

2016

Book Review: Consumerism and the Emergence of the Middle Class in Colonial America, by Christina J. Hodge

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Recommended Citation

Brighton, Stephen A. (2016) "Book Review: Consumerism and the Emergence of the Middle Class in Colonial America, by Christina J. Hodge," *Northeast Historical Archaeology*: Vol. 45 45, Article 12.
Available at: <https://orb.binghamton.edu/neha/vol45/iss1/12>

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Book Reviews

Book Review Editor - Christa Beranek

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF AMERICAN CITIES,
by Nan A. Rothschild and Diana
diZerega Wall, 2015, University Press of
Florida, Gainesville, 250 pages, \$69.95
(cloth), \$21.95 (paper).

Reviewed by Joseph Bagley

Cities provide a multiscalar lens through which the historical archaeologist can study an endless variety of social, economic, and political variables; Rothschild and Wall's overview of over 30 years of urban archaeology in America does just that. At the macro scale, the authors present the city as an artifact, and they focus, at the micro scale, on the individuals and institutions found within urban centers. The result is an exhaustive overview of archaeological sites, cities, archaeologists, and events that together comprise the sub-discipline of urban archaeology. This work represents a first and successful attempt to summarize this broad topic and its many sub-themes.

Chapter 1 boldly presents the city as the most significant invention of humanity, a statement supported by the remaining 195 pages of the book. Rothschild and Wall define "city" using Louis Wirth's 1938 criteria of size, density, permanence, and heterogeneity, themselves contributing architecture, political control, specialization of people and institutions, and symbiotic relationship to rural and sub-urban areas. The result may not be considered a definition, but more an exposé of just how complex and widely differing cities can be. The authors return to the criteria, discussing the role of historical archaeology in each, concluding that historical archaeology is an ideal means to study the city as it evolves while emphasizing this evolution as critical to the significance of multicomponent and complex urban archaeological sites.

Chapter 2 explores the development of the American city after the arrival of Europeans, emphasizing the distinction between archaeology in and of cities, excluding from the text's conceptual coverage sites and histories located coincidentally within what would become or once were cities (typically Native history

predating colonial settlement). Rothschild and Wall trace the growth of urbanization within the US, noting the relatively slow pace of growth in early histories of cities which later expanded greatly due to the combination of industrialization and the influx of immigrant populations.

The authors tie the growth of early historical archaeology to the historic preservation movement, which focused on numerous cities including Williamsburg and Philadelphia, though its primary use was to inform historic restoration and interpretation, not as a discipline in its own right. The 1960s and 1970s saw the introduction of historic preservation laws that mandated archaeology in many urban centers and also saw the growth of social movements that shed light on archaeology's role in examining race, ethnicity, class, and gender. Rothschild and Wall provide a concise and comprehensive review of the phases of archaeology in Section 106 compliance. Today, urban archaeology is dominated by Cultural Resource Management (CRM) excavations coupled with research projects conducted by independent nonprofits and universities. A significant number of the projects and companies involved in urban archaeology are run by women, which the authors suggest may be due to an increased likelihood to receive federal contracts and a desire to work closer to home.

Chapter 3 examines the city as an artifact. This macro-approach examines city planning, the landscape, natural features, and the socio-political relationships of manmade and natural boundaries to urban cores and the surrounding areas. The authors describe numerous sites and cities, including archaeological studies in Santa Fe as an example of a planned city that did not go according to plan, New Orleans as a city reinvented by successive occupations by multiple countries, Maryland and Washington DC as examples of "Baroque"-style city plans, and more forward-looking and/or utopian city plans including Moravian cities in North Carolina and the World's Fair sites in Chicago. Besides planning, Rothschild and Wall cite landmaking (including the fills and wharfs of New York City), urban infrastructure (including

utility development and deployment), outhouse regulations (and the lack of compliance with these laws to the benefit of archaeology), and the legal and social response to the growth of cities as macro-scale approaches to the complexities of city histories.

Chapter 4 examines the essential role of capitalism in American cities from their earliest conception as centers focused on trade. The authors examine the tavern as an early capitalist center including Boston's Three Cranes Tavern and multiple taverns in Williamsburg's urban center, contrasting the urban use of taverns as social meeting places and the rural use of taverns as places for room and board through studies of tobacco pipes and ceramics. Markets, shipbuilding centers, and the spacing and location of similar economic centers provide information on early capitalism and its changes over time as these places were replaced or moved across cities. The authors cite Meta Janowitz's study of ceramic production in New York City using the Remmey and Crolius stoneware recovered during excavations at the African Burial Ground site as a prime example of both production sites within urban contexts and the complexity of urban archaeological deposits and their interpretation. Rothschild and Wall conclude that production and economic sites within cities have received less attention than urban domestic sites, although my personal experience in Boston is the opposite with production sites and their narratives heavily dominating the archaeological landscape.

