

## Reviews

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Edited by Charles R. Ewen

*The Life and Times of the Steamboat  
Red Cloud, or How Merchants,  
Mounties, and the Missouri  
Transformed the West*

Annalies Corbin

Texas A&M University Press,  
College Station, 2006. 145 pp., 30  
illus., bibliog., app., index. \$19.95  
paper.

*The Life and Times of the Steamboat Red Cloud* examines the career of a single Missouri River steamboat and its connection to the 19th-century expansion of the upper Missouri West. Annalies Corbin offers new insights into this region's history by focusing on the river steamer *Red Cloud* and its owner I. G. Baker & Company. This work illustrates the potential and importance of exploring alternative perspectives to enhance the understanding of our history. The book begins with a brief introductory chapter that clearly presents the text's premise and objectives. Corbin argues that alone, *Red Cloud* is a typical undistinguished steamboat, but when viewed from a maritime perspective within a larger historical context, it represents a key link between commercialization and expansion in the Fort Benton, Montana region.

Two historical chapters follow the introduction. The first places *Red Cloud's* story in the broader historical context of westward expansion. Annalies Corbin views *Red Cloud* as symbolic of John O'Sullivan's "manifest destiny," which fueled 19th-century westward expansion. Inland waterways were instrumental in these early westward migrations and continuing westward progress required conquering the Missouri and other large western rivers. The link between inland waterways and America's "manifest destiny" is expounded through discussions of the importance of steam navigation to the survival of Missouri River frontier settlements. When railroads replaced the riverboats as the driving force of America's transcontinental expansion, both steamboats and the settlements they serviced declined. To Corbin, this decline

of the steamboat's importance to the country's growth mirrors *Red Cloud's* loss. Both events struck a blow to the river communities dependent on them.

The second historical chapter examines, from a regional perspective, steamboat development on the Missouri and the early growth of Fort Benton. The chapter begins with a brief but informative recap of Missouri River transportation from the bullboat to the steamboat. Pointing out that the western fur trade was the impetus for steamboats coming to the Missouri and that river trading outposts became stopping points for these steamers, Corbin focuses on just one of these outposts, Fort Benton. The chapter provides a sweeping history of the settlement from its establishment by the American Fur Trading Company in 1847, through the mid-1870s. Fort Benton's growth is followed from its establishment as a mere trading outpost to its development into an important settlement on the overland route connecting the Missouri and Columbia rivers, the Mullen Road. The Pierre Chouteau Jr. Company's (formerly the American Fur Trading Company) efforts to increase Fort Benton's regional importance are also covered here. According to Corbin, these efforts included promoting Fort Benton as the endpoint of Missouri steam navigation through the building and running of steamers to the settlement. The chapter concludes with a look at the economic boom that accompanied the 1850s Montana gold rush and the depression that followed when mining waned, river levels dropped, and the transcontinental railroad arrived.

Having set the stage in the previous three chapters, Corbin begins the text's central topic with a look at I. G. Baker & Company's history. The firm is examined from its conception in the mid-1860s as I. G. Baker & Brother, through the economic slump of the late 1860s, and into the commercial resurgence of the 1870s. Beginning with the operations, alliances, and partnerships that helped I. G. Baker & Brother grow, Corbin follows the firm's search for new markets and opportunities throughout the 1870s. The 1873 establishment of the Canadian Northwest Mounted Police (NWMP) to patrol Canada's western lands provided the firm opportunities

to use political connections and shrewd business practices (along with a little bit of luck) to secure exclusive supply and transportation contracts with the NWMP. As Corbin shows, these contracts began a long relationship between the two organizations and facilitated I. G. Baker & Company's expansion into other commercial endeavors.

By the mid-1870s the company began operating steamboats to cope with its increased supply and transportation needs, initially collaborating with a Fort Benton competitor. The venture's success and additional NWMP contracts prompted I. G. Baker & Company to establish its own steamboat firm. The Baker Line commenced operations in 1877 and purchased the river steamer *Red Cloud*. The Baker Line's formation and the acquisition of *Red Cloud* initiate Corbin's discussion of the steamer's Missouri River career. Within the next four chapters she looks at *Red Cloud*'s operations from its first voyage to Fort Benton to its last completed voyage in early 1882. This analysis illustrates the important role *Red Cloud* played in I. G. Baker & Company's expansion and its link to Fort Benton's growth.

The text's final chapter begins with *Red Cloud*'s wrecking. *Red Cloud* struck a snag and sank en route to Fort Benton in July 1882. Both the steamer and its cargo were a total loss. The wreck apparently was a harbinger of bad times for Fort Benton. Corbin shows that less than two years after the steamer's sinking, the Fort Benton economy declined. Bypassed by the Northern Pacific and Canadian Pacific railroads, steamboat

traffic dwindled and merchants left. I. G. Baker & Company remained in Fort Benton until 1891, closing its doors only after losing most of its NWMP contracts to Canadian firms with rail line access. Corbin does not end *Red Cloud*'s story with Fort Benton's decline. Instead, she closes her text with a final discussion of a 1920 salvage attempt of the steamer and the *Red Cloud* wreck site's subsequent inundation under the Fort Peck Dam Reservoir.

*The Life and Times of the Steamboat Red Cloud* is a book that appeals not only to the enthusiast, the scholar, and the student, but to the general reader as well. Written in a clear and concise manner, it tells *Red Cloud*'s story in a logical and easy-to-follow progression, without drowning the reader in statistics. Corbin makes good use of illustrations, period photographs, and historical documents to enhance the text. The detailed notes and bibliography provided at the end of the text are an important resource for students and researchers. The inclusion, as appendices, of two historical documents which Corbin cites or uses in the main text, is an added benefit of this book. *The Life and Times of the Steamboat Red Cloud* is one of Corbin's best works, and readers interested in the history of the American and Canadian West should have this book in their libraries.

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*Revolutionary Economies: What  
Archaeology Reveals about the Birth  
of American Capitalism*

Thomas W. Cuddy

AltaMira Press, Lanham, MD, 2008.

156 pp., index. \$29.95 paper.

Burn layers excite archaeologists. The layers can often provide a record in the ground of specific events that mark major transformations in the lives of past people and societies. Whether it was a house, shop, or whole town that burned, fires change both landscapes and ways of life. Thomas W. Cuddy brings the story of fire and the potential role of arson to the archaeological investigation of capitalism in early American towns. A key factor in his book *Revolutionary Economies: What Archaeology Reveals about the Birth of American Capitalism*, fire guides Cuddy to examine capitalism and the Industrial Revolution from a novel point of view. What we learn is that capitalism was less a gradual process of transformation than a radical change that impacted both work routines as well as work sites. Moreover, capitalism is a process of making history under specific social and economic circumstances that when teased out and contextually understood bring a deeper significance to the interpretation of archaeological discoveries and social change.

The subject of *Revolutionary Economies* is a set of colonial and early American-era craft sites, especially bakeries, found in Annapolis, Maryland and Alexandria, Virginia. Cuddy was involved in the excavation of these sites, which provides readers with an insider's view and comparative reading that ties the sites, social processes, and events together nicely. Moreover, Cuddy is an excellent writer. He easily breaks down complicated social theory on capitalism and deftly applies historical, archaeological, and economic reasoning to the study of bakeries as sites of class tension and conflicted social production. The key to the book is the moment of capitalist transformation, especially pronounced in the Chesapeake in the period after the Revolutionary War. Having suffered losses during the war,

local merchants sought out advantages in the new economy. They faced not only the struggles of recovery, but also a class of craftsmen who, having prospered during the war, emerged as competitors in determining the new processes of production in Chesapeake towns. Resisting this competition, merchants used their advantages in finance to undermine artisan independence. Among their techniques, Cuddy suggests, was arson, illustrated not only by two bakery fires in 1790s Alexandria and Annapolis, but also other fires in American cities such as a Philadelphia factory fire in 1790.

Following a contextually informative introduction, the book first examines two bakeries built sequentially on a dockside lot in Annapolis. The first, constructed in the early 18th century, specialized in ships bread, a product in demand in the Atlantic trade. The bakery site was a compound domestic and working area devoted to baking. Cuddy explores the perceived position of bakers and bakeries as nuisances within their communities and works that were typically highly regulated, also noting that nothing in the archaeological record suggests anything unusual about the site. He then turns to explore why this bakery was destroyed by fire in 1790. He establishes that the subsequent owner of the lot, Frederick Grammar, was allied with merchants, one of whom became the new tenant in the building he constructed on top of the burned bakery remains. Grammar also maintained a bakery at the site, however, housed in a new structure behind the merchant shop, though incorporating the earlier bakery's well. The key here is that the new bakery was part of a larger, diversified investment scheme in which the site was no longer under the direction of a skilled craftsman but a merchant. The burn layer found throughout the site under the new building reflects this transformation, and may also be evidence of the politics and action required for resolving the class conflict between merchants and artisans on early American urban sites. This conflict may be read as one in which the proper constituents of the American middle class were worked out. The question was whether it would be those in control of craft-based skills or those

in control of finance. Cuddy paints a detailed portrait of how the direction of American capitalism fell into the hands of traders and merchants and how artisan work declined into a commodified labor defined by investment interests.

The next chapter in *Revolutionary Economies* explores this transition in a different material register: money. During the colonial period currency was flexible, defined in bartered goods as often as in hard money. This process drove certain insecurities and opportunities in the economy. Scots merchants capitalized by offering extensive credit to planters, a process Cuddy traces in the development of new households and domestic consumption practices in rural Maryland. Currency issues are also revealed in a fascinating archaeological discovery of an early American private mint in the basement of an Annapolis household. This mint appears to have operated in the time after the collapse of the colonial credit market and before a centralized American cash economy took off. The key for Cuddy is that the mint was the initiative of a skilled craftsman, reflecting the desire to be active in, if not in control of the new economy. This desired result did not come to be, as the federal government adopted a branch banking system that put currency under central control. This system was one that favored merchant interests and pulled artisans into a system not of their own making.

Turning in the next chapter to consider the Jamieson Bakery in Alexandria, Virginia, Cuddy explores the mechanization of the baking trade into the middle of the 19th century. This story starts with another suspicious fire. The fire this time occurred immediately after Andrew Jamieson purchased a bakery compound in 1795. Presumably

set by competitor merchants, this fire apparently allowed Jamieson to improve his bakery, allowing him and later his son to accumulate substantial wealth and social standing. The key to their success, however, was a transformation of the trade into an industry, and themselves from bakers to investors and managers. A first step was the mechanization of labor, through which Jamieson employed a large number of enslaved bakers, while helping to keep a check on a growing pool of skilled competitors. He also invested in new ovens and new technologies. His son later installed a steam engine which operated multistoried ovens and dough stamping machines. The steam engine dramatically reduced the labor needs of the bakery allowing the business to fall in line with growing local antislavery sentiments.

There is quite a lot of information and analysis contained in this relatively short 129-page book. Cuddy masterfully weaves together issues in finance, labor, class conflict, and industrial development. He also provides essential archaeological data, including useful detailed discussions of bakery architecture and ceramics, which establish a solid archaeological base for his interpretation of broader social dynamics. Most significantly, he creates a clear view of the historical materiality that gave rise to American capitalism, one that includes both finance and fires in the way investment, management, and the quest for profit became normalized in early American towns.

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*Building the Devil's Empire: French Colonial New Orleans*

Shannon Lee Dawdy

University of Chicago Press,  
Chicago, IL, 2008. 336 pp., 7 color  
pls., 8 halftones, 5 maps, 1 fig., 2  
tables. \$35.00 cloth.

Shannon Lee Dawdy's *Building the Devil's Empire: French Colonial New Orleans* builds on rich documentary research to paint a complicated picture of the social landscape of New Orleans in the first half of the 18th century. Dawdy is simultaneously attentive to the dynamics at the local level, the broader scale of colonial policies, and regional and global politicoeconomic context. It is at the intersection of these scales that she builds her historical ethnography of New Orleans. The result is a fascinating text that will be of interest both to specialists in French colonial history, and more broadly to students of historical anthropology and historical archaeology.

In the preface and introduction, Dawdy sets the stage for her historical inquiry in light of Hurricane Katrina and its aftermath. She reflects on the trauma of Katrina, and how it has affected her approach to the subject matter: the history of New Orleans's reputation and character as a city, alternately cast as a place of indulgence, pleasure, danger, violence, and disorder. Dawdy's goal is not so much to give historical depth to these ideas, but to consider the origins of myths about New Orleans. She suggests that hers will be a patchwork story, most closely resembling the genre of the picaresque tale, "a series of adventures or travel stories that coalesce to present a characterization of the protagonist and his or her society" (p. xviii). Dawdy sets out with an episodic rather than a linear approach to history, concerned not with explaining particular historical events, but with painting a picture of social relations and the experience of everyday life. In this vein, she begins each of the subsequent chapters with a narrative about a different individual from French New Orleans, inviting the reader to consider the individual's diverse perspectives and experiences.

In chapter 1, Dawdy examines various descriptions of New Orleans by 18th-century commentators and connects them with Enlightenment thought. She investigates the production of natural histories and memoirs, the practice of colonial letter writing, the availability of printed works, and the establishment of educational institutions. In considering examples of different literary genres, Dawdy teases out a number of common themes, including New Orleans as a disorderly city, the Louisiana experience as "noble adventure," and its inhabitants as illiterate and ignorant. She calls these classifications into question and concludes that, in a sense, these writings show that New Orleans was "written off" and its failure considered inevitable early in its history.

In her second chapter, Dawdy considers plans for the organization of New Orleans, highlighting the care with which terrain was surveyed and a grid laid out, and the slow and difficult process of building a city that would conform to colonial ideals. The author provides convincing evidence that efforts to control the natural environment and space of the city indicated a desire to control the social environment for its inhabitants. In detailing the contemporary thought on the ideal city and urban planning in France, Dawdy offers important context for understanding the process in the Louisiana colony.

Chapter 3 addresses the economic dimensions of New Orleans's development, paying special attention to the importance of smuggling in the local economy. Dawdy examines how mercantilist ideals were ignored or subverted by smugglers and by local officials who were complicit in the illegal trade. She suggests that too much focus on the colonial orientation toward the Atlantic world obscures the importance of the Mississippi/Caribbean sphere, which was in many ways more important to French New Orleans. Here, she outlines an important distinction between legal-political legitimacy and licit-social legitimacy. Even though many local economic activities were technically illegal, they were socially acceptable, and in this sense they were part of a newly emerging social order. This section of *Building the Devil's Empire* weaves an intricate argument about the political

economy of smuggling, which complicates our picture of social, economic, and political relations in New Orleans.

In chapter 4, Dawdy examines social organization in New Orleans, considering early attempts at social engineering, development of new forms of hierarchy, and shifts in social mobility. Again, the conflicts between colonial intentions and local practice are apparent as Dawdy compares metropolitan plans with what was actually built on the ground and how it changed through time. She explains that the early plans for New Orleans's layout dictated a spatial segregation of African slaves and Native Americans, with the city itself reserved for free whites. Within that space, allotment of land followed a rigid pattern according to class standing. While plans for strict segregation were ultimately unsuccessful, the legacy of this vision for the city endured. Dawdy uses census records to examine the changing demographics of the city and considers the categories used by census takers to classify residents along lines of race, age, gender, profession, and legal status. She links census taking to efforts at social control, and observes in the data degrees of social mobility and the emergence of a new creole social hierarchy.

Chapter 5 examines law, discipline, and violence in the colony, considering how the power structure shifted between the founding generation and creole generations. Dawdy suggests that Louisiana's Superior Council claimed increasing levels of power and autonomy for itself over the course of its existence. The *Code Noir*, intended to regulate the practice of slavery, was selectively enforced, and by the second and third generations, slave owners were exercising greater degrees of authority over discipline of the enslaved class. At the same time, recorded incidents of violent crime were increasing. Dawdy sees these changes as evidence of growing class tensions and a shift in the location of colonial power from the realm of the king to the sphere of creole elites.

In her conclusion, Dawdy tells the story of the introduction of Spanish rule and the rogue New Orleans residents who declared it illegitimate and revolted in 1768. In addition to

summarizing the arguments that are developed throughout the text, she then elaborates on the theoretical implications of her work for the broader study of colonialism. One of the central dynamics observed is that "few of the plans and experiments designed for Louisiana worked out" (p. 229). Here Dawdy touches on an important issue in studying colonial societies and one that is central to the case study: the tension between colonial policy and local practice. Dawdy further considers the relevance of her analysis of New Orleans to scholars of colonialism and modernity. She engages a number of theoretical ideas to develop her arguments more fully around the concepts of rogue colonialism, smuggling and banditry, legality versus licitness, and foundations for revolutionary upheaval.

Some archaeologists may read *Building the Devil's Empire* and cite the integration of limited archaeological material as a weakness of the study, but this critique would be short sighted. Dawdy brings an archaeological sensibility to the subject matter, considering the material dimensions of social processes and focusing her gaze on issues such as social engineering, spatial segregation, and fortification and division of properties, but this work is best understood and evaluated as an historical ethnography. Where possible (and relevant), she integrates information from excavations of a local cemetery, a household site, or a New Orleans inn, but her project is more question driven than site or assemblage based. In *Building the Devil's Empire*, Dawdy artfully weaves the story of early New Orleans, focuses her attention on the details of the everyday lives of its inhabitants, and makes forceful arguments for the broader significance of her findings in regard to the nature and workings of colonialism. In this sense, she contributes both a substantive case study and an important theoretical reflection that pushes forward scholarly thought on colonial empires.

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*Gold Rush Port: The Maritime  
Archaeology of San Francisco's  
Waterfront*

James P. Delgado

University of California Press,  
Berkeley, 2009. 256 pp., index.  
\$45.00 cloth.

Directed toward an academic audience, *Gold Rush Port: The Maritime Archaeology of San Francisco's Waterfront*, is a comprehensive archaeological and historical study of the rise of San Francisco as a maritime frontier and principal port of the Pacific Ocean. James Delgado argues that the city's rise, while frequently credited to the gold rush, was connected to pre-existing Pacific and global maritime trade and commerce driven by capitalistic intentions. In addition, he proposes the city was not a frontier in the traditional sense, but rather part of a maritime frontier, operating as an entrepôt, or zone of free exchange. Supporting his hypotheses, the author relies heavily on a theoretical base in conjunction with primary sources and archaeological research. In particular, interest is focused on three abandoned storeships, the *Niantic*, *Apollo*, and *General Harrison*, as well as Hoff's Store, a mercantile site.

Delgado suggests San Francisco is an artifact of maritime systems at play in the Pacific during the first half of the 19th century. His use of multiple lines of theory is important in furthering the discipline of maritime archaeology, criticized frequently for its lack of theoretical perception. Several theoretical perspectives serve to support the author's hypotheses, including elements from the *Annales* school's world systems theory, maritime systems theory, and a blend of urban archaeology and frontier theory (pp. 15–31). A parallel is drawn between the *Annales* school's *longue durée* and the role of San Francisco in the worldwide development of capitalism, a period of slow change, repetition, and recurring cycles (p. 15). In contrast, the boom brought about by the rush for gold in California (1848–1849), is classified as an *événement*, or short period relating to a specific incident (p. 28). The author also assesses

the interaction of maritime systems as a subset of world systems theory, explaining the development of the city's waterfront and entrepôt, and its role as a maritime frontier separated from the rest of the continent by vast amounts of land. Delgado effectively ties San Francisco in the early years of its development to a growing global economy paying particular attention to the merchants driving the maritime economy and global commerce.

The early history of trade along the Pacific Coast is effectively explored, including ties to the South American port of Valparaíso, California's trade ties to Hawaii, and the 1820 opening of the Chinese port at Canton (p. 42). In addition, attention is paid to the Pacific Northwest fur trade, and the growth of American interest in expansion. Delgado argues that these elements establish the importance of California ports before the gold rush. Emphasizing the role of capitalistic merchants in the growth of San Francisco, the author focuses on E. Mickle & Company, a firm familiar with South American trade, operating between San Francisco and Valparaíso in the early 19th century. Utilizing newspapers and lists of commodities traded by the firm, an analysis of the origins of these cultural materials as well as the intended consumers is possible. Credit for the development of San Francisco's waterfront is given to these ambitious merchants who built long wharves, floating warehouses, and used storeships to overcome a shallow bay and create a working waterfront to serve their capitalistic purposes. Their use of storeships is particularly interesting, and the archaeology of these ships aids in the interpretation of material culture and the socioeconomics of developing San Francisco.

Three storeships, *Niantic*, *Apollo*, and *General Harrison*, as well as their cargos, served as artifacts for archaeological study and interpretation. All three vessels were surrounded by landfill during reconstruction of San Francisco's vast wharf system. The ships were in varying states of preservation during archaeological study. Delgado hypothesizes that the cargoes sent to California during the years 1849–1851 should reflect evidence of global maritime supply systems (p. 137). Specifically, cargos should reflect the merchant's intent to construct and support San



Francisco as an entrepôt. Delgado uses a variety of primary sources to aid in his interpretation, adding information to his study of the cargo as material culture. The storeships themselves pose an interesting study, answering questions about a storeship's systemic use, eventual abandonment, and entrance into the archaeological record. The reader is rewarded with historic photographs of the three storeships, as well as archaeological photographs taken in situ. Delgado expands his archaeological sampling with a discussion of Hoff's store and its assemblage, adding to the understanding of world and maritime systems present during the city's growth.

The author concludes his volume with a discussion of San Francisco's emergence as a mid-19th-century expression of European American expansion and the formation of the world economy. He argues that the maritime system worked as a mechanism of integration, bringing the Pacific region into the world economic system, with trade systems acting as a dominant factor in San Francisco's rise (pp. 164–165). In addition, he redefines San Francisco as a frontier, arguing for its growth from outpost to entrepôt as the effect of maritime systems, as access was primarily by sea, the only mode of efficient transport of the commodities required for growth. These

arguments are well supported with archaeological evidence and a strong theoretical base.

Delgado's volume is both comprehensive and interesting, adding to the knowledge of San Francisco's archaeology and history, and global maritime trade. The author's use of a strong theoretical base to support his arguments is educational and stands as an example for future maritime archaeological studies. The research into the merchants' of San Francisco is interesting and convincing. The author illustrates the activities of E. Mickle & Company, to the great satisfaction of this reviewer, bringing into sharp focus the need for this type of penetrating research into other merchants operating in San Francisco concurrently. The use of primary sources, historic and archaeological photographs, and informational tables aid in bringing early San Francisco into the reader's imagination. Directed to an academic audience, *Gold Rush Port* is of value to those interested in maritime archaeology and history, particularly as they relate to global trade ties and expansion.

