleagues in cultural anthropology, religious studies, and so forth are currently framing and conducting multiscalar, diasporic research into African spirituality at home and abroad.

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*The Archaeology of Ethnogenesis:
Race and Sexuality in Colonial San
Francisco*

Barbara L. Voss

University of California Press,
Berkeley, 2008. 420 pp., 32 b&w
photos, 15 line illus., 12 maps, 25
tables. \$49.95 cloth.

The archaeology of Hispanic America from Tierra del Fuego to the North American subarctic is a data-rich field of exceptional relevance to scholars investigating the nature, timing, and impact of Spain's imperial expansion from the late 15th century through the 18th and very early 19th centuries. This colonial expansion involved the movement of peoples, Hispanic and indigenous. Changes occurred in local indigenous cultures of the regions colonized, with or without incorporating Hispanic elements. New cultural identities appeared within regionalized Hispanic traditions with or without the incorporation of indigenous cultural components.

Focusing on research carried out between 1992 and 2005 at the Presidio de San Francisco, a Spanish military outpost in California functioning between 1776 and 1821, the latter the year of Mexican independence, Barbara Voss examines ethnogenesis, the emergence of new sociocultural identities among the colonizers and their descendants during this brief period of time. The establishment of the San Francisco presidio occurred during the terminal colonial period, when Spain under Bourbon domination established settlements within the northern territories, until then only nominally under Spanish control. Of course Spain's attempts at populating the northern territories to defend and secure them against Europeans initially, and later against a westward-expanding United States proved ineffective after Mexican independence. In the face of continuing American expansion, Texas independence, and the Mexican-American War, lands north of the current international border between Mexico and the United States were permanently lost to Mexico.

Voss describes her work as an "archaeological and historical study of ethnogenesis among colonial settlers in San Francisco, California during its years as a Spanish *presidio*" (p. 1), or "an archaeological and historical investigation of ethnogenesis among military settlers who lived at El Presidio de San Francisco" (p. 12). Basically she is concerned with the processes and material practices involved in the emergence of the "Californio" identity from the diverse cultural/ethnic groups who were recruited to settle there. Her focus, as she notes, is on the colonizers from northern Mexico rather than on the colonized, a much more usual type of study. Voss states that there are four core themes in her study of ethnogenesis: colonization, material practice, overdetermination, and sexuality/gender (p. 2). These themes along with epistemological and theoretical aspects of identity research are elaborated in the first chapter.

The operation of such processes clarifies the ways through which new identities appear. "From food ways to ceramics to clothing to architecture, the material habits of daily lives conditioned and transformed the ways that colonists at El Presidio de San Francisco perceived their own identities and those of Native Californians" (p. 6). This chapter provides an excellent summary and evaluation of the bases of identity research and theory, ethnographic and archaeological.

Once Voss has presented the theoretical focus and framework in chapter 1, "Ethnogenesis and the Archaeology of Identity," she then deals with substantive matters in the following two major groups of chapters. The first deals with "Historical and Archaeological Contexts." In chapter 2 Voss succinctly provides a detailed overview of the "Presidio soldiers and their families" and their transformation into "colonial agents of the Spanish crown" (p. 69). The overview continues through poststatehood California. In the following chapters (3 and 4) Voss looks "more closely at the demographic composition of the colonial and indigenous populations ... and the documentary record of the colonists' repudiation of the *sistema de castas* in favor of a shared identity" (p. 69), relating these changes within the context of the available historical documentation. She documents

a simplification of the *casta* system through a shift in self-identification to a less Indian and African make-up, to an emphasis on European heritage for the emergent Californio identification. She ends the discussion in chapter 5 with a review of the archaeological investigations at the Presidio de San Francisco. Data from these excavations and surveys are integrated with documentary data in the second group of chapters, "Spatial and Material Practices."

It is in this last group of chapters (6–10) Voss presents a tour de force integration of historical and archaeological data, as well as some oral history focused on the details of the processes involved in the ethnogenesis of the Californios in the small and short-lived world of the Presidio de San Francisco. She includes considerations of the roles played by the landscape, the built environment, the ceramics, the foodways, and clothing as related to the evolution of Californio social identity at the settlement. Some detailed information on the foods consumed is to be found in the appendix. The review author knows that the Building 13 midden was an important sealed deposit from an early period of occupation (1776–1800). There is no detailed discussion of later ceramics, however, especially those from the Mexican period. In the areas of terminology it is assumed that an *olla de aceite* is a *botija*, or olive jar.

