Making Archaeology Happen: Design versus Dogma MARTIN CARVER

Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, CA, 2011. 184 pp., 30 illus., 5 tables, bib., index. \$94.00 cloth, \$29.95 paper.

The subtitle, *Design versus Dogma*, gets to the heart of this book. In this contribution to archaeological thought, Martin Carver jovially and controversially advocates a more holistic and flexible approach to the central craft of archaeology: discovering new knowledge about the human past from landscapes, sites, features, contexts, artifacts, sediments, and, increasingly, from molecules and atoms.

Carver is dissatisfied with the current state of the discipline, particularly with the way in which field projects are done: "practice ... unduly fossilized ... procedures are unambitious, unquestioning, standardized, resigned to a low quality and wedded to default systems"—the "Dogma" of the title. Archaeologists are all taken to task: cultural resource management (CRM) ("the wrong job [done] in the wrong way," "paid to record sites rather than research them"), and academic archaeology ("[work] often of low standard done without recognition of ... obligations to CRM ... not making enough use of the professional sector").

Carver is a British pragmatist whose treatment of archaeological theory from Binford to the present is concise (three pages) but unenthusiastic and mildly sardonic. He is much more interested in the how and the why of archaeological research in its widest sense and in archaeologists' role in society than in the virtues or vices of, for example, post-processualism.

In chapter 1, "A Visit to the Ancestors," archaeologists are shown what dogmatists they all are. Carver adroitly kicks Sir Mortimer Wheeler, a British archaeological icon, off his pedestal. He exposes Wheeler as an overly rigid practitioner, convinced of his own rectitude and

of everyone else's folly, especially his benighted archaeological rivals of the Middle East. Carver turns Wheeler's dogma on its head and argues that the supposed inadequacies and chaos Wheeler saw in Middle Eastern archaeology were nothing of the kind.

Archaeologists in that region, like archaeologists everywhere, worked to develop an effective methodological (or "Design") response to three key factors: terrain, objectives, and social context. The skill of archaeological design, as Carver uses the word here, is to integrate these three factors in such a way as to maximize the recovery of new knowledge from the earth. By terrain, he means all the physical and environmental factors that influence archaeological resources at a particular location. Objectives are just that: what do archaeologists want to discover? Social context is the social, economic, and political environment within which archaeologists work and are a part.

Carver stands back from testing and recording systems and shows how dogmatic and "cultural" these are too. This reviewer now realizes that he has been one of those who has promoted the British "context and open-area excavation" system with "an almost religious fervor" (p. 21). The wearer of such ideological blinkers fails to give credence to other valid systems developed for other types of "terrain" and moderated by objectives and social context. Carver's examples of the New World test-pits culture and the North European schnitten complex are interestingly plotted in perhaps the first-published distribution map of different archaeological testing philosophies (fig. 4.8). Pragmatism is once again the message here.

Having introduced his three concepts, Carver gives two of them—the terrain and the social context—their own chapters. Along the way he manages to give an informative summary of emerging archaeological analysis tools, presents case studies of social context and archaeology (including New York City's African Burial Ground saga), and then plunges into the world of archaeological sociopolitics. What social and political circumstances make

archaeology happen? Who does it? Who pays? What is getting studied? In this wide-ranging critique he makes some trenchant remarks about outmoded class attitudes in the profession and on the threat posed by postmodern attitudes to universal archaeological value and objectives. Historical archaeologists come into his sights on the latter point.

At this point (p. 78) Carver raises a key question: "Does the value of archaeological strata lie in their being monuments or in giving knowledge?" (Non-British readers should understand the rather quaint-sounding term "monument" to mean, in this context, a legally designated, preserved, and [often] displayed or interpreted historic site that is seen as part of the cultural patrimony).

This question goes to the heart of CRM as it is currently being practiced. Is it primarily concerned with conserving resources or seeking new knowledge? Carver thinks both are key, but in effect bucks a 50-year trend by advocating a bolder approach to archaeological research that privileges knowledge over preservation (while certainly not abandoning the latter). The archaeological community of today is heavily vested in a conservation ethic, and anything that seeks to modify that is likely to be challenged. Carver, however, seeks to convince the reader that his approach is *better by design*.

His vision, expressed as a "remedial strategy," is chiefly laid out in his core chapter, "From Procurement to Product: a Road Map." It goes something like this: in the future, archaeologists will always be selected by project sponsors (be they public or private), not on the basis of competitive tender, but by

winning a design competition process modeled on that used for selecting architects. This is another of the roots of the design philosophy of the title: archaeologists are as skilled and socially relevant as architects and should be seen to be so. Sponsors will have taxation and broader social inducements to follow this new system.

The project designs he envisages would be founded on much sounder evaluation methodologies than those now reflexively used. That accomplished, terrain (or resource model), objectives (or research agenda), and social context are brought together into a project design. The latter is explicitly divided between a research program, to acquire new knowledge, and a resource management program, to protect whatever remains of the resource. As an example of this approach, he cites his Sutton Hoo Project, which was a test bed for this book's ideas. This system, he argues, must apply as much to academic archaeologists as to commercial ones, and indeed he looks to a time when sensible teaming between these two groups will be routine.

Woven through this less-than-200-page "polemic" is useful, practical, and well-referenced information. Carver asserts that this published version of his 2010 Rhind Lectures to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland is like "a lunchtime chat at the site edge." It is much more than that, and it deserves to generate an active debate.

IAN BURROW HUNTER RESEARCH, INC. 120 WEST STATE STREET TRENTON, NJ 08608 St Pancras Burial Ground:
Excavations for St Pancras
International, the London
Terminus of High Speed 1, 2002–3
PHILLIP EMERY AND KEVIN
WOOLDRIDGE

Gifford/Rambol, London, UK, 2011. 231 pp., 180 illus., 35 tables, bib., index, app. on CD-ROM. £27.95 cloth.

This monograph on the burial ground at St. Pancras, London, recounts the recovery process and findings from an intensive cultural resource management undertaking in the face of an impending rail construction project. The research is comprehensive and includes detailed investigations into the organization and development of the burial ground, osteological remains, gravemarkers, coffin hardware, and other decorations. The presentation is direct and technical, which provides valuable data and description that does not get lost in elaborate storytelling. While technical, presentations of the findings are integrated into historical contexts and concise biographies of some of the notable dead recovered from the burial ground. The monograph is also wonderfully illustrated, showing aspects of historical funerary culture and biological human experiences that are often buried and unrecognized

The burial ground at Anglican/Church of England St. Pancras represents a population from a dynamic period of London history. The church, established as early as the Norman period, was situated in the rural outskirts of the growing city, and for a great length of time it serviced a small congregation. By the 18th century, urban expansion encroached outwards and the metropolis ultimately engulfed the small church. The swelling London population strained the burial capacity of St. Pancras, even though the church was able to acquire and incorporate some neighboring fields for burials. A unique mixture of French Catholic royalists

fleeing the French Revolution, Jacobites, English poor and criminals from the neighboring workhouse, victims of cholera outbreaks, and families of London artisans and tradespeople comingled their dead in what would become the impacted portion of the burial ground dating from 1793–1854.

The 2002-2003 excavations revealed St. Pancras's adaptations to accommodate the great numbers of dead from the metropolis's expanding population seeking a resting place. The historically efficient use of the burial ground made it a complex task for the archaeologists, who were aided by good preservation, a number of legible coffin plates, and remarkable centuries-old grave-plot references, dating from the period of the burials, kept by the management of St. Pancras. In order to fit thousands of corpses into the burial ground, St. Pancras resorted to stacked plots with numerous individuals on top of each other. Infants were often fitted between plots, and trenches for the poor were stacked with lines of coffins with their heads in opposite directions to their neighbors in order to fit in as many as possible. Even the affluent did not maintain private plots after death, as shown by Arthur Richard Dillon, archbishop of Narbonne, who was buried with other individuals.

The complexity of the burial ground is well illustrated using AutoCAD and Google SketchUp images. Attractive three-dimensional Google SketchUp reconstructions of the stacked burial plots provide an interesting window into the arrangements and relationships of the numerous burials. The use of this software for St. Pancras shows how this relatively friendly tool can be an affordable method for reconstructing aboveground structures, as well as being adept at allowing reconstructions of subsurface features.

The great comparative contribution of the St. Pancras monograph is the bioarchaeology of a postmedieval/early modern urban population. Due to time limitations only a small fraction of the remains were studied, but they provide valuable data that adds to and builds on other significant osteological studies, such as those from nearby Christ Church at Spitalfields and a large number of other English burial grounds. The monograph details and graphically illustrates the results of demographics, biological development, dental and venereal diseases, injuries, and other more-scarce conditions. Another significant contribution of the St. Pancras osteological research comes from the large proportion of identified individuals. Information recorded on coffin plates and other documents provided the researchers with demographic information such as sex, age, and ethnicity. With this knowledge, tests of various bioarchaeological methods were possible, particularly those determining aging and development, on a postmedieval/early modern population in order to verify whether the models and calculations are accurate for an historical population.

The remainder of the monograph is concerned with funerary culture studied through gravemarkers, coffin hardware, and even some fabric. The presentation on the gravemarkers is not the most valuable contribution since they are few in number, most are fragmentary, and they were ex situ, having historically been used as pavings and blocks in a stone retaining wall. Selections are illustrated and discussed to show the variability and artistry represented. At this point, several interpretations of the iconography can be considered dated, as it is now more widely understood that medieval memento mori traditions gave way to the later, more-fashionable styles in rococo and neoclassical forms.