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*Khubilai Khan's Lost Fleet: In Search of a Legendary Armada*

James P. Delgado

University of California Press,  
Berkeley, 2008. 256 pp., 27 illus.,  
index. \$29.95 cloth.

According to the Chinese and Korean chroniclers, Khubilai Khan twice tried to invade the islands of Japan in the 13th century. Both times the Japanese claimed they were saved by a divine wind, or *kamikazi*, and both armadas sank. Yet no traces of the vessels remained. In the early 1980s a Japanese engineer developed a new electronic device that could detect objects buried beneath the seafloor. After discovering several relevant artifacts using this device, in addition to those discovered by fisherman over the years, the island of Takashima was acknowledged to be the most likely location for Khubilai Khan's lost fleet. Since then Japan has been developing its underwater archaeology program and conducting excavations along the coast of Takashima.

In his book, Delgado takes a look at the history of the invasion and explores the background of the excavations of Khubilai Khan's once-lost fleet. The first chapter introduces the reader to Kakozaki, a war-torn area which houses several shrines and monuments pertaining to the Mongol invasion. He also introduces the reader to the legend of *Ghenkō*, the Japanese term for the Mongol invasions of Japan.

Chapter 2 discusses the history of the mariners of the Far East, a subject that has not been studied in great detail by the West. Although this is a huge topic, this chapter recaps the technological development of seafaring and river vessels, along with the growth of trade throughout the history of China, Korea, and Japan.

The next two chapters give a brief history of the Mongol invasions and the rise of Genghis Khan and his grandson Khubilai Khan. Genghis Khan is well known in history as a great conqueror and as a barbarian who committed horrible atrocities across northern China and into central Asia. His policy of expansion was continued by his descendents and culminated with

Khubilai Khan's subjugation of China's Southern Song dynasty and his attempted conquests of other lands beyond China, especially Japan. Khubilai Khan differed from his grandfather. Khubilai Khan, educated by Chinese scholars, was more interested in conquering people than destroying them. Throughout the chapter the author discusses some of the great works commissioned by Khubilai Khan.

Chapter 5 reviews the history of the Song dynasty. From the 11th through the 13th centuries, Song China was the most technologically advanced dominion in the world, and contained some of the world's largest cities. During the 11th and 12th centuries the Song dynasty lost its northern territories to nomadic invaders. Without these lands, the Southern Song were unable to obtain large numbers of horses for their armies. To compensate for this the Song chose to use natural barriers to defend their southern territories. These natural barriers were rivers, and the Song developed river warfare into an art. This chapter also takes the opportunity to discuss some of the archaeological excavations of Song-dynasty river junks.

Chapter 6 begins with a description of how parts of Japan were utterly destroyed when the United States conducted its relentless bombings during World War II. After the Second World War, Japan began clearing the rubble and rebuilding. During the reconstruction, Japan began to rediscover its past after finding historical sites and artifacts. One of the most significant finds was a Mongol seal that gave archaeologists a substantial connection to Khubilai Khan's incursions into Japan. This chapter also expands on the discussion of trade between mainland China and Japan.

The following chapter describes Khubilai Khan's first invasion of Japan, which took place in 1274. The story begins with Khubilai Khan's attempt to subjugate the Japanese by negotiation, which ultimately failed. It is in this chapter that a very important historical document is introduced, "Moko Shurai Ekotoba," the Mongol Invasion Scrolls. The last part of the chapter describes the 1274 invasion and how the Mongols were initially successful. After several days

of fighting the Mongols returned to their vessels; the next morning the vessels were no longer there. The chapter concludes by explaining how the various sources give different reasons for the loss of the fleet, yet none seems to offer a definitive account.

The eighth chapter picks up the story after the 1274 invasion and Khubilai Khan's attempt to subdue the Japanese through political means. Again the Japanese refuse and prepare for another invasion. Khubilai Khan also prepared for war by creating a much larger armada with a greater number of troops. The second invasion took place in 1281, and this chapter describes the Mongols' success and difficulties. The 1281 invasion failed, and the historical records state a storm sank the armada. According to the Japanese, they again were saved by *kamikazi*.

The next chapter expands on the term *kamikazi* and its meaning to the Japanese, especially during the Second World War. It also delves into the establishment of modern Japan during the 20th century. The context of this chapter focuses primarily on the conflict with Russia and then the United States. Although this information is interesting, it deviates from the subject of the Mongol invasions. The book could have been strengthened with a greater emphasis on the archaeological evidence.

Chapter 10 changes modes and begins to focus on the archaeology. The chapter describes the story of Japan's founding father of underwater archaeology, Torao Mozai. Mozai is the scientist who developed the device to detect objects buried under the ocean floor. This chapter also introduces another important Japanese figure, Kenzo Hayashida, the archaeologist who is now

leading the excavations of Khubilai Khan's fleet at the island of Takashima.

The significance of chapter 11 is the introduction of America's leading archaeologist of Khubilai Khan's fleet, Randall Sasaki. Sasaki conducted several wood analyses at Takashima and attempted to determine where the recovered vessels had been built. His work has led some scholars to suggest the fleet may have been poorly constructed, existing vessels hastily repaired prior to the invasion, and the possibility of sabotage.

The last chapter goes beyond the invasion of Japan. The Mongols also tried to invade the Cham, Java, and Đai Viêt. The invasions failed, which overburdened Khubilai Khan's empire. The incursions may have been failures for the Great Khan, but if the related vessels could be found they would provide scholars with a great deal of knowledge regarding the history, the people, and the events that took place over 700 years ago.

This review hardly does justice to Delgado's book and his research. Although the book is not an in-depth detailed account of the archaeological or historical record, it is a fantastic overview of the historical events and the work conducted by archaeologists in Japan. The author brings together all the available resources and provides a very good overview of Khubilai Khan's onemissing fleet. The chapters are augmented with maps, black-and-white photos, and an extensive list of sources. James Delgado's experience as an underwater archaeologist and explorer makes this book quite intriguing and a worthwhile read.

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*The Early American Table*

Trudy Eden

Northern Illinois Press, DeKalb,  
2008. 203 pp., 17 illus. \$37.00 cloth.

Trudy Eden's examination of the sociocultural and political pressures influencing English colonial food choices provides unexpected insight into the minds of colonial diners. Europeans in the 17th and 18th centuries believed food was not only essential for physically sustaining the body; it was also essential in shaping the individual's moral character. The quality of the food consumed was directly responsible for balancing the health, moral consciousness, and social status of the individual consumer.

Eden argues that the quest for dietary balance, known to educated Englishmen as the golden mean, was the primary influence for food selection. The golden mean, based on the humoral theories of ancient philosophers, was a balance between hot, cold, wet, and dry. All foods were classified within one of these four categories. The health of the individual relied upon consumption of foods from the four categories to maintain, or when necessary, to shift the humoral balance of the body for optimal health. Eden explains the English tendency to shun plentiful quantities of low-status foods in favor of near-starvation rations of high-status foods as a conscious attempt to attain humoral balance and achieve the golden mean. The influence of ancient humoral theories was part of the cultural baggage elite Englishmen imported to the New World.

In addition to physical balance, Eden attributes achievement of the golden mean as a vital determinant of a person's virtue and social status. During the middle of the 17th century, individuals enjoying higher-quality diets considered themselves entitled to rule people eating lower-quality foods because superior diets established the golden mean, subsequently producing a character of the highest virtue. According to Eden, entitlement to rule based on the superior virtue of humoral balance persisted in English societies until humoral theories were replaced with modern scientific thought during the course

of the 18th century.

Eden uses two early American examples, William Byrd II and Cotton Mather, to illustrate the gradual transition from prescientific humoral theories to acceptance of modern scientific thinking. The shift in recognition of the body from a mysterious, humoral entity to a mechanical, scientific entity, coupled with the growing food supply available to all colonials, threatened the social status of elite Americans. Eden's skillful analysis of the notes and sermons of Mather reveals his preoccupation with the association between food, sin, and virtue. Mather believed strongly in the golden mean and the dietary balance necessary for food security and subsequent virtue. To confirm her theories on the strength of humoral thought in the 17th century, Eden draws on Mather's beliefs: that gluttony was a sin of quality, not of quantity (beginning with Eve's bite of the apple), that fasting and rigid dietary control were essential to obtaining Christian virtue, and that digestion was a part of a person's spirituality.

While Mather's actions were largely directed to teaching religion to sinners and warding off the evils of personal gluttony, William Byrd's references to humoral management were of a personal nature. As a member of the elite Byrd enjoyed the dual luxuries of superior-quality food and the leisure time sufficient for rigid scheduling of diet and activity. Eden devotes several pages to William Byrd and his detailed activities, relying on Byrd's preoccupation with balance to support her theories on the colonial quest for the golden mean. Byrd's diaries were unique because they span a period of over 35 years, a period which ran parallel to the shift from humoral to scientific thought. Throughout Byrd's journals, his comments on mundane daily activities and the consequences (or lack thereof) resulting from the consumption of particular foods reflected the progressive changes related to food in colonial society.

Eden contrasts the health-related, humoral concerns of the 17th century with the new golden mean of the 18th century—social status and its relation to food consumption among the elite. Eden uses Alexander Hamilton's notes on the Tuesday Club to illustrate evolving colonial

perceptions on the relationship between food and social status. The Tuesday Club, a men's club active in the middle of the 18th century, established rules regarding refreshments served during club meetings. Each member hosted the meeting in turn and was expected to provide one (and only one) appropriate dish for refreshment of the members. Controversy over the quality of the food offered by members hosting the meetings was frequent. Members considered some foods too simple, as in the case of hominy or cheese dishes, while other foods, a lavishly iced cake for example, were considered too rich. The members felt the consumption of both simple and lavish foods endangered the balance required to maintain the golden mean and its resultant virtue, virtue which ultimately set the elite apart socially from the common man.

*The Early American Table* chronicles the changing perceptions of colonials as the humoral theories of body image, health, and food gave way to the emergence of scientific thought during

the late 17th and early 18th centuries. Successful agricultural production, coupled with the addition of selected native foods to traditional English foodways, significantly increased the available food supply in colonial America. Eden insists the amount and quality of available food was responsible for the changing power base in the colonies, enabling a rapidly growing middle class of yeoman farmers to challenge the authority of elite rule. Her interpretation of the changing American food supply and its effect on the upper class is a unique approach to food history. Her selections of Mather, Byrd, and Hamilton and their documentation of food in America were good choices to represent her thesis. Her book is well written and easy to read.

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*Crossroads and Cosmologies:  
Diaspora and Ethnogenesis  
in the New World*

Christopher C. Fennell

University of Florida Press,  
Tallahassee, 2007. 170 pp., 5 b&w  
photos, 11 illus., 3 maps. \$59.95  
cloth.

In *Crossroads and Cosmologies: Diaspora and Ethnogenesis in the New World*, Fennell presents an interpretive model that is useful to many scholars of the African diaspora by simply asking how best to interpret a small clay artifact found while investigating a log cabin site in Loudoun County, Virginia. For archaeologists who work within the African Americas the interpretation of how African belief systems were translated or changed within New World settings has long been a topic of interest. A small clay figurine, found underneath a Loudoun County log cabin, is shown to have the *potential* to reflect either African (BaKongo) or European American (German) belief systems. In addressing which cultural groups are represented Fennell presents a refreshing and thoughtful examination of how historical archaeologists can better interpret religious and symbolic meaning.

In chapter 2 Fennell begins by exploring the history of a European American family of German heritage which first leased and then owned land in Loudoun County, Virginia at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries. In the course of conducting archaeological investigations the interpretation of one found object becomes the central focus for the chapters to follow.

Specifically, a clay skull with raised lettering on the back is found buried under the floorboards of a cabin owned by the Demory family. According to Fennell this cabin could have been occupied by a member of the Demory family, or possibly been the home for one of the family slaves, though only a small number of enslaved persons worked for the Demory's at this time. A number of possibilities are then presented for the interpretation of the skull artifact, and these

range from an object of African American religious symbolism, such as the variety of objects on which "X" marks were placed, to one more reflective of European American practices. In subsequent chapters Fennell explores the interpretation of this single artifact, but the central focus of the text moves from that of a single archaeological site to methodology and uncovering the best way for diasporic scholars to interpret religious and other symbolic belief systems from material remains.

Fennell implores readers to address the interpretation of belief systems within cultures through the sophisticated lens or concept of "ethnogenic bricolage." Building on the famous works of Claude Lévi-Strauss, Fennell's ethnogenic bricolage examines how the interaction of individuals from diverse social backgrounds works to create new symbolic and expressive forms and cultural practices. In chapters 3 and 4 Fennell moves to a concise and thoughtful discussion concerning the key concepts of core symbolism, ethnohistoric analogy, emblematic versus instrumental forms of communication, and ultimately the creation of a predictive model to interpret the confluence of diverse African cultures and social systems in the New World. Central to this methodology is the consideration of core symbols and what form along a spectrum social practices can take, ranging from those designed for individual or private (instrumental) use to those reflecting public or group behaviors (emblematic). Through core symbols, cultural groups are said to express fundamental principles of group identity and cosmological beliefs. When looking at iterations of core symbols, Fennell seeks to identify how new symbology might develop from the interaction of multiple cultural groups within diasporic settings. Exploring how belief systems change over time, what is emphasized here is how behaviors reflect not simply older, static belief systems transplanted from unspecified African cultures, but a detailed model of how new dynamic symbolic systems are created, depending on context and multiple lines of evidence.

In chapter 5 Fennell explores artifacts that reflect fundamental aspects of group identity and belief systems within a number of New World

settings. Discussion focuses not only on the Demory site but also sites in Maryland, Texas, Cuba, Haiti, and Brazil. In chapter 6 Fennel presents a detailed history of Germanic belief systems and analyzes the applicability of these to the interpretation of the Demory site and the previously mentioned clay skull artifact. In doing so a predictive model is developed, based on the context within which the artifact in question was found. Was the artifact reflective of a specific African cultural belief system? If so, could other objects be found which also reflect specific African cosmological belief systems? Does historic documentation show whether the cultural group alluded to was known to have resided in the geographic area of the archaeological site under examination? Fennel's key contributions here are twofold and can be seen in a willingness to explore the complex methods with which multiple social groups meaningfully interact and change over time, along with consideration of whether the behavior in question was intended for private or public consumption.

When a diverse range of cultural groups from Africa found themselves situated in locales such

as Haiti, Brazil, Virginia, or any number of other settings within the New World, old cultural groups may not have survived as they had been, but would form new dynamic forms of symbolic communication, both in public and private spaces. In turn this would lead to the creation of newer social networks that would then be passed on to succeeding generations. In examining this process—"ethnogenic bricolage"—both professors and students of anthropology and beyond may find themselves exploring old and new archaeological sites with a different set of eyes, looking at items of religious and ritual significance in new ways. The book then would certainly be a welcome addition to any upper-level undergraduate or graduate class, and it would definitely appeal to scholars whose interests lie in the interpretation of symbolic interactions among African diasporic peoples in the New World.

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*The Archaeology of North American Farmsteads*

Mark D. Groover

University Press of Florida,  
Gainesville, 2008. 160 pp., illus.,  
index. \$24.95 paper.

This slim volume will prove invaluable to professionals pondering the archaeological significance of America's farmsteads, one of the country's more ubiquitous historic property types. Varied research questions, multiple analytical scales, interesting analytical methods, and regional and temporal farmstead variation are addressed in the context of academic research and cultural resource management (CRM) assessment. Groover's book will be a useful supplemental teaching text, and students will find the case studies informative. This book does not purport to cover all regions of the United States or all types of agrarian sites. For the regions and time periods discussed there is a wealth of comparative information on farmsteads.

Farmstead archaeology is a burgeoning field in historical archaeology, in part because, as Groover writes, there are "thousands" (millions) of agrarian homestead sites across the landscape. Groover's goal is to illustrate to students and professionals possible ways to frame site-specific, regional, and even national research questions. He offers up case studies and iterates throughout that there are myriad additional questions that can be asked and methods that can be applied in this field. He sees that the "challenge for historical archaeologists is to systematically define the range of material characteristics and conditions that rural farm families experienced" over time and space (p. 10). He addresses broad cultural processes of industrialization, migration, consumerism, colonization, and modernization, and how they are differentially expressed at the regional and local levels. He hopes to stimulate formation of a structured network of farmstead specialists to exchange data and theories, paralleling dynamic plantation and African diaspora archaeology interchanges.

Groover addresses the biggest challenge for advocates of farmstead archaeology in the realm of CRM and research—their great numbers and the fact that many farmstead sites date from the 20th century. He uses census data to mark numerical trends in U.S. farms. A basic figure shows the number of farmsteads peaking at the turn of the 20th century. Groover notes this process is in itself worthy of study. It underlines the rise of corporate farms at the expense of family ones as well as demonstrating the influence of 20th-century urbanization and migration patterns on rural culture. After introducing the case studies, Groover describes and compares their respective material trends, landscape changes, and household lifecycles. Three regions are investigated: the Northeast, Southeast, and Midwest; and three time periods within each region: colonial, antebellum/federal, and postbellum/20th century. Substantive questions are asked in each of the case studies, and interesting cultural parallels and differences are found. Groover is unapologetic about this cultural history and cultural region organizational scheme, as he finds it quite useful.

Chapter 2 provides a thorough overview of past and present farmstead archaeology research topics. Groover discusses the maturation of studies such as those focusing on socioeconomic factors, portable material culture, and landscape. He explains how simplistic notions about the relationship of wealth and agrarian material culture display have been dispelled in the decades since the 1980s. Groover also discusses the foci of various kinds of investigations such as socioeconomics, with questions centering on the interaction of economic position (poverty, middling income, wealth), tenure (laborer, tenant, renter, owner), race or ethnicity (African American, European American, Native American, mixed), and their varying expression in settlement pattern, architecture, midden, and portable material culture. This chapter has a straightforward summation of potential primary documents to aid potential researchers. It also has a nice section on basic CRM procedures, especially in light of significance determinations at the site and



district levels. He emphasizes that sites have to be judged within a research agenda but also in light of their physical condition, rarity, and other archaeological qualities.

A research design guides creation of contexts and subsequent significance determinations. Research designs also are necessary for long-term academic research programs. Research design and context, Groover argues in chapter 2, is provided by taking a number of key steps. He begins by using world systems theory as a theme connecting farmsteads to broad socioeconomic processes such as colonization. He recommends developing a detailed, regional-specific historic context. Historic contexts are constructed from geographical, archaeological, and historical sources outlining major regional trends. He mentions that state historic preservation offices often have partial or completed contexts (he calls them a synthesis) for their state regions. Regional cultural and archaeological data are aids in developing pertinent site-specific questions and interpretation. Groover advocates that regional analysts consider cultural and economic processes such as mercantilism transformations to capitalism, as occurring at “medium-scale time” (p. 20). Long scale must be along the lines of prehistoric farming. Archaeologists use a multiscaled analysis of the farmstead, area, and region, and consider results in light of events and time scales. In a smaller scope, he reminds researchers that different types of crops and livestock often required specialized outbuildings,

lot layouts, and landuse and labor patterns. Region, time, household lifecycle, wealth, tenure type, gender, personal tastes, and other factors also influence archaeological site signatures.

The case studies explored in chapters 3 through 5 are varied and detailed enough to be interesting. The figures are simple but clear, and archaeological descriptions easy to follow. Before discussing individual farmsteads Groover provides a rich discussion of broad patterns of time-specific traits, such as architectural styles and primary consumption patterns. Groover draws attention to the uniqueness of many of the farms and their inhabitants while at the same time illuminating regional themes and commonalities. For example, he compares and contrasts colonial midwestern French farmers and their lots to English patterns at Kingsmill in Virginia. It is an effective demonstration of the approach he advocates. Groover showcases other archaeologists’ research designs and successful projects as well as his own. In the last chapter Groover reiterates major points. He does tend to repeat himself throughout the book, but most will find it a useful tactic. He effectively illustrates that farmsteads are cultural resources that should continue to be investigated in historical archaeology.

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*Earthquakes and Tsunamis in the Past: A Guide to Techniques in Historical Seismology*

Emanuela Guidoboni and

John E. Ebel

Cambridge University Press,  
Cambridge, UK, 2009. 602 pp.,  
140 b&w illus. \$160.00 cloth.

*Earthquakes and Tsunamis in the Past* promises to guide the researcher through a multidisciplinary web of methods and sources that situate seismic and tsunamigenic events and effects within their human and historical contexts. Guidoboni and Ebel describe the discipline of historical seismology to serve an intersecting audience: scientists who benefit from knowledge of historical earthquakes and tsunamis and their effects, and historians who wish to understand these phenomena and their effect on the societies they study. Approaching multidisciplinary questions is a job of reciprocal translation. As the authors clearly explain, historical seismology translates seismological questions into historiographical questions, finds answers, and then translates the results back into seismological terms. The authors deliver a rich body of work that weaves together theoretical concepts with illustrated case studies, primarily from Europe but also from North Africa, the Middle East, central Asia, and the Americas.

The guide is divided into three sections, making it particularly useful as a reference text. In part 1 (chaps. 1 and 2) the authors address the defining boundaries of historical seismology, its history, and the key conceptual frameworks that highlight the value of the research approach: its multidisciplinary, the repeatability of its process, and the particularity of regional contexts that it considers. The significance of the field is outlined for both historical and scientific objectives. Here the authors make a point to avoid technical language in order to establish a common set of concepts and definitions. Part 2 (chaps. 3–7) addresses issues concerning the interpretation of historical earthquake and tsunami data.