Chapters 5 and 6 focus on the archaeologies of ethnicities, race, gender, and class in American cities. While each could easily be (and in some cases has been) the subject of its own book, the authors nevertheless provide succinct and surprisingly inclusive discussion of the definitions of each, once again appropriately discussing the social complexities of their definitions rather than settling on concrete definitions. In these chapters, the geographic scope of the authors' research shines, covering (among others) African American sites in Boston, Annapolis, and Sacramento; Chinese immigrant sites in Tucson and West Oakland; presidential ice houses in Philadelphia; and ceramic assemblages of the Harpers Ferry Armory workers. What these chapters may lack in in-depth analysis, they more than make up for in the breadth of the research summarized

and the distillation of the information. This text is clearly meant to introduce students and professional archaeologists, broadly, to the concept of urban archaeology in American cities and the data it has revealed, serving as both a catalyst for new research questions and a source for background data and comparison sites.

The final chapter examines cemeteries and commemoration in cities focusing on the placement of cemeteries within the urban landscape as well as the practices associated with death in various communities and across time. While once again the scope of research is geographically broad with regards to social and political burial practices, the main focus of this chapter is the President's House in Philadelphia and the African Burying Ground site in New York City, the latter of which the authors call the "most significant urban site ever excavated in the United States" (p. 174). The authors chose these two sites for their extraordinary archaeological contributions to our understanding of a variety of social aspects in a city (race, class, ethnicity, gender, etc.) but also for their public components that were highly visible and came with significant controversy with regard to excavation practices and commemoration at the sites. These two sites and the controversies they produced are two of the best examples of how archaeology impacts the present. They serve as an ideal conclusion to a book on cities whose histories continue to directly impact the daily lives of residents and visitors today.

As stated in the title, the authors limit their scope to American (United States) cities, which is reasonable given the amount of data on the topic, but it does eliminate the extensive excavation and documentation of archaeological sites in Canadian urban centers such as Quebec City. Dozens of American cities and sites are discussed throughout the text. New York City, where both authors work, is the focus of many discussions and examples, though this focus is acknowledged early in the text as an issue related to the difficulty of accessing CRM reports from outside one's own area. The authors cite the concentration of CRM projects in urban areas as evidence of their value as they provide opportunities for archaeological investigation of complex sites that contribute to multiple lines of research. While their research was exhaustive, the authors

had to focus on the research that was available. As Boston's City Archaeologist, I was frustrated at times not to see Boston sites represented more frequently given the city's extensive archaeological heritage and contributions to urban archaeology practice and theory. Yet it is clear that the relatively few scholarly publications on these excavations coupled with Massachusetts' restricted access to CRM reports means that data is not readily available for publications such as this book. The increase in digitally-accessible reports and catalogs is specifically cited by Rothschild and Wall as critical to future urban archaeological study and serves as a challenge to urban archaeologists nation-wide.

Rothschild and Wall's text will likely become a standard urban archaeology text for the United States. Its coverage is vast and the authors make clear attempts to be inclusive, both in topic and geography, while maintaining integrity in their arguments. This book does not try to be the only source on any sub-genre of urban archaeology or any city in particular, but it presents research avenues and comparable evidence through the results it discusses and encourages additional research through effective summary and discussion. Finally the text makes a strong argument of how urban archaeology has contributed and will continue to contribute to public engagement and our overall understanding of American history.

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EVERYDAY RELIGION: AN ARCHAEOLOGY OF PROTESTANT BELIEF AND PRACTICE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, by Hadley Kruczek-Aaron, 2015, University Press of Florida, Gainesville, 237 pages, black and white figures, references, index, \$79.95 (cloth).

Reviewed by Christa M. Beranek

Gerrit Smith (1797-1874) was a wealthy land owner, reformer, and sometimes political office holder in central New York state. Many of his positions were inspired by the religious ideals of the Second Great Awakening. Hadley Kruczek-Aaron's *Everyday Religion* uses documentary and archaeological data from the households of Gerrit Smith and his neighbors in Smithfield, New York to address two framing arguments. First, she argues that, since religious principles and motivations permeated daily life for many people in the mid-19th century, archaeologists can and should consider religion in their study of non-sacred sites, such as households, and in arenas such as politics. Second, the pursuit of any ideology, in this case Second Great Awakening reform movements such as temperance and abolition, was fraught with conflict and struggle, and archaeologists can recognize and interpret those conflicts by acknowledging the different actors involved and collecting data at a variety of scales, from the household to the community.

