

Reviews

Edited by Vergil E. Noble

The following review article by Alaraic Faulkner considers several related monographs devoted to a long-term research program in Quebec. Although the publications span several years, and each may stand alone, Faulkner's overview ably demonstrates that their contribution to the archaeological literature is even greater when considered in combination.

Tapping the Data-Rich Resources of Quebec City Archaeology: Recent Research Reports of CELAT

Introduction

American historical archaeologists have long recognized, appreciated, and indeed envied the generally high quality of publications in historical archaeology that have emanated from Canada. Numerous publication series in English from universities, federal agencies, and provincial governments have caught our attention and imaginations. Many who attended the 2000 annual conference for The Society for Historical Archaeology held at Quebec City, discovered the high quality of active research in Quebec and the concomitant wealth of publications in French. Those few American historical archaeologists who are actively engaged in cross-border topics involving French Canada are presumably already taking advantage of these resources. Nevertheless, the burden of cross-fertilization between these realms of archaeology has clearly been born largely by French-speaking archaeologists. These researchers, who are themselves under increasing pressure towards monolingualism, have made the effort to incorporate the research of their English-speaking counterparts as part of their own footings.

By now the shoe is, or should be, on the other foot. The contributions of Quebec archaeology go far beyond cross-border comparisons, and have become of such moment that they cannot be ignored by anyone purporting to present a balanced approach to North American historical archaeology. The benign neglect that most American archaeologists have paid their French-speaking colleagues should not be excused.

Here, in a somewhat unorthodox review format, the author attempts to convince even the most diehard Anglo-American researchers, and especially graduates students, of the relevance of Quebec historical archaeology to their own work. The focus need not be on matters relating to French-Canadian ethnicity at all, but rather may range from the urban archaeology of port cities, changing foodways, English material culture, zooarchaeology, ethnobotany, and any number of other topics. Those with even a marginal competence in French are encouraged to peruse these and similar publications and give them the attention they deserve.

Even the linguistically timid should find these publications generally well written and the technical French familiar and easy to follow. Here, in somewhat greater detail than is generally followed, the author hopes to give Anglophone graduates students a taste of the opportunities and products of their French-speaking counterparts.

The series *Cahiers d'archéologie du CELAT*, or "CELAT Archaeological Reports," serves as our present example, as it is a relatively new report series, covering research dating from the early 1990s to the present. The acronym CELAT, all but forgotten even by those within the program, translates as the "Inter-University Center for Studies in Humanities, Arts, and Traditions." CELAT is a consortium of scholars from the University of Quebec at Montreal, the University of Quebec at Chicoutimi, and Laval University, and fosters research in a number of areas including history and ethnohistory. It is particularly well known, however, for its active program in historical archaeology under the direction of Prof. Marcel Moussette and his colleagues.

The present series publishes archaeological reports prepared by Moussette's students and colleagues. In general, this comprises research conducted cooperatively under the joint aegis of the Department of Urbanism of Quebec City, The Ministry of Culture and Communications of Quebec, and Laval University as represented by CELAT. They range in scope from well-crafted seasonal field reports, which are generally M.A. theses, to completion reports of major projects by established professionals.

Publication of these *Cahiers* is a laudable achievement, in some cases giving M.A. candidates their first significant exposure in print, and elevating reports beyond "gray literature" status. The accomplishment mirrors Moussette's own excellent publication example for which he was honored, in part, with the SHA's Award of Merit in 2000. Unfortunately, however, no indication is given in the reports themselves of their scholarly origin. While we will attempt to rectify this matter here, such minimal background information, along with brief biographies of the authors, would be appreciated in future numbers.

Five of the eight volumes, Numbers 1, 2, 6, 7, and 8, deal with successive field seasons of archaeology at the Hunt Block on the waterfront of the Lower City of Old Quebec. With the exception of Number 2, all are M.A. theses, conducted first under Marcel Moussette's direction and later under his colleague, Réginald Auger. Built on land created by French merchants in the late 17th century, the Hunt Block shows continuous occupation to the present. This study area proved to be a region of particular significance in the 19th century, during the waves of immigration through Quebec, and informs on the subsequent process of urbanization in this port city. While these works give a successive chronology of excavation campaigns, they are more than annual field reports, as each attempts to resolve a specific set of research problems. Nevertheless, successive volumes repeat, expand, and refine the archaeological picture, so that the later works are inherently more informative than the earlier ones.

While the archaeology of the Hunt Block is the focus here, the remaining three CELAT volumes deserve mention, and will be reviewed separately in the near future. Rather than being seasonal reports or M.A. theses, they are completed studies conducted by established professionals. Two of three discuss projects directed by City of Quebec archaeologist William Moss. Number 3, by far the largest volume in the series and illustrated in color, is a multi-part archaeological study of the grand house of merchant Aubert de La Chesnaye. This site is located in an earlier portion of the Lower City of Quebec, dating from the 1660s, and its significance largely pre-dates the English regime. Number 4 is a similar multi-part site report on the archaeology of the Recollet Monastery in the park area of the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity in the Upper City of Old Quebec. The remaining volume, Number 5, is a work in human osteology, and covers the remains of some 225 individuals from two cemeteries associated with the basilica of Notre Dame de Québec in the Upper City.

Five Seasons of Archaeology of the Hunt Block, 1991-1995

Excavations at the Hunt Block cover essentially half an urban block named for its 19th-century owners, and known at mid-century as "Hunt's Wharf." It is situated in the Lower City of Old Quebec about two blocks north of La Place Royale, where Champlain built his second habitation in 1624, and adjacent to the modern Museum of Civilization. The entire property was constructed on made land impounded by merchants from La Place Royale, and has experienced continuous use since the closing decade of the 17th century. Most of the buildings in the Hunt Block were razed before 1960, and it was not until after its purchase by a real estate developer in 1990 that archaeological work began. Today the excavation site is located largely beneath the parking lot of a small, stone hotel, rehabbed from the truncated remnants of an 18th-century warehouse: the Auberge Saint-Antoine.

Although each volume is distinctive, all generally follow a formula layout. Discussions of research strategy and historical background are followed by a description of the season's excavations. The latter, systematized in a fashion that would be recognized and appreciated by Sir Mortimer Wheeler, is complete with detailed stratigraphic analyses, unit by unit, that are separated into major events according to the Harris Matrix. There follows a data-rich analysis that is the particular focus of the individual report or thesis, accompanied by numerous illustrations and supporting appendices. Usually each section is clearly summarized, which proves to be of particular benefit to non-Francophone readers.

Appropriation de l'espace et urbanisation d'un site de la basse ville de Québec: Rapport de la première campagne de fouilles à l'Îlot Hunt (1991).

MYRIAM LECLERC

CELAT, Université Laval, Quebec City, 1998.
Cahiers d'archéologie du CELAT, no. 1. xvii + 147 pp., 46 figs., 4 tables. \$15.00 (CND) paper.

The first in the *Îlot Hunt*, or "Hunt Block," series covers the four-week exploratory excavations conducted by Laval University's archaeological field school in the spring of 1991. Here Myriam Leclerc's thesis ambitiously purports to cover "the appropriation of urban space, and the process of urbanization" in Quebec. She distinguishes this approach from that of Old World urban archaeologists who seem to be dedicated to preserving and explaining the significance of particular monuments of many periods within an urban setting. She takes as her perspective a more holistic approach, focusing on urbanization as a process. She sets out to study the city in its totality from its earliest beginnings in order to follow the evolution of "the urban fabric," or what we might refer to as "the development of the urban landscape."

Although presented within this broader context, the results are more particularistic, and are most valuable here in introducing the volumes that follow. Leclerc introduces a rigorous documentary trace of this waterfront property. The transformations are fully illustrated with schematic plans showing the evolution of land grants and changes of title, and are supplemented with contemporary maps and illustrations.

Archaeologists familiar with the evolution of urban waterfronts will find the evolutionary sequence familiar (Alaric Faulkner, 1977, *Port and Market: Archaeology of the Central Water Front, Newburyport, Massachusetts*, National Park Service, Atlanta). Quebec's waterfront, like so many others, developed upward and outward into its harbor. In Quebec, moreover, its early significance was both commercial and military. With new waterfront land grants in the 1680s, merchant entrepreneurs built wooden and stone wharves into the Saint Lawrence River. In the first half of the 18th century, this made-land became the footings for successive lines of defense. The first Dauphine battery was erected in 1707 reacting to the British threat posed by the War of Spanish Succession; the second Dauphine battery in 1745 was built after the fall of Louisbourg. The first residence, a three-story stone dwelling, appears on the property in 1727. Although it was destroyed with most of the rest of the lower city, during the siege of Quebec in 1759, it was apparently rebuilt a few years later.

After the English conquest, the defensive function of this neighborhood was abandoned, and the waterfront expanded into the Saint Lawrence, nearly doubling in area, and during this period the Hunt Block began to take form. Successive occupants subdivided the land for residential and commercial purposes. By 1815, another house was constructed on the street corner, accompanied by stables and other dependencies. A third habitation soon followed in 1824. Their occupants were engaged in waterfront activities, and included the cooper John Cillas and, eventually, beginning in the late 1820s, the families of brothers James and Thomas Hunt, the latter a master sailmaker.

As will become apparent, the archaeology of the Hunt Block informs significantly on 19th-century transformations of Quebec. During the period of the Hunts' occupation, comprising roughly the second quarter of the 19th century, Quebec experienced unprecedented immigration, coupled with dramatic overpopulation and major epidemics. By mid-century, the Hunt Block approached its maximum building density. Over the second half of the century land use became more diversified. By 1875, when the area had passed its peak as a port facility, the familiar Sanborn Atlas insurance plans show the Hunt Block with mix of ancillary port businesses and commercial enterprises: warehouses, ships chandlery, and wholesale grocers together with a hardware store and a branch bank office.

The first year's limited excavations give a good representation of what was to come. The two excavation units ran alongside the sidewalks and in the adjacent parking lot of the Auberge Saint Antoine, and uncovered some undocumented details of the margins of the first Dauphine battery, as well as presumed rubble from the second. Leclerc also identifies a trash dump thought to have accumulated during the 18th century as residents threw their domestic trash up against the defensive works. Above this lay levels associated with the occupation of the two 19th-century habitations on the block, an accumulation that continued up until 1960, when the houses were demolished.

The excavations are clearly described and illustrated in plan and section. Halftone photographs of excavations and artifacts are large and carefully selected to give a representative coverage of these explorations. Unfortunately, the loss of gray tones in reproduction often renders them "muddy" so that their information content varies from acceptable to barely comprehensible. A detailed, descriptive faunal analysis for the two excavation units is appended and shows proportionately comparable percentages of mammal, bird, and fish remains in that order. Detailed, but largely "undigested," these data have little comparative value until seen in the context of subsequent excavation.

Le site de l'îlot Hunt: Rapport de la deuxième campagne de fouilles (1992).

PAUL-GASTON L'ANGLAIS

CELAT, Université Laval, Quebec City, 1998.

Cahiers d'archéologie du CELAT, no. 2. x + 189 pp., 23 figs., 6 tables, 1 app. \$15.00 (CND) paper.