This section begins with an overview of written source types that contain references to seismic phenomena, using detailed and specific examples to discuss the methods and hermeneutic rules of the historical discipline. Examples also demonstrate the methodology used to extract data for seismological questions. A discussion of scientific sources outlines different understandings of earthquake and tsunami phenomena from the ancient world to modern theories, thus setting a changing scene in which facts were recorded historically. Other types of sources that are discussed in this section are cartography, iconography, photography, and films; as well as oral, ethnographic, and anthropological sources. This section brings our attention to two aspects of utmost importance in historical understandings of events in the past: the usage of silences and negative facts, and issues of chronology and duration. A detailed review of different cultural dating styles and concepts of time closes this section, but this topic recurs throughout the guide as needed. Part 3 (chaps. 8–13) offers practical guidelines for the analysis of historical earthquake data, providing more concrete examples for the application of the methodologies introduced. Case studies reviewed are also aimed at answering specific seismic questions. The authors provide guidance for the processing of historical records through historical validation. A chapter is dedicated to the process that creates historical seismic data, demonstrating the construction of scenarios from different sources. This analysis encourages a consideration of a wider range of factors in the construction of scenarios: human impact, associated technological developments, and the effects of phenomena on the natural environment, among others. Archaeology is specifically addressed in chapter 11, as a way to widen the chronological window through which earthquake observations are obtained, discussing the traces of earthquakes in archaeological sites and in monuments. The final chapter addresses how to derive earthquake source, shaking, and tsunami parameters from historical data. A glossary and bibliographical summary appendices further strengthen this text as a reference manual and guide for historical seismologists, as well as cultural heritage managers, archaeologists,

anthropologists, and geographers interested in a holistic approach to these natural phenomena.

One of the few weaknesses of *Earthquakes and Tsunamis in the Past* is an ambitious but uneasy inclusion of nonfactual sources from the past in a framework that seeks to provide rational facts for scientific objectives. For example, the integration of oral and ethnographic sources within a methodology that strives for a separation of scientific fact, history, and memory risks the marginalization of local understandings of earthquakes and tsunamis, although the authors show awareness of their value as indicators of local perception. Those working on different aspects of the materiality of disasters will also find these sources unfairly judged. Buildings and ruins as witnesses and transmitters of causality have a role to play in the making of historical "facts," and in the effective translation and sustainable implementation of seismic facts into policy and education.

Guidoboni and Ebel put together a valuable tool that is able to see researchers through the process that validates historical qualitative data as authentic and authoritative data for use in scientifically oriented research. The geographical area considered through case studies is broad but not globally comprehensive. The studies

provide encouraging guidance for carrying out comparable research to contribute to the completion of regional earthquake catalogues, however. Earthquakes and tsunamis have strongly affected human societies in the past and are still a particularly relevant concern in need of further understanding in contemporary and historical contexts. For such a specialized topic, this volume preserves a high degree of versatility, thoroughly reviewing a wide range of types of archival sources for their strengths and weaknesses, and offering experienced advice for the treatment of each type of source. The authors adequately consider issues of chronology and dating in every section, particularly the issue of contemporaneity, which cannot always be rigidly applied for this type of data. By integrating theory and practice inseparably, this guide builds a gradual understanding of concepts, incorporating an awareness of caveats for completing a research plan with confidence.

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*The Native American World Beyond  
Apalachee: West Florida and the  
Chattahoochee Valley*

John H. Hann

University Press of Florida,  
Gainesville, 2006. 250 pp., 2 figs.,  
index. \$55.00 cloth.

Unstable is the most benign way to describe the way of life of Native Americans inhabiting that sliver of land between the Red Hills of Apalachee and the Gulf of Mexico between the late 16th century and the early 18th. Violent, volatile, and precarious also equally apply. The first 200 years of European contact were not kind to these people of the Gulf Coast and coastal plain even though they were beyond the population centers that held major Spanish interest. These people on the margins of contact were to find out that the push and pull of the contact dynamic often spilled over into their territories, immersing them in a world in which it was not possible to stay neutral or on the edge. Some of these people, as historian John Hann amply demonstrates, emerge as Lower Creeks and become central to the history of European and ultimately American relations with the Native Americans of the Southeast. Hann, like no scholar before, tells this story using an array of Spanish documents, and in so doing also elucidates the cultural histories of lesser known groups of West Florida, including (in one chapter) the Amacano, Chine, Chacato, and Pacara, reserving entire chapters for the Chisca, Pensacola, and Apalachicola tribes. Although linguistically and culturally distinct, all groups shared a similar trajectory in their relations with the Spanish. After initial acceptance and seeming acquiescence in Spanish influence, usually extended in the person of a priest, unresolved tensions erupted into violence directed at the person or the system, but inevitably resulting in an escalating Spanish show of force to put down the militant natives. By the early 18th century, French and British mercantile interests had entered the scene, the latter setting into motion the disastrous chain of events culminating

in the Yamasee War, the repercussions of which form the climax of this volume and Hann's penultimate chapter.

Hann takes us through the history of this world with great care, paying much attention to the details of Native American life while also clearly (to the extent possible) tracing the shifts in political alliances and cultural identities that shaped native responses to the European presence. For the scholar of the Southeast, the coverage of the individual groups is Swantonian in scope, but with an anthropological richness and concern for historical process that Swanton lacked. Hann is interested in interaction more than classification. He is very fair in his appraisal of the works of others, most of whom are not of his caliber, and lays out an even review of the literature. Through this it becomes clear that the scholarly bias toward Anglo documentary sources has seriously shortchanged the cultural history of West Florida and the Chattahoochee Valley, which Hann's un-Swantonlike slim volume, based on Spanish archival documents, now rectifies. Hann also eagerly wades into the archaeological literature, showing himself capable of understanding the nuances of archaeological debate (often times mystifying to the outsider) and reaching original conclusions. His discussion of the archaeological evidence of population collapse and its consequences (pp. 16–20) is a fine example of Hann's scholarly agility and sensitivity to archaeological perspectives. He synthesizes the various archaeological scenarios to propose that native chiefdoms existed in this region prior to Spanish contact, and experienced cycles of population replacement and in situ development.

There are a few minor quibbles, probably of concern only to the hyperspecialist. The Lamar mounds site is within the jurisdiction of the Ocmulgee National Monument but is geographically separate from the main (visitor-accessible) mound complex, which is not the impression given on page 15. When discussing the unknown location of the early-18th-century Capoli mission on page 26, why not mention that Bartram, in the latter part of that century, describes riding through the fields of Capola on his short loop west of the Suwannee River after crossing above the

Seminole town of Talahasochte? Doing so could place the Chine mission farther south and east than is supposed. These small concerns do not detract from the high quality of the overall presentation. Hann succeeds in showing that the interactions between native peoples and European presences in this small, neglected, and little-known area are a microcosm of the larger cultural dynamics pervading the colonial world. The detail provided in Hann's account brings the story alive and makes it a good read. Upon being attacked by armed, Spanish-supported Apalachee warriors, Chisca archers let loose a volley of arrows described as being so dense that "it looked like very thick smoke" (p. 62). A Spanish Mexican expedition in 1693 finds cardinal- and turkey-feathered headdresses at an abandoned Pensacola campsite, along with buckskin bags stuffed with buffalo hair (p. 74). Several Apalachicola illnesses

treated by medicinal herbs are described, one of which is translated by Hann to mean "lockjaw" (p. 94). Through the careful, dramatic use of detail, the presentation strikes an effective balance between narrative and analysis.

This volume is a worthy addition to John Hann's masterful pantheon of works on the Florida Indians of the historic period. For anyone interested in the historical archaeology of this time and place, this work and Hann's others are indispensable as guides, references, and in providing a sense of the big picture. The Native Americans in the world beyond Apalachee live again through the words of this scholar.

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## *Memory and Material Culture*

Andrew Jones

Cambridge University Press,  
Cambridge, UK, 2007. 272 pp., 38  
b&w illus. \$25.95 paper.

Human memory constantly runs up against physical limitations, hence the development and elaboration of technical means of memory storage like stone tablets, photographs, and computers. This understanding of artifacts as aids to human memory, and its attendant metaphor of memory as the means by which people store and retrieve important symbolic information, is increasingly being questioned within archaeology and related disciplines due to its modernist assumptions of a rigid distinction between mind, body, and world, and the supplementary role it assigns material culture. In *Memory and Material Culture*, Andrew Jones offers an extensive meditation on these points. He crafts a compelling argument that memories are best understood as emergent from interactions between people and objects. Rather than imprinted on things, memory is performed through social and material practices.

The book is divided into two broad sections. The first, comprising chapters 1 through 4, examines how memory is understood popularly and in different disciplines, and sketches ways that memory can be studied archaeologically. The second section, chapters 5 through 10, advances the groundwork laid earlier by applying the concepts to brief case studies from Neolithic and Bronze Age Europe, particularly Scotland, where the author has conducted most of his fieldwork.

In chapter 1, Jones establishes that memory can be accessible archaeologically. This first requires a demolishing of the folk understanding of memory as a storage device. As alluded to, this rests on an artificial separation of the mind, body, and world. Collapsing this separation puts the physicality of objects (the world) and the corporeal human (the body) on equal footing with the mind. Things and actions are as important as thoughts—so rather than memory per se, it is practices of remembrance with which Jones concerns himself. The point

that materiality and embodied action are key to memory is fundamental—it underpins the entire book and opens practices of remembrance to archaeological investigation. Jones returns to this point and expands upon it in chapter 5, with a more in-depth study of house and settlement forms in the European Neolithic.

Chapter 2 develops the practical and material aspects of memory further by examining commemoration as materially grounded social practice that connects people to each other, to time, and to physical objects. In doing so, he goes beyond a simple equation of durability=remembering and destruction=forgetting. Foregrounding practice forces one to question context and action—breaking or hiding things does not necessarily mean those things are not actively involved in social practices of remembrance, a point he extends in chapter 7 through case studies of the deposition of pottery and metals in early Bronze Age Scotland. In chapter 3, Jones turns to temporality, arguing that social practices of remembrance also help people index time, and that differences in the temporality of the performance of an action have a significant impact on how material culture shapes remembrance.

Chapter 4 lays out a critique of normative views of culture in favor of an open-ended model in which cultural difference is indicated not by changes in artifact forms but by changing uses of artifacts in cultural practices. Jones does a useful job of extending Judith Butler's writing on citation to material culture, making the point that material and social practices always draw on previous ones to a greater or lesser degree. To understand the "context" of a practice one must pay attention to the different threads of influence that helped shape it. The critical connection to Jones's thesis—which is developed well but could be stated more forcefully—is that memory thus plays a vital role in cultural production, as the acts of citation that comprise social and material practices both create and draw upon memories through their performance. Jones returns to this point in chapter 6, where he discusses Beaker and Grooved wares as components of citational networks. In short, he argues that the ways that people in the European Neolithic produced, used,

and deposited the two ware types are different not because the wares “reflect” different groups but because in producing the wares people in different places were citing cultural practices with different histories.

Chapters 8 and 9 deal with issues of memory and inscription through case studies of rock art and artifact decoration. Commemoration, Jones argues, also takes place through practices of inscription and artistry, which simultaneously serve to connect people, landscapes, and time.

Throughout *Memory and Material Culture*, Jones argues convincingly that a consideration

of memory is not only possible in archaeology, but also is necessary in that it forces one to re-evaluate heuristic categories in favor of contextual analysis of the embodied, material citations present in artifact forms. It is an engaging and challenging work that should inspire much thought and discussion, and is a welcome addition to the archaeological literature on memory.

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*The Seneca Restoration, 1715–1754:  
An Iroquois Political Economy*

Kurt A. Jordan

University of Florida Press,  
Tallahassee, 2008. 424 pp., 37 b&w  
illus. \$69.95 cloth.

In *The Seneca Restoration, 1715–1754: An Iroquois Local Political Economy*, Kurt A. Jordan demonstrates that Iroquois culture did not decline, as many archaeologists, anthropologists, and historians have argued previously. Jordan also proposes that the political and economic arrangements the Iroquois entered into with Europeans and other Native American tribes were designed strategies that fostered a rebound in Iroquoian population and power, following steep declines in numbers and political clout due to the conflicts and epidemics of the late 17th century.

In chapters 1, 3, and 10, Jordan offers a thorough critique of the regional treatment that historians have given the 18th-century Iroquois, noting that these generalizations are often contradictory. In this critique, he suggests that scholars have used the Mohawk situation as a general model for the period even though it may not be valid throughout Iroquoia. From this extensive literature review and historical analysis, Jordan develops three hypotheses about 18th-century Iroquois settlement patterns, and he uses the archaeological record to test whether settlements were nucleated, dispersed across the landscape, or if both patterns are visible. Jordan also contends that archaeological remains from the Townley-Read site show that European goods and housing style elements were incorporated into Iroquoian communities in ways that did not compromise established cultural traditions.

Jordan demonstrates archaeologically that dispersed settlement patterns existed in Seneca territory, and the Seneca maintained many of their traditional lifeways in spite of contact with, and the influence of different European groups. In chapter 5, Jordan provides minutely detailed site descriptions and an enumeration of material culture finds that indicate that European trade goods played a limited role in 18th-century Seneca

domestic life. Jordan identifies an assortment of glass beads, a few ball-clay pipe fragments, a handful of nails, brass or copper kettle fragments, and a few pieces of European ceramics as the diagnostic artifacts that date the Townley-Read site to the 18th century (pp. 157–160). These finds tended to come from the same archaeological contexts as native shell beads, traditional food remains, and copper and brass that had been refashioned into native adornment objects and tools (pp. 137, 147, 150). A few handfuls of European goods and a dispersed settlement pattern suggest that during this timeframe the Seneca were not reliant on Europeans for either survival needs or defense, and the faunal assemblage implies local villages were still very active in the fur trade, though deer skins had apparently become more important than beaver (pp. 298–299). This evidence directly contradicts historians who have situated the Iroquois as unfortunate middlemen who had fallen victim to the iniquities of colonialism. Instead, it shows that the Seneca and Mohawk situations differed, and it demonstrates that the Seneca incorporated European goods into their domestic life by adding them to their own material world instead of developing an exclusive reliance on them. It also suggests that the Seneca chose to position themselves as middlemen so they could play the colonial powers off one another and maintain their position in the western fur trade. In Jordan's estimation, the Seneca machinated neutrality and played it for all it was worth to situate themselves as a social force on the late colonial frontier and promote their own prosperity.

Jordan resituates the 18th-century Iroquoian political economy by analyzing house styles, food procurement, trade good production, and gendered divisions of labor across time periods that extend well beyond the 1715–1754 timeframe in the title. This provides a long-term examination of continuities and changes in Iroquoian culture that eventually led to the emergence of creolized lifeways. It provides a chronological description of how the Seneca gradually adopted European lifeways that fit their needs, adapting European material culture and practices to fit their cultural milieu. For example, chapters 8



and 9 chronicle structural changes in longhouses that ranged from adopting functional European hardware and door designs in the late 17th century, to shifts towards shorter houses during the 18th century, which may mark the emergence of creolized or intercultural lifeways. European farm animals worked their way into Seneca life much more slowly, however, and did not play a large part in Seneca agriculture or foodways at Townley-Read (pp. 292–297). Additionally, Jordan suggests that culture change among the Seneca should be viewed as a convergence and entanglement of European and Native American lifeways that challenge previous scholarly claims of acculturation and cultural absorption (pp. 276–277, 352–356). Instead, Jordan repositions these processes as a series of cultural entanglements that allowed each Iroquoian tribe to determine a course of action that suited its unique needs within the colonial context.

Kurt Jordan provides a long overdue and thorough reinterpretation of 18th-century Iroquoian history. He successfully situates the Iroquois as active agents in directing their own destiny, and he drives home the point that scholars cannot take a single Iroquois tribe and use it as a model for what happened throughout Iroquoia during the colonial period. Instead, Jordan skillfully demonstrates that the Seneca and Mohawk situations differed greatly due to varying levels of European contact, settlement, and directed programmatic

cultural change (pp. 276, 317–326, 354–356).

Critically, however, Jordan's argument is not very concise, and the book is aimed at an almost exclusively archaeological audience even though the topic might appeal to those who study history, Native American cultures, or even colonialism in general. Laypeople, undergraduates, and nonarchaeologists will have difficulty with this book because it is so heavily laden with archaeological theory, methodology, and jargon. Jordan's thesis, data, and conclusions are highly relevant to all fields that address Native American cultural and historical issues because he provides an investigative framework and a material basis for resituating the history of the Iroquois restoration as a social process that each Iroquois tribe negotiated in its own way. The presentation limits the impact this book will have on reshaping the ways nonarchaeological scholars approach Iroquois history, however, unless they focus only on the findings and interpretations sections. Plain and simple—nonarchaeologists will find this book a “hard read,” while archaeologists will and should applaud Jordan for his meticulous thoroughness and his culturally sensitive approach.

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*Taíno Indian Myth and Practice:  
The Arrival of the Stranger King*  
William F. Keegan

University Press of Florida,  
Gainesville, 2007. 256 pp., illus.,  
tables, gloss., index. \$39.95 cloth.

This is an interesting work which seeks to combine archaeology, history, and ethnography. In itself this aim is to be applauded under any circumstances, since it is clear that the viability of much archaeometric work relies on an interpretive context that needs to integrate these kinds of information more thoroughly wherever possible. In this sense the work by William F. Keegan is exemplary. For such exercises to be useful and convincing to anthropological audiences, however, they need to meet a high standard of scholarly precision and conscientiousness, and on this score the work is less successful.

The overarching framework for Keegan's interpretation of the early materials relating to Hispaniola, other Caribbean islands, and the Bahamas is derived directly from Marshall Sahlins's influential 1980s work on the death of Captain Cook at the hands of the Hawaiians. In those publications the concept of "mytho-praxis" was developed to show that there could be very divergent cultural understandings of the "same" event, resulting in actions and practices that would be largely opaque to the antagonists. This notion, disputed, elaborated, and refined in various ways in subsequent anthropological discussions, is now a standard operating assumption for most historical, ethnographic, and archaeological anthropologists. The point, however, is to tie such forms of mytho-praxis to their material and conceptual traces through the recovery of artifacts, texts, and lived practices.

The author certainly appreciates the potential and complexity of this approach, but rather than refining our appreciation of the Caribbean and South American materials, Keegan uses the opportunity to stake out a new theoretical terrain for archaeologists in which a form of "chaos theory" is deployed to resolve interpretive ambiguities. In this scheme culture is like

a "cloud" (p. 14), which follows climatological rules but is not strictly predictable as to form or behavior. So too, hermeneutic strategies are to be considered as essentially literary choices for which our empirical base is usually so deficient that "our palette is always incomplete" (p. 15). This led the author to the conclusion that "it may be more accurate to write this book as a play" (p. 16). Certainly one should applaud the attempt to render accessible different cultural and historical worlds through any medium, but a persistent conflation of the various possible media—art, literature, scholarship—as repeatedly occurs in this work, serves only to obscure rather than clarify the issues at hand. When it is claimed of a script segment from *Monty Python and the Holy Grail* that "nothing in the anthropological literature ... captures the philosophical essence of human agency in such pure form" (p. 92), one doubts not only the theoretical credibility of such an approach but also the culture theory that informs it.

As a result, a number of key issues remain unresolved by this author, and so any convincing integration of materials and their reinterpretation still remains to be done. Keegan suggests that one of the caciques of Hispaniola at the time of first contacts, Caonabó, was in fact from the Bahamas. In this way his status as an "outsider" made him a "stranger-king," and invoking the example of Sahlins working of this mythical motif, Keegan aims to reveal facets of indigenous myth, history, and practice towards the Europeans which can "explain" aspects of the archaeological and historical record better than existing models.

Unfortunately, this line of interpretation relies on a reading of historical sources and archaeological sites that is at best highly imaginative and at worst quite fallacious. Part of the problem is that the author ignores substantial elements of the existing literature, such as the seminal work by Jalil Sued-Badillo or Peter Hulme, but perhaps more telling is that by his own admission the author cannot read Spanish (p. 18). Unsurprisingly then, Keegan goes on to misinterpret or misunderstand much of the nuance and critical detail of the early Spanish chroniclers with regard to the categories of "caribe," "lucaya,"

or “taíno,” the latter term actually not appearing until the 19th century!

For example, in trying to establish that Caonabó was a “Lucayan” (i.e., from the Bahamas), the author acknowledges that the Spanish sources are themselves ambivalent and unclear as to the significance of his simultaneous identification of Caonabó as a “caribe.” Keegan represents this issue as one of deciding the relative credibility of writings of Bartolomé de las Casa over those of Pedro Martyr, rather than looking at the variation in the meanings of “lucaya” as well as of “caribe.” In this light the term “lucaya” might be as plausibly connected to “Loquo,” the name of the progenitor of both the Lokono of the continent and the “caribes” of the Lesser Antilles. Likewise, the archaeological materials presented from the Bahamas to substantiate the claim that this was the childhood residence of Caonabó seem very thin indeed, giving no indication of any more particular or systemic relations with

Hispaniola than any of the other Caribbean islands. Although all these kinds of speculation are usually preceded by the author’s own caveats as to how much of a “huge assumption” (p. 52) is being made, this leaves the reader wondering why we are being asked to share in them. Thought-provoking possibilities do not amount to scholarly discourse, and although this work is certainly overflowing with creative speculations on the nature of Caribbean societies in the late 15th century, this does little to improve the more relevant anthropological project of recovering other pasts and understanding their continuing importance to the academic discipline of anthropology and the peoples of the Caribbean it hopes to represent more equitably.

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## *The Horse in Human History*

Pita Kelekna

Cambridge University Press,  
Cambridge, UK, 2009. 476 pp., 38  
b&w illus., 5 maps. \$95.00 cloth.

It took an expert in the horseless societies of the pre-Columbian Americas to recognize and describe the pervasive importance of the horse. Pita Kelekna does just that in *The Horse in Human History*. Kelekna follows the long sweep of horse/human history tracing the spread of equestrian cultures across the Eurasian landmass. Kelekna introduces readers to the equid family and reviews the evidence surrounding its early contacts with humans. Details of these prehistoric contacts remain shrouded in mystery. Kelekna wisely avoids drawing conclusions on the exact place or time for the start of such important trends as the horse's domestication or the beginning of regular horseback riding. Kelekna does find a strong link between the increased use of horses in human society and an increase in the speed and intensity of all types of human interactions.

Kelekna concludes that the rise of the horse in human society served to increase dramatically the intensity and frequency of the exchange of ideas. *The Horse in Human History* explains that the spread of both the Indo-European and Altai language categories would not have been as swift or successful without horses to carry them. Whether through trade or warfare, the speakers of these languages were able to expand their geographical ranges to the extent they did because of their equestrian culture.