Coffin plates inscribed with the deceaseds' names and ages were noteworthy, as the authors remind that examples from other burial grounds are often poorly preserved. In addition to being invaluable for identification of remains and checks against St. Pancras documents, the stamped metal plates are highly decorated in rococo and neoclassical styles, with putti, frames, and other adornments around carefully engraved inscriptions. Recovery of these plates allows researchers to see an element of London industry and technological innovation that was not intended to be seen after burial, except perhaps by the gravediggers interring even more bodies in the burial plots.

This monograph contains points of interest from the skeletal remains and the funerary culture to the stories of deceased individuals, which should be appealing to a wide range of readers interested in deathscapes, funerary culture, and bioarchaeology. It is well presented, illustrated, tabulated, and thoroughly cross-referenced with context numbers to provide a valuable resource for learning about burial practices at St. Pancras and comparative information. If the reader finds that the authors have not gone deeply enough into any particular topic, a suite of additional publications by the contributors, cited within, can make up for any deficiencies.

Adam R. Heinrich Department of History and Anthropology Monmouth University West Long Branch, NJ 07764 God's Fields: Landscape, Religion, and Race in Moravian Wachovia LELAND FERGUSON

University Press of Florida, Gainesville, 2011. 256 pp., 54 b&w illus., app., gloss., notes, bib., index. \$74.95 cloth.

In 1994, when workers pulled up the floorboards of a century-old addition to St. Philips Church on the outskirts of Salem, North Carolina, they discovered 14 carved gravestones. Some stones supported floor joists; others had simply been dropped between the joists or scattered haphazardly on the ground. All were the small, uniform, rectangular stones designed to be placed flat at the head of mounded graves and usually associated with the Moravian Church. The simple uniformity of such stones, say Moravians, represents the equality of all Christians before God. Yet the stones beneath the St. Philips floor came from an old African American graveyard that was intentionally obliterated in the early 20th century. The text on one stone was particularly evocative; it read: Timothy, a native of AFRICA. Dep. Nov 1, 1838 Aged upwards of 100 years. More compelling still was the link between the deceased and the Moravian Church, for the inscriptions on some stones testified that the church viewed these people as church property. Although Salem's Moravians considered everyone to be cherished children of God, they gradually became involved in a system of slavery and segregation that conflicted with their ideals and eventually created "a physical landscape that encouraged religious division rather than unity, racial alienation rather than fellowship" (p. 7).

God's Fields explores that discord. In this fine study of Salem's landscape and the archaeology around St. Philip's Church, author Leland Ferguson asks how people as good as the Moravian Brethren made peace with slavery and racist segregation. The landscape gradually revealed the "subtle and often unconscious ways even the most wellmeaning of people can become entangled in practices at odds with their ideals" (p. 12). With the discovery of the forgotten gravestones, Ferguson and his archaeological team finally had the connection they had long been seeking between the lost African American graveyard they had been working to recover and mountains of gathered archival data. The information gleaned from their archaeological and archival research at the St. Philip's Church complex has helped to lay the groundwork for an important reconciliation process that began in 2006, when the Moravian Church apologized for its participation in the slave system. Although St. Philip's is now a part of Old Salem Museum and Gardens, when the town was first established as a living museum in 1950 the story of the many African Americans who had lived and worked there for nearly 200 years was absent from the exhibits. Now that the complex is open to the public and the research of Ferguson's team constitutes an integral part of the tour, visitors often report that St. Philip's is one of the most meaningful exhibits in the restored town.

God's Fields contributes to a growing body of archaeological and landscape studies that have expanded and refocused the discussion of African American history, including work by Paul Shackel, Theresa Singleton, Charles Orser, James Delle, Michael Blakey, and Lesley Rankin-Hill. To explore landscapes from the point of view of the people who once lived them, the author draws upon Christopher Tilley's concept of phenomenological archaeology and Anthony Giddens's notion of structuration. The result is a fascinating case study that reveals how Salem's Moravians slowly moved from toleration to participation in the peculiar institution. The landscape reflects these changing attitudes, as Moravians began to segregate all black burials and created a separate African American mission church—a practice that would have been repellent to Moravians from only two generations before (p. 199).

Ferguson's research provides more than just a case study of changing racial attitudes reflected in burial practices, however. Since the narrative also shifts repeatedly between past history and present-day archaeology, and key pieces of evidence only gradually come into focus, it evokes the archaeological process itself, where patterns slowly emerge within a mosaic of possibilities. This narrative structure also effectively draws readers into the process of archaeological discovery, historical sleuthing, and interpretation. This tension sometimes causes God's Fields to alternate between a book that seems aimed at a general readership and a much more finegrained archaeological report.

The book is divided into 10 chapters, a foreword, a glossary, a note on sources, a bibliography, several appendices including burial lists, and an index. Multiple photographs and line drawings as well as several early plats, maps, and views of the Salem landscape augment the text. Many of the plats and landscape views offer particularly revealing evidence, but unfortunately, some of the images are so small as to be rendered nearly illegible. The opening chapters examine the archaeological fieldwork at St. Philip's, the history of Salem's Moravians, and burial practices. One of the strongest chapters explores the process of planning the town in the mid-18th century, showing how the reality that emerged reflected German pietism, while also accommodating to local topography and prevailing attitudes of white non-Moravians. Subsequent chapters explore the development of segregated burial space and the history of the individuals interred in the graveyard.

While Moravian graveyards typically separated Moravian from non-Moravian Christians in order to suggest to living observers that a sincere and earnest confession would bring them closer to God's kingdom, archaeology revealed changing racial attitudes in Salem, where "black Moravians, regardless of their relationship to Christ, were buried at the lowest end of Church street in a place traditionally set aside for outsiders. The racial segregation that local Moravians had found a way to excuse was explicitly exhibited on the landscape" (p. 161).

This is an important study that builds upon the author's three-plus decades of archaeological research into African American history and race relations. Just as the archaeology at the African Burial Ground in New York City has helped to rewrite the history of slavery there, the work of Ferguson's team is likely to force a reevaluation of what is known about enslavement in the South (p. xiii). While the book's first few chapters are the strongest, the narrative occasionally bogs down in subsequent chapters detailing the burials and the history of the individuals interred in the graveyard. Still, these are minor issues that in no way detract from the significance of Ferguson's contribution. On balance, God's Fields provides a compelling and highly readable examination of how the landscape reveals developing race relations in antebellum North Carolina.

Gabrielle M. Lanier Department of History James Madison University MSC 2001, 58 Bluestone Drive Harrisonburg, VA 22807 Jefferson's Poplar Forest:
Unearthing a Virginia Plantation
BARBARA J. HEATH AND JACK
GARY (EDITORS)

University Press of Florida, Gainesville, 2012. 242 pp., 40 figs., tables, 8 maps, bib., index. \$29.95 cloth.

In Jefferson's Poplar Forest: Unearthing a Virginia Plantation, editors Barbara J. Heath and Jack Gary compile 10 articles that collectively highlight the multivocal historical and archaeological landscape of Thomas Jefferson's Poplar Forest Plantation. The book focuses on the property's ownership and occupation by the Jefferson and later Hutter families during the 18th and 19th centuries; the varied ways in which the two families utilized and modified the landscape over time to suit changing economic and social needs; the environmental, economic, cultural, and social impact of property owners' decisions on the larger plantation community; and the ways in which their collective actions manifested archaeologically at the site.

Ongoing since 1986, archaeology at the plantation has comprehensively examined the estate's 10 ac. core and 61 ac. surrounding curtilage. By investigating several aspects of the plantation, including the main mansion, ornamental grounds, ancillary buildings, tenant houses, and several slave quarters, the authors present data on the notable and wealthy Jefferson and Hutter families that once called the estate home. Research also focused on the plantation as a population center where individuals of varied status, race, gender, ethnicity, class, skill, and education socially and culturally interacted with one another and the landscape on a daily basis. The holistic approach offers an array of information from which the authors interpret and relate the lives of the plantation's former occupants, both owners and slaves alike, who collectively shaped the Virginia landscape in lasting ways. Utilizing historical ecology, landscape and plantation archaeology, and a variety of theoretical approaches, the authors present micro-case studies of the complex Poplar Forest Plantation community. The approach used allowed the authors to explore intimately the dynamic relationship between agriculture and the local environment; the roles plantation landscapes assumed for their residents; the development of interplantation social networks and community identity formation; and the social impact cottage-industry and mass-produced consumer goods had on the European American and African American plantation populations. The data obtained by sampling the plantation community enabled the presentation of a plantation microhistory based largely on the juxtaposition of plantation owners' and slaves' lives, and changes experienced over time.