The second season of excavation at the Hunt Block in 1992 was conducted under the direct supervision of professional archaeologist, Paul L'Anglais. This second season

was more ambitious than the first, designed to delimit the early 17th-century quays, the defensive works built upon them in the early 18th century, and the stone walls that marked vestiges of the original land grants. The results of this ground-truthing, L'Anglais asserts, "exceeded our most optimistic hopes."

In this detailed report, L'Anglais gives an excellent stratigraphic interpretation of the evolution of the Hunt Block, refining and expanding on the early history outlined in the first volume. In one of the three major units, for example, L'Anglais was able to identify some 34 tightly dated events, neatly keyed to the documentary history of the site. Indeed this carefully reasoned and integrative approach is a model of stratigraphic interpretation, especially given the complexity of this urban setting.

Excavations examined the first expansion of the Lower City into the Saint Lawrence, new land created by fill taken from the banks of the river. Here in the 1680s were constructed wooden and stone wharves on land granted to Charles Aubert de la Chenaye, whose grand housing complex, one may recall, is the subject of Number 3 in this series. In the landfill, L'Anglais was able to distinguish six distinct deposits, which included a major waterlogged stratum rich in both artifacts and vegetal ecofacts. The entire stratum was recovered, and macrobotanical remains were separated by flotation for analysis, which is appended to this volume. Also associated with the stone quay was a cistern that apparently served the neighborhood for nearly two centuries, ending up as the water source for a mid-19th-century bakery, before being filled sometime after 1863.

L'Anglais tracks the development of the first defensive works along the quay, beginning in 1707. This is followed by subtle evidence for a second fortification of the waterfront shortly before the taking of Quebec by the English in 1759. He also documents their leveling by merchants clamoring for access to the waterfront and eager to build on the reclaimed land. During the English regime, the site sees major wharf expansion, and construction of houses, warehouses, and related outbuildings, their footings lying in some cases directly above the remains of the former defensive works. By the mid-1820s, the Hunt Block has thus largely taken shape.

L'Anglais then carries the stratigraphic evidence through the complex urbanization of the region that occurred over the remainder of the 19th century. At every turn, he gives clear indications of the facilities that were exposed and available for use during each event. These meticulous analyses are essential for a thorough interpretation of the waterfront, and provide the archaeological underpinnings for the succeeding works.

Appended is the complete ethnobotanical report of the late 17th-century quay fill, reported Catherine Fortin, "Analyse paléoethnobotanique du matériel contenu dans le caisson de quai de l'îlot Hunt, Québec." This analysis shows characteristics typical not only of latrine sediments, but also of domestic refuse disposal. As this was a comparatively novel application of paleo-ethnobotany to historical archaeology, Fortin goes on to suggest more practical and cost effective sampling strategies for macrobotanical remains from similar contexts. L'Anglais uses the inclusion of both noxious weeds and foodstuffs to characterize landfilling of the quays in the main body of the text. This, he argues, was a gradual process rather than an instant episode of landfilling, leaving sediments exposed for long intervals.

Also included is a quantitative analysis of the ceramics and glass recovered from a trash deposit of 1828. This study is useful not only for its data, but is also noteworthy for the systematic, hierarchical approach to standardized artifact classification championed by L'Anglais.

This second volume is illustrated with a series of schematic historical plans attempting to show the evolution of the Hunt Block, expanding on those in the first number. The presentation suffers because, although they have brief captions, they lack labels and figure numbers, presumably a production oversight. Consequently, the reader is left with jigsaw puzzle of irregular shapes that give only a general sense of the dynamics of the waterfront evolution. Sections and excavation plans, also lacking figure numbers, are nevertheless clear and reproduce well. The photographs of the site and recovered artifacts are limited to four halftones, a selection that reproduces more successfully than those in the first volume.

Des vestiges d'une arrière-cour à l'histoire de l'hygiène publique à Québec au XIXe siècle: la troisième campagne de fouilles archéologiques à l'îlot Hunt.

MANON GOYETTE

CELAT, Université Laval, Quebec City, 2000.
Cahiers d'archéologie du CELAT, no. 6. xi + 216 pp., 49 figs., 6 tables, 4 apps. \$15.00 (CND) paper.

The third publication on the Hunt Block, Number 6 in the CELAT series, approaches the process of urbanization as it was manifested in archaeology of a 19th-century backyard shared by the Hunt Block residences, businesses, and stables. Manon Goyette's thesis focuses on human adaptation to changing conditions of public health occasioned by the rapid growth of the lower city in the 19th century. The data are typical of an urban backyard posed between a city and its harborside: refuse deposits and drainage and sewage systems. The work charts the evolutionary history of a system of gutters, drains, septic systems, and related facilities designed to carry off the ever-increasing overflow of urban sewage. It also incorporates study of contemporary trash deposits, some of which were encountered in earlier field seasons.

As a representation of the ecological adaptation of the urban environment of Quebec, the study is necessarily incomplete. The Hunt Block's backyards and stables, however, do present an appropriate platform for discussing how history and archaeology can mutually inform on the subject of public health. Goyette attempts to consider this not as an isolated site, but rather in the context of a broader adaptive system, in the hope of contributing to a general theory of urbanization. The approach is clearly processual, drawing on concepts of general systems theory and cultural ecology, with frequent references to major works in these fields.

The thesis covers a critical period when Quebec was experiencing unprecedented growth and was beset with numerous plagues, including the well-known cholera epidemics that accompanied waves of immigration during the 1830s. Because of Quebec's role as one of the two primary ports

of entry for Irish newcomers in the 19th century, Goyette's case study should be required reading for northeastern urban archaeology students. She begins with an overview of the social and political disruptions of 19th-century Quebec that bear both on the back yard of the Hunt Block and on seaports of the northeast in general. To paraphrase Goyette, these considerations go beyond immigration, expansion, and industrialization of the waterfront to include concomitant problems: overpopulation, congestion, unsanitary practices, and poverty. Especially devastating for residents of Quebec were the epidemics of typhus, cholera, scarlet fever, smallpox, and diphtheria. How public officials addressed or failed to address these scourges, particularly the ravages of cholera between 1832 and 1852, may be reflected to some degree in the evolutionary design of sanitary facilities that are manifest in the Hunt Block. It is then from a functionalist perspective that Goyette analyses the backyard cesspit and drainage system, as human adaptive responses to the necessities of urban life.

With the same rigor displayed by L'Anglais for the previous field season, Goyette describes in reasoned detail some 39 major events distinguished in the expanded excavations. These resolve into five major stages of functional organization of the back yard, including three arrangements of sewage systems, each shedding light on changing attitudes towards public health and refuse disposal practices. These begin with the garbage dumps built against the ruins of the former battery in the 18th and early 19th centuries, and continue to include the first wooden drains that served individual buildings surrounding the courtyard. Following, in the middle of the 19th century, is a communal, wood-lined cesspit that served the 1815 and 1824 houses on rue Sainte-Antoine. Also considered is the role of backyard stables in the use of the septic system, and its eventual obsolescence as municipal sewage facilities were constructed towards the end of the century. Finally, during the 1900s, the yard took on its present function as a parking lot.

The history of construction, maintenance, and reconstruction of these features by itself would seem to be of little value were it not for Goyette's ability to place them in historical context. Quebec, during this period, was one of the most accessible and important ports of entry into the interior of eastern North America, and experienced extraordinary waves of immigration from England, Scotland and Ireland. The immigration tax was lower than in New York, thus, Quebec became a haven for the "less fortunate." The Lower City tripled in population density between 1818 and 1851, and the older quarters bore the brunt of overpopulation, lack of sanitation, and consequently disease. The port city's waterfront deteriorated and became host to an itinerant population of soldiers, sailors, and immigrants. Permanent residents of the waterfront were no longer a wealthy merchant class, but rather were citizens of modest means engaged in port commerce, ship construction, and various support services. Gradually, throughout the second half of the 19th century, the residential component of the quarter gave way to commercial uses as Quebec's economy shifted to manufacturing of textiles and leather products.

Goyette's historical overview covers many issues of general interest that have manifestations in the refuse and sewage disposal in the yard. She marks the contribution of domestic animals to the congestion and unhealthy conditions of the lower city, and the changing city regulations on their

maintenance, especially pigs, within the city limits. Several cited quotations comment on the sanitation conditions in the city, their relationships to the spread of epidemics throughout the lower city, and the regulations of the city authorities in attempts to rectify the situation. These observations are well chosen to distinguish responses prior to Pasteur, when cholera was thought to propagate from "miasmas" emanating from latrines, from reactions dating after ca. 1880, when the modern contagion theory of disease became generally accepted. Following one contemporary authority, Goyette suggests that the unorganized system of loose fitting, leaky, wooden drains and gutters may actually have been more of a threat than a benefit to public health. The primitive facilities contaminated the soil while they polluted wells and cisterns, and thereby served as conduits for disease, particularly during the spring runoff when they regularly overflowed.

Within the limits of the production technique, the volume is clearly illustrated with maps, line drawings, and numerous photographs of artifacts. Excavation photographs, however, suffer substantially, as pertinent details are lost in the dark shadows. As in volume Number 2 in the series, an analysis of macrobotanical remains is appended, authored by Catherine Fortin.

Étude socio-économique des habitants de l'îlot Hunt d'après la collection archéologique, 1850–1900: cinquième campagne de fouilles archéologiques.

PIERRE BOUCHARD

CELAT, Université Laval, Quebec City, 2000.

Cahiers d'archéologie du CELAT, no. 7. xii + 130 pp., 34 figs., 14 tables. \$15.00 (CND) paper.

The fourth season of archaeology of the Hunt Block, in 1994, apparently involved the exploration of architectural features, including a well and the foundations and interiors of houses along rue Saint-Antoine. At present, this work has not yet been reported separately in this series. The fifth and final season, in 1995, however, saw a massive expansion in the scale of excavation, focusing in earnest on the large, wood-lined cesspit turned trash pit in the court area that was described by Goyette. This final year of excavation provided material for the next two studies in the series, which are slimmer, yet perhaps more concise volumes; both give good overviews of the project as a whole.

Number 7 in the series, a thesis by Pierre Bouchard, attempts to present the denizens of the Hunt Block in socioeconomic perspective. Bouchard's discussion begins with an economic and demographic review of Quebec during the second half the 19th century, a period that saw rapid and significant changes reflected in microcosm in the study area. After noting the decline in shipbuilding and lumbering and the growth of commerce and the leather industry, he enters into a brief comparison of Quebec with Montreal. While the latter grew by more than 360% over this 50-year period, Quebec grew by only about 50%, indicating that that, relatively speaking, many people were fleeing Quebec.

This he attributes partly to various political decisions, including the loss of its garrison and its position as the seat of government. Important, too, were major fires of the 1850s and 1860s that devastated workers' quarters. The Anglophone community dropped substantially during this period, as well, as those who had survived the earlier plagues and had even prospered, now left for more-promising opportunities. The city's social stratification became more clearly divided into Upper and Lower City. Merchants, government officials, and professionals occupied the Upper City, while the Lower City housed the working class and small businessmen. The traditional old port area fell into disuse. New growth focused on industry, and developed in the sectors of the city located along the Saint Charles River to the northwest. During the last half of the 19th century, however, the Hunt block saw rebirth as a multifunction business district, attracting occupants who were financially better off than either the former occupants or the new factory workers to the northwest.