Drawing from a variety of sources, Kelekna documents that horses occupied a common position in religious observances among the steppe peoples and through Europe and the Mediterranean world. Throughout the Eurasian landmass, many religions associated the horse with the sun, rebirth, and renewal. Ancient steppe religion emphasized renewal and rebirth through its architecture. Indo-European religions associated the horse with the sun, as illustrated by the Trundholm chariot figurine from Denmark and the *Kesselwagen* from Austria. Rebirth and

renewal linked with the sun's rising and setting was featured in cult practices in Indo-European societies. One example Kelekna gives, which involves horse sacrifice by a political leader, demonstrates this link between horse/sun and rebirth/renewal across time and space. She notes similar sacrificial rites practiced in ancient India and as late as early historic Scotland/Ireland. This commonality, Kelekna concludes, is based on the interactions and dialogues among peoples occurring as a result of the increased intensity of contact made possible by the horse. A final example, most familiar to the majority of readers, is the spread by horsemen of the modern belief systems of Islam and Buddhism. These more recent and obvious cases serve to show vividly the impact of the horse on the success and speed by which religious ideas might be transmitted.

As occurred with religious practices, so science and mathematics were able to benefit from more intense and frequent contacts among peoples. The innovation of the number zero might not have been possible without the importation of the idea of a "placeholder" character from India. The horse prompted people to improve upon an even earlier innovation: the wheel. Multiple civilizations tweaked the wheel to improve equestrian motive ability. Ultimately though, it was the horse collar, first developed in China, that harnessed the horse's potential power and speed to pull weight. This item proved an exception, as it did not reach the West until several hundred years after its utilization in China. Kelekna argues that once it finally did arrive Europeans experienced a minor agricultural revolution.

Trade received obvious benefits from the increased motive power that horses provided. What are not obvious, but carefully described by Kelekna, are the unforeseen consequences to trade of the introduction of horses and horse-based societies. Desire for less-expensive trade routes ultimately returned the horse to the Americas. Under Mongol control the vast network of roads that made up the Silk Road provided safe and efficient overland, transcontinental travel. The Silk Road boasted guards as well as rest areas offering food, lodging, and fresh mounts. Islamic kingdoms that rose to prominence in

the medieval period blocked western European traders from reaching the Silk Road, however. Western European traders then took to the sea in an attempt to reach Asia without going around Africa. Spanish ships and Spanish horses reached the Americas while traders were searching for Asia. The connection between trade and conflict impacted Europe's decision to venture across the Atlantic immensely. Use of the horse in such conflicts and their resolutions seemed mandatory.

Horses and chariot warfare feature particularly in the stories about the Trojan War. Kelekna raises two interesting points in her discussion of the Trojan War. She suggests that the Trojans' horses may have been an attractive resource for the Achaeans. As she points out, Hector was also called "Tamer of horses" (p. 102). Kelekna observes that the Trojan War was the first major conflict in recorded history between East and West, and that it represents the beginning of clashes that continue even now. Well-known leaders of steppe peoples, such as Attila the Hun and Genghis Khan feature in this expansive guide to equestrian history. As each led his forces into Europe, conflicts arose resonating with attributes of the Trojan War.

The horse's role in military history goes farther than symbolism. Kelekna makes the interesting argument that when faced by an opponent with cavalry, one is best off with a cavalry as well. Her examples include Japan, which imported and developed an equestrian culture before steppe forces attempted to invade; and the Basotho, who successfully remained free of European control by being able to fight cavalry with cavalry. Exceptions to this rule seem to be tropical regions where the humid climate and vegetation, as well as mosquito-borne diseases make it nearly impossible to keep horses. This natural limitation halted advances of North African Muslim kingdoms into sub-Saharan Africa, steppe empires' expansion into Southeast Asia, and forced the British Empire to import horses from Australia for use in India.

Artillery, a completely anthropogenic limitation to cavalry, effectively ended use of the warhorse after World War II. As a reaction against the military success noted above, forces the world over sought innovations which would blunt or negate the advantages enjoyed by cavalry on the battlefield. Guns particularly, and artillery especially, ended cavalry's dominance. Firearms and artillery

pieces shared the battlefield with horses for a few centuries with the horse utilized as motive power. Not until automotive power appeared in the form of the internal combustion engine did people relieve the horse of its battle duties.

While many authors would have concluded a work of this type with the end of the horse as a common sight in the industrialized world, Kelekna is careful to trace the symbolic and "descendant" examples of horses up to the present. Her examples range from the mundane measure of engine power, horsepower, to the bold connection between the 11 September attack and the original kamikaze, drawing a connection between the swiftness of the horse and the speed of the attacks.

Kelekna ultimately brings *The Horse in Human History* around to the question which sparked her curiosity: What would the Americas have looked like if native domestic horses had survived into the modern period? By developing and exploring the myriad impacts horses did have in Eurasia, she is able to make some predictions about the impact they would have had in the Americas. Readers know what the horse contributed in the Old World and how it influenced Native American cultures once those cultures adopted equestrian lifestyles. Kelekna portrays a pre-Columbian world that connected inventions and ideas as in the Old World. One example with potentially huge consequences would have been a connection between the Incan quipu system and the Mayan glyph writing system. This never occurred in the Americas, but if more intense, equine-enabled contacts had existed, it might have. Native American peoples certainly took up the horse quickly once given the chance. One of the intriguing questions Kelekna raises in her thought experiment is: Would the militaries of the pre-Columbian Americas have fared better had the horse survived and undergone domestication in the New World as well as the Old? Her argument that cavalry forces were best suited to resist cavalry forces certainly argues so.

Readers with an interest in the horse and the role it has played in our collective past should not hesitate to pick up Kelekna's work. She creates a comprehensive story based on equestrian culture and environmental parameter sets. This focus, while not confining, gives the book a specificity and depth lacking in broader texts. One quibble is that as vivid as the writing is,

this reviewer was left wishing for more maps. The scope is so broad, every reader will find some era or location for which the place-names are unfamiliar. Her work is a wonderful source for scholars and laymen alike as she artfully weaves together rich information from a wide

range of places and times that one rarely finds in one book.

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*Saving Places that Matter: A Citizen's Guide to the National Historic Preservation Act*

Thomas F. King

Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, CA, 2007. 256pp. \$24.95 paper.

Thomas F. King, a former member of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation's senior staff, is perhaps this nation's most respected and published authority on preserving cultural resources. This volume complements King's other books, targeted for different audiences, which are published by both Left Coast Press and AltaMira Press.

The content is true to the title: a citizen's guide to using Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act to protect special places. It is written for the foot soldiers of preservation, citizens who may or may not have the expertise, energy, or legal savvy to organize and oppose the Goliaths of development. This reviewer, having served for seven years as the voice for archaeology on a county preservation commission, can attest to the national need for a book like this. Most architect and designer colleagues on the commission were clueless about the bigger picture of Section 106. This in itself is a fault of the review process repeated throughout the nation, and King's volume certainly helps to remedy this shortcoming.

The reader is systematically walked through the protection process. King first provides an historical perspective, identifying major laws and then the players involved at the state and federal levels. He explains, in plain language, what is meant by an "undertaking," or an "adverse effect on a resource," or a "consulting party," or a "memorandum of agreement." Identified are sticky points where laws, their interpretations, and precedence can work to stop, change, and/or delay projects.

For the newcomer to preservation, the most valuable chapter concerns a property's inclusion on the National Register, because this defense is commonly the first mounted. Indeed, the author realizes that some readers may turn to this chapter without reading the first half of the book,

and they are gently chastised for the error of their ways. King delves into the lengthy process for completing a National Register nomination and explains how "eligibility" may in itself be enough. Additionally, King sets out to right that other public misconception, that the actual listing subsequently provides adequate protection.

Other critical points that may be misunderstood include the interrelation of Section 106 and the National Environmental Policy Act, the power of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation in settling disputes, and how consultation and dialogue are usually more productive than opposition.

A contested bridge project across the Broad Run in Buckland, Virginia is used throughout the book as an example of strategizing and building a case on multiple points. This thread is particularly effective in clarifying concepts. A copy of the memorandum of agreement for this project is also provided as an appendix.

While biases held by King occasionally show through, missing is the more passionate opining often evident on his blog. Instead, the weaknesses in the process for protecting the spectrum of historic properties, unexcavated archaeological sites, landscapes, and special places are examined rationally, and often with a dry wit. State Historic Preservation Offices may be ineffective, and windshield archaeological surveys for compliance are often too cursory. In his last chapter King recommends improving the existing process, first by separating Section 106 from the National Register. Then, in the review process, inclusiveness and dialogue between stakeholders would be promoted instead of relying on "experts" for hire.

*Saving Places that Matter* provides a great deal of information clearly and logically presented. Photographs and line illustrations are used effectively to break up blocks of text. Bullet points summarize highlights. Websites for delving into more detail are cited right in the chapters, set apart in shaded blocks. Besides an index, a glossary of preservation terms at the back of the book helps to keep terminology and federal jargon straight.

All these design elements help make *Saving Places that Matter* accessible to the reader, whether a novice or a more seasoned participant

in the review process. It has relevance for bureaucrats, regional planners, and commissioners, as well as for those managing historical societies, tribal lands, or historic districts such as older university campuses and Main Street initiatives. This book will also be valuable for those attending training courses offered by the National

Preservation Institute, the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, and the National Alliance of Preservation Commissions.

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*Digging for History at Old Washington*

Mary L. Kwas

University of Arkansas Press,  
Fayetteville, 2009. 170 pp., 79 color  
photos, 5 maps. \$34.95 cloth.

Turning odd bits of archaeological study collected over 25 years into a coherent, meaningful, and useful narrative for a general readership would challenge the best of writers. In *Digging for History at Old Washington*, Mary Kwas demonstrates that it can be done and done well. The banal title does no justice to the scholarly detail and pragmatic analysis of archival and archaeological data presented, or to the way in which Kwas engagingly knits them together.

Washington is a small town in southwestern Arkansas, established in the second quarter of the 19th century along the Southwest Trail that linked St. Louis with eastern Texas. Details of its founding, florescence, and decline are similar to those of other towns across the United States and Canada. Washington became a county seat in 1824. Growth in population and commerce during the second and third quarters of the century slowed, first from the Civil War and then with the routing of the railroad through a nearby town. In broad strokes, Washington is just another small town that had ambitions but could not quite grasp the brass ring. It differs from many such places in that private organizations and then government became interested in its potential as an educational and tourism resource.

Apart from a year of glory—it served as the Arkansas state capital after Little Rock capitulated to Union forces—Washington is unexceptional on the national stage, begging the question of why anybody outside the state would be interested in reading the book. Every state and province, after all, has its own “Washington.” Kwas finds the exceptional in this small town in terms of individuals and families. Through her exploration of the lives of a wealthy Jewish merchant from Richmond, Virginia, a minor governmental functionary from North Carolina, and their respective families and households, the reader develops a sense of the time, place,

and culture of Washington, and of some of the diverse people who created the town.

Both heads of household—Abraham Block and Simon Sanders—are relatively well represented in the documentary record, largely because each was prominent in the community. Archaeology informs on aspects of their lives and the lives of their households not otherwise revealed through conventional archival research. Ceramics demonstrate not only a strong commercial connection between Washington residents and New Orleans importers, but the aesthetic and perhaps the literary interests of the Block and Sanders families. Readers glimpse the intellectual lives of these people through the transfer-printed images of scenes from Walter Scott’s romantic tales, rich floral patterns, and lively Oriental tableaus. Contrasting simple-edged wares, likely from the initial homesteads, suggest modest beginnings rewarded with material success and domestic comfort—sufficient comfort to pursue literary and other pastimes.

Faunal remains provide insight into the Block family’s observance of traditions on the frontier. Compliance with kashrut (scriptural proscriptions for food choices and means of preparation) would have been difficult without the support of a larger Jewish community. Citing published scholarly analyses, Kwas notes that the second-most common bones recovered from one feature on the Block lot were pig, and the remains of catfish (a scaleless fish) also were recovered. These forbidden foods suggest something more than an inability to follow all of the traditional dietary restrictions: they indicate rejection of those restrictions. Documentary sources, however, suggest that Abraham and Frances Block adhered to Jewish orthodoxy. Archaeology identified ambiguity.

Restoration and building relocation prompted much of the archaeological investigation of Washington since the involvement of the Arkansas Archeological Survey in 1980. Such work perforce identified patterns in the use of space, particularly architectural space. Again citing published scholarly work, Kwas describes the Sanders family’s “urban farmstead”; a curtilage in which they created many of those necessary

facilities that later town dwellers would come to expect of government and commercial services: trash pits for discard, sanitary features, and such food production amenities as a barn, poultry house, and columbarium. Exhibits, lectures, and other interpretive efforts could use this material to promote public discussion of the relative roles of private and public entities in urban development, and decisions of local governments about which amenities to provide, when, and to whom.

Mary Kwas makes good use of available archaeological data. Her limitations are largely those of the data and the circumstances under which they were collected. She does not mention a research design or comprehensive plan that directs investigations and preservation efforts on this mosaic of publicly and privately owned lands. Individual investigations, apart from some training work undertaken jointly by the survey and the Arkansas Archeological Society, met specific restoration needs. As a result, comparative data appear unavailable for sites within town and in the surrounding countryside. The reader might also surmise that Historic Washington State Park lacks a permanent archaeology program that could enhance interpretations through public archaeological research.

There are technical limitations as well, and they are the kind that pervade the discipline. Much of the vessel data and faunal data for the Block lot derives from Feature 14 (not illustrated), a trash-filled pit 9 ft. long, 5.5 ft. wide, and 2.5 ft deep, with sloping sides and a flat bottom. Kwas does not analyze the taphonomic processes that led to the accumulation and transformation of the fill, merely suggesting that it was a product of gradual (primary?) accumulation and

episodic (secondary) deposition. She suggests, however, that the pit remained open for just a few months. During those few months 721 ceramic sherds were deposited, and those sherds represent a minimum of 93 vessels and as many as 18 different sets. (Figures on glass vessels are not provided.) That is a lot of dish breaking, and it is a very large pit to accommodate a few months of household trash; but similar interpretations of trash-filled pits and cellar holes appear in innumerable technical reports and peer-reviewed publications. What kinds of behaviors, at Washington and elsewhere, could have resulted in the deposition of so many vessels from many different sets? How has the discipline's inability to address taphonomic issues rigorously hindered both scholarship and public interpretation?

High-quality public interpretation of historic sites requires high-quality archaeological research. Analyses must be rigorous and periodically revisited. Resources must be invested in the work. Mary Kwas has done an admirable job with what appears to be very little material, and much of that collected 20 years earlier. Her book serves as both positive model and cautionary tale. Well-researched and well-written interpretive products can promote dialogue, understanding, and the value of archaeology. Continued success, however, cannot be based on opportunistic research. Furthermore, if archaeology is to contribute more to the exploration of the past than the recovery of interesting objects, it has to be comparative and question driven.

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Mary Rose, *Your Noblest Shippe:  
Anatomy of a Tudor Warship*

Peter Marsden (editor)

Mary Rose Trust, Portsmouth, UK,  
2009. 2 vols., 458 pp., 15 foldout  
plans, 287 b&w illus. \$90.00 cloth.

This work is volume 2 of a 5-volume set arranged thematically to cover various aspects of the *Mary Rose* research. The collection of contributions, edited by Peter Marsden, is a comprehensive compilation loaded to the gunwales with detailed information based on recorded hull measurements, and sources including archaeological evidence, marine artwork, doctrines of marine architecture, and Royal Navy manuscripts. The overall impression is of an enormous amount of work and successful collaboration between archaeologists, curators, students, and executives of the Mary Rose Trust. It is an extremely useful reference for anyone with an interest in maritime archaeology, ship construction, or wooden warships.

The 22 chapters cover the process and principles of studying a ship's hull, the intricacies of selecting parts of the tree or particular woods for respective ship components, the composition of the ballast, and the design of brick ovens in the galley. Each chapter describes and analyzes as much of the conserved hull timbers as possible, dissecting the multiple details of the ship architecture and providing the reader with a sense of the place the *Mary Rose* occupied in the history of warships up to the 16th century. Authors discuss, in detail, the oft-neglected operational aspects of steering, rigging, anchoring, and mooring. Each section is elaborately illustrated with diagrams, artistic renderings, tables, isometrics, and reconstructions. The ship is broken down by deck and there are 15 separate fold-out plans showing construction features. These include internal and external elevations, reconstructions, masts, rigging, and sails. A few of the figures are poorly laid out, making it necessary for the reader to rotate the book.

Reconstructing a ship design from wreckage that has spent many years underwater, may

be warped and/or missing crucial components, required a fair amount of conjecture. Only 40% of the *Mary Rose* survived. The authors, in a refreshing approach, present varying interpretations rather than a consensus viewpoint. This highlights the importance of debate, making this volume an especially valuable resource for students of ship reconstruction. Primarily it will help them understand the limitations of evidence and promote the concept of healthy scholarly discourse.

Several contributors take the reader through the process of making inferences from architectural details and then explain their conclusions, furthering the academic value of this volume. For example, the vessel was designed for medieval hand-to-hand fighting but modernized during the 1530s to carry a heavier armament. Identifying these changes and the impact on the stability of hull design is an important theme in reconstruction discussions. There was some controversy over whether the gun ports were original design features or a later modification. If they were original features, the implication is that this was a revolutionary design allowing warships to carry heavy guns on the main deck for the first time. Evidence now suggests that the vessel was built with a gun deck with only two or three ports on each side, as opposed to eight or nine in the surviving ship timbers.

Authors devote attention to questions about small construction details, as well as the broader questions that relate to the ship's niche in warship design. In chapter 11 Peter Marsden discusses another gun port question—exactly how were the gun port lids opened and held shut? Like other contributors, he draws upon the archaeological record, comparisons to other war vessels, and maritime artwork for his conclusions. The *Vasa* (1628) and the HMS *Victory* (ca. 1800) both had ropes attached to lifting rings that passed through holes in the gun port lid. The *Mary Rose* had no rope holes through the hull above the main deck gun ports and no evidence of wear. He surmises that either the crew used iron bars to wedge the lids open, or alternatively by pulling ropes that passed outboard up to crew on the upper deck. He takes this evidence a step further and concludes that this is substantiated by

the presence of ropes found on the upper deck and small hatches that would allow communications between main- and upper-deck men.

While the volume might be tremendously useful to students in a class devoted to ship architecture or a ship reconstruction museum specialist, an unscientific random poll of graduate maritime archaeology students suggested that the detail-oriented focus on shipbuilding minutiae is overwhelming. Some felt that in many cases measurements and figures were not explained in the text and did not seem important or particularly relevant to the conclusions. It is a source they might refer to as a comparative technical reference when needed, rather than as a textbook. Others suggested that many of the measurements and tables should be part of a separate technical report. Some of the book's most thought-provoking discussions are in chapter 22, titled "Future Research." Others are stashed in appendix 1, where Richard Barker tosses out several intriguing research questions and conjectures, such as why the *Mary Rose's* floor timbers are so massive compared to Mediterranean framing; how shipbuilders managed the complicated logistics of launching, repairing, and rebuilding such a large vessel; and what effects rebuilding may have had on hull geometry. Some chapters do not seem to fit with the theme of ship anatomy, such as discussions about piloting tools—log reels, sounding leads, compasses, and dividers—and other miscellaneous items, and would have been more appropriately included in another volume on finds.

A useful and interesting inclusion in the volume was chapter 19 on tree-ring dating. Christopher Dobbs and Martin Bridge discuss the constraints and value of this method. Primarily, tree-ring analysis provided relatively tight dates, allowing speculation about which timbers were

part of the original construction (1443–1488), possible refit timbers (1467–1503), or definite refit timbers (1508–1540). The conclusions elicited from these date ranges, from a total of only 41 timbers, are quite remarkable. The timber sampled represented a range of different structural elements, and data suggested that diagonal and vertical braces, used to reduce the amount of hull flexing, were secondary timbers and date from one of the refits. The results of the dendrochronology compare favorably with historical evidence documenting the placement of a number of additional guns on the ship requiring strengthening the hull around 1536.

The sheer volume of information in this book seems to justify the unique opportunity to conduct research in a laboratory setting on this iconic ship, the "flower of the fleet," that would not have been possible under water. One might question why a master set of plans of the vessel have not been available to date, considering that the vessel was raised in 1982. This volume clarifies the difficulties of access due to the conservation process. Amongst other problems, recording was limited to periods when polyethylene glycol sprays could be turned off, poor illumination with low light necessary to restrict biological growth, and the limitations of surveying technology prior to the acquisition of laser three-dimensional recording that generated multiple views of the ship's structure to any scale in great detail. This new technology resulted, the editor claims, in a drawn record of a ship in a museum, but cautions that disintegration and disarticulation on the seabed throw a curveball for researchers.

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*Shipwreck Archaeology in Australia*

Michael Nash (editor)

University of West Australia Press,  
Crawley, 2007. 224 pp., 136 figs.,  
bibliog., index. \$40.00 cloth.

The struggle between maritime archaeologists and treasure hunters continues with no end in sight. In the battle to win the hearts and minds of the public, at least in the United States, treasure hunters typically come out on top. A preferred—and highly effective—tactic is for treasure hunters to portray themselves as independent entrepreneurs boldly challenging the tyrannical pairing of big government and ivory-tower academics. For years treasure hunters have been very good at hammering this point home in the media. Recently, the Discovery Channel began airing a series, *Treasure Quest*, which chronicles the exploits of Florida-based Odyssey Marine Exploration. While we may never be able to fight back with shows like *Treasure Quest*—most people would be bored by the mundane day-to-day workings of a real field archaeology project, so different from the adventures portrayed on TV—maritime archaeologists can do a better job of getting their point of view across to the public. One way is by producing high-quality popular books that show what can be learned from shipwreck sites. Michael Nash's new book fulfills this goal. *Shipwreck Archaeology in Australia* features an eye-catching dust jacket with color photographs of a diver working on HMS *Pandora*, and a pile of coins recovered from the American merchantman *Rapid*. At first glance the book gives the appearance of the types of books produced by treasure hunters, but this may be a subtle tactic for luring a public that often passes over scholarship in favor of glitz. Those who succumb to the temptation to take the book off the shelf will not be disappointed. Inside, readers will find a scholarly yet accessible text accompanied by many excellent drawings, plans, and color photographs. The illustrations alone are worth the price of the book, but the volume does not disappoint in its content either.