Following Barbara Heath and Jack Gary's descriptive introductory overview to the book, Heath presents a brief history of plantation archaeology in Virginia, setting the stage for the varied theoretical approaches applied in the volume. Eric Proebsting's chapter examines the plantation's historical ecology and changes in resource exploitation over time. Jefferson's and Hutter's role in and intellectual, economic, and aesthetic responses to resource exploitation had significant impacts on landscape use and slave community cultural development over time, a theme that flows throughout the book. Timothy Trussel's short but informative chapter on Thomas Jefferson's efforts to create the mansion and formal gardens at Poplar Forest highlights the garden movement in Virginia. Trussel's chapter also focuses on the "autobiographical nature" of Jefferson's formal landscape and the social expectations of the former president to express his knowledge of and ability to translate international styles and aesthetic expressions in an elegant, tasteful, and appropriate manner fitting to an American landscape (p. 16). In a similar vein, Jack Gary focuses the reader on Thomas Jefferson's aesthetic philosophy by examining Jefferson's consumer choice in table settings, reaffirming Jefferson's attempt to adhere to the ideal of social harmony in all aspects of his life. The devotion of 4 of the book's 10 articles to slave life at Poplar Forest, written by Barbara Heath, Lori Lee, Jessica Bowes, and Heather Trigg, emphasizes the slave community's prominence in the plantation's rich archaeological record. These four articles offer an important and emotive voice to individuals silent in the historical record. Each provides valuable insight into the development of slave life on the plantation, domestic landscapes, resource exploitation, subsistence activities, cottage industries, and inter- and intraplantation social networks. Stephen Mrozowski concludes with a reflection on the importance and ability of varied archaeological approaches to present the detailed realities of a complex, multivocal landscape shaped by vast discrepancies and changes over time in resource exploitation, access, land use, demography, economy, social and cultural traditions, and historical contexts.

The authors admit to shortcomings in the volume due to data availability, such as poor faunal preservation in the archaeological record, inconsistent recordation of events in estate ledgers, and modifications to the landscape that obscured or destroyed archaeological data. Noninvasive investigation methods, such as LiDAR (light detection and ranging) mapping and geophysical testing are also absent. Despite these limitations, the authors present rich interpretations based on the available data and offer insightful questions to guide future research at

Poplar Forest and other Virginia plantations. The articles in this volume could have been strengthened through the presentation of more detailed comparisons of archaeological data, including illustrations and data tables, from Poplar Forest and other contemporary Middle Atlantic archaeological sites, but this does not appear to be the authors' intent. Rather, by using Poplar Forest as a case study and examining the multidimensional and dynamic components of the plantation's physical and social landscape, the authors present a detailed overview of the complex historical development of one Virginia plantation and community.

A reasonably priced text, this book can be easily understood by the general populace, yet remains engaging for professional archaeologists. The lay reader is left eager to embark on his or her own journey to inquire more about the rich topics surrounding Thomas Jefferson's post-presidency life, American formal gardens, plantation archaeology, historical ecology, and slave life in the Middle Atlantic region; professional archaeologists benefit from the production of a scholarly text. For these reasons, the volume also makes an excellent addition to college texts.

MICHAEL J. GALL RICHARD GRUBB & ASSOCIATES, INC. CRANBURY, NJ 08512 Virginia City: Secrets of a Western Past RONALD M. JAMES University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 2012. 276 pp., 36 illus., 1 map, bib., index. \$16.95 paper.

The allure of the Wild West has always had a way of capturing the imagination of a wide range of people; however, many of the "facts" about the West are imparted not from history and archaeology but from Hollywood and popular culture. So what happens when decades of research and investigation into a Western town culminates in a publication? You end up with a thoroughly enjoyable historical and archaeological book by Ronald M. James. That book, Virginia City: Secrets of a Western Past, is a wonderful addition to the literature of Virginia City, Nevada, as well as the "Historical Archaeology of the American West" series edited by Annalies Corbin and Rebecca Allen. James's succinctly presented research is accessible to both professional and public spheres.

Virginia City's significance is not lost on archaeologists and historians working in the American West. Mining shaped the West, and the Comstock Lode and Virginia City were the stages of the West's key players. Due to the research that has been conducted in Virginia City, archaeologists and historians, such as Ronald M. James, can paint a more realistic portrait of this town. Each chapter concisely layers the contexts of archaeological investigation, historical research, mining history, cultures, and identities.

In the introduction, James captures the readers' attention by bringing them along on the journey of discovering fragments of glass that, when mended, reveal a Tabasco bottle. This bottle would prove to be a missing link in the lineage of Tabasco bottles and would lend insight into activities at the Boston Saloon, an African American establishment. It is with this introduction that James sets the

stage for his following chapters that read as a "who's who" of Virginia City.

A town built and founded by the mining industry is the subject of chapter 1, "Gold and Silver." A unique opportunity presented itself to archaeologists to examine abandoned tools and reconstruct mining activities that occurred when the Middle Hill Rathole Mine was opened. As James states, they were given the chance to "walk into the shoes of a miner from a previous time" (p. 7). Chapter 2, "A Crowded City on the Mining Frontier," delves into a couple of historic structures that still survive today. These structures are atypical of the stereotype of Western buildings, as they were built of brick rather than wood. James explores the reality of many historical Western towns and the impacts that fires had, a theme that is carried through a number of the chapters, as the artifacts were also impacted by these fires.

Chapter 3, "An Irish Blacksmith and the Archaeology of Belief," centers around Timothy Francis McCarthy, who left numerous records that allowed a glimpse into his life. James brings up the important question asked of historical archaeologists--if so much is already known from the historical record, why do archaeology? He answers this by explaining to the reader that historical records were subject to the interpretation and censorship of the author, thus the archaeological record can give us a clearer window to examine the past. Chapter 4, "The Chinese," highlights a group of people for which the written record is clouded with racism. James discusses the contemporary and historical impacts of artifact collecting and exoticism on investigating the material culture of overseas Chinese in Virginia City.

James briefly discusses the results of excavations conducted at four Virginia City saloons in chapter 5, "Saloons and the Archaeology of Leisure." The results of each excavation have shed new light into each saloon, from the different activities occurring to the food being consumed. While men

constituted the majority of the population in mining towns, James includes chapters discussing the lives of the women and children who were also present in Virginia City. Chapter 6, "Women on the Mining Frontier," starts out focusing on a well-known prostitute, Julia Bulette, and what the probate records and archaeology can reveal about her. Although prostitution did play a role in the American West, families helped to shape the landscape of this town. Single women working in Virginia City were not all prostitutes, as popular culture has led us to believe.

As a part of the landscape of the West and Virginia City, children are often easy to identify through their toys found in the archaeological record. In the chapter, "Kids on the Comstock," James examines children through the Fourth Ward Schoolhouse, an old schoolhouse built during the heyday of the Comstock and still standing today. James brings us into the building and examines the physical marks children made on the building, as well as the contents within. Another intact structure of Virginia City is examined in chapter 8, "Piper's Opera House and the Archaeology of Theater." One of the betterknown theaters in the American West, Piper's Opera House served not only as an entertainment venue but as a cultural link to the outside world.

In James's last chapter, "Death and the Material Culture of the Final Chapter," he discusses mortuary practices in regard to the cultural shift from the use of graveyards to cemeteries for the residents of Virginia City. Many points are discussed in this chapter, ranging from types of grave markers to burials that were "supposedly" relocated from the graveyard to cemeteries but were in fact left behind.

The issue of bottle collectors and the havoc they wreak is a topic that emerges

throughout the book. One only needs to read the story about archaeologists leaving some privies and known areas undisturbed to have a contractor seize the opportunity to loot these untouched sites and sell the findings (p. 102). This book serves to remind archaeologists working in high-profile areas, as well as the general public, what damage a bottle collector can do. Yet this destruction is not only limited to bottle collectors, but includes tourists of Virginia City who pocket mementos of their trip to the Wild West. Another topic that is found throughout the book is the partnership that archaeologists should have with historians and vice versa. This helps to strengthen not only historical research but also creates more complete archaeological results.

This book offers insight into a Western town that could only be achieved through decades of research and can only be touched on briefly in the context of this review. James did a nice job of reminding the reader of how expensive and dangerous it is to conduct archaeology in historic mines. The historical photographs, artifact photographs, and drawings within the book are superb. The only visual component lacking is a map of the town for reference. Virginia City: Secrets of a Western Past is strongly recommended to historical archaeologists who specialize and are interested in the American West and is a wonderful tool for engaging the public in archaeology, as well as drawing attention to the ethical dilemmas of historical and archaeological tourism.

MOLLY E. SWORDS SWCA ENVIRONMENTAL CONSULTANTS 919 EAST 6TH STREET MOSCOW, ID 83843 The Archaeology of
Post-Medieval Religion
CHRIS KING AND DUNCAN SAYER
(EDITORS)

Society for Church Archaeology and Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology, Monograph 6, Boydell Press, Woodford, UK, 2011. 288 pp., 66 illus., 20 tables, index. \$50.00 cloth.

This volume of edited papers is designed to fill a gap in studies of early modern Britain, with some additional studies from continental Europe and colonial New England. The editors argue that the material changes in landscape, community, and the built environment associated with the upheaval of religious tradition have been overlooked, and this volume is intended to shed new light on this aspect of social life in the recent past. The book is organized into three sections: "Church and Society," "Landscapes and Chapels," and "Burial Customs." Many of the papers are studies of specific sites or communities, mainly in England but also elsewhere in the British Isles. There is one selection on Le Mans in France, one on northern Germany, and one on Puritan New England, which provide some comparative material. This focus is not unreasonable, as the Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology and the Society for Church Archaeology, the organizations responsible for the collection, are both based in the United Kingdom. The recurring theme is the rise and expression of religious pluralism, and the physical and social variations that accompanied this change from the earlier English and broader European past.