Bouchard's particular discussion of the demographics of the study area is necessarily constrained in statistical significance by the small size of the Hunt Block, but he does identify some general trends. Overall depopulation in the Block is characterized by a general decrease in the number of stores and artisans' workshops. More striking in the occupations is a drop not only in the number of shop owners and others involved in commerce, but also in the rapid disappearance and later reappearance of unspecialized, non-professional occupations represented in census data. It is from this somewhat confusing documentary perspective that Bouchard looks to the archaeological record.

Following the format of the previous numbers, Bouchard identifies in careful stratigraphic detail some 18 separate events associated with the enlarged excavations, a chronology that serves as a good summary of the project as a whole. Particularly relevant here, however, is the identification of five separate episodes of deposition associated with the use, abandonment, and subsequent filling of the cesspit in question during the second half of the 19th century.

The following brief chapter, key to the subject matter of the volume, is largely a ceramics analysis. It relies heavily on Miller's index of economic scaling (George L. Miller, 1980, *Historical Archaeology*, 14[1]:1–41; 1991, *Historical Archaeology*, 25[1]:1–25) to rank the relative value of ceramics recovered in the several episodes of deposition. Acknowledging Miller's own reservations about the application of this technique for the late 19th century, Bouchard nevertheless applies it to the Hunt Block trash deposits. An initial reading of the data using the index alone showed a rise in economic prosperity from 1850 to 1875, followed by a subsequent decline lasting to the end of the century. A second reading, after the ceramics were divided into three groups according to expense, shows ever-increasing access to the most expensive ceramics over the period. To test this pattern further, Bouchard compares the Hunt Block data with the results of earlier excavations at Grand Place in the industrial Saint Roch quarter of Quebec City. He finds that at mid-century the two areas were comparable in socioeconomic level, but by the end of the century, the Hunt block inhabitants appear to have been substantially better off than their ceramically impoverished counterparts at Grand Place.

There follows a more integrated discussion of the five levels of deposition that attempts to account for the people who may have generated them. The lowest, fragmentary residue, left after the final purging of the system shortly after 1850, is attributed largely to the non-specialized workers who inhabited the boarding houses served by the system. The first stages of fill, after abandonment of the system in 1860, show apparently less costly ceramics in use. Bouchard passes this off as being due to the extreme volatility in prices during this period, however, rather than an actual drop in socioeconomic status. Yet he characterizes the following deposit, laden with butchered animal remains deposited before 1870, as representing a population that was better off—the customers of a hotel then in operation.

Bouchard uses Fortin's earlier analysis of macrobotanical remains (Vol. 6) to interpret deposits of the 1870s, which are contemporary with the construction a new sewage system for this portion of Quebec. The earlier deposits showed evidence of edible plant remains consistent with the waste from latrines. The later sediments, however, lack these characteristics, indicating that this function of the cesspit had been totally abandoned. Human waste was now apparently relegated to a recently installed municipal system of stoneware pipe drains and brick sewers that now served the houses and presumably allowed for flush toilets. The cesspit, now an open trash dump, was filled rapidly and the ground leveled, an event contemporaneous with the installation of pillars for a new warehouse that partially overlapped the old cesspit. A final addition of trash shortly thereafter appears to have been added to compensate for subsidence of the earlier fill, thus leveling the yard.

This reorganization of the back yard, according to Bouchard, is representative of the significant change in function of many buildings of the Lower City in the closing decades of the century. The area was becoming increasingly commercial, taking on the function of redistribution of merchandise. As the 1875 Sanborn Atlas demonstrates, the region was increasingly used for multiple purposes. The construction of Dalhousie Street along the former waterfront now effectively separated the Hunt Block from its former wharf. Bouchard presents this rearrangement and the installation of the new sewage system as adaptive responses to economic obsolescence. It was, he maintains, an effective effort at modernization, attempting to attract occupants to the area who were financially better off.

One values this rendition of the socioeconomic history of the Hunt Block, one must consider as a strong point the summary of the project's excavation history put forth in this volume. Particularly useful are the 34 relatively high quality illustrations that include detailed and carefully labeled maps, finished plans, and sections. Equally valuable are photographs of the excavations and artifacts, which in this case preserve the tonal range of the images reasonably well. From fancy drawer pulls and escutcheons, to toothbrushes and a piggy bank, illustrations of artifacts attempt to give some additional sense of the economic well-being of the later Hunt Block residents.

Les habitudes alimentaires des habitants de l'îlot Hunt (CeEt-110) de 1850 à 1900: étude archéozoologique.

GUYLAINE BOUCHER

CELAT, Université Laval, Quebec City, 2000.
Cahiers d'archéologie du CELAT, no. 8. xii + 186 pp., 45 figs., 22 tables. \$15.00 (CND) paper.

The last number to this point in the Hunt Block series is a faunal analysis investigating the foodways of the Hunt Block occupants between 1850 and 1900 written, appropriately enough, by Guylaine Boucher (whose last name translates as "butcher"). Like the previous work, it serves as a fine summary volume of the project as a whole, as it benefits from all the earlier reports. Her introduction and first chapter give perhaps the most succinct and readable synopsis of the project, especially of its 19th century aspects.

The data fueling Boucher's work derive from the same cesspit and drainage system first described by Goyette (No. 6) and later analyzed for the socioeconomic implications of its artifact assemblage by Bouchard (No. 7). The second chapter gives a concise, but detailed description of this dual-chambered, plank-lined feature, along with a well-reasoned interpretation of its evolutionary history. Initially the feature was interpreted as a septic tank for the wastewater derived from the three surrounding habitations. Boucher notes, however, that it is equally possible that the structure began its history, at least in part, as a pit for composting manure from an adjacent outbuilding constructed in 1845. This building, which housed domestic animals, apparently was linked to the cesspit by wooden drains to evacuate liquid waste. Evidently, the pit had been fitted with an access cover so that solid waste could be added and then periodically cleaned out, as required by law.

Following Goyette and Bouchard, however, Boucher agrees that ca. 1860 the pit took on an entirely new function as a trash dump, within which nearly whole artifacts were deposited in several stages, even filling the inlet drain. The abandonment of the cesspit function was surely complete ca. 1875, when a replacement outbuilding was erected on pillars that intruded into a portion of the feature, and a new municipal sewage system was installed.

Boucher identifies the users of this backyard as occupants of three houses and a shop that shared this common backyard during the second half of the 19th century. These structures were of combined commercial and residential use, and at least one of them housed a hotel and various saloons and restaurants. Boucher notes that it would not be surprising to find that among these were steakhouses or "steak bars," which were in favor among the business classes at this time. Within this functional context, Boucher notes the ethnic shift in the population from almost exclusively English and Irish in 1851 to nearly equal proportions of Irish and French in 1891.

Boucher's third chapter discusses the evolution of the market places and butcher shops of Quebec in order to explain the availability of local animal foodstuffs for purchase by the denizens of the Hunt Block. She then describes the specific taxa of mammals, birds, and fish that were offered—a discussion that, considering the ethnic diversity of Quebec, may have comparative value for other urban studies. These she contrasts with domesticates kept as pets or as utilitarian beasts by the Hunt Block residents, principally horse, cat, and dog. Interestingly, like Goyette, Boucher notes the use of dogs as traction animals. Apparently dogs were regularly harnessed to small carts to carrying barrels, firewood, milk, and other provisions.

Up to the present analysis, it had apparently been well established from zooarchaeological studies that domestic mammals provided the bulk of the faunal diet in Quebec during all historic periods, supplemented by both wild and domesticated birds, followed by fish. During the 19th century, however, a greater variety in the choice of meats became available. Although supplemented by hunting and fishing, the primary source of meats was clearly the butcher shops where one could purchase not only cuts from the carcass, but also the head, tail, and hooves. By the middle of the century grocers also sold a variety of meats, although in smaller quantities, and while the products of the butcher shops were local, the groceries offered largely imported meats from the United States. Also, Boucher observes, some citizens may have raised and slaughtered their own animals, although on a much more limited scale. Finally, following Deetz (1977, *In Small Things Forgotten*, Doubleday, New York), Boucher notes that since the previous century the use of the saw in butchering allowed carcasses to be cut into individual matching portions; that cuts of meat perceived as "better" were sold at higher prices; and that brains and tongue were also regularly consumed.

The meat of Boucher's study begins in the fourth chapter, which comprises a detailed faunal study of nearly 11,000 bone fragments from more than 15 cm³ of fill within the trash dump. Of this assemblage, an unbiased, representative sample of 50% was selected for descriptive and quantitative analysis. There follows an obligatory discussion of methods that attempts to account for the various transformation processes, both natural and cultural, that affected the sample, including issues of pertaining to recovery techniques and preservation. Boucher outlines her methods of identification into taxa and for classifying and cataloging data. Similarly, she discusses the particulars of determining age and sex in this sample. Her methods also include commentary on the various surface markings on the specimens, ranging from the tooth marks of scavenging rodents and dogs, to butchering cuts and fractures resulting from the cooking process and exposure to the elements. Finally she engages in a familiar discussion concerning the relative merits of quantification by "number of identified specimens" versus the more elusive "minimum number of individuals." Although clearly biased towards the information provided by the former, Boucher dutifully performs both calculations for each of the five levels of the trash deposit. She further gives percentage data for the changing number of identified specimens in each taxon over each depositional episode.

An overview of the results indicates relative homogeneity in the taxa of mammals represented over time, while there is more variation in the bird and fish taxa. This is easy to

understand, considering that the mammals are concentrated in just five taxa, whereas the far less numerous fish and birds are distributed among 17 and 16 taxa respectively. Mammals comprise primarily equal percentages of beef and mutton, followed by about half as much pork, and only traces of hare and domestic rabbit. Among birds, domestic chickens and passenger pigeons were the clear favorites, followed by both domestic and wild geese and brants, as well as various pheasants or partridges that could not be identified to the species level. Cod, Atlantic salmon, and American eel were the most common fish, followed by various indeterminate species of bass. Boucher goes on to make comparisons between wild and domesticated species, present in proportions of 21% and 71.4%, respectively, with the remainder presumably indeterminate. Among these, she identifies several taxa that probably were not food remains such as black rat and domestic cat, and animals trapped for fur such as fox and muskrat.

There follows a section on 19th-century butchering practices, including thorough, if not original, illustrations of the various cuts of beef, mutton, and pork, together with a ranking of their contemporary "quality" or value. Butchering marks are illustrated schematically in an appendix. In beef, Boucher sees a general improvement in the quality of meats towards the end of the deposition sequence, as choice cuts come to outnumber less costly ones. With the exception of the earliest deposit, choice cuts of mutton predominate throughout the period, gradually increasing to make up more than 87% of the mutton represented. Cuts of pork are not so numerous, but seem to follow the same general trend.