*Shipwreck Archaeology in Australia* brings together 15 chapters on major Australian sites. Each chapter author is an expert on the wreck(s) that he or she presents. In many cases the authors were the ones who did the fieldwork, and this firsthand knowledge is one of the book's great strengths. More than just providing interesting synopses of various sites, *Shipwreck Archaeology in Australia* allows the reader to see how maritime archaeology as a field has developed down under. The first known European shipwreck in Australia occurred in 1622. With no ancient shipwrecks, Australian maritime archaeologists have remained apart from some concerns that occupy their European colleagues, such as the argument over vessels as indicators of particular cultural traditions, or the work inspired by classical archaeology that characterizes Mediterranean maritime archaeology. Unlike North America where warships of the colonial wars and the American Civil War feature prominently in the archaeological record, the story of Australia is more one of colonization and development. Warships are here; two chapters cover HMS *Sirius*, which wrecked at Norfolk Island in 1790, and HMS *Pandora*, lost while searching for the *Bounty* mutineers in 1791. Still, Australia lacks the time depth of Europe, and had a different type of colonial history than North America, and this is reflected in both its maritime sites and in the type of maritime archaeology that developed there. The reader comes to see Australian maritime archaeology as a field apart, influenced by, yet independent from European or North American trends.

Three themes emerge in particular. The first concerns the information that can be gleaned from shipwrecks of recent date. Australian maritime archaeologists have performed pioneering work on composite, iron, and steel shipwrecks, as well as those powered by steam propulsion. The chapter on the SS *Xantho*, for example, shows how archaeologists can gain insight into social history from artifacts such as the engine of a steamship. Nathan Richards's chapter on the Garden Island ship graveyard ties vessel abandonment processes to economic cycles. These two chapters are particularly good for showing the

public how archaeologists use seemingly mundane artifacts to understand the past. A second major theme is the close relationship between Australian maritime archaeology and avocational divers. A strong public outreach component resulted, which stands as a model for other parts of the world. Material culture studies have always been a strong component of Australian maritime research, and this stands out as a third major theme of the book. Each author has taken care to explain how the material culture he or she discusses contributes to knowledge of the past. Particularly noteworthy in this regard are the chapters on the cargo of the *Sydney Cove* (1797), *James Matthews* (1841), and *William Salthouse* (1841), all of which were carrying supplies for fledgling colonies. The range of material culture aboard these vessels provides key insights into the types of goods that colonizers thought necessary. Like the studies of ship technology, the discussions of material culture show the reader how artifacts inform about the history of each period.

As a broad overview designed to appeal to a popular audience, *Shipwreck Archaeology in Australia* naturally sacrifices some detail. This

is in keeping with the nature of the book, and in this respect it compares favorably to similar overviews, such as Bass's *Ships and Shipwrecks of the Americas: A History Based on Underwater Archaeology*. The level of detail along with the beautiful presentation makes this book a good choice for undergraduate courses in historical or maritime archaeology. Comprehensive bibliographies for each chapter point readers to additional sources for each shipwreck. Those who want a more in-depth discussion may want to consider Staniforth and Nash's *Maritime Archaeology: Australian Approaches*, which covers many of the same topics but in greater detail. As a well-crafted, highly readable synopsis of underwater work in Australia though, *Shipwreck Archaeology in Australia* will set the standard for years to come. This is the kind of book that maritime archaeology needs in order to get its message across to the world.

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*Archaeology and Community  
Service Learning*

Michael S. Nassaney and  
Mary Ann Levine (editors)

University Press of Florida,  
Gainesville, 2009. 250 pp.,  
22 b&w photos. \$69.95 cloth.

Much of the recent discussion in anthropology has been in regard to a move towards anthropological praxis in which anthropological research is increasingly geared towards practical application that positively affects constituent communities, or to presenting possible solutions for social marginalization or detachment. As a reflection of this recent trend, many academic departments have restructured their educational approach to focus increasingly on applied anthropology. This book presents a means by which archaeology can participate in praxis applications of the discipline by implementing community service learning as a pedagogical component in university education.

The book comprises articles divided among four sections. In section 1, Nassaney begins by introducing an aspect of public archaeology known as community service learning (CSL). This is a process in which communities are not only involved in public archaeology but are active proponents in archaeological research, as professionals plan, design, and execute projects in concert with public needs and demands. It is, essentially, an applied approach that acts to serve the constituents of the various communities in which archaeologists become public and active members. As Nassaney carefully outlines, however, identifying the needs or even the constituents that are affected by archaeological research is a slippery slope, as different missions and agendas may be contradictory to one another or the goals and scope of the archaeological community that have traditionally acted outside the public spotlight. Public involvement does not need to be merely the obligatory part of archaeological research, for it can likewise be a rewarding experience in which all parties can become educated. The interpretation of the past is inherently a multivoiced endeavor and is

most inclusive when multiple perspectives are incorporated into its transcription. By collaborating with the public it is possible to reap the rewards of public intuition and insight. The ultimate goal of service learning is positive social change in which all parties benefit. This is accomplished through a pedagogical structure that promotes student learning through community service initiatives. This approach is aimed at improving student learning, integrating reflexive approaches, and encouraging community involvement.

In the second article, Baugher discusses the origins of CSL, which was essentially a product of the political and social climate characterizing the 1960s; a climate in which students were encouraged to engage in community action through academic disciplines. The political climate of the 1960s had a profound influence in the development of CSL, with resultant programs that included the Peace Corps, Volunteers in Service to America, and the Urban Corps. Baugher discusses some of the barriers that discourage archaeologists from engaging in CSL projects. Many fear that by collaborating with the public they will need to modify or even eliminate their research design in order to satisfy the demands of the public. Baugher, however, demonstrates that although the public can have an active role in the development of the research, they should not at the same time dictate the overall format of the research. To avoid these pitfalls, many social scientists have engaged in participatory action research (PAR), in which partnerships are formed with community members to determine collaboratively the focus and objects of a research project. The overall result of working with the public allows for a multifaceted approach, and may help professional archaeologists focus on problems of which they may not have originally conceived. Baugher presents a case study in which she integrated her students in CSL approaches during the Enfield Falls project. She established CSL components in a variety of classes in which the students ultimately benefited from the experience and established a positive rapport with the Friends of Enfield Falls members.

In the third article in section 1, McLaughlin distinguishes between problem-based and

discipline-based service learning courses. McLaughlin identifies specific steps in designing a service learning course. A problem-based service learning course entails the identification of a particular problem faced by a community, and students then use their skills and knowledge to work with the community to develop a solution. McLaughlin defines a discipline-based service learning course as one in which students use some aspect of the core course to work with and assist the community in a predefined way. The steps include preparing the course, preparing the community partners, preparing the students, action, reflection, demonstration, and assessment.

Section 2 comprises three articles that provide case studies of CSL. In the first article, Levine and Delle discuss a service learning project they implemented in the city of Lancaster, Pennsylvania. The project coordinated several academic institutions that partnered with a number of community organizations. The students involved in the project prepared presentations for the local schools. The authors quote the reflection journals of some of the participating students, indicating that the program was largely successful. Overall, students at all levels gained a better appreciation for their community and developed a willingness to interact and assist the community.

In Sarasota, Florida, Baram became involved in a public outreach project that placed him between community parties with conflicting interests. He integrated students into the study of a cemetery in the midst of a predominantly African American community that was in the process of urban renewal. The experience was useful for getting students to think about the complexities of gentrification in city centers as well as the complexities inherent in racial segregation both in the present and historically.

In the third article in section 2, Mendoza presents a sort of rags-to-riches discussion detailing his initial difficulties at a California mission in implementing a service learning project that ultimately became successful through his persistence. He had students write about their experiences so that he could monitor the students' attitudes and determine if implementing a CSL approach would positively affect the students' learning and meet with CSL learning objectives. Students utilized different technologies to produce a documentary made available on DVD, as well as a 3-D fly-through of the mission.

Section 3 consists of three articles discussing service learning projects that obtained both positive and negative effects. In the first article, Thacker demonstrates how service learning approaches helped bridge social and intellectual gaps between academics and the public, and helped to democratize archaeological research. This was done by allowing the public to become an active participant in archaeological research. Using a PAR approach, Thacker was able to empower the resident African American community that maintained a contentious relationship with local developers in the Happy Hill community.

In the second article in section 3, Chilton and Hart describe organizing a field school with a service learning component in which students and staff collaborated with various stakeholders that had different, albeit contradictory interests and varying degrees of political influence. One of the goals of the project was to empower marginalized groups, particularly the Native American communities that had ties to the Connecticut River valley. Through this project they were able to give a voice to an otherwise unknown component of Historic Deerfield, Inc., which traditionally focuses on its Anglo-American history.

In the third article in section 3, Reckner and Duke warn that although CSL can have positive effects in communities, it is likewise necessary to be wary of the potential negative impacts CSL projects may have. Rather than being disengaged from a community, archaeological projects take a very visible and active role whether intended or not. They demonstrate how researchers may inadvertently create discord within a community through their actions. In section 4, Shackel provides a discussion of the articles in the book, and ties the role of CSL into the modern social landscape.

The book satisfactorily opens the discussion of CSL and the potential positive outcomes that can result from its implementation. The case studies highlighted in the book exhibit both successes and failures in various attempts to integrate CSL into the classroom, providing the opportunity to learn from others' successes and failures. It also demonstrates that CSL pedagogical development is an ongoing and evolving process in the classroom, as it needs to be adapted to particular demographics, and social and economic circumstances. Unfortunately, there is no one-size-fits-all model, but the examples in



the book present various methods that can make the transition from traditional classroom teaching methods to a CSL-based pedagogy easier for instructors. The examples discussed in the book, particularly the ones that incorporate the students' perceptions, demonstrate how CSL approaches can influence the students' perspectives. The ultimate goal of CSL is noble, as it is meant to lead to positive social change. Changing social and cultural sensitivities, however, does not come easy and can only be obtained through time and perseverance. The authors in this book demonstrate how this process can be initiated by empowering members of communities that have traditionally lost their "voice" or political motive. Archaeology can help serve these communities by actively engaging them in research. The book provides examples in which the communities were actively engaged in the organization and execution of archaeological projects. Some of the selections (e.g., Levine and Delle, pp. 95–102; Baram, p. 120; Reckner and Duke, pp. 196–201) provide excerpts from the students' personal reflections. These reflections indicate that the goals of CSL were being achieved, and many students wrote about the benefits and rewards of community involvement. In addition, the

reflections of elementary school students (Levine and Dell, pp. 98–100) demonstrate how members of the community can benefit from community action. Students indicated that they had learned more about the discipline of archaeology through the CSL approach than they otherwise would have. They came to realize that they can change the perception of the public into looking at the communities as interesting historic places, and help boost civic pride and involvement.

Cultural anthropologists have demonstrated how they can directly impact the communities they serve through applied projects. Through CSL pedagogy, students learn about the benefits and the techniques of improving social circumstances for members of communities through archaeology. By altering students' perspectives and encouraging them to realize how conventional academic practices have only served to personify the power inequities within various communities, perhaps the voice of the traditionally "invisible" constituents of society can finally be heard.

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*Archaeology of Atlantic Africa  
and the African Diaspora*

Akinwumi Ogundiran and  
Toyin Falola (editors)

Indiana University Press,  
Bloomington, 2007. 528 pp., 56 b&w  
illus., 18 maps. \$59.95 cloth.

African American archaeologists routinely call for an archaeology that takes the whole of the Atlantic world into its vision, ambitiously proposing to dissect complex cultural, social, and historical relationships across Africa and the New World during a period of over a half millennium. Black scholars have championed such a perspective for nearly a century, but historical archaeologists have only recently assembled enough fieldwork to weave together substantive synthetic studies of diasporanization and transatlantic connections. Akinwumi Ogundiran and Toyin Falola's edited volume, *Archaeology of Atlantic Africa and the African Diaspora*, provides a promising entry point that demonstrates the genuine richness of archaeology conducted throughout the Atlantic world and aspires to demonstrate the potential power of such an archaeological scholarship. The book is a testament to the archaeological work and scholarly vision that has made such a collection even possible, and Ogundiran and Falola make a convincing case for the potential of a transatlantic diasporan archaeology.

Framing the breadth of the Atlantic world is exceptionally ambitious, and inevitably this distinctive diasporan focus on continuity, globalization, and African agency may unnerve scholars whose work has separated Africa and the New World, fixated on local contexts, or been separated by disciplinary or national boundaries. Ogundiran and Falola argue against scholars who dismiss African connections, and suggest that African and New World scholarship are both impoverished by ignoring connections across the Atlantic. Their introductory chapter is a thorough treatise on the implications of a transatlantic archaeology, and it makes a resounding case for the complexity of diasporan scholarship. They make a powerful argument for an interdisciplinary archaeology

that pushes beyond lip service to holism, and press scholars to wrestle with a dense historical record, confront the complexities of African cultures, and critically link the most prosaic objects to global transformations. Ogundiran and Falola demonstrate that archaeological studies of the transatlantic world demand very complex conceptual and interpretive frameworks that do more than simply acknowledge generalized global connections; instead, diasporan scholarship must deliver resounding cases for connections and continuities throughout the Atlantic world, and recognize the disjunctures left by the trade in African captives.

The introduction charts convincing theoretical ambitions, but the long-term challenge will be to address those ambitions with rigorous case studies. Even in such a thorough tome, some contexts pass unaddressed and some research questions are not raised, but given both the breadth of the diasporan experience and archaeology's recent embrace of this material, no collection can blanket the subject. Ogundiran and Falola sample a range of studies from both sides of the Atlantic, with 7 African studies and 12 chapters focused on New World contexts. Most of the chapters stake an explicit or implicit claim to global connections that linked African diaspora and numerous other people throughout the Atlantic world, if not across the globe. Ann Brower Stahl's chapter on Ghana, for instance, underscores that acknowledging such entanglements is only a prelude to demonstrating and analyzing them with concrete archaeological and historical evidence. Stahl weaves a complex 500-year account of life in the Banda areas of Ghana that traces connections into North Africa and across the Atlantic, while examining internal power struggles that left Banda playing a range of roles in the trade in African captives. In comparison to the North American studies in the volume, the African case studies are somewhat denser papers dissecting complex data sets, local chronologies, and regional histories. Chapurukha M. Kusimba's East African study, for example, ambitiously traces regional chronologies reaching from 100 B.C. through the 18th century, painting a long historical rise of social complexity in coastal East

Africa, punctuated by Portuguese colonization and persistent climatic stress that decimated existing trade networks into Africa and the Indian Ocean. J. Cameron Moore's study of the Dahomey's role in the slave trade surveys regional archaeological studies and a rich ethnohistorical record to illuminate the political changes that followed the slave trade in the Bight of Benin, transformations that actually allowed Dahomey to expand. As testaments of how to conduct interdisciplinary archaeology, the African studies provide interesting models of complex data sets and long-term historical trajectories reaching across vast reaches of space, but their genuine attention to New World connections is often implicit, and the contemporary political impact of such scholarship remains somewhat unexamined. Brempong Osei-Tutu's study of "slave castles" in Ghana and the American tourism focused on these sites, however, examines the divergent Ghanaian and American visions of the heritage of the trade, and explores the transnational connections in the contemporary world. Osei-Tutu underscores the tensions between a wide range of stakeholders variously claiming the Ghanaian sites as revenue sources, sacred sites, and world historic spaces held in trust for all people.

The New World studies include South and North American examples alike, but most are examples of the rich diasporan archaeology in the U.S. These North American studies look toward Africa more assertively than their African counterparts contemplate the New World. For instance, Christopher Fennell's study of Bakongo symbolism identifies the evidence for persistent yet dynamic African American practices rooted in west central Africa, and Candice Goucher examines the continuity and transformations of African metallurgy in the Caribbean. Daniel Schavelzon discusses African aesthetic and cultural continuities in archaeological material from Buenos Aires, arguing that African populations are only now being historically and materially recognized for the first time. Mark Hauser sounds a caution about how such transatlantic connections

are revealed in material culture, painting local exchange of Jamaican ceramics as a very complicated trade system reaching between free and enslaved African Jamaicans, and he cautions archaeologists to examine such social and material networks and not fixate on African cultural continuities. Likewise, Terrance Weik tempers a focus on African cultural practices and instead champions a more complicated notion of ethnicity and identity that he explores in his assessment of African Seminole maroons. Most of this collection revolves around simply defining a transatlantic diasporan archaeology, but Anna Agbe-Davies extends the whole collection by examining the contemporary sociopolitical implications of African diasporan archaeology, assessing interests in African cultural roots, probing the participation of people of color in African American archaeology, and soberly evaluating the potential empowerment such archaeologies might provide.

The ambitious sweep of this volume may make its absences seem more glaring, but the book is likely successful if it can actually persuade a wide range of archaeologists to see its work within this framework. Any archaeological study that embraces much if not all of the globe will inevitably find many locally distinct experiences, so in many ways a diasporan archaeology fits very nicely with the discipline's commitment to a global perspective. The specific nature of the connections across the Atlantic world are portrayed here in a wide range of contextually specific forms, and certainly some archaeologies in Africa and the New World alike may make especially powerful examples of transatlantic connections while others may not. In that sense, Ogundiran and Falola's collection charts a powerful and ambitious starting point for a truly transatlantic diasporan archaeology.

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*Clay Tobacco Pipes and the Fur Trade of the Pacific Northwest and Northern Plains*

Michael A. Pfeiffer

Phytolith Press, Historic Clay Tobacco Pipe Studies, Research Monograph, No. 1, Ponca City, OK, 2006. 148 pp. \$30.00 paper.

Many practicing historical archaeologists in North America today for whom retirement is no longer an abstract future event, began their careers as prehistorians. In the secret recesses of their hearts many nostalgically conjure up a simpler day when all artifacts could be encompassed in floral, faunal, ceramic, and lithic material categories, that is to say before their careers collided with the implications of the Industrial Revolution. Fortunately, the discipline has always produced individuals who have wrestled with the implications of the invention, manufacture, distribution, development, and demise of artifact classes. Some names among the many that come to mind are George Miller for historic ceramics, Olive Jones and Catherine Sullivan for historic glasswares, and T. M. Hamilton for frontier guns. For the lowly (and ubiquitous) clay tobacco pipe in North America, there is J. Byron Sudbury to thank for producing, collecting, and disseminating the fruits of its study. Sudbury has done for American pipe studies what Peter Davey has done for British pipe studies; he also published a comprehensive survey of pipe makers in the United States in Davey's British Archaeological Reports series in 1979. Like many scholars drawn to historical archaeology, Sudbury was not trained as an archaeologist but as a chemist, and retired from that profession only to pursue another in soil science. He is currently working on a Ph.D. while operating a soil phytolith analytical laboratory, and actively consulting on material culture studies as well as chemical and environmental issues. More importantly, as the Phytolith Press, Sudbury self-publishes the Historic Clay Tobacco Pipe Studies series, one of which is the object of this review.

Clay Tobacco Pipes and the Fur Trade of the Pacific Northwest and Northern Plains is the 1982 University of Idaho master's thesis of Michael A. Pfeiffer, known to his friends and colleagues as "Smoke." The nickname is not from his present association with the U.S. Forest Service, but because of his dedication to the study of tobacciana. It is through a collaborative association in pipe studies that Sudbury became familiar with Pfeiffer's thesis and chose it as his "Monograph No. 1." Although Sudbury himself published a survey of U.S. pipe makers, he makes it clear in his preface that the archaeological clay tobacco pipe literature is "sparse and scattered," specifically for the fur trade in this case, but equally true of many geographic regions. It is because of the sparse and scattered nature of the literature that a 26-year-old master's thesis remains germane to the study of tobacco pipes today.

This monograph, as stated in the title, presents the comparative analysis of clay tobacco pipes from sites mostly coeval with the period of the fur trade in the northwestern U.S. The sites are grouped in two geographic regions that were controlled by separate economic organizations based in different countries, which should be reflected in the assemblages. An introductory chapter succinctly states the nature of the problem to be investigated and specifies the methodology employed, as well as a discussion of the constraints on the data. The majority of the chapter is given over to a good summary of the very different and complex trajectories of the development of the fur trade in the two regions. Chapters 2 through 7 present the collections from nine sites in the Pacific Northwest segregated by economic organization, in most cases as a stand-in for an unknown stratigraphic context. The particular sites were chosen based upon the presence of tobacco pipes in the collections and access to the artifacts. Each chapter is composed of a discussion of the collection that presents the history of the site occupation derived from both the documentary and the archaeological record, a history of the archaeology at the site, a discussion of the quality of the data, and a presentation of the interpretations derived from

the collection. This is followed by a description of each artifact type to end the chapter. Chapters 8 through 14 are similarly organized and present the collections from 11 sites from the Northern Plains. Chapter 15 presents the comparative analysis to conclude the study. The end of the monograph includes the original bibliography ca. 1982, an index, and a short biography of the author accompanied by a list of the author's publications. This organizing structure is beneficial for following the author's argument.

In Pfeiffer's introduction he states the usefulness of clay pipes to archaeological interpretation with reference to Peter Davey's conceptions. These are (1) that they were extremely short-lived objects easily broken and cheaply replaced; (2) they were subject to rapid technological and typological change in manufacture; (3) they are definable in regional and national variation; (4) they commonly display maker's marks and decoration; and (5) thus they can be dated more closely with greater reliability than other classes of objects such as pottery. The problem is that a lack of descriptive detail and measurements limit intersite comparability, especially when trying to use earlier site reports. When the data are adequate, pipes can date the contexts in which they appear, be a measure of consistency in those contexts, serve as a measure of socioeconomic status, indicate marketing and/or trade connections, serve as markers of social/ethnic affiliations and even political affiliation (such as the uniquely American "President" pipes), and indicate personal preference in smoking materials diachronically. Few other categories of artifact have the potential to display so many attributes. The author's purpose is stated clearly: "the scope of the analysis is intended to demonstrate the interpretive versatility that a single artifact category may have for an archaeologist." The chapters that follow do just that.