In a brief conclusion Voss succinctly summarizes the results of the study, and discusses its

implications for anthropological and archaeological studies of the history of colonialism. In detailing the results she emphasizes that the colonists were not passive, but active participants in the development of their new social identities, essentially refusing to continue to be identified in terms of the *casta* system of social identities. They were agents who transformed the institutions through which they operated. The changes showed that the development of the Californio social identity occurred within the colonial context and was not a response within the context of Mexican nationalism.

Voss has written a work in which she has ably and expertly studied ethnogenesis among colonists from northern Mexico, during a very brief period of time at the end of Spanish hegemony and the beginnings of Mexican nationalism. In this book she has expertly drawn on historical and archaeological data, interweaving them as she examines the development of ethnogenesis among the colonists and their descendants, prior to the acquisition of California by the United States. Those scholars studying various aspects of the Hispanic worldwide empire would be well advised to peruse Voss's work.

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*Frontier Forts of Iowa: Indians,
Traders, and Soldiers, 1682–1862*

William E. Whittaker (editor)

University of Iowa Press, Iowa City,
2009. 286 pp., 15 color illus., 25
b&w photos, 10 drawings, 41 maps.
\$29.95 paper.

This volume represents an exceptional synthesis of the historical documentation and archaeological data for the 56 early frontier, trade, and military forts in Iowa, dating from approximately 1680 to 1862.

Editor William Whittaker and the chapter authors have each done a remarkable job in drawing together information that can be either overwhelming or sparse depending on the fort in question. Whittaker's decision to limit the forts included in the volume to those literally in or in sight of Iowa during the period in question was reportedly done to make the information manageable and accessible for the reader (p. 3). In this, the volume succeeds admirably. His introductory chapter, "Forts around Iowa," also discusses the definition of the term "fort" for this volume, as indeed many of the 56 installations described herein can barely be considered representative of the term. He contextualizes the landscape of Iowa in the 1830s, the first period of the most intensive use of forts in Iowa, by introducing the indigenous groups: the Dakota, Ho-Chunk, Ioway, Missouria, Omaha, Otoe, Sauk, and Meskwaki, which used all or part of the Iowa countryside for their homes and hunting territories during this time. Whittaker further delineates the rationale behind the use of the terms "Indian" and "Native" in the volume, and explains the preferred use of the specific tribal names for each indigenous group discussed. To aid the general readers' understanding, Whittaker includes maps of general indigenous tribal territories (fig. 1.2) and of specifically identified indigenous sites (fig. 1.3). The most useful graphic in this chapter is the timeline of the forts discussed in the volume (fig. 1.1), which serves as a useful quick reference guide as one reads the rest of the volume.

Chapter 2, written by Cynthia Peterson, covers the historical tribes and early forts found in Iowa. Generally this chapter is also clear and comprehensive except for an unfortunate duplication of the Milford site information (p. 13). Peterson's description of the mix of European traders, soldiers, and eventually settlers dealing with the local indigenous communities is particularly effective in separating the French from the later Spanish, British, and American interactions during the early 1800s. She is especially adept at contextualizing the Ioway in relation to the historical placement of the earliest forts in the immediate area of Iowaville, their large summer village occupied between 1765 and approximately 1820, and in briefly summarizing the archaeological work undertaken at the village site in the 1970s. Peterson also reviews Sauk and Meskwaki relations with the newly arrived Europeans.

Kathryn Gourley, in chapter 3, describes the era of dispossession for the indigenous communities, and explains the reality of the 1816–1853 period in which American control of Iowa was established. Following the signing of several American treaties with indigenous groups in 1815, the following period was characterized by a buildup of an American military presence at several posts along the major river valleys and confluences. Gourley effectively links this militarization with the development of the Office of Indian Affairs, and of lead-mining interests in the state. She also offers a succinct but thorough explanation of the Black Hawk conflict. In addition, she effectively relates the development of the American Fur Company from earlier French and British concerns, and its negative impact on the local indigenous communities. This chapter also contains summary maps of the forts in Iowa from 1815 to 1853, and the general location of the indigenous tribes during this period in relation to the largest forts and settler communities.