Boucher concludes that during the second half of the 19th century, the Hunt Block inhabitants (or customers) seem to have enjoyed an increasingly higher socioeconomic status represented by their ability to purchase higher quality meats. She cautions, however, that personal and ethnic preferences often can compromise this simplistic interpretation. Further, a more expensive cut of meat is often a better buy even for the disadvantaged, considering the amount of usable meat that it may provide. Finally, the presence of a steakhouse in the 1815 structure on the premises would certainly have contributed to the high quality of cuts found in the trench.

Boucher compares the Hunt Block food remains to those from three neighboring and contemporary deposits in the city, two of which were from sites immediately to the north of the Hunt Block where the Museum of Civilization now stands. These assemblages do differ somewhat in their origin, as in some instances butchering had been conducted in place, so that butchering waste is included among the processed food remains. The major distinction between the Hunt Block sample and the well-established pattern from the other three sites, however, is the order of predominance of the principal mammals. In the other assemblages the order is clearly beef, mutton, and pork, whereas in the Hunt Block sample mutton is slightly more common than beef, and pork comes in a distant third. Boucher would have us ascribe this difference to the ethnic and personal food preferences of the Irish, who consistently made up a major proportion of the Hunt Block population during this half century.

In a summary, Boucher attempts to integrate the socioeconomic information derived from documents and the artifact interpretation with the faunal data. She observes that the number of bones from young animals increases

over the course of the second half of the 19th century, just at the time less well-off occupants were replaced by a better-salaried class. The dominance of younger animals, of course, implies that they were raised specifically for slaughter and were not simply dispatched at the end of service for milk or wool production or similar uses. Over the same period, higher quality cuts of meat increase steadily. The major distinctive element of this deposit over its contemporaries is the predominance of mutton over beef, which among other possible dispositions is the major ingredient in Irish stew.

As a window on food consumption habits at the Hunt Block during the second half of the 19th century, the work seems to be largely successful; however, its laudable goal of attempting to integrate the record of faunal remains with the locally available market supplies is less fully developed. Plans, elevations, and other images of markets abound in the illustrations, but their relevance is not fully explained in the text. Nevertheless, this volume is a good capstone report for the Hunt Block project, and carries with it well-crafted location maps, plans of the finished excavation, and carefully selected historical paintings and photographs, most of which reproduce acceptably. Urban archaeologists especially should explore this publication and its companions for comparative information.

ALARIC FAULKNER
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF MAINE
ORONO, ME 04469-5773

Old and New Worlds.

GEOFF EGAN and R. L. MICHAEL, editors
Oxbow Books, Oxford, England, and the
David Brown Book Co., Oakville, CT, 1999.
x + 396 pp., 95 figs. \$60.00 (£40.00).

Old and New Worlds consists of the proceedings of joint meetings held by The Society for Post Medieval Archaeology and The Society for Historical Archaeology to mark their 30th anniversaries in 1997. The first meeting was held at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation in April of that year followed by a meeting in London in November. British and American archaeologists presented papers at each venue, 42 of which are grouped in this volume under the parts "Approaches to the Evidence," "Communities of the Old and New Worlds," "Bridges and Divisions—Crossing the Seas and Military Operations," "Manufactured Goods," and "Humans, Plants and Landscapes." Norman Barka and Geoff Egan organized the conferences and the published papers were edited jointly by Geoff Egan and R. L. Michael.

In the volume's first part, contributors Paul Courtney and Robert Schuyler answer all of your nagging questions about the history of both organizations save one: why did it take 30 years to hold a joint conference? (except for the joint meeting in Bristol on 20–23 September 1979). Are British and American archaeologists indeed a single people divided by a common discipline, as well as a common language? Do the differences between our fields, the anthropological basis of historical archaeology and the more historical focus of post-medieval archaeology, interfere with communication? If so, what has changed?

Matthew Johnson and Deidre O'Sullivan answer these questions in their papers by describing the increasing diversity of post-medieval archaeology and its growing profile in British academia during the 1990s. Johnson sketches out "a truly scientific and anthropological (approach)," argues for greater "attention to particularities and to close contextual detail" and for a post-medieval archaeology that is more wide ranging in its arguments (p. 17). There is a professed new interest in American archaeological theory reflected in several of the British papers that follow. Interestingly, several of the American contributors selected to participate in the conferences are now active doing post-medieval archaeology in Britain. Historical and post-medieval archaeologists are both thinking and digging globally and finding that they have much in common. At the same time there is a growing awareness of the importance of the local context and renewed commitment to extracting the most and best information out of the archaeological record.

Marley Brown III's contribution, "The Practice of American Historical Archaeology," is the first of seven excellent papers on the archaeology of the Chesapeake, one of the strengths of the volume. Brown summarizes research undertaken by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation investigating the quest for permanency in architecture and growth of regional economy and market dependency as evidenced by faunal remains. His larger point is to demonstrate the benefit of "long-term research aimed at solving complex historical problems" for which archaeological data are relevant (p. 29). The reader is then treated to a group of excellent studies in architecture and urbanization in London ("Row and Terrace," by Robin Leech, and "London-Axis of the Commonwealth?," by Geoff Egan) and in the Chesapeake in chapters by Julia A. King and Edward Cheney and by Henry Miller. One of the surprises of this volume is the near-absence of American urban archaeology, being represented here by chapters on Lowell, Massachusetts, by Stephen Mrozowski and on Sacramento, California, by Adrian Praetzelis. The latter study, "The Archaeology of Ethnicity: An Example from Sacramento, California's Early Chinese District," however, exemplifies the best of what American urban historical and anthropological archaeology can offer. Praetzelis defines the local context of *guanxi*, or system of interpersonal, reciprocal relationships, and other factors to explain the material culture of mid-19th-century overseas Chinese sites, reminding us again that "artifacts do not have fixed meanings that can be deduced without reference to the contexts in which they were used" (p. 134).

North American historical archaeology differs fundamentally from post-medieval archaeology by virtue of the types of communities available to excavate and to reconstruct. Historical archaeology and ethnohistory can inform us about the transformation of Native-American life in face of European contact in ways that historical sources alone cannot do. Kathleen Bragdon successfully integrates these sources into her review of the evidence for emerging chiefdoms in southern New England at the time of contact with Europeans. African-American archaeology practiced in different regions of the United States has enriched our understanding of the complexities of American slavery and freedom. Ywone D. Edwards-Ingram reviews recent developments in this area of historical archaeology with a focus on Virginia and on the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation's innovative programs in archaeology and public education.

Norman Emery paints a vivid picture of material life on the remote Hebridean archipelago of St. Kilda based on Durham University excavations in the late 1980s. His fine study also documents the frustration of a discipline that can readily deploy methods to wrest and analyze environmental data from the field and yet be stymied in face of deficient research on the most common types of pottery, glass, and leather artifacts, "which is really needed to understand the lives of people in the recent past no matter how poor they were" (p. 169). Our ignorance about key material underpinnings of the early post-medieval world work also extends to the areas of ship and boat construction. In his article "Echoes of Adzes, Axes and Pitsaws," Damian Goodburn reveals how basic information on post-medieval ship construction may be extracted from multiple London waterfront salvage projects of the past two decades. This, and Robyn P. Woodward's survey of underwater archaeology in the Americas that follows, marks the volume's seamless transition into the part on "Bridges and Divisions—Crossing the Seas and Military Operations" with additional contributions in this latter area by Geoffrey Parnell and David Starbuck.

The fourth part of *Old and New Worlds* contains some notable American contributions including "A Perspective on Artefacts and Historical Archaeology in the Americas" by Barbara Little, Stanley South's study of the evidence for John Bartlam's 18th-century creamware pottery produced in Charleston, South Carolina, a study of ceramics on the British frontier by Teresita Majewski and Vergil E. Noble, and a review of American fur trade archaeology by Charles Cleland. The plum of the entire volume, however, consists of a series of eight chapters by a stellar group of scholars reviewing different aspects of post-medieval British ceramic production. The combined chapters by David Gaimster, David Barker, Beverly Nenck with Michael Hughes, Jacqueline Pearce, Roy Stephenson, Richard Coleman Smith, and John Allan is a *tour de force* exposition of the current state of affairs of British post-medieval ceramic studies. This is followed by a review of clay tobacco pipe studies, past and present, by David Higgins of the Society for Clay Pipe Research. A chapter by Charles Cleland on the history of the British North American fur trade rounds out this section.

Cleland concludes that historical archaeology "is in an excellent position to make a real contribution to the study of the process which developed in the intercultural negotiations which in turn produced and sustained the fur trade . . ." (pp. 328–329), which implies, of course, that this has not yet happened. This is almost a reversal of the role of archaeology in the post-medieval papers. Gaimster, Barker, and others have used cumulative archaeological data to document trends we would otherwise be ignorant of, trends that can be further explained by reference to economic and anthropological theory.

The final section, "Humans, Animals, Plants, and Landscapes," contains chapters in the areas of human osteology by Simon Mays, archaeobotany, by John Giorgi, colonial English foodways, by Charles Cheek, Chesapeake ecology and animal husbandry by Joanne Bowen, and garden and

landscape archaeology by Brian Dix, Lisa Kealhofer, and Richard Newman, respectively. The quantity of papers in this volume prevents all from being individually reviewed, but most are of the highest quality.

In conclusion, *Old and New Worlds* threatens at first glance to be simply the sum of its parts (all 42 of them). Its presentation may reinforce this perception, lacking introductory or concluding chapters to the papers as published. The grouping of papers into the categories discussed above is relatively weak and lacks reinforcement in the body of the book. Fortunately, the papers are all well written and illustrated, supported by excellent editing and containing relatively few typographic errors. The volume appears to capture the delightful juxtaposition of Old and New World papers as presented at the 1997 conferences and can be recommended as a sampler of sorts. Its strengths in British ceramic reviews and Chesapeake field studies will appeal to archaeologists with those topical and geographical interests, as well.

STEVEN R. PENDERY
 ARCHEOLOGY BRANCH
 NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
 400 FOOT OF JOHN STREET
 LOWELL, MA 01852-1128

A Historical Archaeology of the Ottoman Empire: Breaking New Ground.

UZI BARAM and LYNDIA CARROLL, editors
 Klewer Academic/Plenum Publishers, New York, 2000. xiv + 272 pp., 52 figs. \$67.50.

As the editors note in the introduction, and as many of the contributors echo in their articles, scholars often either ignore the Ottoman period or treat it as a stagnant epoch of few accomplishments. It is in large part to dispel this conventional notion that Baram and Carroll convened the conference at Binghamton University on which this volume is based. In publishing the proceedings, they have gone some ways towards rehabilitating that image. The editors and various authors deserve kudos for this effort. While it must be admitted that the contributions are uneven in quality, with some of a high caliber but others whose content indicates little revision from the oral presentations, the volume does make a convincing case for the need to study the Ottoman period systematically.