The history of the fur trade in the northwestern U.S. is "fraught with historical impediments." Chief among these is a lack of documentary sources for site-specific or logistical information such as the Hudson Bay Company archives. Historical archaeology thus assumes a larger role in understanding the fur trade, and this is the lesson of Pfeiffer's thesis. Throughout, he attempts to weave together whatever documentary evidence is available with the promise of clay

pipe analysis. Each chapter confronts what is available with what is not, such as a Hudson Bay Company component in the Pacific Northwest that may also have a complete archive, or a Northern Plains site of an American company that may only have the archaeological record itself. One of the most interesting examples is that drawn from the cargo hold of the steamboat *Bertrand*. Here a large sample of pipes, stems, tobacco, and other related artifacts includes not only the artifacts, but shipping crates complete with shipper and consignee addresses. This enables a simple spatial analysis of cargo stowage as well as distribution networks for tobacco-related products. Pfeiffer cautions the reader that period newspaper accounts state that one-third of the cargo was salvaged immediately after the vessel sank, however, and the resulting pattern in the archaeological record is therefore incomplete.

The production values of the monograph do beg some explanation. The publication is the author's thesis as submitted; minor typographic corrections and reformatting are the only editorial changes made. Do not expect clarity in 1982 photographs even given the graphic technology available in 2006. Sudbury and Pfeiffer do inform the reader that they made a conscious decision not to redo illustrations or the bibliography, as that would result in an expenditure of capital and time neither could justify. Fortunately most of the artifact illustrations are line drawings. This is a quibble, not a criticism of their decision and certainly not from a discipline that for artifact typologies routinely relies on second- and third-generation xeroxes of bad first-generation copies of reports.

*Clay Tobacco Pipes* is a concise, focused analysis that does not use excess verbiage, a good example of technical writing. It is also an example of the art of the possible—comparative where data exist, elucidating trends where data does not exist. A most important characteristic is an attempted dialogue between the written historical record and a single category of artifactual evidence in the ground. The end result is fulfilling of the promise of the introduction.

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*War and Sacrifice: Studies  
in the Archaeology of Conflict*

Tony Pollard and Iain Banks (editors)  
Brill, Leiden, the Netherlands, 2007.  
224 pp., 37 figs., index.  
\$132.00 cloth.

This volume is both volume 2 of the new *Journal of Conflict Archaeology* (complete with editorial and book reviews) and the proceedings of the “Warfare and Violence in Prehistoric Europe” conference held in Belfast in 2005. In addition to the prehistoric papers it also contains a pair of papers on conflict in postmedieval Ireland. The volume begins with an introduction by Ian Armit, Chris Knüsel, John Robb, and Rick Schulting which addresses a number of controversies around the concept of violence in prehistoric Europe. In particular they examine the problem of identifying violence and how this has reflected changing academic fashions. They note the recent popularity of the concept of violence, after a long period shaped by the trauma of World War II, in which pacifist interpretations were to the fore. Detlef Gronenborn presents evidence for a correlation between periods of climatic stress and increased violence in Neolithic central Europe. Mariya Ivanova argues that the settlement mounds or tells of northeastern Bulgaria from the 5th millennium B.C. display features of a defensive nature at the middle of the millennium. The vocabulary of warfare and conflict in Indo-European languages is examined by J. P. Mallory.

Mags McCartney uses anthropological theory to argue that more fragmented social space within Iron Age settlements in southern France was a product of warfare and increased personal fear. The material culture of warfare in Britain from 3000 to 500 B.C is reviewed by Roger Mercer, who proposes a social model for the emergence of the war band. A study of the fragmented human bone assemblage from the early Neolithic (*Linearbandkeramik*, or LBK culture) enclosure at Herxheim in Germany is presented by Joerg Orschiedt and Miriam Noe. This is included on methodological grounds, since they interpret the site

as a peaceful necropolis rather than as associated with the violence seen at some other late LBK sites. Joonäs Sipla and Antti Lahelma reject the traditional paradigm of the Finnish sub-Neolithic (3500–2000 B.C.) as peaceful by reinterpreting a class of massive stone-built enclosures as defensive rather than symbolic in function.

Of special period relevance to members of the Society for Historical Archaeology are two papers on early-modern Ireland. The walled plantation-city of Derry (Londonderry to Ulster loyalists) in Northern Ireland is today famous as the scene of an unsuccessful siege by a Jacobite army in 1689, and as a continuing potent symbol for both sides in recent sectarian conflict. Paul Logue and James O’Neill discuss excavations carried out in 1999 outside the Bishop’s Gate on behalf of the state heritage service. Excavation revealed early-17th-century rubbish and latrine pits relating to documented extramural occupation. This suburban housing was demolished by the Protestant defenders as preparations for the siege in 1689. A ravelin (triangular outwork) ditch was excavated and dated to 1689 from map and other documentary evidence. The ravelin ditch was crossed by a causeway which presumably led to a sally port in the ravelin bank, of which no remains survive. A possible infantry dugout relating to the siege was also excavated between the ravelin and the town walls. Excavation also revealed a hitherto-unknown ditch probably dating from 1641 to 1642, when defensive works were undertaken in anticipation of a siege which never took place. Finds relating to the 1689 siege included lead shot and a number of flint gun spalls, a rare find from this side of the Atlantic. Of particular interest was the recovery of a flint core which was interpreted as a byproduct of the onsite manufacture of gun spalls.

A paper by Damien Shiels examines the wider potential of conflict archaeology in the Republic of Ireland from the 16th century to the 1916 Rising. He notes that his own work on the siege and battle of Kinsale, and Kenneth Wiggins’ work on the 1642 siege mines at Limerick Castle are among the few publications to date in the republic on this field. He draws attention to several sites which have potential for further archaeological work.

These include the 1580 battle site at Glenmalure in County Wicklow, and the siege site at Dun An Oir in County Kerry. At the latter place, a mixed force of Irish rebels with Italian, Spanish, and Basque troops was besieged in a small fort before being massacred by English troops in 1580. Shiels draws attention to the English reuse of old ring forts (*raths*) during their siege of the Spanish-held fort at Kinsale in 1601. He also suggests that a group of skeletons excavated in 1978 should be reassessed to see if it might relate to the English besiegers. Shiels also notes the archaeological potential of the 1647 battlefield at Dungan's Hill in County Meath, and a well-preserved 1691 siege landscape at Ballymore in County Westmeath.

Finally, he discusses the St. Stephen's Green area in Dublin, a key site in the 1916 Easter Rising where documented trenches may survive in the park. He notes the finds of bullets in the park and argues for a metal-detector survey to plot their distribution.

This volume is well edited and of a high standard, as one might expect of the *Journal's* experienced editors and the publisher, Brill. Unfortunately, the downside of publishing with a prestigious academic publisher is the price.

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*The Anatomy of Denmark:  
Archaeology and History from  
the Ice Age to the Present*

Klavs Randsborg

Duckworth, London, UK, 2009. 160 pp., 83 figs., index. \$27.00 paper.

This short text is easily read and has a wealth of bibliographic sources. It is divided into three chronological sections, "Archaeology," "History," and "Topics and Tables." The chief focus is on "greater" Denmark, as it is actually an account placing Denmark in time and space, "centred on archaeology and the man-made material world."

"Archaeology" covers the period from the Mesolithic to A.D. 1200 in some 50 pages. While this might seem to shortchange the archaeological record, this is not the case. The text is full of facts that require digestion and additional exploration. To cite two examples, the author makes the point that the basic Danish homestead first appeared ca. 1500 B.C. and is still present today. A second is the linear distribution of burial mounds that appears to reflect an early road network still existing today, in part because in most places it follows higher geological features along the routes. Evidence of continuities can be found throughout the text, and some site-specific additional materials are found in the topical section.

There are useful tables and illustrations as the book progresses through phases from hunter gatherers, horticulturists, cattle breeders, and on to larger entities including "Sea-Kings (700–950)," "Kingdom Builders," and "Christian Modernizers (1050–1200)." Each period is briefly discussed, often with thought-provoking questions and some concentration on specific finds. There are adequate citations, but not so many as to break up the textual flow.

The historical section begins in 1200 and continues to globalization. While there is archaeological detail, the focus is more on architecture, art, and literature, and ultimately on science and transportation. As an overview it might be expected that there would be too much information to digest readily, but this book must be seen as a starting point. Tables and references provide

avenues for future exploration. Changes in village size and orientation, as well as landholding patterns, are addressed, as is the changing relationship of churches and castles.

The "History" section also offers evidence of Danish trade, overseas contacts, and influence. Wars were nearly constant during the historical era, and this section would certainly help orient the first-time explorer of Danish history to how constant warfare affected the country and its size. Relics still exist, and not only along the shifting German/Danish frontier which was marked by earthworks even before 1200. While portions of Norway, Sweden, and Germany were Danish at various times, these zones are not covered to the same extent in the historical section as they were in the archaeological.

The author does not shy away from unpopular topics, as there is discussion of collaboration with Nazi Germany and later with Allied forces during World War II. Collaboration was not alliance and was clearly a purposeful effort toward national survival; there was a resistance movement. In a similar vein, the Danish participation in the slave trade is addressed, along with pointing out that Denmark was the first country to abolish slave trading effective in 1792.

The last section provides additional information on many topics, ranging from passage graves to World War II. The tabular portion provides a wealth of information in easily digestible form. The topical data includes information on calendrical materials found on Bronze Age artifacts, house types over time, medieval church distributions related to soil types, and population figures.

The bibliography is extensive and a useful starting point for further research. It contains works in English and German as well as Danish. Many citations would be useful to any archaeologist planning on working in the western Baltic, and in some cases on shipping from the Iron Age to the Age of Exploration. There are two indices: one is for places, including archaeological sites; the other is for personal names.

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*New York City Neighborhoods:*

*The 18th Century*

Nan A. Rothschild

Eliot Werner, Clinton Corners, NY,  
2008. 292 pp., 63 illus., 38 tables.  
\$42.50 paper.

The republication of Nan Rothschild's *New York City Neighborhoods: The 18th Century* is a welcome contribution to the current arena of available books. Too often, books that make a substantive contribution to the discipline of historical archaeology have a short period of release and then become unavailable except through libraries and the purchase of overpriced used editions. The return of this title to current offerings will make the information much more accessible to researchers and students.

Rothschild's book examines the spatial structure of New York City as it changed from the early 18th century to the late 19th century. Using tax records, city plans, and archaeological material, Rothschild creates a view of New York City in one of the lesser-known and quite-important periods of its history. A quote from the conclusion (p. 182) summarizes the book succinctly:

Eighteenth-century New York City was truly a society in transition. It began as a small, face-to-face town and ended as a city that was too large to be a single community. It began as a relatively open, classless society and ended with a system in which the population as a whole was poorer than at the century's beginning, in which more wealth was concentrated in the hands of a few people, and in which a large group of tenant wage-laborers had no expectations of becoming home-owning master craftsmen.

The book is divided into six chapters plus appendices. Chapter 1 introduces both the book and the city, the system of neighborhoods, and the physical development of the early city. Chapter 2 examines spatial organization, primarily through the colonial institutions of churches, markets, and taverns. Chapter 3 explores ethnicity, its importance, and its spatial expression. Chapter 4 discusses the economic organization of the city, looking at wealth and occupation as distributed

across the urban landscape. Chapter 5 is extremely different from the rest of the book, as it focuses on faunal data from several excavations across the city. While there is good evidence and discussion, it demonstrates how difficult it would be to have comparable data at this scale for the entire city, as is presented in the rest of the book. The analysis also extends into the 19th century, which is not done in the rest of the book. Chapter 6 is the summation of the study, bringing both ethnicity and wealth together into one comprehensive discussion. Rothschild also includes, as appendices, much of the data she used in her analysis, which is always a welcome if underutilized component of research publications.

One of the greatest contributions of Rothschild's work is that it provides a model for the study of other cities around the world, in virtually any time period, that can be used to support the interpretation of urban life in an archaeological context. It is particularly useful as it shows one of the greatest cities of the modern era as it is becoming that great city, born of the colonial settlement at the mouth of the Hudson River. As such, it informs studies of the origins of modern life, the transition from colonial to early American society, and the complex interactions that are involved in the creation of ethnic and class identity. It would be fascinating to see a comparison between Rothschild's work on New York City and other colonial cities of the 18th century, such as Boston, Philadelphia, Charleston, Montreal, or Albany.

This book is an excellent example of how historical archaeology extends beyond excavation to conduct research—a form of ethnoarchaeology conducted through historical documents. It could also be described as historical anthropology specifically looking at material culture and socio-spatial organization. The everyday experiences of urban life are organized in spatial relations of a multitude of competing elements, and Rothschild explores those spatial relations on many different levels through the combined use of documentary and material evidence. In doing this, she explores research questions relevant to archaeological studies and provides a context for interpretation of new sites excavated in New York City. This

context of interpretation also could be used in other colonial cities of North America once basic concepts of spatial, class, and ethnic organization have been answered for those other cities.

There are a few elements that would have improved the book but would require a new edition rather than a reissue of the existing volume. The greatest drawback is that the book is graphically out of date. The maps, which are numerous and essential to the understanding of the study, are at times difficult to read and unclear. The standard convention for the maps is to have an outline drawing of the city streets with letters or symbols indicating points of relevance. These letters or symbols, however, to fit in the scale of the maps, either are small, overlap the lines marking the streets, or both, making them virtually indistinguishable at times, especially for the ethnic-group maps. New maps, using more modern mapping technology and graphical presentation, would strengthen the presentation and reinforce the arguments in the text more fully, and make the research much more accessible. The lack of 21st-century graphics does remind the reader that this is a reissue of an older work.

A significant amount of data was presented both in table format and in the text. These, again, would have benefited in some cases from graphical presentation to make the data more accessible. This is particularly true for chapter 6, which had a significant component of statistical analysis, making fairly dense reading. In one case the text presentation and the table do not seem to agree (p. 176), which was unusual for this otherwise excellent book.

*New York City Neighborhoods: The 18th Century* is strongly recommended to any historical archaeologist focused on the colonial period or interested in urban sites. It is invaluable for the study of New York City, as it provides a context for the interpretation of archaeological data for any site on Manhattan Island, particularly during the 18th century. The value of this book beyond New York is in the structure and nature of analysis, and serves as a model that ideally could be repeated for every colonial city of North America.

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*Horn: Its History and its Uses*

Adele Schaverien

Adele Schaverien, Wahroonga,  
Australia, 2006. 281 pp., 250 b&w  
and color photos. \$110.00 cloth.

This very informative text is divided into three parts. The first deals with administration and regulation of the horn trade up through the 20th century; the second covers horn, the horner's tools, and how horn was worked. The third section covers horn objects and is broken down into classes of finished products. There are five appendices. A very helpful glossary and a good bibliography are included. Each chapter is followed by endnotes that often include additional information beyond a simple citation.

There is little archaeological material in the text. This is not necessarily a bad thing as the images, many in color, and the research were based on the collection of the Worshipful Company of Horners, London, and private collections. The examples are intact. While ideal and elite, curated, heirloom objects in many cases, the examples give a very good impression of what archaeological specimens once looked like. The view of a complete object has to help interpretation, because not all those found or shown here are "master pieces" to show a horner's competency. There is, however, an interesting comment about American horn production in which the author states that "America's horn trade began towards the end of the eighteenth century" (p. 37). While this might be considered patronizing by relegating several thousand years of Native American horn working to oblivion, the operational term is "trade," indicating production on a commercial scale.

The second section dealing with processing horn is short but very informative. If a horn workshop were found with good preservation, this text would be the starting point for interpreting horn debitage. From an archaeological standpoint, clearly illustrating the tools would have been helpful, but they are in Diderot's encyclopedia, and two or three illustrations do show horn presses. The traditional tools are still

in use today. There are more tool illustrations in the sections dealing with various final products.

Horn is a keratin that grows continually in layers around a core, and is usually taken from cattle or buffalo. Technically, antler is not horn but rather a calcium carbonate shed annually. An appendix discusses the varieties of British cattle that were used; another covers different materials that are often linked with horn such as rhinoceros horn, baleen, and tortoiseshell.

Useful horn has to be separated from the core, cut or split, then heated, pressed, molded, stained, and finished. Each stage involved several steps, and there are illustrations for some of the process. Modern methods are discussed, including using a paint-stripping gun or a blowtorch to heat the horn. The author dryly reports that microwaves are fast and clean, but if the horn is thick it might explode "like popcorn."

Part 3 presents horn objects by classes. Each class: combs, buttons, horn used by archers, etc., includes a brief history of the class and the trade producing it. There are often references to archaeological or very early examples, as well as some production locations, typologies relating to the class, and tools used. Examples are not limited to Britain as other countries are often referenced. Changes in technology are also mentioned and there are often references to specific craftsmen.

As examples, chapter 9 deals with horn fans. There are introductions to a variety of fan types and a discussion of importing cheaply produced foreign elements assembled in England. A brief section deals with the cottage industry that produced fans. Chapter 13 is a longer entry dealing with tobacco boxes. Here smoking and snuff are discussed, then the necessary containers, including 15th- and 16th-century references. Several makers are covered including 17th- and 18th-century box makers. Then the box pressing process—that is now lost—is covered along with designs. There are many black-and-white photographs that might have been better as drawings, but the color photos are very good.

Taken as a whole, this book is a labor of love by a person who has worked horn and researched its history. The cost is primarily due to the large number of photographic

illustrations that illuminate the text. The casual reader will be turned off by the price, but any archaeological firm that works on sites with good organic preservation will find it useful. Serious craftspeople and schools with decorative arts programs should obtain this book, as it is both

a reference and a starting point for learning how to work horn.

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*HMS Fowey Lost and Found: Being the Discovery, Excavation, and Identification of a British Man-of-War Lost off the Cape of Florida in 1748*

Russell K. Skowronek and

George R. Fischer

University Press of Florida,  
Gainesville, 2009. 272 pp., 72 figs.,  
index. \$45.00 cloth.

Before proceeding, the review author wishes to make known his longtime professional involvement in the investigation discussed in this book, as well as in a number of other issues regarding the HMS *Fowey*. This work was carried out while he was an employee of the National Park Service's Southeast Archeological Center (SEAC) in Tallahassee, Florida, under the direction of George Fischer. Russell Skowronek was also an important mentor to this author during undergraduate and graduate studies at Florida State University. Both Skowronek and Fischer are considered close friends and confidantes. With that information revealed, this author will attempt to review *HMS Fowey Lost and Found* objectively.

Skowronek and Fischer make it clear in the preface that this book is not a site report, and that it is actually a behind-the-scenes story, including "the items that never make it into the scientific literature." For all that, however, there are included a large number of pertinent historic and cultural material data that never made it into the original site report and help to put the flesh on the bones of the particular shipwreck in question, the HMS *Fowey*. Among these are the court-martial proceedings and the background of the captain, Francis William Drake. For instance, the opening plays well, although written as a semifictional account, with "faces slicked with perspiration, not due to the mild temperature but in fear of the outcome of the hearing" in the court-martial scene, even with the marine guard slamming his Brown Bess musket onto the deck as the captain is called to and admitted. This device gives the reader an introduction into the circumstances of the *Fowey's* history as part of

the naval establishment of 1741, the construction of a standard fifth-rate vessel, and the events that led to its loss in 1748 off the Florida coast.

The real story begins with a little treatise on the early history of, and general trouble with treasure hunting in post-World War II Florida and elsewhere, and accurately recounts the adventures and mishaps of those early independent and wooly raconteurs, often in their own words. This cautionary sermon leads to the hapless end of Gerald Klein, the man who originally "found"—or heard about, and then "found"—the wreck of the *Fowey*, and who was so angry at the government for interfering in his own treasure adventure that after he lost his "salvage" rights, in a fit of pique he printed the location of the wreck site for everyone to see (after concealing this important information for almost two years) on the paper placemats of the restaurant wherein he was killed another two years later.

Following a brief career history of George R. Fischer and how the legal maneuverings of the National Park Service (NPS) were used to establish the true ownership of an historic shipwreck embedded on federal lands (Biscayne National Park), the search for what came to be known as the "Fourth of July Wreck" began. This was because, after having been given a court order of 10 days to find and identify the wreck as the one in question, the site was finally located on the eighth day of the survey, 4 July 1980. It is here that the convoluted bureaucracy of the NPS in general, and in particular the elite membership of the service's Submerged Cultural Resources Unit (then proudly self-appointed and appropriately known as SCRUI) is introduced. The initial discovery inevitably leads to the question: "Is this a Spanish wreck (as originally posited by Klein, and possibly related to the treasure-laden 1733 flota, from which a number of wrecks in the vicinity have long been known and identified), or something different?" Originally identified as Spanish, further studies were obviously required to identify it conclusively.

This brings the reader to the real crux of the book, the "Testing and Evaluation of the Legare Anchorage Wreck" (as it is now referenced), sponsored by SEAC and supported

by the Academic Diving Program (ADP) and Anthropology Department of Florida State University (FSU) during June/July of 1983. How could a diverse, dissimilar, and relatively inexperienced crew of undergraduate diving/scientist/wannabe students carry out a major submerged cultural resource investigation for the NPS during a simple six-week summer field school (which turned out to be more like four weeks, once one took into consideration the weather and logistics)? Only by the wits and will of the authors, assisted by the youth, skill, musculature, and enthusiasm of FSU/ADP and anthropology students and crew chiefs Brewer and Wild, the steady, cool composure of Assistant Field Director Richard Vernon, and Dive Safety Officer Mike Pomeroy.

Subsequent to that field school investigation come the details that will curdle the true archaeologist's blood, and the aftermath that will set the cultural resource manager's heart afire. Having seen the 1983 investigative results identifying a British man-of-war of the mid-18th century, and listened to the recommendations for its preservation: cover it; Biscayne Park decides on its own to lift another one of the cannons—a second cannon, without notifying anyone—so as to have a “matching pair,” and then forgets to monitor the site for years afterwards. In 1992 after Hurricane Andrew, the park is given over \$100,000 in FEMA money for cultural preservation rehabilitation (ostensibly for the *Fowey*, originally estimated at \$40,000), which it hands over to SCRUC (rather than including SEAC or FSU/ADP).

The result is a 1993 SCRUC-sponsored uncovering of the site, supposed site investigation and documentation (which has never been written up), dispersal and offsite burying of various artifacts and wreck components, and a “symposium” on proposed site-preservation methods which has resulted in no conclusive reports.