The first section of the book, on "Church and Society," demonstrates how archaeology is much more than excavation but is the exploration of visual and material culture as it relates to social meaning and action. Each of these chapters draws on both material culture and documentary evidence to explore

archaeological questions, which is to say, the construction and transformation of meaning in the material world. The focus is mainly on religious buildings, either the contents thereof or their place in physical and social landscapes. These chapters are especially valuable for their portrayal of the intricacies of action and behavior behind the remnants left to be deciphered in material form. While certain elements may be obscure to American readers, such as the events of the French Wars of Religion in the 16th century or the patterns of political control in northern Germany, the broader issues of French Protestantism and German Lutheranism, respectively, apply directly to the experiences of New World societies. For those working in a European context, these studies are invaluable as they give specific examples of practices that had a lasting impact on the material and social world of early modern Europe. The simultaneous maintenance and transformation of social meaning in the built environment, and the significant interconnection between place and other aspects of society, including economic and political relations, is amply demonstrated and valuable for any reader. Chris King's chapter on Low Country immigrants in Norwich (pp. 83-105) does rely mainly on excavated materials and is an excellent example of linking material culture with specific groups in an urban context. King also looks at churches used by these "Stranger" or immigrant communities, using a broader range of archaeological study than the other chapters. This may be somewhat more appealing to traditionalist archaeologists who prefer to define archaeology as excavation, but these two aspects of material culture are independent though complementary, even in this chapter which relies on both.

The second section, "Landscapes and Chapels," explores how the socially meaningful built environment is connected to identity. This identity can be ethnic and linguistic identity, such as in Wales or the Isle of Man, or economic or political identity, such as miners in Cornwall or industrial laborers

in the British southwest. Methodist and other nonconformist chapels served as centers for the expression of social identity both through membership and through material expressions of identity. This section also includes the single chapter examining a New World society, the Puritans of colonial New England, specifically Connecticut and Massachusetts but also venturing into New York's Hudson Valley and the Dutch Reformed churches constructed there during the 17th century. This chapter by Peter Benes (pp. 179-195) is more focused on the origins of architectural form and the social meaning associated with the changing patterns of church form than on direct social identity of the congregations like the other chapters of this section. Specifically, Benes argues that the origin of meetinghouses in New England arose from the intersection of Continental forms and religious practice, but, starting about 1700, a shift to a more English church style developed, much like the transformation seen in New England domestic architecture. These changes came about, according to Benes, due to both a reinvigorated English identity and changing attitudes within the entire Atlantic Protestant experience as it shifted from a minority to a majority role in society. This latter question, which Benes advances as part of the conclusion, is a fitting end to the section; the role of the built environment in expressing and manifesting changing cultural beliefs and practices is a recurring element of this section of the book.

Section 3 explores funerary customs and looks at burial yards, grave goods, and osteological evidence for mainly Protestant or nonconformist populations. The authors link not just religion but social status, health, and identity to the rites and treatment of the dead. This section helps sort through the bewildering array of funerary practices during the 16th through 19th centuries and provides concrete examples of both variety and identity linked to religious practice and broader social trends. The osteological evidence reveals patterns of health and illness in the burial populations linked to age, gender, and religious affiliation, among other factors. The final chapter of the section deserves note as it discusses maiden's garlands, usually ephemeral commemorations made of paper or fabric and placed on the graves of young women. Seventy extant garlands have been identified from the 19th century and treated as the subject of a material culture study. This specific memorial was a contested practice in Anglican churches, and the origins, maintenance, and tolerance of this practice was varied through the 18th, 19th, and early 20th centuries.

The Archaeology of Post-Medieval Religion effectively demonstrates the need for multidisciplinary research and the benefits and insights that come from exploring archaeological questions through more than just excavated remains. It also shows that the areas of intellectual investigation that fall into disciplinary-boundary areas can yield up remarkable results. The focus on religion is a necessary addition to the array of archaeological studies of the early modern world. Many studies focus on power, economic, or other social issues, while treating religion in a cursory way. This may be in part due to the increased secularization of the modern world and the influence of modern thinking on how questions are addressed to the remains of the past. It also may be part of the "taken-forgranted" assumptions that religious plurality is a social norm, as that is what is experienced today. This volume shows how that plurality developed during the postmedieval period, with references to the lack of religious plurality of medieval England and the rest of Europe. The postmedieval period truly was one of experimentation, exploration, and transformation of religious practice, among other aspects of culture, and this volume reveals how religion was expressed and manifested in material form, from church and landscape to the treatment of the dead. While focused on England, the lessons are valuable for anyone studying the postmedieval world and can serve as a useful comparative body of work for those who work in the New World, especially in areas with a dominant English colonial society. My chief complaint is that some of the chapters do not include a map to help guide spatial understanding, particularly in the earlier portions of the book. This flaw can be overlooked, given the otherwise informative chapters, but, when exploring space and landscapes, maps can allow greater

insight into a topic, and the chapters would have been improved had they been included. That critique is not enough to prevent a favorable review, especially as there has been little comparable work assembled into one volume like this. SCOTT D. STULL
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Chinese Export Porcelains
ANDREW D. MADSEN AND
CAROLYN L. WHITE
Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, CA,
2011. 157 pp., 142 figs., 1 table,
index. \$27.95 paper.

Chinese export porcelain had been a difficult topic to research partly because books like this one had not yet been written. Most of the pieces found on both underwater and terrestrial sites have been hard to match with the large examples and imperial wares found in many books. Armorial porcelains, those with coats of arms that were ordered for specific families, have been much studied and published. As Madsen and White state: "the vast array of common wares made specifically for export to the West" have been ignored (p. 9). This book presents many examples of the sorts of wares for daily use that are found on archaeological sites: dishes and plates that were used by North Americans during the period from the late 17th century until the early 19th century.

Porcelain was first made by the Chinese during the 6th century A.D., and their secret was kept for a long time. (The Koreans, who had little contact with the West, made porcelain from the 12th century on. The Japanese did not make porcelain until the early 17th century.) Although stoneware and soft-paste porcelains were made in the Middle East and Europe, true hard-paste porcelain was not made in Europe until the Meissen factory at Dresden began making porcelain in the beginning of the 18th century. There were many European factories on the Continent and in England making porcelain by the middle of the 18th century, but these factories did not produce porcelain in quantity. The Chinese could not only make true porcelain; they could also mass-produce it, and therefore Chinese porcelain was valued all over the world. Hard, white-bodied, dense, resonant when struck, porcelain was far superior to the other possibilities available for everyday use (tin-glazed earthenware, such as delft or faience; wood; or pewter) and was easy to clean, as well as beautiful.

The Portuguese made initial contact with China during the early 16th century; the trade was taken over by the Dutch in 1602, and the English entered the trade in the late 17th century.

There is a useful discussion of shipwrecks, beginning with the *Vung Tau* of ca. 1690. Madsen and White make the point (p. 8) that although they "strongly oppose commercial dissemination of archaeological materials," the results can be useful in dating Chinese ceramics, and they are correct. The number of well-documented wrecks continues to increase (p. 11), and scholars of Chinese ceramics are dependent on the wares found in commercially excavated shipwrecks. Each wreck is a time capsule, evidence of the taste of a particular time.

Madsen and White do not deal with the period before 1690, but with pieces found in North America during the time of British hegemony and then later into the 19th century. (The Chinese ceramics found in Latin American sites that came through the Spanish trade are not discussed here.)

The book is divided neatly into five chapters, with chapter 1 about background and overview, chapter 2 about Chinese export porcelain and Western society, and chapter 3 about the porcelain industry in China.

In a particularly important section about tea drinking and tea equipage, Madsen and White make the point (p. 23) that by the close of the 18th century, all social classes in the British Empire were drinking tea, necessitating porcelain vessels, including teapots and various cups and saucers. Madsen has been through inventories in colonial Virginia that document the growth of this habit.

Madsen and White discuss the history of the Chinese trade, including the VOC (the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie or Dutch East India Company) and the British East India Company, and have used their records to find important information about the porcelain trade.

There are many extremely useful charts, graphs, and tables. In table 4.1 on page 52, Madsen and White have a summary of patterns found on 21 dated shipwrecks, from the *Vung Tau* (ca. 1690) through the *Frolic* (1850), that

is tremendously useful. They also include tables about the various armorial patterns, using the chronology developed by David Howard, the English authority on armorial porcelains from 1690 to 1820.

Chapter 4, the "heart of the volume" (p. 14), presents a broad range of "tightly datable examples." The authors make the point that additional available data, such as shipwrecks or terrestrial excavations, may modify and supplement the data presented. The most important feature of this book lies in the 100 illustrations in this chapter that can be used to help date Chinese ceramics. Having used this book myself for this purpose, I have found it invaluable. For the researcher with porcelain sherds in hand who needs to figure out what they are, this is the real value of the volume. Looking through this most useful book can help find a match and hence to date the sherds.

The book is a handy paperback, but the black-and-white illustrations are somewhat indistinct, and because there are no color illustrations the discussion of the polychrome wares is less useful than it could have been in color.

The "Thumbnail Dating Guide" (chap. 5) on pages 140–141 is useful to enable the reader to quickly identify and date Chinese ceramics. However, identification does depend to a great extent on the color of the cobalt painting. The authors touch on the fact that in some periods the painter loaded his brush with cobalt paint, while in other periods the painting was done in a lighter fashion (p. 67). However, these distinctions are somewhat lost in black-and-white photography.