In the introduction, Baram and Carroll carefully lay out the theoretical foundation for the book. To place the era in context, they observe correctly that study of the Ottoman Empire in many of the regions that it formerly ruled is complicated by nationalist agendas that view the period of Turkish occupation as one of "alien domination" (p. 7). As a result, little or no attention is paid to the archaeology of that period. Second, the editors make a compelling case for the benefits that would accrue from the archaeological examination of the Ottoman period. Of utmost importance to the discipline, such study would support the move to a truly global historical archaeology. The editors also

argue that the archaeology of Islam, Middle Eastern studies, ethnoarchaeology, and critical historical analysis are among the fields or methods that could have a potent reciprocal relationship with Ottoman archaeology. The other articles in the volume touch on one or more of these themes, with special emphasis given by most to the role of archaeology in dispelling the Orientalist (read Western, ethnocentric) perspective and its often negative representation of Middle Eastern people past and present. While there is certainly some substance to this criticism, several of the authors overstate the case. The final point that the editors make is the need to investigate the Ottoman period as the archaeology of empire; this is certainly appropriate in light of the extent and diversity in the empire. The brief discussion of world-systems analysis as one way to conduct such an examination highlights several concepts (e.g., incorporation) of which other contributors make good use.

The next eight chapters are substantive contributions that discuss particular regions, sites, or monuments. In the first of these, Brumfield reports the findings of a modern site survey in eastern Crete. This excellent ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological investigation, carried out in conjunction with an archaeological survey, revealed that in this rugged region smallholders worked dispersed plots with little interference from Venetian and Turkish overlords, unlike central and western Crete where large estates (*cifliks*) were the norm. Brumfield recorded the presence of villages, isolated farmsteads, and agricultural installations (water mills, oil and wine presses). The presence of such diverse land-holding arrangements on one island underscores the need to explore the range of variation and avoid monolithic explanations for the Ottoman, or any other, period.

Geographically, of the remaining studies two deal with Palestine (Ziadeh-Seely, Baram), three with Anatolia/Turkey (Kuniholm [also includes a few sites in the Balkans], Carroll, Snyder), one with a shipwreck off the coast of Egypt (Ward), and one with Transjordan (LaBianca). Each of the articles employs methodological and theoretical approaches by which the authors demonstrate how Ottoman archaeology is fully compatible with, and in fact can expand on, what mainstream historical archaeology does. The article by Kuniholm provides dendrochronological dates for 50 sites in the Balkans and Turkey. Baram uses the concept of entanglement (a variation on the world-systems notion of incorporation) to explore how such modern habits as the use of tobacco and coffee reflect the ways that people engaged the global system actively, transforming some of these elements to fit their own cultural needs. By examining the ceramic industry at the key centers of Iznik, Çanakkale and Kütahya, Carroll shows that the production of non-elite wares increased as imports became popular among the affluent; she notes, however, that the distribution and consumption of such non-elite goods is not well understood. In addition to the exotic cargo of Chinese porcelain, earthenware water jars, pepper, coconuts, spices, incense, coffee, and other items, the Sadana Island shipwreck (18th century) provides information on a large merchant vessel in the Red Sea trade; Ward's clear description of the remains and their significance for understanding Ottoman trade at a crucial period of transition for the empire is a highlight of this collection. LaBianca suggests the use of a food systems approach (which includes everything from acquisition to metabolizing and disposing of food) to understand how

people in rural Jordan used the landscape, especially in response to imperial policy. She suggests that local people developed "hardiness structures" (p. 209; among the seven forms are residential flexibility and hospitality) over several millennia and used them to resist imperial intervention, e.g., by not living in permanent settlements throughout much of the Ottoman period to avoid taxation. Snyder uses an art history approach to examine the changes in mosque architecture from the 14th to the 16th centuries. At the formal level, she discusses three periods of mosque design (multi-cell, double dome, and single dome empire-style) in terms of how the buildings handled the use of light, and what that may say about contemporary Ottoman society. The architectural detail Snyder gives would aid archaeologists in dating various structures on a stylistic basis.

The book concludes with two commentaries. Silberman argues strongly for an activist historical archaeology that will help people "grasp fully the global dimensions and material transformations of 'modernity'" (p. 249). In doing so, he suggests that the discipline will confront and perhaps realign, if not completely break through, the accepted boundaries of archaeology. For Silberman, the study of Ottoman archaeology has as much a political dimension as an academic one. Many of the contributors make the same point.

Kohl discusses more directly the value of ideas raised in the individual studies. He also states that Ottoman archaeology ought, when possible, to evaluate objectively the impact (clearly variable in nature) of imperial policy in various areas. Kohl refers to the "ethnic ambiguity" (p. 259), i.e., the inability of scholars to assign a monument to a particular cultural group, of many remains in former Ottoman territories as no more than one should expect in a vast empire whose people experienced assimilation and borrowing. Archaeologists should observe and honor that indistinct nature as a reflection of a complex cultural reality.

While I agree with the commentators that this volume breaks new ground, it does not give us a uniformly tilled field. Several of the papers propose potentially interesting investigations, but do not offer the data to support the theoretical or methodological premises; they leap from abstract formulation to conclusions without much in the way of empirical support. There is a strident anti-Western tone in some of the contributions that wears thin from repetition. While generally well referenced, there are several instances in which important parallel studies are not cited. Perhaps the single most irritating aspect of the volume is the unusually high number of typographical and grammatical errors. Despite these drawbacks, there is much of worth in this collection. The majority of the substantive articles offer intriguing interpretations of a period long neglected by mainstream archaeology. With one or two exceptions, all the contributors bear out the editors' contention that Ottoman archaeology contributes significantly to the development of a truly global historical archaeology. I hope that we will see more such work in the future.

P. NICK KARDULIAS
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY
PROGRAM IN ARCHAEOLOGY
KAUKE HALL
COLLEGE OF WOOSTER
WOOSTER, OH 44691-2363

Dolly's Creek: An Archaeology of a Victorian Goldfields Community.

SUSAN LAWRENCE

Melbourne University Press, Victoria,
Australia, 2000. xv + 217 pp., 47 figs., 5
tables, 2 apps. \$32.95 (AUD) paper.

Susan Lawrence instantly captured my attention in her introduction to *Dolly's Creek* by retelling the story of a tragic event that took place in 1859 on the goldfields of Victoria, Australia. This story, based on Lawrence's compilation of historical records, conveys the setting of a historic mining district and sets the tone for the rest of the book. The general goal of this book seeks to understand what it was like to live on the 19th-century Victorian goldfields, specifically the settlement of Dolly's Creek on the Moorabool diggings, located about 60 km (37 mi.) west of Melbourne.

Lawrence collectively examines the landscape and the residents of the Moorabool diggings and social relationships at community and worldwide levels. She emphasizes the community of subsistence miners, defining subsistence miners as "the men, women and children who lived and worked on 'poor man's diggings' . . ." (p. 8). Lawrence highlights the presence of women and their participation in goldfields life throughout the book, and her reanalysis may debunk the popular symbol of the rugged bushman as the mythic representation of Australian identity.

She points out that many studies of goldfields from the 19th century have emphasized men and machines and that her study differs from these by examining the everyday life of self-sufficient subsistence miners, including and emphasizing their families. Her research will likely have wide applications as a case study of this facet of mining culture and I would recommend this book to anyone interested in understanding another dimension of historic mine operations.

In the first chapter, Lawrence defines her use of the term "gold rush" and discusses the characteristics of other gold rushes from the 19th century. In doing so, she ties the specific history of the 1850s–1880s Moorabool diggings with the broader context of the world's great gold rushes. In the second chapter, Lawrence synthesizes documentary evidence to present the Moorabool mining landscape and its settlements, as they would have appeared during the mining heyday.

Lawrence devotes the third chapter to work on the Moorabool diggings, emphasizing the interdependency of labor by men and women to create an image of two inseparable environments of industry and domestic life. She reminds readers that, as "wives" of subsistence miners, women often had to run small farms, tend vegetable gardens, nurse the sick, wash laundry, run their own shops, sell alcohol, or even work gold claims.

The fourth chapter is devoted to the archaeological record, and Lawrence presents a narrative about her fieldwork excavating the remains of four structures at Dolly's Creek. She conveys the thrill of discovering artifacts and emphasizes the historical value of those discoveries to build a picture of the types of homes people made while they worked on the Moorabool goldfields and to underscore the value of an archaeological approach to understanding past life.

Lawrence also attempts to address the problem of "meaning" from the Dolly's Creek assemblage. For example, on the subject of tableware, she notes with surprise that there are ceramic rather than tin dinner plates, teacups, and saucers showing up in the assemblage from Dolly's Creek. The element of surprise is a result of documentary evidence suggesting that tin was preferred due to its versatility, portability, and unbreakable nature while ceramic tableware was impractical, heavy, and fragile. The decision to use ceramic tableware instead of tin is interpreted to imply deliberate attempts to create a respectable domestic environment amidst rugged conditions. Lawrence makes a strong case for this notion of meaning by using additional lines of evidence from other artifacts recovered from Dolly's Creek, and in so doing, provides an even more detailed picture of the subtle complexities of everyday life on the Moorabool diggings.

The fifth chapter is appropriately titled "Denouement" as Lawrence uses this chapter to explain the outcome of events that made up the gold rush on the Moorabool diggings. She describes the gradual shift from mining to farming and notes how tensions arose between the mine and farm communities in the region by the 1880s.

While this is a book about mining on Australia's Victorian goldfields, it emphasizes the people working in and around gold mines. Lawrence may be criticized for a lesser emphasis on the "men and machines," but she notes how those topics have already been covered. If someone is looking for a technical description of mining technologies on the Moorabool diggings, they will not get complicated mechanical descriptions here, but will instead get Lawrence's succinct explanations of activities such as "dollying" and hydraulic sluicing. Lawrence's descriptions of mining methods are easy to understand and complement her goal of bringing life to the 19th-century Victorian goldfields.

Susan Lawrence has a writing style that clearly portrays the various stages of historical archaeology and does so in a way that will be engaging and informative to newcomers to the discipline. She presents archaeology as a journey through piles of documents, visits with "old-timers," rainy days of field excavations, and final analyses of artifacts. Finally, she demonstrates the importance of pulling all these areas of hard work together to visualize past activities effectively on the landscape we see today. While this is a familiar journey to many practitioners of historical archaeology, it is a new journey to many archaeology students and interested laypersons. This will be a useful book for a course in historical or industrial archaeology, because it clearly points out the integration of documentary and material resources and does so in a manner that reveals the path of discovering and synthesizing information. As a result, I would recommend *Dolly's Creek* as a companion to standard field methods and theoretical texts for course work in both historical and industrial archaeology. This book will certainly reach a wide range of audiences, and Susan Lawrence is to be commended for articulating her research in such a concise and engaging manner.