Chapter 4, written by Lance Foster, introduces indigenous perspectives on palisaded communities, and briefly describes precontact indigenous sites in the vicinity of modern Iowa, including among others, Cahokia, Aztalan, and Crow Creek. Foster's most important distinction here is the differing uses of forts between the indigenous communities and

the European American communities. Importantly, he also highlights the fact that many of the later American forts in the area desecrated indigenous sacred sites. Though it is difficult to say if these placements were intentional at this point in history, the sacredness of many of these locations was known to the American military, as contemporary indigenous leaders such as Black Hawk were able to indicate.

Chapter 5 is a synthesis of the previously unpublished information on Fort Madison, written by former Iowa state archaeologist Marshall McKusick. This synthesis is very detailed and includes a most compelling image of the fort's foundations superimposed on an aerial photograph of the parking lot which overlies them (pl. 6). The tone and language used in this chapter are gripping and will likely be well understood by a general audience. It is hoped by this author that the single volume proposed for this site years ago might be undertaken in the not too distant future.

Chapters 6, 7, and 8 focus on small groups of forts and on individual forts. Vicki Twinde-Javner recounts the details of Fort Shelby and Fort McKay, which were in the same general location but occupied by the Americans and British respectively during the War of 1812. She also relates the historical summary of the first Fort Crawford, which was occupied from 1816 to 1831 at this same location. Sadly, much of the archaeological data from the first Fort Crawford, excavated in part by Works Progress Administration crews, is now lost. David Nolan's chapter summarizes the historical development of Fort Edwards and its immediate predecessors. Regena Jo Schantz's chapter focuses on Fort Armstrong. Near to the main Sauk village, this fort was established in 1816 and occupied militarily until 1836. Among the rich historical details known about this fort is the presence of slaves, including the well-known Dred Scott.

Chapters 9 through 15 further delineate the history of specific forts in Iowa. Carlson in chapter 9 links historical documentation and maps to many forts occupied between 1795 and 1838 along the Missouri River, and includes a particularly clear synthesis of the archaeology of Fort Atkinson (in Nebraska). Twinde-Javner's second chapter for the book (chap. 10) appropriately covers the details of the second Fort Crawford, including the archaeological work undertaken at the site by first the Works Progress Administration crews and then by the Mississippi Valley Archaeology Center.

Gourley's second chapter for the volume (chap. 11) covers Fort Des Moines No. 1, located near the Mississippi River at the Des Moines Rapids. Her work includes a very detailed account of the construction of the fort on top of a former Sauk settlement, the plan maps and drawings of the fort, and an illuminating account of life there. In chapter 12, Carr and Whittaker take up Fort Atkinson (Iowa) and provide details of the fort's founding to protect the Ho-Chunk, and its subsequent use following its abandonment by the U.S. Army in 1849. Schoen, Whittaker, and Gourley discuss the details of Fort Des Moines No. 2 in chapter 13. One of the more useful inclusions in this chapter is an embellished 1840s original outline map of the fort, with buildings and archaeological features explained on it. Chapter 14, written by Cindy Nagel, summarizes details of the other dragoon-era forts in the state, dating to between the War of 1812 and the Dakota uprising (ca. 1837–1853). These nine forts are also described using the rich archaeological data recovered from excavations at many of them. Chapter 15, the last chapter focusing on a small group of forts, in this case those of the Northern Border Brigade, was written by Leah Rogers. She updates earlier work by McKusick on these 12 forts dating from 1857 to 1863.

The final chapter for the volume was written by Cynthia Peterson and covers logistical aspects of visiting the forts described in the volume for which original buildings remain and/or interpretive displays have been created. This chapter should prove very useful to both the general public and archaeologists interested in visiting these locations in person.

This volume serves as a wonderful addition to the literature on the 56 forts described, synthesizing the historical documentation (contemporary journals, maps, and oral traditions) with archaeological data. Several of these sites are currently subject to pressure from commercial (re)development (such as Fort Madison), and it is hoped that this volume will improve public awareness of the importance of these sites and contribute to efforts to save their actual remnants.

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