Madsen and White consulted many of the appropriate sources, but not all are equally reliable and some are out of date. They complain (p. 59) about art-historical descriptions of the painting styles on porcelain because they want more definitive ways of dating style. Their feelings are understandable, but this lack of understanding of art history, as well as of their sources, has led to several over-generalizations.

They claim that (p. 38) "[t]he Europeans were mistrustful of the Chinese and established their commercial bases of trade outside China." On the contrary, the Dutch had to establish their base in Batavia because the Chinese did not want to trade with *them*.

Madsen and White claim that it was only after the reopening of the kilns at Jingdezhen in the early 1680s (p. 40) that the export and domestic markets were separated for the first time, and for the first time overglaze ceramics were made for the export market. These statements are incorrect. The Chinese began to make porcelain in European shapes to Dutch order in 1635, and even before then, in the 16th century, plates with European rims were made. Going back to the 13th century, during the Yuan dynasty, large blue-and-white platters were made for customers in western and southeastern Asia. The Chinese made overglazeenamel wares for the Japanese market in the 17th century, and also there were certainly transitional overglaze wares that reached Europe before this period.

The authors (p. 60) claim that the paneled or segmented decoration on Kangxi porcelain originated in Holland, because they can be related to the paneled *kraak* wares, which probably originated in the 1570's and were popular in Holland. *Kraak* paneled wares originated in China, were popular in Holland, but that doesn't mean that paneling originated in Holland. The reasoning here is faulty.

A caveat: there is no substitute for taking the time to actually see the porcelains. There are museums all over the United States that have wonderful collections of Chinese ceramics, with storerooms filled with 18th- and 19thcentury porcelains, and cooperative curators who would probably be delighted to work with an archaeologist with datable sherds. (Failing the cooperative curator, even just looking at the 18th-century porcelains displayed in the cases would be of value.) Important collections are not only in museums in the larger cities, such as Boston, New York, Chicago, Seattle, and San Francisco, but also in Birmingham, Cleveland, Kansas City, San Antonio, and in many university museums, such as the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor and the University of Florida at Gainesville. Looking at Chinese ceramics that can be seen at antique dealers, auction houses, and art fairs is another instructive way to comprehend the changes in painting styles on porcelains throughout this period.

LINDA ROSENFELD POMPER 1165 PARK AVENUE, APT. 10D NEW YORK, NY 10128 Jordan's Point, Virginia:
Archaeology in Perspective
Prehistoric to Modern Times
MARTHA W. MCCARTNEY
University of Virginia Press,
Charlottesville, 2012. 148 pp., 100
illus. \$14.95 paper.

Jordan's Point, Virginia: Archaeology in Perspective Prehistoric to Modern Times is a new publication, written by Martha W. McCartney. McCartney is an historian who has spent a great deal of her career studying the history of Virginia. This particular work focuses on the history of Jordan's Point, an archaeological site that was excavated in 1987 and 1988 by students of the Virginia Commonwealth University. This work introduces Virginia history to the reader and provides an interpretation of the excavations at Jordan's Point.

McCartney leads the reader on a journey to better understand a chapter in Virginia history that has been carefully tucked away, until now. McCartney achieves this by introducing the different cultures that inhabited the area over the centuries. She begins the story of Jordan's Point in the first chapter with an introduction to Virginia's First People and the region's prehistory. She transitions from the Late Woodland period into the colonial contact period with ease. The reader is informed of the Spanish Jesuits' attempt at settling part of Virginia, an event that is often overshadowed by the success of James Town that occurred 30 years later. McCartney introduces the Powhatan stronghold to the reader early on. She then chooses to gloss over the presence of the Virginia Indians in later years. Their significance and influences on early colonial life are noted, though McCartney hesitates to provide a more in-depth description of these early interactions. As a reader, I found this to be an acceptable gesture in the book, because the Virginia Indians are not the primary focal point of this work.

The Indians settled along the James River because of its geographic location. The sandy loam soil is fertile, the surrounding forest would have provided ample vegetation for foraging, and fresh water was accessible by several surrounding creek beds (p. 6). Thanks to McCartney's illustrative description of the site, the reader is left with little doubt as to why the colonists selected this territory to serve as the future site of Jordan's Point. An excavation in 1990 seemed to validate the suspected location of a native settlement from John Smith's 17th-century map of Virginia. Other Indian domestic structures and graves were discovered in other locations on Jordan's Point. The context and analysis of the goods excavated from these graves are discussed in depth.

McCartney's skill as a writer and historian becomes most prominent when she begins discussing the colonial contact period. She appropriately describes the initial interaction between Indians and colonists as a "cultural collision" (p. 15). Both cultures experienced conflict and peaceful exchange, depending on the circumstances of each encounter. This is the chapter that paints the setting for the remainder of the book.

This publication includes a grand selection of color photographs that complements the text. One of these images is a color spread of John Smith's famous map of Virginia, although the very center of the map is distorted by the binding of the book. The majority of photographs are of artifacts recovered from Jordan's Point, while other images depict paintings and engravings intended to represent scenes from associated time periods. The illustrations and text are well balanced. Neither element overpowers the other.

The only component that the book is lacking is an index. Indeed, I found this to be the only major shortcoming of the layout of this book. I believe that an index is a necessary asset to all well-informed texts. The work also lacks a bibliography. McCartney may assume that the intended audience for this

book is well aware of the histories and sites explained in the text.

McCartney sets out to prove that Jordan's Point is a significant site in both American and Native American history. In this respect, the work is a great achievement. Much of Virginia's early history is overshadowed by other early settlements like Jamestown and Roanoke. McCartney's writing style is fluid, well balanced, and easy to digest. I would recommend this book to any scholar, student, or enthusiast who is interested in learning more

about the history of early Virginia settlements and Virginia's First People. McCartney's work is short in length but rich in content. This was an exceedingly enjoyable read.

Tabitha Hilliard Monmouth University Department of History and Anthropology 400 Cedar Avenue West Long Branch, NJ 07764-1898 Power and Landscape in Atlantic West Africa: Archaeological Perspectives J. CAMERON MONROE AND AKINWUMI OGUNDIRAN (EDITORS) University of North Carolina Press, Charlotte, 2012. 390 pp., 69 illus., 33 maps, bib., index. \$99.00 cloth.

The Atlantic World is increasingly a topic of investigation for historical archaeologists who have followed the lead of historians in designating a number of "Atlantics" as analytical units defined by region, ethnic, or national affiliations. One of the many Atlantics is the "African Atlantic," which has been proposed as a distinct area of study with its own research agenda by one of the editors of Power and Landscape in Atlantic West Africa: Archaeological Perspectives (Ogundiran, Akinwumi, African Atlantic Archaeology and Africana Studies: A Programmatic Agenda, African Diaspora Archaeology Newsletter 2, 2008, http://www.diaspora.illinois.edu/news0608/ news0608.html>). This research program aims to understand the impact and nature of the Atlantic experience for those of African origin living throughout the Atlantic basin by fostering a dialogue between archaeologists on both sides of the Atlantic. Studies of the African diaspora form an overwhelming majority of these studies. Power and Landscape in Atlantic West Africa is a welcome addition to this growing body of literature that enhances understanding of this period on the African side of the Atlantic. However, this is only a secondary contribution of the text. The primary goal of the editors is to raise awareness of the work by Africanists in understanding complexity and long-term historical processes in African history.

In their volume Monroe and Ogundiran compile a well-rounded collection of papers that pursues their central argument "that the commercial revolutions of the 17th and 18th centuries dramatically reshaped the regional contours of political organization across West Africa" (p. 2). Individual contributors are asked to examine this idea through the lens of landscape by examining various forms of landscapes in West Africa during the Atlantic period that are tied to shifting commerce, political allegiance, and exhibition of authority. The case studies in the book answer these questions by offering examples of the assertion and maintenance of power.

The text is comprised of 12 chapters including an introduction, conclusion, and 10 case studies developed from original research. Three forms of landscape within Atlantic West Africa serve as the organizational foundation of the text: fragmented landscapes (Thiaw, Richard, Spiers, and Norman); state-generated landscapes (MacDonald and Camara, Monroe, and Ogundiran); and internal-frontier landscapes (de Barros, DeCorse, and MacEachern). Monroe and Ogundiran define each type broadly, but this is where the editors' direction regarding a specific definition of landscape ends. The individual authors define landscape locally by "examining a plethora of ways in which social and political transformation in West Africa are observable in reference to regionally defined archaeological remains" (p. 5). The editors urge their contributors to move beyond traditional archaeological approaches to landscape as a simple unit of analysis. Some authors directly engage with the editors' challenges, including the assertion that a landscape is socially constructed (p. 14). This active engagement is seen in Richard's examination of the historical construction of the Siin (Senegal) as a colonial backwater; he challenges the long-held belief that the Atlantic era in this region translated into little material change under state control. Archaeological survey findings demonstrate that pockets of densely populated areas that existed in the Siin constitute a fragmented landscape with regional manifestations balking the intentions of the state. Similar processes are investigated by Thiaw (chap. 2) in the upper Senegal drainage polities of Gajaaga and Bundu. His

analysis does not explicitly define a perspective, yet it is clear that he views landscape as settlement patterning. The differential presence of trading sites and tatas, or defensive sites, reveals a fragmented landscape developed around commerce and political authority. Norman (chap. 5) applies similar methods to investigate urban/rural relations in Hueda (in modern-day Benin). Drawing on settlement patterns and artifact distributions, he reveals that the centralized nature of commerce and political authority in Savi the capital left the countryside less willing to rise to its defense against Dahomey. Here too, landscape is not explicitly defined, but the construction of the urban/rural dichotomy through state-level authority is clear.