KELLY J. DIXON
COMSTOCK ARCHAEOLOGY CENTER & DEPARTMENT OF
ANTHROPOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF NEVADA
MAIL STOP 096
RENO, NV 89557

*Interpretations of Native North American Life:
Material Contributions to Ethnohistory.*

MICHAEL S. NASSANEY and ERIC S. JOHNSON, editors

University Press of Florida, Gainesville,
and The Society for Historical Archaeology,
2000. xv + 455 pp., 78 figs., 9 tables.
\$55.00

Ethnohistory is an interpretive exercise. As such, it is an interdisciplinary exercise that reifies Fernand Braudel's observation in *On History* (1982, University of Chicago Press) that history entails more than "a dialogue of the deaf." Nassaney and Johnson's edited volume also serves to underscore the often-neglected roles that method foundations and academic lineages assume in history and science. Finally, interpretive exercises are most successful when they entertain explanation. The conjoining of the mental and the material is but one line of evidence that ethnohistorians have at their disposal. *Interpretations of Native North American Life* adequately demonstrates this. Historical method and its counterpart, scientific method, share the underlying tenet that each is self-corrective and that each culminates in cumulative knowledge.

The 15-chapter volume and its introductory essay derive from a 1995 two-day symposium convened at the American Society for Ethnohistory meetings in Kalamazoo, MI, and organized by Nassaney and Johnson. The pared-down roster of 15 case studies spatially encompasses most geographical areas or "culture areas" of North America, with the possible exception of the Puebloan Southwest and the Arctic. Temporally, many chapters focus on recent (post-A.D. 1000 and typically post-Columbian) remains with sometimes-limited reference to their historical antecedents. Nassaney and Johnson's introductory essay outlines the three primary themes that serve both as organizational and heuristic benchmarks for these material-culture studies: (1) Ethnogenesis and Ethnic Identity, (2) Change and Continuity in Daily Life, and (3) Ritual, Iconography, and Ideology.

Part I comprises five essays that deal with "ethnogenesis and ethnic identity." Kathleen H. Cande's "Ritual and Material Culture as Keys to Cultural Continuity: Native American Interaction with Europeans in Eastern Arkansas, 1541-1682" sets the tone for this set of studies in its interdisciplinary scope and problem orientation. Cande examines material culture and documentary referents for ritual and ethnic identity as she compares the Mississippian peoples initially contacted by the de Soto entrada with the Quapaws met by the French about a century later in the lower Mississippi Valley of eastern Arkansas. The late James F. Pendergast's contribution, "The Identity of Stadacona and Hochelaga: Comprehension and Conflict," explores ethnic identity for the two aforementioned sites encountered by Jacques Cartier in the St. Lawrence River valley near present-day Montreal. Regrettably, these are Pendergast's last words on reconciling archaeological, cartographic, and historical records. The utility of constructing genealogies of documentary and cartographic evidence in problem-oriented ethnohistory mirrors that advanced by W. R. Wood in "Ethnohistory and Historical Method" (in Michael B. Schiffer, editor, 1990, *Archaeological Method and Theory*,

Vol. 2, University of Arizona Press, Tucson). John P. Staeck's "Echoing the Past: Reconciling Ethnohistorical and Archaeological Views of Ho-Chunk (Winnebago) Ethnogenesis" uses oral-tradition narratives as a line of evidence for constructing group origins in the Upper Great Lakes. Eric S. Johnson's "The Politics of Pottery: Material Culture and Political Process among Algonquians of Seventeenth-Century Southern New England," argues for increased group identity as manifest by collared and castellated ceramics. Essentialist or typological thinking in ceramic analysis overshadow and offset the contributions drawn from attribute-based investigations. "Emblems of Ethnicity: Ribbonwork Garments from the Great Lakes Region" by Susan M. Neill also argues for attribute-based analyses in another material medium.

Part II consists of six chapters that center on "change and continuity in daily life." Alice Beck Kehoe's "Francois' House, a Significant Pedlars' Post on the Saskatchewan" examines Native gender roles and cultural interactions through the materialist lens at a late-18th-century trading house. "Improving Our Understanding of Native American Acculturation through the Archaeological Record: An Example from the Mono Basin of Eastern California," by Brooke S. Arkush, focuses on local settlement history among the Northern Paiute-speaking *kucadikadi*. Sean B. Dunham's "Cache Pits: Ethnohistory, Archaeology, and the Continuity of Tradition" looks at the functional uses for subsurface storage features at a Native homestead in Michigan. Carol I. Mason and Margaret B. Holman's contribution, "Maple Sugaring in Prehistory: Tapping the Sources," reviews archaeological and historical evidence for the antiquity of this subsistence pursuit in eastern North America. "Archaeology of a Contact-Period Plateau Salishan Village at Thompson's River Post, Kamloops, British Columbia," by Catherine C. Carlson, offers a preliminary report that explores culture contact among Shuswap peoples. Mark S. Parker Miller's, "Obtaining Information via Defective Documents: A Search for the Mandan[s] in George Catlin's Paintings," explores the value of Catlin's artwork for framing testable hypotheses about Mandan ethnicity and material culture on the Upper Missouri in the early-19th century.

Part III concludes with four entries that examine "ritual, iconography, and ideology." Larissa A. Thomas evaluates gender representations in Mississippian-period (A.D. 900-1500) "portable art" in the American Southeast in her contribution "Images of Women in Native American Iconography." Likewise, Barbara Brotherton's "Tlingit Human Masks as Documents of Culture Change and Continuity" proposes a chronology for style development among a sample of shaman's masks. "One Island, Two Places: Archaeology, Memory, and Meaning in a Rhode Island Town," by Paul A. Robinson, explores 20th-century Native and Euroamerican perspectives regarding the history of Jamestown on Conanicut Island, especially with regard to long-term mortuary uses by Native peoples. Michael S. Nassaney's "Archaeology and Oral Tradition in Tandem: Interpreting Native American Ritual, Ideology, and Gender Relations in Contact-Period Southeastern New England" focuses on explaining two anomalous Native mortuary features at a cemetery in Rhode Island, based on evidence garnered from oral tradition and the archaeological record. Finally, the appended Selected Bibliography serves both as a logical terminus and a springboard for further reading on many of the topics broached in the volume.

The breadth of *Interpretations* is among its greatest strengths as an edited compilation. The essays are well written and amply documented overall. Nassaney and Johnson are to be congratulated for assembling a diverse panel of knowledgeable contributors. This work bodes well for increased interdisciplinary dialogue into the next century. Many of the topics addressed in the text also serve as constant reminders that the contributions made by pioneers in Americanist anthropology, archaeology, and ethnohistory will not be erased from our collective memory. These include works by scholars such as Lewis Henry Morgan, Daniel Wilson, Franz Boas, and William Henry Holmes. Material culture remains a lynch pin in data-driven arguments in ethnohistory.

Editorial glitches and typographical errors in references cited are bound to crop up in edited volumes of this scope and size. These are minimal (pp. 93, 132, 137) and generally do not detract from the overall value of the work, but the standard editorial practice of figure insertion following the first textual mention is not always followed. In some instances (Johnson, Chapter 4), this practice rises above mere annoyance. In this reviewer's estimation, captions for Figs. 4.2 and 4.3 (pp. 128, 135) warrant additional text to be properly understood. The S-rim vessel illustrated in (Parker Miller, Chapter 11) Fig. 11.7 (p. 309) is almost certainly not of 18th-century derivation despite that attribution in the Logan Museum of Anthropology collections at Beloit College, Wisconsin. Rather, its likely temporal placement would fall some three centuries earlier, based on attributes such as rim height and angle/curvature, widely-spaced incised rim treatments imitating decorative elements typically executed by twisted cordage, and possibly by the vessel's check-stamped body-surface treatment. Finally, the paucity of tabular summaries of qualitative and quantitative data sometimes results in extended, narrative discourse that, if presented as tables, would have made the papers more concise, clear, and short.

The diversity of documentary and material-culture research subsumed under the umbrella of ethnohistory at the close of the 20th century is manifested by the archaeologists, historians, and art historians who contributed to this volume. Ethnohistorical research may incorporate and illuminate the material along with the mental in "producing knowledge," as Patricia E. Rubertone's *Annual Review of Anthropology* (2000, Annual Reviews, Palo Alto, CA) article "The Historical Archaeology of Native Americans" attests. The *Interpretations* volume is recommended for use in advanced undergraduate courses and graduate-level seminars in (ethno)history, anthropology, and archaeology. Problem-oriented research in ethnohistory and archaeology supports Charles E. Cleland's (p. xii) observation in the Foreword that "artifacts are good to think with."

PAUL R. PICHA
HISTORIC PRESERVATION DIVISION
STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NORTH DAKOTA
612 EAST BOULEVARD AVENUE
BISMARCK, ND 58505-0830

They Died with Custer: Soldiers' Bones from the Battle of the Little Bighorn.

DOUGLAS D. SCOTT, P. WILLEY, and MELISSA A. CONNOR

University of Oklahoma Press, Norman,
1998. xix + 389 pp., 93 figs., 4 maps, 17
graphs, 47 tables. \$29.95.

Skeletal biologists, like me, who work with both archaeological material and forensic cases are often struck by the contrasts in the accountability that are imposed in the two arenas. In a bioarchaeological context, our interpretations of individual skeletons (age, sex, ancestry, height, pathologies) are rarely challenged. Since there is no way of ever knowing what the actual age at death is in any case, the only vulnerability lies in the methods used or perhaps the legitimacy of the age ranges. Every forensic case, on the other hand, is a potential final exam. If, for example, we reconstruct a skeleton to represent a female who was in her mid-20s when she died and the remains are later identified, our work is checked. It would be troubling to learn that we have actually studied the remains of a 42-year-old male.

Historical archaeology puts a different twist on the issue. As *They Died with Custer* illustrates, skeletal biology offers the potential to verify and question some of the conclusions drawn from the historic record. In one chapter the authors evaluate the stereotypical view of the westerner as "rugged individualist . . . in the peak of mental and physical health" by examining the physical evidence of the skeletons. By today's standards the young soldiers with rampant back problems, arthritis, and dental disease were not very healthy at all. The volume, of course, ventures well beyond merely substantiating historical records.

On 25 June 1876, Col. George Custer led the men of the U.S. Seventh Cavalry into the valley of the Little Bighorn River in Montana Territory to prepare for an attack on a nearby Indian village. He divided his 12 companies of troops into four elements. His own five companies were to attack the village from the north; another three companies (under the command of Captain Frederick Benteen) were sent to cut off escape routes to the south; a third group of three companies (under the command of Major Marcus Reno) were to attack the village from a different position; and a single company was sent to guard "the pack train." By the morning of 27 June the battles were over. Reno and Benteen suffered heavy casualties to the south of the village, while Custer and all of his men were killed on a battlefield to the north.

A fascinating integration of history, archaeology, and physical anthropology, *They Died with Custer* uses the human bones recovered from the various battlefields not only to reconstruct details of the conflict but also to understand the men of the Seventh Cavalry. The eight-chapter volume begins with a prologue that recounts the archaeological recoveries at Little Bighorn carried out in the 1980s. The bones of 52 individuals were excavated from the battlefields, discovered in the National Monument's museum collection

and other museums in the U.S., or excavated from the Custer National Cemetery.