The site today remains relatively unprotected

and certainly without any preservation methods applied. It is an open question as to whether there are or have ever been any regular patrols or systematic monitoring observations taken on the site over time. Recently, there was a proposal made that the site ought to be completely excavated—without any accompanying budget proposal—because the park just didn't have the manpower to protect it. Considering the costs of retrieval and conservation alone, a million dollars would be laughable. Luckily, the United Kingdom has now taken an interest in the site, and at present considers it safe after 250 years, if the NPS will guard it. The best proposal for conservation and protection so far is that made in 1983 as a result of this documented investigation: cover it.

The book finishes with an overview of underwater archaeology legislation and regulations, which will entice the novice but will undoubtedly have to be researched further in more detail by the professional when dealing with any serious legal or legislative matters. The timeline of events listed in appendix 2 is especially informative for putting events in the book, which sometimes skips about, in their proper perspective.

This is a hearty tale, told clearly and with warmth, caution, humor, and even some good-old science with a capital “S.” Thank God the authors took it upon themselves to bring this story into the open. It is one of the earliest and best scientific shipwreck investigations carried out in the Americas, and the new breed of underwater archaeologists can learn to appreciate how it was carried out 25 years ago, before computers. Sure there is politics, but then, try to tell a story of archaeology, shipwrecks, treasure hunters, and the feds, in which there is none.

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*The Archaeology of Alcohol  
and Drinking*

Frederick H. Smith

University of Florida Press,  
Tallahassee, 2008. 176 pp., 14 illus.,  
16 b&w photos. \$24.95 paper.

In this book, Frederick H. Smith takes on a topic near and dear to the heart of many an archaeologist, and provides a thorough overview of previous scholarship as well as a new case study. More than just a review, four of Smith's seven chapters could be said to constitute a highly annotated bibliography of archaeological work and material culture related to alcohol consumption, brewing, and distillation, as well as important anthropological and historical discussions on the topic.

In the first of these chapters Smith reviews those elements of material culture frequently associated with alcohol, such as "Iberian storage jars" (often misleadingly called, as Smith suggests, "Spanish olive jars") and other ceramic forms, glass bottles, and wine glasses. He is frank about the difficulties these forms pose for the study of alcohol's role in social life, due to reuse and recycling, often very likely for nonalcoholic uses, but also suggests that there is more to be learned from their study.

But the use of alcoholic beverages had more far-reaching implications as well, and their production, transport, and consumption each led to specific material forms and social patterns. Each of these topics receives a review in a subsequent chapter. The third chapter focuses on production in both small and large contexts, how it has been identified through paleoethnobotanical work and the study of winery, brewery, and distillation sites, especially those associated with Caribbean sugar works. Smith includes a discussion of the social aspects of the work of making alcohol, such as the role of women and the lives of factory workers, and touches on studies which have addressed the manufacture of whiskey (legal and covert) and cider, before noting the work yet to be done on the topics of pulque, mescal, *quicou*, tequila, arrack, vodka, sake, gin, and brandy.

The consumption of alcohol has also contributed to the development of worldwide trade networks, and alcohol was integrated into new cultural contexts through colonialism. These are the topics of chapter 4. In addition to those contexts in which alcoholic beverages were newly introduced through colonial encounters, contributing to radical shifts in cultural practices, Smith is careful to note how this can occur even in cases in which groups were familiar with fermented drinks long before regular European contact.

The fifth is the most wide-ranging chapter, and among other topics includes an extensive discussion of tavern archaeology (pp. 64–73), and the role of drink in class negotiation and the maintenance (and disruption) of power structures (pp. 74–88). Working on the premise that "drinking is a conservative social behavior loaded with symbolic meaning," Smith also argues that Old World drinking habits were used to "sustain important social, sacred, and symbolic links" when people were transported to New World contexts (p. 88). This section includes a review of previous archaeological and historical work on Spanish, German, Dutch, Chinese, and other cultural drinking patterns, including particular emphasis on those of West African cultures.

Finally, Smith puts these sources to work in a case study which draws and elaborates on these discussions in presenting the site of Mapps Cave, Barbados. He provides an overview of the previously unpublished archaeological work conducted at this site in 1998 and 2003, and then, based on early-17th-century artifacts and the cave's peripheral location, suggests that it may have functioned as a hideout for runaway slaves shortly after the British first settled Barbados in 1627 (p. 112). Subsequent generations of enslaved people probably continued to utilize the site because it was hidden from the "panoptic gaze of plantation whites" (p. 125). He suggests that an important activity for these people was drinking, and that this was closely tied to resistance of the system of slavery in both minor (through the drink itself) and major (potentially through connections to the 1816 rebellion) ways, as well as being a way to cope with the hardships of enslaved life. The goal of the Mapps

Cave project was to provide “insights into the escapist and integrative role of alcohol drinking in Barbados” (p. 103), but it also acknowledges the contradictory role of alcohol among slaves in the Caribbean as both product of oppression and a means employed by whites to sustain it, and at the same time a spiritually and practically valued commodity for the oppressed themselves.

The Mapps Cave study and the balance of the book mutually reinforce each other. All literature reviews should include a practical model for their application, and all studies like that of Mapps Cave must of course thoroughly examine the work which went before, as is done here so well. The reviews in chapters 2 through 5 add weight and context to Smith’s arguments about the finds at this site. For instance, the discussion of “oath drinks” (pp. 130–131) is strengthened by the earlier review of West African traditional drinking practices and their frequent spiritual associations (pp. 92–94). Meanwhile, the argument for the importance of alcohol and its material culture in the course of recent history is strengthened by connections drawn between the Mapps Cave site

and studies of maroonage, the history of slave uprisings and spiritual practices, the experiences of the enslaved in the Caribbean, and the particular history of Barbados.

Throughout, Smith critiques the subsumption of alcohol into a “foodways” system, which “obfuscates the uniquely meaningful character of alcohol drinking” (p. 135), and a tendency to consider it to be an “indulgence” for past peoples. Another theme is the social role of alcohol consumption in relieving anxiety, which follows the seminal work of Donald Horton and acts as a guide for some of the interpretations of Mapps Cave. This very readable and substantial review of the extensive place of alcohol in recent history and its study in historical archaeology—including Smith’s own work at Mapps Cave and elsewhere—should provide an excellent reference for any archaeologist or student of the modern world.

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## *Digging It Up Down Under*

Claire Smith and Heather Burke

Springer Science and Business

Media, New York, NY, 2007. 326 pp.,

20 illus. \$149.00 cloth.

Imagine the scenario: an archaeologist is interested in obtaining field experience abroad. What jobs are available? What are the working conditions like? How does someone break into a new field? The World Archaeological Congress hopes to provide readers with some answers with its new series of Global Cultural Heritage Manuals. The inaugural volume in this series is *Digging It Up Down Under*, by Smith and Burke, and focuses on Australian archaeology.

*Digging It Up Down Under* often reads like an archaeologist's edition of the *Rough Guide to Australia*. Smith and Burke—and a wide variety of guest authors—sprinkle the text with checklists, words of advice, and enjoyable anecdotes about living and working in Australia. While this style makes for an enjoyable read, the volume also contains much substance, serving as an introductory primer in Australian archaeology and cultural heritage legislation. Each chapter includes an extensive bibliography and reading list. The volume also has four useful appendices, such as the “Australian Archaeology Yellow Pages” and codes of ethics for archaeological associations. Moreover, the authors are well informed on contemporary political and ethical issues, and dedicate much of the text to the relationships between archaeologists and aboriginal peoples.

The first chapter of the volume begins with a brief introduction to the history and development of Australian archaeology. The challenges of finding employment in the very small Australian archaeological community are made clear, as are the ethics of working as an archaeologist once employment is found. This chapter highlights the strong role that Indigenous communities have in cultural heritage management in Australia: “All of Australia is Indigenous land, and all Indigenous archaeology as it is practiced here is conducted in collaboration with Indigenous people” (p. 13). From the very first chapter, Smith and Burke

make it perfectly clear that archaeology in Australia is all about a living heritage.

Chapter 2, “An Introduction to Indigenous Australians,” provides the basic precontact background necessary to understanding archaeology in Australia, including information on early colonization of the continent, major archaeological discoveries, and discussions of precontact economies and trade networks. The differences between European and Indigenous Australian worldviews and knowledge systems are also discussed here. The chapter offers only an introduction to the subject, but the references cited will point the reader to more detailed sources.

Chapters 3 and 4 provide practical information on living and working in Australia. How to fund your stay in Australia is described in chapter 3. This chapter runs the gamut from how to find funding and fellowship opportunities for foreign students, to Australian-based research programs that offer grants for archaeological fieldwork. The fourth chapter, “Living It Up Down Under,” is an archaeologist's survival guide to Australia. Practical advice addresses climate, environment, and fauna; health and safety tips; and legalities, such as obtaining visas and paying taxes. Highlights, however, include serious—as well as tongue-in-cheek—information on the Australian character and lifestyle. All readers should enjoy the handy “Dig-Lingo Translator,” a warning sign for “Crocodile Safety,” and advice on how to survive in Australia as a nondrinking American.

Chapter 5 outlines cultural heritage legislation in Australia and how it is implemented at the commonwealth (federal), state, and local levels. The laws and regulations of each state and territory are discussed alongside advice provided by different archaeologists familiar with the day-to-day operations of working in those areas. Aboriginal heritage and native title, which are heavily protected in Australia, are emphasized throughout the discussion.

Chapters 6 through 8 are dedicated to “doing archaeology” on Indigenous, historic and maritime sites, respectively. These chapters provide not only descriptions of some artifact and site types, but also address the ethical and legal responsibilities of archaeologists working on

them. The reader is provided information on where to find resources to begin work—such as lists of relevant historical resources, qualifications needed, and advice on how to apply to work on Indigenous land. The chapters could have benefited from more illustration and description of artifacts and site types, but again, that information can be found in the sources listed in the reference section.

Site significance is the focus of chapter 9. The chapter addresses the concerns faced by archaeologists who must assess “which heritage sites are important enough to preserve and why” (p. 227). This chapter tackles some of the tough—but very practical—questions that archaeologists working in Australia will have to ask: What is the cultural significance of a site versus its historic or scientific significance? When should a site be conserved, and how? Do cultural resources mean different things to different communities? How should archaeologists present sites to the public? Smith and Burke guide the reader through some of these questions, using case studies and current debates in the field. They also provide practical advice on how to make statements and recommendations about significance.

The final chapter focuses on documentation and publication, including technical reports, community-based reports, and academic publishing. Some parts of this chapter are written very broadly, but there are just as many specifics—such as a list of Australian journals, how to write

“Aboriginal Community Reports,” and a discussion of Indigenous intellectual property rights.

This volume clearly provides the local knowledge necessary to prepare any archaeologist (or student, or volunteer) for a field season or job in the land down under. The real question is whether this manual will appeal to archaeologists who have no plans on working in Australia.

The main goal of this series—in addition to providing manuals on doing archaeology in different parts of the world—is to further cross-cultural discourses on managing cultural resources. *Digging It Up Down Under* is presented as a success story for cultural heritage management based on a model of cross-cultural collaboration. Smith and Burke highlight the importance of maintaining strong relationships between archaeologists and Indigenous communities in Australia. This working relationship plays out in different ways—whether that applies to gaining access to sacred sites or understanding the differences between Indigenous and European worldviews. As a result, the greatest appeal of this volume is its potential to help further engage archaeologists—no matter where they work—in cross-cultural discussions about their roles as cultural heritage managers.

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*Politics of the Fur Trade: Clay Tobacco  
Pipes at Fort Union Trading Post  
(32WI17)*

J. Byron Sudbury

Clay Pipes Press, Ponca City, OK,  
2009. 225 pp., 108 color photos.  
\$100.00 cloth.

As soon as this book is opened it is clear that it is different from much of the literature on clay pipes. The reason for that is the photographs. This book is an artifact study devoted to photo documenting and discussing a large and varied smoking pipe assemblage from the Fort Union Trading Post site in northwestern North Dakota. The Fort Union site is located near the confluence of the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers, and was occupied from 1828 to 1867. The National Park Service conducted excavations at the site during the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s prior to reconstructing the fort. Those excavations recovered a sizeable pipe assemblage numbering over 11,000 specimens, ranging from whole pipes to small fragments recovered by water screening. Sudbury's goals with this volume are to illustrate both the ball-clay and reed-stem pipe varieties represented in the collection, to identify sources of manufacture and dates for different pipe styles, and to suggest directions for future research with the Fort Union pipe collection.

The book consists of the main report on the pipe assemblage followed by six appendices of related material. The main report is divided into numerous sections and subsections, of which the data section is by far the largest. In that section the author organizes the presentation of the pipe assemblage into a series of six data sets: (1) De Vore's ball-clay pipe type specimens, (2) additional ball-clay pipe specimens of interest, (3) reed-stem pipes, (4) porcelain pipe fragments, (5) meerscham pipe fragments, and (6) vulcanite stem sections. The ball-clay and reed-stem pipes included in the first three data sets account for the vast majority of the collection; the last three are minor components. The ball-clay specimens are separated into two data sets because that portion of the pipe assemblage recovered during the

1968–1972 excavation was described by Stephen De Vore in a previous study with William J. Hunt, Jr. in 1993. Consequently, Sudbury adopts De Vore's typological scheme for the purpose of illustrating the pipes that De Vore described in the previous study. Sudbury then goes on to illustrate other ball-clay pipe specimens that do not fall into De Vore's categories.

The data section of the report reflects the size and complexity of the Fort Union pipe assemblage. The proliferation of variability in clay pipes in terms of decorative styles, shapes, sizes, and marks during the 19th century poses a formidable classificatory challenge. Further, clay pipe description tends to present a terminological minefield. A good example of this is the use of the terms "fluted," "ribbed," "cockled," and "scalloped." A type identified as "Cockle, Oval, and Dumbbell" (p. 27) is described as having "heavier cockles than the previous four cockle types (approaching scallops?)." Shortly thereafter, Sudbury writes that in the Fort Union catalogue notes and in other reports that describe this type, it appears that "there was some confusion in the distinction between cockles, scallops, and flutes." He goes on to suggest that all such specimens "are actually 'ribbed' which might be less confusing nomenclature." His point is well taken: for those steeped in the clay pipe literature the terminology may be part of the territory, but more generally, those archaeologists who are simply seeking to analyze the clay pipes in their artifact assemblages may find the terminology difficult to unravel.

With this in mind it is important to note that Sudbury includes a section on "Recommended Future Work" that offers a number of thoughtful and provocative ideas for future research with the Fort Union collection. In this regard the Fort Union assemblage may present an opportunity for further typological analysis. Given the size of the collection, a substantial amount of the variability in 19th-century clay pipes is represented. Consequently, this collection may present an opportunity to initiate a formal, expandable classification system for 19th-century clay pipes. This would help develop consistency and comparability among types and reduce terminological subjectivity.

The photo documentation effort that serves as the basis for this volume is truly impressive. The author photographed the entire pipe collection using a fixed camera to achieve consistent scale, and white fluorescent side lighting to bring out detail. This process amassed a total of over 25,000 photographs documenting the collection and providing a resource that will facilitate further analysis of the collection.

As a result, it should come as no surprise that the volume is profusely illustrated. In the introduction, the author points out that description of the pipe specimens is achieved more through visual means than verbal. The fact that the 140-page report on the pipe collection includes 108 color figures provides a sense of the density of illustration in the book. The photographic representation of the Fort Union Trading Post pipe collection is clearly the major strength of the volume. This extensive photographic record assembled under one cover allows extraordinary access to this important pipe collection for comparative purposes.

Beyond the exhaustive illustration of pipe styles, another major goal of this study was the identification of source countries in which the pipes in the collection were manufactured. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of this discussion is Sudbury's conclusion that Germany was a major supplier of the pipes present in the Fort Union assemblage. This pertains not only to a number of reed-stem varieties, but also to some white clay types. For example, Sudbury points out that 13-star patriotic TD pipes, and reed-stem pipes made in the likenesses of American presidents have often been assumed to be American-made products. He presents evidence, however, that these styles were in fact made in Germany for export to the U.S.

The observation that Germany was a major supplier of the pipes represented in the Fort Union collection is a prominent topic in Sudbury's book. In addressing that topic, he frequently cites a 1995 publication of the Glas- und Keramikmuseum Großalmerode, Germany, by Hans-Georg Stephan, entitled *Großalmerode, ein europäisches Zentrum der Herstellung von technischer Keramik* (Großalmerode, a European Center of the Manufacture of Technical Ceramics), part 2, as a main source of information on the likely German origin of a number of pipe styles. This of course piques the reader's interest in

this source. What is the gist of Stephan's book? What evidence does he present, archaeological, documentary, or both? Appendix 1, figure 44 (p. 166) provides a reproduction of one of the figures in Stephan's book. The caption for that figure indicates that the pipes shown were "recovered from the Grossalmerode production site in Germany." Thus it appears that the pipe data reported by Stephan were recovered from a pipe-manufacturing site in Germany. Given that this is a German-language publication that may not be easy to find, a brief summary of Stephan's work would have helped introduce the reader to this oft-cited source.

The discussion of the German connection in regard to pipe suppliers to the U.S. market is part of why Sudbury used the phrase "politics of the fur trade" in the title of the book. This might lead the reader to anticipate a discussion of how the clay pipe assemblage provides insight into the internal political workings of the 19th-century fur trade in the West. The title, however, refers to a broader discussion of the numerous countries that exported pipes to the U.S. during the 19th century. Historical archaeologists are familiar with a similar situation with British-produced ceramics with decorative styles made specifically to appeal to the American market. This is useful information for understanding sources of supply and participation in global economic systems. One could also suggest, however, that the observation that a number of pipe-exporting countries are represented in the Fort Union collection is equally illustrative of the economics of the fur trade.

*Politics of the Fur Trade* is an ambitious work, especially in regard to the photo documentation of the pipe collection and the subsequent quantity and quality of the illustrations in the book. As such, it provides archaeologists and other researchers access to a substantial assemblage of 19th-century clay pipe material. This is a volume that will become a widely used reference in the analysis of excavated clay pipe collections. The book will have particular appeal to those engaged in clay pipe research, and will serve more generally as a tool for archaeologists working with clay pipe assemblages from 19th-century sites.

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*Archaeological Concepts for the  
Study of the Cultural Past*

Alan P. Sullivan (editor)

University of Utah Press, Salt Lake  
City, 2008. 288 pp., 41 illus., 5  
tables. \$25.00 paper.

In *Archaeological Concepts for the Study of the Cultural Past*, Alan Sullivan sets out an ambitious agenda to find approaches to studying the cultural past that are based on concepts outside cultural anthropology. Rather than rely upon perceptions grounded in ethnographic or ethnological views, the contributors to this volume were tasked with developing outside tools to assess the archaeological record. In doing so, the authors demonstrate how integrating data provided by other fields can help archaeologists overcome the limits of current cultural anthropological thought, how physical manifestations of historic activities such as remnant magnetism, scientific research, and spatial relationships can help interpret anthropogenic phenomena, and how examining differences between reference data and the ethnographic record provide new explanations of the history.

Sullivan begins his book by approaching an archaeological record not from the perspective of ethnography or ethnology, but from an archaeological viewpoint. He argues that to determine the suitability of a collection to address particular questions, one must use more than an artifact assemblage to understand the origins and formations of that record. Using archaeobotanical and pollen evidence in concert with historic precipitation data, Sullivan was able to draw conclusions about ancient provisioning strategies in the Grand Canyon that ethnographic accounts did not divulge. Using these data he was able to reveal traces of human behavior that may otherwise be outside the scope of historic or ethnographic records.

In a similar vein, Paul Goldberg argues that the geological context in which archaeological materials are found should be more fully incorporated into discussions of site formation and historic activities. Goldberg recounts his interactions with archaeologists who marginalized

or ignored the geological data he was providing. In addition to outlining the importance of these data in archaeological studies, he stresses the importance of geology in the curriculum and provides ideas on how better to exhibit the archaeological and geological data to impart more meaningful information. The crux of his argument is the disconnect between the geological and archaeological data, and how over his 35 years of experience the situation has changed little.

This leads into David Killick's piece on the differences in the science of archaeology between American and Britain. Killick contends that a gap has developed between the two countries in the realms of new scientific methods, the integration of these methods into archaeological practice, and the provisioning of an infrastructure to promote new and better work. While he draws comparisons about the types of research conducted within the respective countries and how some studies are better suited for particular environments than others, the heart of his discussion is on Britain's national efforts to fund archaeological study and promote cross-disciplinary work, and how this can be pursued in America.

Ken Kvamme writes about one such discipline that is gaining a following in America: the use of remote sensing in pattern recognition. Consuming considerably less time than shovel-test units and traditional archaeological excavation, and covering considerably more ground, Kvamme submits that patterns observed through remote sensing techniques, based on basic natural laws and experience, can be designated as human or natural landscape signatures without ever putting a shovel to the ground. Examples are provided of burned historic structures, a cemetery, cattle trails, and hearths, along with descriptions of some of the technologies used and the environments for which they are best suited. While the author admits that not every site can benefit from remote sensing technology due to landscape (i.e., forested areas), under suitable conditions remote sensing can provide detailed maps of large areas, helping define human modifications and directing future research.

Putting his hands on the data in question, Harold Dibble's article focuses on lithic assemblages.

In the first part of the article, he focused on methods for analyzing lithic assemblages. Dibble outlines how common analytical techniques such as use-wear, residue, and refitting analyses, and replicative experiments were developed outside archaeology. Then he explores the mechanics of flake production and how there are fundamental physical characteristics of lithic assemblages and their contexts that require investigation. Although the approaches described here are based in the fields of fracture mechanics and geology for example, they reveal telling data about the cultural past.

Julie Stein's piece on the evolution of provenience and how we understand it is a reflection on how archaeology has developed tighter spatial control, and therefore stronger data. Originating in other disciplines, the concept of provenience has gradually changed within the archaeological literature to reflect better the needs of archaeologists, their field methods, and their theories. These improvements in turn helped define the archaeological sciences by providing spatial boundaries for the data and consideration of cultural and natural processes.

These spatial boundaries are at the heart of James Enloe's article on the study of occupation surfaces. While many archaeological sites are palimpsests of historic activity, spatial patterning on identifiable occupation surfaces can help address specific questions about past behaviors and develop theoretical issues. Enloe's example is his study of food sharing among hunter gatherer communities

and how this sharing potentially played social and economic roles. By tracing the distribution of faunal remains from the same specimen across the site, Enloe was able to use methods from mammalian osteology and ethnoarchaeology to address specifically cultural questions.