Spiers (chap. 4) also engages with the definition of the fragmented landscape within a single settlement, examining how the transformation of the town of Eguafo, capital of the Eguafo polity, reflects political realignment in precolonial times (p. 116). In doing so, Spiers draws on Lefebvre's work to define landscape as an approach which "tries to encompass the spaces in between, which situates Eguafo in a broader network of social, political, and economic relations" (p. 118). Spiers convincingly argues that, despite Eguafo's position in the hinterland, it was entangled in Atlantic commerce, thereby creating a fragmented society in which expensive trade goods are restricted to elite spaces.

Monroe and Ogundiran define "stategenerated landscapes" as those created by the state to overcome challenges of the fragmented landscape (p. 25). Three case studies in this section examine the variable impact on different regions of direct involvement in Atlantic commerce. MacDonald and Camara (chap. 6) engage with the eternal landscape of marka towns (Islamic holy cities tied to Mande civilization) vs. the state-generated patterns associated with the slave trade. More so than other studies in the text, they engage with the oral rather than the documentary record to tease out the social creation of the Segou landscape. The most dramatic example of state building is presented by Monroe (chap. 7). The use of palace construction throughout the Abomey Plateau by various rulers of Dahomey created a symbolic landscape of power. This is contrasted with Ogundiran's (chap. 8) investigation of Oyo with a focus on the settlement of Ede-Ile. Similar to Spiers's chapter, Ogundiran analyzes a single site and its landscape by examining the settlement's relationship to the core. Like Thiaw and Norman, Ogundiran does not explicitly define landscape, leaving the reader to infer a definition based on his discussion.

The final case studies engage with Kopytoff's (1987) original formulation of internal frontiers within sub-Saharan polities. De Barros (chap. 8) provides the most detailed examination of internal-frontier creation within the state in his study of the Bassar Chiefdom of northern Togo. This chapter, as well as DeCorse's analysis of the Koinadugu Plateau of Sierra Leone in chapter 10, problematizes how archaeologists use the chiefdom concept as a form of sociopolitical organization. MacEachern (chap. 11) presents the most introspective piece, questioning his own past assumptions regarding settlement and change in the Mandara (Cameroon) landscape.

As with any edited volume, some chapters are inevitably stronger than others; however, this compilation is both rich in the depth of analysis provided in each chapter as well as the geographical range covered within West Africa. Each chapter can stand on its own as a separate paper, while simultaneously adhering to the editors' goals, as the chapters each examine aspects of the impact of Atlantic entanglement on the landscape at multiple scales and degrees. The contributors present a rich set of examples of how power is exhibited in the landscape through settlement strategies, town layout, architecture, and material culture distribution. The concluding remarks include the perspective of historian Kea, who states that the researchers demonstrate that "a landscape is a site of agency" (p. 342). This closing argument accurately points to the richness of landscape studies in understanding the complex nature of power, resistance, authority, and political realignment driven by shifting commercial spheres. Power and Landscape in Atlantic West Africa is an overdue addition to African Atlantic and Atlantic World studies more broadly. The emphasis on transformation in West Africa during the Atlantic era provides a counterbalance to the dominant Americanist perspective and focus on the

African diaspora within historical archaeology of the African Atlantic world. The further appeal to historians of Africa's recent past regarding lines of inquiry and the role of archaeology in historiography expands the potential influence of this text beyond historical archaeological circles. The editors should be commended for developing a tightly focused yet broadly relevant collection of essays. LIZA GIJANTO
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New Philadelphia: An Archaeology of Race in the Heartland
PAUL A. SHACKEL
University of California Press,
Berkeley, 2011. 207 pp., 45 figs.,
5 tables. \$29.95 paper.

This volume reports on the first phase of the well-known New Philadelphia Archaeological Project centering on the town of New Philadelphia, Illinois—the "first known town established, platted, and registered by an African American" (p. xv). Founded by "Free Frank" McWorter in 1836, the multiracial town existed in some form into the 20th century, and Shackel's book describes the first three years of what is now a multiyear collaborative research project involving Christopher Fennell, Terrance Martin, Anna Agbe-Davies, and others. In 11 short, readable chapters, Shackel describes the way the town was settled, as well as how it expanded and later declined. He also explores the contemporary issues that emerged as a result of the archaeology project, the process of listing the town on the National Register of Historic Places, and a later successful effort to honor it with National Landmark status. Some chapters focus specifically on the archaeology that took place in three field seasons, and all include some aspects of the historical research that took place throughout. Every chapter also, to one degree or another, describes how concerns with race and power emerged during all phases of the work, and how members of various publics, descendants and otherwise, changed and enhanced the research process. Even though the book is linear with respect to the three years of archaeological research it covers (which is dealt with sequentially, by field season), the narrative is rich with description about process, and the archaeological and historical data are woven into a narrative that never abandons or ignores the contemporary context of its construction. There is no "just so" story here. There is instead a rich tapestry

of scientific archaeology, historical narrative, "public archaeology" in its broadest form, commentary about the effects of racialized society and race-based oppression on past and present, and personal reflection. Shackel says that he hopes that the book will be a "useful model where race is central or even peripheral in a project" (p. xxi), and he succeeds in this goal.

Some of the findings from the New Philadelphia Project have already been published (e.g., Fennell, Christopher C., Terrence J. Martin, and Paul A. Shackel [editors], New Philadelphia: Racism, Community, and the Illinois Frontier, Thematic Issue, Historical Archaeology 44[1], 2010), and more will undoubtedly follow, so this volume can be seen as an important part of what will eventually become a much larger narrative in historical archeology. It stands on its own, however, especially with respect to Shackel's nuanced discussion of some of the "stakeholder" issues that emerged early on in this project, which have apparently abated somewhat since the book's publication, but not disappeared. One of archaeology's ethical mandates is to fully report on research, and Shackel reports on the entire research process-both the "positive/feel good" parts of it as well as the more "negative/painful" parts. His respectful account of "what happened" is a model for transparent, candid, yet respectful and sensitive, reporting.

Several aspects of the writing were particularly effective. Historical data is woven in with archaeological data and public interpretations, as is narrative about the research process—the "what happened when," which makes for interesting reading. The work of individual project participants, including students, is discussed by name, with full credit given—student work is not marginalized or appropriated in any way. Information about archaeological method is also provided for those who want to know about unit sizes, depth of plow zones, excavation procedures, and other details of the specific phases of fieldwork. Examples were provided that

illustrate clearly how archaeology can provide new information that is often not available elsewhere. As noted above, the archaeological information was organized by research years, but within that basic scheme it was organized by the name of the families who lived at each place excavated. People in the past were not treated as abstract entities in the archaeological account, but as agents with full and rich lives.

The steps involved in applying for National Science Foundation funds and, later, achieving National Register and National Landmark status were detailed with clear references to national politics and named players—the book could be a primer for that sort of work on any project. Personal reflections about race were shared in meaningful ways—this was not navelgazing, and every personal reflection informed and enhanced specific observations about race, racism, oppression, Jim Crow, census data, "sundown towns," racial "harmony," the effect of racism on community development and decline, and other topics. The discussion of different material culture categories, with respect to consumer choices and ethnicity, was particularly thorough.

The field-school classes, and the discussions that took place within them, showed clearly how doing this sort of archaeology can change people and attitudes—for example, some students began global-justice work as a result of their work in New Philadelphia. Public events—reunions, tours, talks, meetings—were described as a necessary part of the

archaeological process, not marginalized to something that happens "later on" or peripherally to "real" archaeology. These events included discussions about difficult topics, such as the need to "create a color-conscious past rather than a color-blind past" (p. 115). This public archaeology went well beyond artifact show-and-tell. All of this was compelling and interesting to read.

I only have two quibbles—very minor ones, easily fixed in future editions. First, the presence of the McWorter family tree (inserted in the appendix but not referred to in the narrative) needs to be made clearer. Second, because of the way that various data and events are interwoven (which is, as noted above, a positive feature of the writing) a project timeline would be useful. This would also make it clearer that this book covers only the first three years of the multiyear project—this is not hidden, but also somewhat confusing unless one knows something about the project before reading the book.

This is an interesting and useful book, highly recommended for lay, student, or professional audiences.

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Archaeological Theory in Practice PATRICIA URBAN AND EDWARD SCHORTMAN

Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, CA, 2012. 334 pp., 37 figs., 3 tables, gloss., bib., index. \$34.95 paper.

In Archaeological Theory in Practice Patricia Urban and Edward Schortman present a coherent argument for the justification and application of theory to archaeology. Throughout the book there is an emphasis on overarching theoretical frameworks rather than individual theorists. This book is intended for students embarking on their first exploration of archaeology, who already possess a working knowledge of the development of the discipline. The book concludes with several archaeological case studies including Mesopotamia, Stonehenge, and the authors' own work in the Naco Valley of Honduras.

The opening two chapters focus on establishing a definition of theory and its application in the social sciences. Urban and Schortman explain that theories take several forms with various levels of complexity. There are low-, middle-, and high-level theories that can challenge students to conduct multilayered analysis (p. 21). Urban and Schortman present a good argument that theories can coexist and do not always have to be competing. Theories make "it easier to talk about and imagine the world in certain ways, but they do not prevent us from pursuing other modes of perceiving, thinking and talking" (p. 44).