The second chapter starts off with a spellbinding account of the events leading up to and during the Little Bighorn battle, wherein 268 American soldiers were killed. A description of the regimental structure and the men of the Seventh Cavalry sets the stage for the later discussion of the remains. Members of the various companies are named, and details are provided about how and where they served in the battle. Tables describe individual officers, including their rank, battle location, and whether they were killed or wounded. More tables and graphs summarize the men's ages, heights, and ancestry. Chapter 3 provides accounts of the treatment of the dead immediately after the battle and of the handling of their remains through the years. The hasty burial of victims where they were found in the days soon after the battle was followed by reburials in 1877 and 1879. A mass reburial in 1881 was commemorated with a granite monument.

The chapter entitled "Human Remains" is, to my mind, the heart of the book. It is organized according to the sources of the skeletons including the various battleground sites, some that were excavated for reburial in the Custer National Cemetery and a short section of miscellaneous sources. Each skeleton is described in detail. The bones are listed, "osteo-biographies" are presented (age, sex, ancestry, height, and antemortem skeletal and dental pathologies) and evidence for perimortem injuries (apparent cause of death, trauma, evidence for scalping, and mutilation) are discussed. One of the skeletons from the cemetery, for example, a "white male about 5 feet, 8½ inches tall and twenty to twenty-five years old" with terrible dental health, displayed evidence for coffee drinking, smoking, possible snuff use, several healed skeletal fractures, regular horseback riding, and habitual squatting. Numerous cuts on his bones indicated that he was scalped, dismembered, and mutilated. Also in this chapter the authors describe attempts at personal identification. Clay facial approximations provide visages that are compared to photographs of soldiers and skull/photo superimposition reveals details of correspondence between skulls and faces. Consistent with current forensic standards, none of the five individual identifications made by these means is certain.

In chapters that follow, the reconstructed biology and lifeways of the soldiers are summarized and used to challenge some of the conceptions about 19th-century life in America; antemortem skeletal and dental pathologies are described and compared to romantic images of the westerners; and evidence for perimortem and postmortem trauma is compared to historic accounts of battlefield mutilation and causes of death. In many cases the bioarchaeology corroborates the historic record; in others it does not. According to the authors, one of the "major biases in the historic record . . . is the bias toward officers in the accounts" (p. 332). The greater number of enlisted men in the ranks is reflected in the remains but not in the historical accounts, which focus on officers. Other inconsistencies involve the location of the remains of specific individuals and historic reports of where they were buried. A final chapter places the evidence for the treatment of the dead at Little Bighorn in the context of prevailing views of death in Victorian America.

The volume is illustrated with maps and a number of photographs. While most of the photos are fine, some could have been framed more carefully and lighted better. A cut mark that indicates scalping only makes sense if enough of the skull is shown so that the readers knows where the lesion comes from and its orientation. An interesting mix-up resulted in the repeat of the same facial approximation in figures 37 and 62. Since facial approximations made by the same artist often look alike, I initially wondered if I were looking at two very similar reconstructions. I am curious if the image is of Burial 1 from the Custer National Cemetery (legend on Figure 37) or Farrier Vincent Charley (legend on Figure 62). That instance aside, the book is quite free of errors.

This volume stands as an excellent and rare example of the integration of field archaeology, physical anthropology, and historical documentation. Each source alone provides essential parts of the story of the past, but collectively they provide an understanding of not only the spectacular events like the battles of the Little Bighorn and of the officers of the Seventh Cavalry but of the mundane trials of everyday life and the enlisted soldiers. It is clearly written (with periodic humorous passages) in non-technical terms, and a glossary and appendix will help the general reader understand some of the necessary details of human osteology. As a skeletal biologist, I was frustrated by occasional lapses of explanation. How was ancestry determined in a skeleton with no skull; how could a height of 5'8" be estimated from a clavicle and humerus; and what were the identifying criteria in the cases skull/photo superimposition that were not shown? These minor distraction notwithstanding, the volume would make an excellent text in courses on historical archaeology or bioarchaeology, and I should think it is a must read for mavens of U.S. military history and life in the 19th-century West.

NORMAN J. SAUER
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
EAST LANSING, MI 48824

Historical Archaeology, Identity Formation and the Interpretation of Ethnicity.

MARIA FRANKLIN and GARRETT FESLER,
editors

Colonial Williamsburg Research
Publication, Colonial Williamsburg
Foundation, Williamsburg, VA, 1999. vi +
149 pp., 27 figs. \$18 paper.

The material expressions of ethnicity and cultural identity has been a topic of historical archaeology since the early days of the discipline. The Colonial Williamsburg Foundations' *Historical Archaeology, Identity Formation and the Interpretation of Ethnicity*, edited by Maria Franklin and Garrett Fesler, brings together six papers originally presented at the 1998 Conference on Historical and Underwater Archaeology in Atlanta. Included with the papers are Fesler and Franklin's "Introduction," a summary chapter by Frazier Neiman, and a forward by Robert Schuyler. The result is a fresh look at ethnicity and identity in the archaeological

record that provides a broad geographic and theoretical range of perspectives on the subject. The six papers, which are the heart of the volume, include "Industrial Transition and the Rise of a 'Creole' Society in the Chesapeake, 1600–1725," by John Metz; "Where Did the Indians Sleep?: An Archaeological and Ethnohistorical Study of Mid-Eighteenth-Century Piedmont Virginia," by Susan Kern; "Buttons, Beads, and Buckles: Contextualizing Adornment Within the Bounds of Slavery," by Barbara Heath; "Strong is the Bond of Kinship": West African-Style Ancestor Shrines and Subfloor Pits on African-American Quarters," by Patricia Samford; "Stirring the Ethnic Stew in the South Carolina Backcountry: John de la Howe and Lethe Farm," by Carl Steen; and "In Search of a 'Hollow Ethnicity': Archaeological Explorations of Rural Mountain Settlement," by Audrey Horning.

Metz uses the brick industry of colonial Virginia to explore the relationship between England and the Colonies. He presents the emergence of a Creole society in Virginia in terms of economics and power, arguing that the creolization came about in part as an effort by the colonists to become self-sufficient. Metz draws particular distinction between permanent sites employing kilns and brick clamps, temporary site-specific facilities used on many early plantations. While Metz sees the development of both types of brick manufactories as a measure of Virginians' self-reliance and the formation of a Creole culture, by the late 18th century clamps had become the most common brick manufacturing facility. Metz thus suggests two stages of self-sufficiency that mark the development of a Virginia creole culture—the first marked by establishment of brick kilns as an expression of self-sufficiency from Great Britain, and the second marked by the pervasive use of brick clamps, suggesting the self-sufficiency of the plantations themselves, as well as the transfer of technology to Virginia's African workforce. His examination of creolization within an industrial context is interesting, and his linkage between self-sufficiency and creolization deserves exploration in other settings.

Kern interweaves archaeology and history to look at the interaction between Native Americans, European colonists, and African slaves on the Virginia frontier. Working with material from Shadwell Plantation, the birthplace of Thomas Jefferson, Kern examines an assemblage of 31 Native-American artifacts found during excavations at the site and relates those artifacts to Native-American interactions with the colonists as recorded. She reveals that Ontasseté, a Cherokee leader, stayed with the Jeffersons on journeys to and from Williamsburg, and speculates that Ontasseté would have been accorded the status and honor of sleeping in Jefferson's house, while the rest of his traveling party likely stayed in other plantation buildings or slept in the open. The Native-American artifacts found at the site thus may have been left as gifts during one or more of these visits. While their status is uncertain, Kern sees their significance in their representation of Native-American culture, an important marker on trips to the Capital when the Cherokee's were likely clothed in European goods and carrying guns, not bows and arrows. In a similar vein, Barbara Heath looks at beads, buttons, and buckles from Poplar Forest in concert with the study of run-away slave ads to discuss styles of adornment in the African-American community. Her paper

highlights the complexity of understanding the meaning of these artifacts in the slave community, and suggests that identity and style were complex and varied, based on regional, economic, and gender lines as well as individual expressions of value. The use of gilt buttons as status markers within the slave community highlights the multiple social settings that existed within ethnic communities.

Samford examines a feature frequently associated with African-American dwellings in the mid-Atlantic, the subterranean pit cellar, and posits a different function—that these features may have served as ancestor shrines. Combining ethnographic studies from West Africa with archaeological excavations from the Virginia and North Carolina, and working in particular with two subterranean pit features and their contents from Utopia Plantation, Virginia, and the Eden House, North Carolina, Samford makes a convincing argument for the use of some of the subterranean features as shrines; archaeologists working with such features should examine their contents in light of her analysis. Through an examination of John de la Howe's Lethe Farm site in South Carolina, Steen presents an alternative view of two artifacts prominently associated with African ethnic identity in that state: colonoware and earthwalled architecture. Steen suggests that the Native-American contribution to colonoware has been undervalued by recent studies, and points to a French earth-walled architectural style, *poteaux en terre*, in the construction of de la Howe's home, as evidence that the appearance of earth-walled architecture on lowcountry plantations, such as Yaughan and Curiboo, may have been as much a product of the French Huguenot owners as the African Americans who built and lived in those dwellings. Steen argues that the colonial period was an "ethnic stew" and suggests that the artifacts of this time speak to ethnic interaction in the formation of a Creole society, as much as any particular ethnic identity.

Horning's paper takes identity into the modern era, looking at the perception and reality of ethnic identity in the Appalachians. As Horning demonstrates, the portrayal of Appalachian hillbilly ethnicity during the 1930s does not match the reality of Appalachian sites and appears to have been, in part, a measure used to justify the relocation of Appalachian families from lands that would become part of the National Park System. Horning also shows that "ethnicity" varied from place to place within the Appalachians and that, rather than a unified whole, the Appalachians constituted a series of communities each with its own particular identity.

In the forward by Schuyler, the introduction by Fesler and Franklin, and the conclusion by Neiman, the meaning of ethnicity in the archaeological record is reviewed. As all of those authors note, the papers in the volume reveal that the search for specific artifacts as ethnic markers is spurious. The papers as a whole demonstrate that the meaning of artifacts is drawn from social contexts and that ethnic identity can be recovered from the way things were used more than what was used. Context is the key dimension in each of these papers, and the volume as a whole highlights both the difficulty and complexity of interpreting ethnicity in the archaeological record. *Historical Archaeology, Identity Formation and the Interpretation of Ethnicity* is an important contribution to the study of

ethnicity and cultural identity and should be read by any historical archaeologist interested in the topic.

J. W. JOSEPH
NEW SOUTH ASSOCIATES, INC.
6150 EAST PONCE DE LEON AVENUE
STONE MOUNTAIN, GA 30083

*"Upon the Palisado" and Other Stories of
Place from Bruton Heights.*

JOHN METZ, JENNIFER JONES, DWAYNE
PICKETT and DAVID MURACA

Colonial Williamsburg Research
Publication, Colonial Williamsburg
Foundation, Williamsburg, VA, 1998. x +
137 pp., 58 figs. \$18.00 paper.