Michael Deal's chapter on abandonment patterning rounds out the volume. Deal describes how human settlement and landscape abandonment is manifest in structural and portable artifacts. By understanding environmental impacts, disposal practices, structure reuse and renovation, and site permanency in concert with continued ethnoarchaeological and experimental studies, Deal outlines the stages of site abandonment in the Mayan region of Mexico. Knowledge of outside influences on abandoned sites helps detail the history of the sites, including why some artifacts are present and other are not, and why a site or the region was abandoned.

Each chapter in Alan Sullivan's edited volume explores the influences that have profound impacts on archaeology and our approaches to understanding the past. Rather than hide archaeology in the shadow of cultural anthropology, this book shows the necessity of cross-disciplinary studies and the need for developing new methods to address the historical record.

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## *Metal Detecting and Archaeology*

Suzie Thomas and Peter G. Stone  
(editors)

Boydell Press, Woodbridge, UK,  
2009. 224 pp., 67 figs., 7 pls., 3  
tables, index. \$95.00 cloth.

*Metal Detecting and Archaeology*, edited by Suzie Thomas and Peter G. Stone, is a compilation of chapters by 19 authors associated with the “Buried Treasure: Building Bridges” conference held at Newcastle upon Tyne in northeast England. The meeting was envisioned as a forum for exploring mutual interests, issues of contention, and the potential for productive collaboration among cultural resource professionals and metal-detecting hobbyists. In the foreword, Lord Redesdale notes that the divide between the two groups has been infused with elements of “class politics and social division,” as professional archaeologists have long maintained proprietary authority over historic cultural resources and heritage. With her introduction to the volume, Suzie Thomas also immediately confronts the longstanding distrust between the two factions, while clearly attempting to maintain an evenhanded approach to the topic. This compendium includes the viewpoints of academic anthropologists and archaeologists, government officials, museum curators, civil servants, metal detectorists, and interested members of the public. Collectively, the authors represent disparate perspectives from England and Wales, as well as Poland, South Africa, Scotland, Northern Ireland, and the United States.

Much of what is described has a universally familiar quality that will resonate with those who read this book. Integral to the overt examination of the specific relationship between archaeology and metal detecting are important implications that relate archaeology to cultural heritage, methodology, education and outreach, preservation, and cultural resource management laws, regulations, and standards—public archaeology of international scope. Those who are interested in history and involved in cultural resource preservation will find it is easy to draw parallels, based

on personal experience, from the situations and issues presented.

The vehicle that communicates this encompassing subject matter is the documentation of struggles and compromises between cultural resource professionals and a public that lays claim to knowledge and objects associated with a shared heritage, property ownership, and perceived rights. Persistently operating beneath the surface of those legitimate concerns is the insidious element of looting solely for financial profit by “nighthawks.”

As related by Thomas, the device used by the metal-detecting hobbyist today originated in a life-and-death urgency to locate landmines during World War II. In chapter 4, Cornelison and Smith chronicle pioneering uses of metal detecting in the U.S., noting that archaeologists experimented with the technology as early as the 1950s. The majority of professionals though, came to view metal detecting as ineffective for their individual applications. In response to increased use by hobbyists, archaeologists became concerned about the perception of association with treasure hunting, and have largely resisted the technology.

Following early successes by Dean Snow working at the Revolutionary War Saratoga battlefield, archaeologists Doug Scott and Richard Fox collaborated with metal detectorists in the 1980s and began to dispel negative perceptions through their innovative surveys at the Little Big Horn battlefield. Their research exemplified the value of large-scale, method-driven data collection, as well as professional/amateur cooperation.

Although metal detecting as a hobby began in the U.S. soon after World War II, Addyman in chapter 5 notes that concerns relating to its use for “treasure hunting” in Great Britain arose in the 1970s. Using “native wit,” British hobbyists were locating numerous archaeological sites, and archaeologists were, early, disorganized in their response. Lacking an organized focus, complaints by the professional community were interpreted by the public as elitist protectionism and jealousy. Early campaigns, such as Stop Taking Our Past, attempting to influence public opinion against the metal-detecting hobby, ultimately proved divisive and counterproductive. Thomas relates that those

trying to reach across the aisle were maligned by loyalists on both sides of the debate. Similar to their U.S. counterparts, British archaeologists began to shun the technology for fear of being perceived as condoning treasure hunting.

Archaeologists have long contended that non-scientific excavation does irreparable damage to historical provenience. Thomas correctly observes that much of the information to be gained from an artifact is associated with its physical context within a cultural landscape. Countering that argument, English metal-detector users point out that many of the objects they discover in rural settings have already lost their context due to deep plowing, and are in imminent danger of being destroyed. Further, hobbyists claim credit for fantastic finds that might otherwise have remained undiscovered. The schism between the two sides was widened by a nationally infamous incident at Wanborough, England, where a Romano-British temple site was massively looted in the 1980s. The subsequent trial and accompanying publicity was seen by many as manipulation and politicization by the archaeological community for the purpose of bringing about more restrictive British common law.

To illuminate modern relations between British archaeologists, amateurs, and hobbyists, the authors provide some background on laws pertaining to cultural resources in England. The Treasure Trove Law can be traced to the 12th century when it was enforced as a deterrent to the medieval-era tax-evasion practice of hiding valuables rather than declaring them. Under the law, anyone finding gold or silver was obligated to report the find to the appropriate authority. If the owner could not be located, the "treasure" passed to the Crown. If it could be shown that the objects had been accidentally lost or buried without intention of recovery (votive), ownership passed to the landowner. In 1996, the Treasure Act was passed as a refinement to the Treasure Trove Law, but was soon perceived as less than effective and difficult to enforce. It is the more recent Portable Antiquities Scheme that is credited with providing a wealth of information on both archaeological sites and artifacts.

In chapter 6, Bland explains that the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) was conceived as a means to (1) promote public responsibility for voluntarily recording archeological finds, and (2) dramatically decrease the irreplaceable loss

of information due to rampant underreporting. Museums were unable to raise funds to purchase an estimated half of all finds that consequently went unrecorded under the old system. PAS provides a distinction between public acquisition of artifacts and the reporting/recording of data associated with finds. Bland reports that as of January 2008, the PAS database (<<http://www.finds.org.uk>>) contained 210,000 records and 160,000 images relating to 317,000 objects. The scheme recognizes metal detecting as a legal activity, and without promoting the practice seeks to engage users rather than ignore them. Metal-detector users report approximately 68% of finds recorded by finds liaison officers, and Bland estimates that more than half of the metal-detector users operating in England are reporting finds. As illustrated by Richards and Naylor in chapter 15, benefits of the data being captured by PAS include geographic information system applications in which the spatial attributes of finds are being used to compose specific site distributions for modeling settlement patterns across England through time.

By most accounts presented here, the success of PAS is due in large part to the nationwide network of finds liaison officers (FLOs) who have direct contact with metal detectorists and other members of the public through organized events and other forms of outreach. In chapter 10, detectorist Trevor Austin comments that the FLOs understand the hobby of metal detecting just as they understand archaeology and the environment, and they discuss the issues honestly. Commenting on the relationship, Austin describes metal detecting as "a hobby that has responsibilities," and expresses a commonly held desire for more opportunities to work alongside archaeologists.

The book includes a number of examples of collaborations between the archaeological and metal-detecting communities. In chapter 11, Spencer recounts what could be considered a paradigm shift in British numismatics. With the advent of the metal detector the traditional focus in the study of historic coins shifted from known collections to coins being discovered beneath farmlands. In contrast to the contents of known collections based on savings and currency, metal-detecting surveys in the hinterlands were producing rarely seen cut coins and small denominations associated with the transactions



of ordinary folk. Spencer and other experts realized that prior to this revelation the study of numismatics had been constructed through a selective process biased toward the wealthy who hoarded, collected, and bequeathed.

Readers of *Metal Detecting and Archaeology* will gain insights into cultural resource management approaches elsewhere in the world. Lodwick, in chapter 9, reports that Wales operates under a PAS system similar to that used in England. The system in those two areas is considered to be liberal by comparison with Scotland, described by Saville in chapter 7, where all archaeological finds of any age, type, or material must be reported, and belong to the finder only if the Crown does not claim them. Landowners there have no claim to antiquities discovered on their property. Hurl, of Northern Ireland, reports in chapter 8 that all archaeological excavation requires a license. In Poland, as outlined by Kobylinski and Szpanowski in chapter 2, the state claims ownership of all archaeological finds, and laws prohibit private collections and trade in artifacts. In chapter 3, Becker states that metal-detector use in South Africa requires a permit issued by a professional council that requires justification and affiliation with a professional agency.

In her introduction to this volume, Thomas acknowledges concerns associated with the destruction of the primary context of artifacts in the field. Here the message must be clearly communicated that there are aspects of primary context that can and must be interpreted only by a professional archaeologist. That said, a key element of context is relative location on

the landscape. In chapter 16, Pollard begins to address concerns of location and relative context with an outline of a systematic methodology for data collection in metal detecting. The elements of the methodology will be completely familiar to those who have conducted Total Station site mapping and archaeogeophysical surveys using electrical resistance, magnetometry, electromagnetic conductivity, magnetic susceptibility, or ground-penetrating radar. Despite a long-held reputation as an unsystematic tool, metal detecting is identified by the authors contributing to this book as another form of remote sensing. As such, it must then contribute precise, reconstructable, and permanent data.

Generally focusing on the positive, Thomas and the assembled authors encourage cooperation. Education and public outreach are precepts that are underpinning the “bridges” being constructed to connect metal-detector users and other members of the interested and conscientious public to archaeology. Thomas suggests that metal-detector users be viewed in terms of their potential contribution, and as providing an opportunity in a time of “community archaeology.” As demonstrated in this book, metal detecting is most successful in the hands of a skilled user, just as archaeology is done best by archaeologists. Based on those clear criteria, successful collaborations are producing extraordinary results.

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*Telling New Mexico: A New History*

Marta Weigle with Frances Levine and Louise Stiver (editors)

Museum of New Mexico Press,  
Santa Fe, 2009. 483 pp., 55 b&w  
photos. \$45.00 cloth.

This recent volume from the University of New Mexico Press, edited by distinguished New Mexico historian, Marta Weigle, New Mexico History Museum director Frances Levine, and New Mexico History Museum senior curator Louise Stiver represents an ambitious attempt to tell New Mexico history on a broad scale from its earliest days to our modern period, for the upcoming occasion of the state's centennial in 2012.

This is not, however, a general history in any sense of the word. It represents a marvelous collection of essays prepared by 45 scholars and writers who reflect almost every facet of New Mexico's long and rich history. The book is organized into seven parts followed by an epilogue concerning the opening of the New Mexico History Museum adjacent to the Palace of the Governors on Santa Fe Plaza.

Part 1, "Light, Land, Water, and Wind," has eight essays that focus on the natural world of light, geology, mountains, waterways, windscaapes, minescaapes, and culturescaapes, and includes writings by Jake Page (1995) on light, Larry Crumpler (2001) on the geology of volcanoes, William Debuys (1985) on the culture of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, Sylvia Rodriguez (2006) on the politics and culture of acequias, Roland Dickey on the magic and loneliness of wind, Rina Swentzell (1985) on Pueblo cultural space, and Haniel Long (1941) on the phenomenon of Carlsbad Cavern tourism.

Part 2, "Beyond History's Records," includes four essays that focus on Native American New Mexico. This section of the book contains essays by the noted anthropologist Alfonso Ortiz from San Juan Pueblo, describing the traditional cultural landscape of New Mexico from a Native American perspective (1979); and Tom Kennedy, executive director of the Zuni Awan Museum and Heritage Center, and Dan Simplico, former Zuni

tribal council member and advocate for the Zuni Salt Lake (2009) writing on first contact with the Spanish at Hawikku and the cultural cataclysms that followed. Peter Iverson (2002) speaks of Navajo history in his essay "Black Clouds Will Rise," and Veronica Velarde Tiller (2000) tells the story of the Jicarilla Apache through their origin story and early contact with the Spanish.

Part 3, titled "The Northern Province," contains six essays that focus on the Spanish period in New Mexico. Thomas Chavez (2009), former director of the Palace of Governors, provides an overview of Spain in the New World and life in colonial New Mexico. Rick Hendricks of the University of New Mexico Library (2009) tells the story of Juan de Onate, the first successful colonizer and governor of New Mexico. Alfonso Ortiz (1980) speaks of the religious nature of the Pueblo Revolt and the Tewa leader, Po'pay. Rick Hendricks (2009) provides another essay, this time on Diego de Vargas, who led the reconquest of New Mexico for Spain in the years following the Pueblo Revolt in 1680, and his role as governor of New Mexico in 1688. John L. Kessel (2009), founding editor of the Vargas Project describes the visit of Bishop Pedro Tamaron in 1760, and the three-day burlesque parody when a Pecos Pueblo carpenter and head of a clown society, Agustin Guichi, became a sham bishop. Joe Sando (1992), member of Jemez Pueblo and former director of the Pueblo Indian Study and Research Center in Albuquerque, provides a brief look at the silver-crowned canes of pueblo office given as symbols of authority by the Spanish to pueblo governors.

In part 4, "Linking Nations," are four essays that focus on New Mexico during the Mexican period following independence from Spain. Robert Torrez, former state historian for the Mexico Records Center, tells the story of Mexican patriotism during the transition from independence from Spain to the arrival of General Kearny and the Americans. Oakah Jones (1999) describes the role of the Camino Real in New Mexico history. Michael Olson (2009) discusses the role of the Santa Fe Trail in the cultural and economic history of New Mexico. John Kessel (1979) provides another essay, this time on

Pecos Pueblo and the migration of its residents to Jemez Pueblo.

Part 5, "Becoming the Southwest," contains nine essays that cover such diverse topics as the state seal of New Mexico, authored by the New Mexico secretary of state (2003), Durwood Ball (2009) describing the role of the U.S. Army in New Mexico from 1848 to 1886, William Wroth (2006) telling the story of the buffalo soldiers in New Mexico, and Margaret Connell-Szasz (2009) discussing the cultural encounters among Native Americans in New Mexico from 1848 to 1948. Also, Malcolm Ebright reviews the history of Hispanic land grants and Indian lands, including the Court of Private Land Claims and the role of the Santa Fe Ring in land issues. Marc Simmons (2006) tells the story of Billy the Kid and the Lincoln County War. Daniel Gibson (1986) explores New Mexico's multicultural heritage in his essay on a community of black settlers at Blackdom, located south of Roswell. Marta Weigle (2009) provides a look at the efforts of the railroads and the New Mexico Highway Department to promote New Mexico for tourism. Michael Stevenson (2006) provides the last essay in this section, on the museum and collections of the Historical Society of New Mexico

Part 6, "The 'New' New Mexico," includes 11 essays on modern New Mexico, including the New Mexico secretary of state (2003) writing on the state constitution; Marta Weigle (2009) on state flags and the first state song; Sara Deutch (2009) on the history of labor relations in New Mexico, the "*Plan de San Diego*," Pancho Villa's raid, and Reies Tijerina and the Tierra Amarilla County Courthouse incident. Estevan Rael-Galvaz (2009) provides the story of two New Mexico WPA writers' project interviews. Ferenc Szasz (2009) discusses New Mexico during the Second

World War. William Gibbs (1999) tells the story of the Roswell UFO controversy and mystery. John Hunner (2004) reviews the secrecy issues at Los Alamos in the 1950s. Jason Silverman (2006) tells the story of rock-and-roll icon Buddy Holly's Clovis, New Mexico recording studio. The architect of the capitol (2006) describes the statue of New Mexico senator Dennis Chavez, and Maria Montoya (2002) provides a biographical sketch of Senator Chavez. Jennifer Denetdale (2007) reviews 100 years of Dine history and the Bosque Redondo Memorial.

Part 7, "My New Mexico," provides nine essays that focus on the many faces of New Mexico. Paul Allen (1998) writes of Laguna Pueblo stories and the nuclear age. Gail Okawa (2009) writes of the Japanese internment camp in Santa Fe. Lois Rudnik (1996) tells the story of Taos and its counterculture spanning many decades. Debra Hughes (2006) writes of Joe Powdrell, his barbecue restaurant, and the NAACP in Albuquerque. John Nieto-Phillips (2004) writes on Spanish American identity. Maria Lopez (2009) provides an account of Mexican immigrants into New Mexico. John Hummer (2007) writes of the study of public history in New Mexico. The architect of the capitol (2006) describes the statue of Po'pay in the National Statuary Hall.

The editors of this volume should be complimented for the depth and breadth of their selections in this extraordinary group of essays that documents the multicultural history of New Mexico. It has been a long time since this reviewer has enjoyed such a collection of essays.

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*Barbarians to Angels: The Dark Ages Reconsidered*

Peter S. Wells

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Peter S. Wells is an archaeologist best known for his work on the Iron Age and early Roman periods in transalpine Europe. In *Barbarians to Angels: The Dark Ages Reconsidered*, a book aimed at a popular audience, he argues that historians have misinterpreted developments between A.D. 400 and 800 because they have relied on sparse and biased written sources instead of employing the relatively plentiful archaeological materials. Historians have thus failed to illuminate the “Dark Ages,” where they have placed “too much faith in texts concerning warfare and mass movements of people that can lead us astray.”

Wells describes his work as a “bottom up” rather than “top down” attempt to provide a reliable picture of barbarian culture over four centuries. To that end he presents a series of chapters on, among other themes, views of the declining Roman Empire, which actually continued to provide continuity in significant ways; “Dark Age kings” across northern Europe, whose panoplies contained both Roman and barbarian elements; Roman cities which continued as active urban areas throughout the period; a “revolution in the countryside” in which technological innovations and the three-field crop rotation system markedly increased food production; and the spread of Christianity, which is described as producing a syncretistic religion in which older practices continued under a thin coating of novelty. Older arguments about decline in these centuries are thus contradicted, and the period emerges as “a time of brilliant cultural activity” in which “the rantings of late Roman writers about societies they did not understand” are shown to be foiled by the creative dynamism of barbarian populations that led in important ways to modern Western civilization.

The present writer admits to ambivalence in reviewing this book because he shares Wells’s enthusiastic interest in barbarian culture and

its much-underplayed significance. One school of historians now exists in which the barbarian component in the threefold mix of Western civilization (the other two are the classical past and Christianity) is constantly minimized in order to emphasize an ideologically less-problematic Roman preponderance, less problematic that is, for elites of the European Union. Although Wells sometimes overstates the degree of Roman continuity (in terms of city life, for example) he performs a genuine service in seeking to rectify an imbalance. Unfortunately, he does not appear to be well read in the texts that he criticizes, and which do not, contrary to his constantly reiterated opinion, deal solely with the upper classes. It is, moreover, disconcerting to see Gregory of Tours, the author of a famous 6th-century history, portrayed as “a Frank himself,” whose work is thus an improvement over writers like Ammianus, Marcellinus, or Jordanes, who did not belong to the groups they described. Actually, Gregory was a Gallo-Roman bishop of aristocratic lineage who had a low opinion of Frankish culture. Nor does it build any confidence to read that the renowned Bede of Northumbria “wrote his history of England in the seventh century”—it was an 8th-century work—or to find that he is best known today “for his five-volume *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*,” when it is a single volume divided into five books for the sake of organization. Having referred to Bede’s work in this manner, it is further worrisome to find Wells stating that “In the British Isles, the inhabitants are known as Irish, Picts, Scots, and from the fourth century on, newly arrived Angles, Saxons and Jutes.” More than one thing is wrong with this sentence, but the most obvious error is the exclusion of the Britons, the vastly most numerous people whom Bede constantly excoriated, and who gave their name to the island itself. As for arguments about the nature of the so-called “Dark Ages,” most historians jettisoned that term over a generation ago because they recognized *then* its misleading implications. Wells’s revival of the corpse under these circumstances serves no purpose except to buttress a straw man and to dramatize his exaggerations about what texts cannot reveal and what material culture can.

Constrained here by space, only two other difficulties can be mentioned. One is the author's view that the migrating Germanic peoples were small in number and not particularly violent. That is a fairly recent thesis upheld by some scholars but opposed by others. In this case and elsewhere, Wells does not discuss contrary evidence and thus conveys a misleading impression to interested but uninformed readers. Similarly, Wells's chapter on the "spread of the new religion" is entirely inadequate. Matters of belief and intellectual commitment in this period cannot be accurately gauged by occasional pieces of material culture (which themselves present multiple interpretive possibilities), especially when only one percent of that material has been excavated. Syncretism certainly existed in the early Middle Ages, but a useful interpretation of the various beliefs and rituals encountered calls for the kind of sophisticated and nuanced analyses that are not to be found in *Barbarians to Angels*. In fact, the spread of Christianity is only in small part explainable through Wells's favored device of a substitution paradigm, a church at a former sacrificial site for example, because the substitutions that can be cited are mainly of a superficial character. Because Christianity was a *salvific* religion with a complex theology and organization, it cannot easily be compared to the elementary pattern of *do ut des* religiosity ("I give so that you may give") that typified Germanic, Celtic, and Roman paganism. Nor was the "new religion" always that new by 400. For example, the "little wolf," Ulfilas, the noted missionary to the Goths, had converted large numbers of Goths by 348, and the Goths of the 5th century may have been predominantly

Christian. In the final analysis, the "spread of the new religion" occurred because it offered the powerfully appealing quality of hope in an often dismal world. Any proponent of a "bottom up" approach to historical interpretation should be aware of this.

Over the past decade, publishers have responded well to a growing public interest in barbarian cultures of the late ancient and early medieval worlds. This is a good thing for archaeologists and historians alike. The resultant publications are of uneven quality, however, because the factual complexity of evidence tends to be sacrificed to market requirements of simplicity and drama. Therein lies the rub. By suggesting through continual usage that an outdated term possesses modern professional currency, by neglecting to discuss significant contrary evidence and argument, by exaggerating the originality of his own approach and finding, Wells has diminished the value of a book that might have done some good. The culture of the barbarian centuries is a fascinating topic of inquiry but it was only rarely "brilliant," and then only in certain times and places. Had Wells chosen to study serfdom, slavery, mortality rates, law, feud, warfare, and the sheer drudgery of daily life, he might have reached different conclusions. Even when balanced against extraordinary achievements in art and literature, the proverbial glass was never more than half full.

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