Chapter 3 narrows the focus to archaeological theory, specifically, four main archaeological schools of thought are discussed at some length, they are cultural history, processualism, Marxism, and interpretivism (p. 68). The antiquarian movement is glossed over briefly, only to be referenced later in the book on several occasions primarily concerning the discussion of Stonehenge (p. 174). To students unfamiliar with the early history of archaeology these allusions may lead to confusion. To

the authors' credit they discuss the interplay of archaeological movements within the framework of larger cultural trends, such as modernism and romanticism. The emphasis on the dialogue between archaeology and wider cultural trends of Western thought is the strength of this book. Often a field of study is divorced from wider cultural movements, which, at times, gives the false impression of spontaneous development.

One minor shortcoming of the volume is the misuse of the word "concise" in the summary of the book on the back cover. With three extended case studies, the purpose of the book to demonstrate theory's application in the field is lost in the diversity of facts regarding the specific examples of archaeology in Mesopotamia, Stonehenge, and the Naco Valley. These case studies occupy chapters 5 through 9. In their attempt to intrigue students with divergent interests, the authors occasionally wander from their central argument.

Chapters 8 and 9 focus on Urban and Schortman's excavations in the Naco Valley. Throughout these chapters the authors discuss how they used theories to guide their thought, occasionally misguide them, and how newer theories led to insights and, in the end, to greater understanding regarding their site. The "Naco Valley of AD 825, as seen from 2011, bears little resemblance to how the valley looked to us in 1979. ... What we can say with confidence is that the above reconstruction [that of 2011] is almost certainly closer to the messy, shifting realities that all residents of the Naco Valley faced in AD 825 than the earlier versions we have outlined" (p. 289). Through the case study of the Naco Valley, readers are able to follow the theoretical evolution of Urban and Schortman's work from processual and cultural history to world-system theory and practice theory (p. 299). In a field that often feels built on developing one coherent and concise interpretation, it is refreshing to see some archaeologists placing an emphasis on the evolving nature of interpretations. The authors also draw on theories from far afield

and not just from their specific area of study; in a classroom setting this could lead to a discussion of the reasons for cross-cultural comparison.

This is an approachable book that students may enjoy reading. The glossary and bolded terms help draw the eye to important names and people. There are sidebars throughout the book explaining theories and individual theorists. The sidebars are very useful for reviewing concepts, but they do upset the flow of reading. Instructors will find the text very approachable for students of various academic levels. It would work well in courses of all levels, but a senior-level class with talented students might be a touch bored. The text would serve well if read prior to tackling an anthology of archaeological theory in a class setting.

Urban and Schortman succeeded in creating a textbook exploring the application

of theories during fieldwork. Their volume would be a good opening for students to enter the conversation on the application of theory during fieldwork. The text is approachable without talking down to students. The authors' use of case studies provides real-world examples that are far more interesting than a purely theoretical discussion. The book's ability to ground the theoretical discussion in the wider historical and cultural context is its strongest asset. It serves as a leading point for the discussion of the evolution of theory itself. Urban and Schortman's Archaeological Theory in Practice provides a coherent and insightful discussion of theory and would be a resource in any archaeological theory class.

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An Isolated Frontier Outpost:
Historical and Archaeological
Investigations of the Carrizo Creek
Stage Station

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California Department of Parks and Recreation, Archaeology, History and Museums Division Publications in Cultural Heritage, No. 29, Sacramento, 2012. 194 pp., 74 illus., 24 tables, bib. \$15.00 paper.

A report title that includes the phrase "Carrizo Creek Stage Station" brings to mind movies set in the desert West that feature stage stops threatened by outlaws or rampaging Native Americans, films such as *Stagecoach* (1939) ("Dry Fork" and others en route to "Lordsburg") and *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* (1949) (Indians attack "Sudro Wells").

This report deals with a real stage stop, Carrizo Creek, on the Great Southern Route in far southeastern California close to the Mexican border. This site saw thousands of immigrants pass through, as they were heading west to the gold fields, and saw thousands more livestock headed west to feed them.

This publication, a reworking of the original 2007 contract report, is a result of efforts by California Parks and Recreation to preserve and protect the evidence of this genuine stage stop. There are four main sections: chapter 3, "Historical Background"; chapter 6, "Results"; chapter 7, "Artifact Identifications"; and chapter 8, "Artifact Synthesis and Interpretations."

The history discussion provides context, placing Carrizo as an important stop on the Butterfield Overland Stage Route from the Mississippi to Los Angeles and San Diego. This was because it had the first potable water (from a stream that ran only 2 mi. on the surface) after a particularly brutal crossing over 30 mi. of desert that over the years

killed thousands of mules, oxen, and horses, and forced many parties to abandon their equipment.

The historical background is enlivened by the use of numerous "then" and "now" paired photographs of the site and the area, by period paintings and engravings of the vicinity, and by stark accounts by military and civilian travelers passing along the Carrizo Corridor. There are numerous maps, although it might have been useful to have a larger-scale map that shows the larger relationship between the Carrizo Creek site and the routes to the east and west.

The description of the architectural discoveries at this site in the "Results" chapter is useful, as the site has been severely damaged by machine leveling and subsequent flash flooding. The archaeological team unraveled a complex stratigraphy, generated by multiple occupations of the same space, that was preserved only in a 3 ft. tall rubble mound.

They identified three structures, named A, B, and C. A was built first, and then C perhaps as a kitchen for A. They are very different in construction, though both are made of local materials. A is a rectangle built of adobe bricks on a foundation of cobbles, had a pebble and mortar floor, and was divided into two rooms, one with a fireplace. The roof was not much more than thatch. Paying close attention to soil stains, the team discovered C was evidently built as the regional jacal version of post-in-ground wattle and daub, with two small cobblestone hearths that contained largely Native American ground-stone artifacts and pottery sherds. C was at least rectilinear, but much of it had been destroyed by a severe erosion channel. The team also discovered pits (original functions not discussed) filled with discarded material culture of both European American and Native American origin.

An important change in appearance of the stage station occurred when C was demolished and structure B was constructed over it. Although also damaged by the erosion cut, B is largely identical and parallel to A. One could not help but notice that the plans

of *A* and *B* (30 ft. wide and 18 ft. deep), when combined with the 7 ft. wide hallway in between, present a floor plan remarkably similar to the proverbial pioneer dogtrot log house erected across the Eastern Woodlands and more commonly surviving today built of lumber or brick.

The deliberate demolition of the jacal structure, an intrinsically regional statement, and its replacement by B, built of local materials and technology, to be sure, but the placement of which completes the open central-hall plan, seems to be a deliberate decision to transform a disorderly hodgepodge of spaces and building styles into an ordered landscape representative of and familiar to the "more civilized" travelers and employees from the Anglo-Americanized eastern U.S. and far West Coast. The effect was somewhat spoiled by the brown adobe walls and thatched flattish roof, but, at minimum, the benefits of the cool shaded "dogtrot" were probably appreciated by the people who lived there or passed by.

Chapter 7 is a thorough description of the artifacts. Discoveries included a bone toothbrush handle with a Philadelphia maker's mark; a transfer-printed lid to a ceramic toothpowder jar, also from Philadelphia; table wares from Staffordshire, some in sets; gin bottles with New York marks; window glass; wine-bottle fragments, including an absinthe bottle with a shoulder seal from a Swiss manufacturer; and 95 nail fragments from the jacal structure. There were also fragments of Native American cooking vessels in structure B. More sherds were in the trash-filled pit, B4, that contains European American diagnostic artifacts dating the fill to the late 1850s and early 1860s, not incidentally the period of the Butterfield Stage operations, 1857–1861.

There are some problems with aspects of the analysis of the artifact assemblage, perhaps because of the limited number of items recovered, no more than 400 items, excluding adobe and rock construction materials, 1,738 nails or nail fragments, and 144 charred barley seeds. This is not adequate for comparative purposes as proposed in chapter 5, which discusses research design and methods of artifact analysis. Nonetheless, the authors explicitly chose to place their minimal finds, identified and catalogued according to an expanded set of

Stanley South's activity groups, into the confines of South's quantitative "pattern analysis" and then into indices developed by George Miller and others to define "socioeconomic distinctions." These are research questions that at best succeed to some degree only with large sample sizes.

One must therefore question interpretations when the authors conclude differing room functions for the two rooms in structure A based on the total number of artifacts recovered from each room, evidently fewer than 75 items (and there is no discussion of how the items ended up on or in the pebble-and-mortar floor).

Seeking only pattern analysis also obscures the discussion of the "munitions group." Given that this group dominates the total artifact assemblage at 20.42%, excluding building materials and nails, it seems to confirm the Wild West image of violence and gun play. The travelers' accounts note that practically everyone passing through Carrizo Station was armed against Native Americans and outlaws, often with multiple blades and firearms. However, of 109 artifacts in this group, 89 are fragments of percussion caps, with no estimate of the minimum numbers of intact or fired caps, or even types, represented. There is no mention that these may simply be lost or damaged merchandise (modern caps are sold in packages of 100 or more). Even if one includes the seemingly high number of percussion-cap fragments, the range of munitions-related items, from two French gun flints and a possible English flint, to a minié ball, to lead shot, is not much different than what one finds on farmsteads from the mid-19th century back East. It is in fact astonishing how few munitions-group items were recovered, with travelers and inhabitants reportedly so well armed.