In 1989 the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation (CWF) "acquired the Bruton Heights School" (p. 1), located at the margins of Williamsburg's historic area. The Foundation then initiated an archaeological and documentary research project that was to "last seven years" (p. v). *Upon the Palisado* summarizes much of the recovered record from the period prior to 1800, including information on a probable section of an important 6 mi. (10 km) long palisade erected in 1634 when Middle Plantation was established. This palisade line is believed to have formed part of the boundary of Colonel John Page's land. Page was one of the vital forces in developing this early settlement. Excavations identified the brick manor house built by Page ca. 1662 and other structures composing this early example of Page's residential complex. This research thus provides an extraordinary view of life at Middle Plantation during its formative years and throughout the 18th century.

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

Chapter 2, "Before the English," begins the chronological review of the project's findings with a description of two Native-American procurement camps identified on the property. The term "procurement camp" is applied to transient or short-term occupation sites that native peoples "visited repeatedly over a long period of time" (p. 11). The findings from the prehistoric period are placed within the general context of Indian activities in this area over the past 10,000 years. The third chapter offers a summary of the complex relations that developed between the native peoples of the Powhatan Chiefdom and the English settlers. In 1634, a year after "an Act of Assembly in 1632/3" established Middle Plantation as "the first major inland settlement for the colony" (p. 15), a palisade was erected that "stretched six miles across the peninsula" (p. 20). This palisade

extended from Jamestown to Chiskiack, on the York River, completely crossing the peninsula then being colonized by the English. This was a larger version of the "two-mile long palisade [that] was constructed across a neck of land" by Deputy Governor Sir Thomas Dale after "he established the settlement of Bermuda Hundred" (p. 21) in 1613. Chapter 3 also includes a summary of the 1993 publication by Muraca and Jon Brudvig, entitled "The Search for the Palisade of 1634" (*Quarterly Bulletin of the Archaeological Society of Virginia*, 48:138-150). Other general data related to palisades, a topic of particular interest to me, provide readers with some of the information necessary in the interpretation of the archaeological evidence for this type of barrier.

"John Page and the Growth of Middle Plantation" (Chapter 4) describes how Page "arrived in York County in 1655, a man from a prosperous English family" (p. 33) and rapidly put his resources toward amassing considerable property and to developing "a working plantation called Mehixton" (p. 34). Page's land at Middle Plantation, however, acquired "soon after he arrived in the colony," became the place that he chose for "the construction of his brick manor house in 1662" (p. 36). About 80 m (260 ft.) east-northeast of the manor, and near a local clay source, Page erected a kiln and all the other facilities needed for making building bricks and roofing tiles. The manor and the other buildings around it were, therefore, constructed largely from materials that Page found on his own property. The archaeology of this kiln complex and a description of the social and economic implications of brick production and the construction of brick buildings form the core of this chapter.

The archaeology of the manor house, the central feature of the Page estate, and of a particularly large brick structure "identified approximately fifty feet [15 m] northwest of the Page house at Bruton Heights" (p. 64) is presented in Chapter 5. Also included are the relevant historical documentation and a summary of the analysis of the artifacts recovered from excavations at the manor. Chapter 6, "The Emergence of Williamsburg," reviews the growth in power and prestige of Middle Plantation during the last quarter of the 17th century. A major church as well as a college became part of the infrastructure of this important community. The extent of the shift in the importance of Middle Plantation, particularly after Bacon's Rebellion in 1676, set the stage for its becoming the capital after the 1699 Jamestown fire had destroyed that city for a second time. Middle Plantation then was renamed Williamsburg. John Page had died in 1692 and did not live to see the transformation, but his legacy to this community was considerable. Page's manor burned in 1727. In a peculiar way that fire preserved an important record, here summarized in the description of the archaeology and the artifacts recovered from this important brick building.

By 1747 the land on which Page had built his manor, having passed through several hands, was held by Mathew Moody. Chapter 7 describes the historical record regarding those land transfers and documents Moody's sales of tracts as small as one acre from the property. In this chapter a note (fn. 4) to the brief section entitled "The Historical Background" (pp. 99-100) indicates that this unit "is an abridged version of Cathy Hellier's research published in Muraca and Hellier (1992)." The exploration of the lots, and the documentation of the record needed to interpret the

findings, provides the focus for the concluding portion of this chapter. A brief "Epilogue" (Chapter 8) then summarizes this volume.

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

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

One may wonder how this volume passed through any editorial process, and particularly that of the CWF. Since this work was published soon after the appearance of R. Handler and E. Gable's critical review of the structure of the CWF (1997, *New History in an Old Museum*, Duke

University Press, Durham, NC) one would assume that a special effort would have been made to monitor educational publications available to the general public. This publication presents a very poor image to its readers, not at all in keeping with the impressive record of research associated with Colonial Williamsburg (e.g., Gerald Kelso et al., 1997, "Exploratory Pollen Analysis of the Ditch of the 1665 Turf Fort, Jamestown, Virginia," *Northeast Historical Archaeologist*). Scholars who are concerned with specific questions might turn to the authors' many cited works for clarification and perhaps more accurate information. How the general public will react to the problems evident in this volume might well be considered by an editor representing the Research Division of the CWF.

The many editorial and production problems evident in this text and its illustrative materials make it extremely difficult to determine the overall value of this report. The subject addressed is not only of considerable interest, but the archaeological data relating to these studies are valuable contributions to the literature. We can only hope that a much revised and well-edited second edition is planned for this important volume, and that the CWF cares enough to rectify what seems to be an unfortunate oversight.

MARSHALL JOSEPH BECKER

WEST CHESTER UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
WEST CHESTER, PA 19383-2106

*Freedman's Cemetery: A Legacy of a Pioneer
Black Community in Dallas, Texas (2 vols.).*

DUANE E. PETER, MARSHA PRIOR, MELISSA
M. GREEN, and VICTORIA G. CLOW, editors
Texas Department of Transportation,
Environmental Affairs Division, Archeology
Studies Program, *Report* No. 21, and Geo-
Marine, Inc., *Special Publication* No. 6. xxvii
+ 564 pp., 147 figs., 118 tables, 10 apps.
(on CD-ROM). \$45.92 paper

In 1869, a one-acre tract was set aside for a cemetery to serve the thriving African-American community of Freedman's Town in what is today known as North Dallas. Freedman's Town became the largest segregated community in the city, and "emerged as the social, cultural, and economic center of Black life in Dallas" in the early 20th century (p. 1). By the 1940s, due to vandalism, lack of maintenance, and highway construction impacts (including the North Central Expressway, U.S. Route 75), physical evidence of Freedman's Cemetery had all but disappeared.

Historical research for the 1985 proposed expansion of North Central Expressway alerted the Texas Department of Transportation (TxDOT) to potential impacts on unmarked graves in Freedman's Cemetery, thus beginning a long-term archaeological and historical study detailed in this extensive two-volume report. Due to the sensitive issues revolving around the removal of human remains, this study became a collaborative effort between TxDOT, Black Dallas Remembered, Inc., and the African American Museum in Dallas. It ultimately developed into a community-based research effort involving local archivists, historians, researchers, and members of the descendant community.

From May 1991 to August 1994, TxDOT archaeological staff, assisted by the University of Texas Southwestern Medical Center, excavated remains of 1,157 individuals, and by the end of 1994 reinterment of all human remains and associated personal effects was complete. Geo-Marine, Inc., contracted in 1998 to conduct analysis and write this report, which combines the artifactual, osteological, archival, and historical data to tell the story of Freedman's Town/North Dallas.

Section I describes the logistical intricacies of a project that needed to address the concerns and encourage the involvement of the local African-American community, particularly descendants of those buried in Freedman's Cemetery. This included the formation of a steering committee and negotiations for a Memorandum of Understanding with various civic, social, and religious groups that specified methods of disinterment, extent of scientific study of human remains, and appropriate reinterment and commemorative services. This history of the Freedman's Cemetery project makes for an interesting read and provides valuable pointers for planning similar projects. Archival research used to produce a "time line" for Freedman's Cemetery revealed racist acts and attitudes fueled by Jim Crow laws that led to the 1907 condemnation of the cemetery and suspicious land speculations beginning in the 1920s that resulted in many impacts to the old burial ground.

Section II focuses on the socioeconomic history of African Americans in Dallas, specifically the development of Freedman's Town/North Dallas into a self-sustaining community within the rapidly emerging city. While challenges of socioeconomic development for African Americans after the Civil War is mirrored throughout the South, specific details of the struggles of the Freedman's Town/North Dallas community are examined. The evolution of African-American institutions (such as churches and schools) and socioeconomic endeavors, all occurring within the bounds of discrimination and segregationist policies, are detailed and highlighted in the lives of prominent church leaders, educators, businessmen and women, health care workers, and social reformers. Demographic changes and the physical appearance and architecture of Freedman's Town/North Dallas are also discussed. Of particular interest is the narrative on increased racial tensions in the post-World War I era, which resulted in the establishment of a local chapter of the National Association of the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and a Dallas branch of the Ku Klux Klan, which became one of the largest in the country.

Archaeological investigations at Freedman's Cemetery are presented in Section III, with detailed descriptions of excavations and interpretations of cemetery use into Early (1869–1884), Middle (1885–1899), and Late (1900–1907)

periods based on coffin morphology, mortuary hardware, clothing items, and other artifacts associated with the burials. The narrative on grave goods and mortuary practices briefly touches on traditional African spirituality and attempts to identify nearly 6,000 artifacts (recovered during heavy equipment scraping to define burial shafts) as grave goods. The study of the human remains focuses on healthways of this African-American community by examining osteological evidence for mortality, nutrition, infection, biomechanical stress, and trauma. Comparisons are made with 16 other burial populations. Geo-Marine's in-depth analyses of artifacts and human remains, all of which were reinterred in 1994, were based on notes, data sheets, photographs, and one osteological report by previous researchers. Section IV is a brief summary of the Freedman's Cemetery project, focusing on demographics, quality of life, and socioeconomic and cultural dynamics in Freedman's Town/North Dallas.

TxDOT and Geo-Marine, Inc., should be commended for a job well done, which includes the high quality of production of this report. It contains extensive, easy to read maps (many in color), numerous tables, quality illustrations and historical renderings of coffins, coffin hardware, and clothing items, and photographs of artifacts (the color artifact photographs, however, tend to have a pinkish tinge). Ten appendices, including a 12-page oral history questionnaire, project maps, historical documents, coffin wood analysis, metal conservation techniques, and artifact and osteological data sets, are provided on a CD-ROM in an envelope attached to Volume 2.

Considering the large number of contributing authors, the editors created a well-written, flowing narrative, and the quality and depth of historical research is evident. Informant interviews, oral histories, and numerous primary sources, such as Freedman's Bureau records, NAACP files, city and county records, death and burial records, city directories, and newspapers (including those published by African Americans) were used extensively. These combine to create an intricate story of the socioeconomic and cultural growth of Freedman's Town/North Dallas.

The Freedman's Cemetery project should serve as a model for similar projects based on its successful planning phase, implementation, and the publication of this absorbing report. On the other hand, one must wonder that if this had been the burial ground of white pioneers of Dallas, would this highway expansion have been considered an unavoidable impact.

BONNIE GUMS
CENTER FOR ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH ALABAMA
MOBILE, AL 36688-0002