Nor should it be a surprise that when authors calculated ceramics indices they were only able to conclude, weakly, that in comparison with four other sites in California of similar dates, the occupants of Carrizo were no different in this regard than other middle-income households on the West Coast. If this is the case on such an unusual, dynamic, and clearly multiethnic transit locus such as a stage station, of what use are such indices? The Carrizo site's table wares do look quite ordinary for a mid-19th century occupation anywhere to the

east, including painted wares in the small floral patterns sometimes called "cornflower," red and flow-blue transfer-printed vessels, and relief-molded pieces. This is yet another indication how pervasive the products of British ceramics manufacturers were around the world.

There is also the question of interpreting the Native American ground-stone tools and ceramics recovered at the site amidst all the European American material culture. The Native American artifacts are thoroughly described, even to noting that eight of the vessels present were likely imported from near the Colorado River area to the east. When combined with the foodways data from the faunal analysis, the predominance of regional Hispanic and Native American cuisine is as clear as with the technology used in the architecture. Now one knows more is implied than the passing reference that at least one of the Butterfield stationmasters, Mailland, had a Native American wife (p. 145). The household now looks a bit different, indeed, than other middle-income households.

Finally, there is the label of "isolated frontier outpost." It is assumed that the category fits, but the issue is not addressed directly. Today the site is in the middle of nowhere, but in the past it was on the main road from somewhere to somewhere else. The nearest stations were no more than 30 mi. away at maximum.

It is becoming more and more difficult to sustain labels of "isolation" or what isolated might mean in the past when one finds British ceramics on the most deserted islands in the Pacific and Chinese porcelain all over the Anglo world. That label does speak to the need for reflexive archaeology so that one's own assumptions do not mislead.

This report is a fine example of where focus on a single site can provide information on a series of once-crucial sites that no longer exist. The archaeological fieldwork shows how much can be preserved in spite of heavy machinery and flash floods. One can look forward to further analysis of the artifacts to answer some of the questions raised above. The information generated by this project is significant in many ways and should be read and used by historians, archaeologists, and anyone interested in the actual people, places, and events in the desert West.

Not incidentally, the report also says much about the integration of Hispanic, Native American, and Anglo-American cultures. Being an "American" is and has been a complex identity to wear.

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The Archaeology of Colonialism:
Intimate Encounters and
Sexual Effects
BARBARA L. VOSS AND ELEANOR
CONLIN CASELLA (EDITORS)
Cambridge University Press, New
York, NY, 2011. 350 pp., 70 illus.,
5 tables, refs., index. \$99.00 cloth,
\$36.99 paper.

This short review cannot do justice to the complexity of this volume, which provides diverse case studies exemplifying theory and/ or methods for interrelating private and public sensual, intimate, emotional, sexual, gendered, social, and/or embodied meanings of colonial material culture. The focus on the cultural pervasiveness of sexual relationships is related in most cases to the broader context of gender power dynamics. Casella and Voss's chapter distinguishes colonialism from imperialism. Sexuality is broadly defined to include "socialities" and "affects" of "embodied and expressive human intimacies," from the "parental" to "seductive," "non-normative," "involuntary," and "exploitative." However, many embodied intimacies that are sensual, emotional, and/or social, are not sexual. For instance, European imperial parent/ child relationships are usually considered gender relations because they did not normatively involve sex. Because this volume is focused on sexuality, it does not define gender and its complex relationships to sexuality.

Voss's chapter discusses how the volume aims to "forge a strong connection between" archaeological research on colonization, and feminist and postcolonial scholarship. She draws ungendered models of colonialism from homogenizing postcolonial theory, concepts of culturally contingent constructions of variable sexualities from queer theory, applies social agency theory to colonized women, and discusses the close relationship between colonial binary gender systems, imposed heterosexuality, and racism; but does not discuss the especially relevant feminist critiques of ungendered

postcolonial theory and feminist theorizing of internal colonialism affecting intersecting gender, sexual, racial, and class power dynamics. Postcolonial theory and research are critiqued for neglecting material culture.

Out of 19 chapters, two analyze material depictions of sexuality: (1) López-Bertran speculatively interprets Punic colonial votive figurines as representing three genders/sexes, as well as sex and male masturbation performed in rituals at a Spanish-island well shrine; and (2) Weismantel discusses the modern colonialism of museums protecting Peruvian Moche sex-depicting pots from handling that sheds light on their uses. Voss traces archaeological research on sexual effects of empire to early classical and Egyptian archaeology, and discusses their effects on modern concepts of sexuality and its regulation. Unfortunately, no chapters analyze Egyptian, Greek, or Roman imperial depictions of sexuality. The volume's focus on colonialism is not related to brothel or domestic sites where excavations have recovered artifacts pertaining to sexual acts.

In most chapters information about intangible sexual effects of colonialism is gained from documents. A few chapters lacking documentary or other evidence speculate on past sexualities, such as the possibility of homosexuality among Brazilian maroons (Funari) and López-Bertran's speculations about sex in Punic rituals. Most important are the documented colonialist sexual and gendered meanings and uses of material culture. For instance, Shepherd considers the possible colonial pornographic eroticism of photographing burials of South African "Bushmen" and taking "scientific" sexual measurements of living "Bushmen" prior to their exhibition at public fairs, where their near nudity was photographically exploited. Rubertone discusses two unusual gravemarkers of Narragansett leaders' wives who were friends of colonists and the social agency of Narragansett women in commemorating King Philip's War at the monument erected by European American men to their victory in Kingston, Rhode Island.

Some chapters discuss how documented colonial gender policies and nonsexual labor regimes promoted or prohibited certain sexual relations, affecting procreation, and materialized domestic or social groups. For instance, colonial policies structuring labor led to gender segregation of male workers both in the Spanish presidio in San Francisco and in later Chinatown tenements in San Jose, where Voss interpreted the tensions between collective homosocial living and individuality from the uniqueness of opium pipes and ceramics peckmarked with Chinese names. Weiss discusses how the segregation of male miners in penal barracks at South African mines led them to court younger miners with gifts, such as dresses and jewelry, to become "wives" in homosexual relationships, employing blankets around beds for privacy. Weiss contends historical archaeology is always about production and reproduction, but she actually researches documentation and excavated remains of men's consumer choices in the barracks and in an earlier miners' tent hotel that emulated Victorian domesticity in tableware. Dawdy discusses how French laws permitting the female-owned and -operated hospitality industry in New Orleans led travelers, predominantly men, to perceive the city as expressing feminine sexuality. Dawdy excavated women's hospitality sites outside the red-light district, interestingly arguing against the sexual interpretation that prostitutes used the large numbers of rouge pots found at the Rising Sun Hotel site, because male dandies also wore rouge in the 19th century.

Many chapters show how ordinary material culture is related to interethnic mating and/or procreation, sometimes involving women's social agency in the context of colonial labor relations. Garraffoni found that gravestone inscriptions of Roman gladiators, paid for by wives, were more detailed concerning their careers and ethnicity in Spain than in Rome. Croucher uses oral histories to interpret a well-constructed house with a lot of jewelry as belonging to a concubine at a Muslim colonial clove plantation in Zanzibar. Tarble de Scaramelli researched how Jesuit missions on the Orinoco River in Venezuela allowed indigenous women to negotiate upward social mobility through mating with male colonists, conversion to Catholicism, ceramic commodity production for personal economic gain, acquisition of European status display items that were excavated from indigenous women's graves, and a shift in excavated settlements from polygynous to monogamous households with individual-size dishes. Loren discusses the documented fear and desire generated among male colonists in French Louisiana by the sensual ways Indian women wore trade beads and other items of adornment excavated. Hull argued for widespread intermarriage between male colonists and indigenous women in California's Yosemite Valley based on demographic estimates of rapid indigenous-population increase following European-disease epidemics. Frequent sexual relationships were documented in colonial Honduras, where indigenous-warrior masculinity resisting colonization was evident from many excavated projectile points (Russell, Blaisdell-Sloan, Joyce). Colonial leaders documented their unsuccessful attempts to stop male colonists from "going native." Delgado and Ferrer's excavations of two western Phoenician colonial cemeteries found indigenous women and their cooking pots were excluded from elite lineage-based southern Iberian tombs, but were included among standardized Sicilian burials that expressed multiethnic hybridity.

Some case studies found evidence of mating that was forbidden by colonial laws or policies, such as the Spanish woman captured and married by an indigenous leader in Honduras. Voss discusses documentary and archaeological evidence of Spanish military men's common illegal practice of raping Indian women. Casella researched colonial Australian documents describing how convict women who were assigned to work in male-dominated households and ranches were returned to prison when they committed the sinful crime of becoming pregnant out of wedlock. The criminal influence of convict mothers on their children was prevented by segregating infants in walled nursery wards where the mothers could hear but not see their infants, who were called "Little Bastard Felons" and suffered from documented physical abuse, theft of their food, high mortality, and, from excavated evidence, a lack of of toys.

Hall's commentary compares book chapters to develop a generalized methodology for analyzing the intangible and tangible, normative and transgressive, sexual effects of colonialism. This book provides useful methods that encourage further research on interrelated ephemeral and material sexual and gendered effects of colonialism.

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