In her introductory chapter, Kruczek-Aaron notes that religious and sacred sites are only occasionally studied by historical archaeologists, and studies of what she calls "lived religion," examinations of religion outside of sacred sites, are even more rare. Kruczek-Aaron argues that the sacred and profane should not be compartmentalized, with the study of religion confined to a small number of sites or uncommon artifacts. She goes on to present the ways in which evangelical 19th-century Christians understood their daily behavior to be an integral part of their expression of their religious identities. In particular, Second Great Awakening theologians rejected the idea of predestination and emphasized that people who were converted could transform their lives and the lives of others in an attempt to attain Christian perfection. Living a good life

required “frugality, simplicity, temperance, and cleanliness” (p. 7), and the exercise of these virtues could be expressed in people’s daily lives and homes.

The second chapter expands on the theological development of the Second Great Awakening and its expression in reform movements such as temperance, abstinence from tobacco and caffeine, dietary reform, and dress reform. Proponents of this form of evangelical Christianity also believed that domestic spaces should be frugal and simple, rather than ostentatious or showy, yet beautiful in morally uplifting ways because the home environment was crucial to moral development. This chapter is useful because it highlights the explicit connection between religious ideology and the many mid-19th century reform movements. It also traces the regional development of these various reform movements, many of which originated or were centered in the Northeast. Interestingly, this chapter does not discuss the abolition movement, which became one of Gerrit Smith’s most noted platforms. A relatively brief third chapter reviews the existing archaeological scholarship on lived religion in the mid-19th century, noting that most works that focus explicitly on the material expressions of religious belief have taken place in institutional contexts or utopian communities. Although there are numerous studies of mid-19th-century households that examine dress, household furnishings, and alcohol use, Kruczek-Aaron argues that these predominantly focus on domesticity and respectability as secularized Victorian values “despite their clear associations with the perfectionist theologies of the period” (p. 50). Kruczek-Aaron counters this with the argument that Gerrit Smith and other members of his household were conscious about the ways in which their material decisions sent messages about personal piety. This consciousness, however, did not result in consensus about how exactly religion should be lived out.

Chapter 4 presents a history of Smithfield, located in a part of New York which had embraced the Second Great Awakening revivals particularly strongly, and of Gerrit Smith’s life there, his career, and the evolution of his involvement in various Second Great Awakening and reform institutions. Chapter 5,

entitled “Perfecting the Home Front,” broadens the focus to Gerrit’s family, house, and neighborhood, using documents generated by both the family and visitors to describe the Smith house’s “moral atmosphere” (p. 80). This chapter also covers the material culture of lived religion by examining the documentary and archaeological evidence for the Smith house and the material culture of alcohol and tobacco recovered from the Smith house and the houses of his neighbors. Kruczek-Aaron also unpacks the ways in which the household cannot be considered a single entity, since Gerrit’s wife, son, daughter, and household staff all had divergent opinions on what was considered appropriate consumption. The last part of Chapter 5 focuses on the moral concept of simplicity, and questions of what that meant in material terms for a wealthy yet reform-minded household such as the Smiths. In what aspects could a dinner for 20 in a grand house be simple, after all? This section covers tea and table wares recovered from the Smith house and neighboring properties, the landscape around the Smith house, and the material culture of the family’s deaths and burials. Kruczek-Aaron’s consideration of the meaning of simplicity in Smith’s particular context, and for his and his family’s diverse audiences, is particularly interesting and thoughtful.

Chapter 6 steps back to look at the broader community. It documents how Smith, as a reformer, attempted to influence the attitudes and behavior in his community and examines the varied responses to Smith personally and the diverse range of ways in which Smith’s contemporaries thought that Christian reformers should behave. For Smith, temperance entailed complete abstinence from alcohol and divestment of financial resources from any aspect of alcohol production or sale. Smith’s views about the meaning of temperance or how abolition should be achieved, however, were not uniformly shared in among all reformers in his community, or even within his family. Kruczek-Aaron also examines Smith’s role in the abolition movement, including his political activities, as well as again balancing Smith’s own claims against those critical of his personality and his methods.

These data provide the background for one of Kruczek-Aaron’s overarching conclusions,

fleshed out in chapter 7: that reform movements are not monolithic. The complexity of the past has contemporary relevance in questions about how reform movements are interpreted to the public today. Yet despite the amount of disagreement about proper abolitionist behavior, Kruczek-Aaron argues that the abolition movement has been presented to the public in the northeast for the most part (in museums and at historic houses) as if it were monolithic and its members unified, with similarly uncomplicated views of individual figures such as Smith who were part of the movement. Kruczek-Aaron's work, on the other hand, presents a complex view of Smith as a committed abolitionist but also controversial and extremist figure who used his wealth to pursue his particular version of a reform agenda.

This volume works with a moderately sized archaeological data set, and with a truly vast documentary record that ranges from personal papers to national political debates. Wrangling the documentary record created by and about Smith is an impressive task, and Kruczek-Aaron does particularly well moving between scales to use texts by and directly about Smith, both critical and laudatory, as well as other community and national documents to put him in context. The strengths of this volume are its skillful treatment of a difficult documentary record and its commitment to integrating the documentary, archaeological, and landscape data. It also fills an important gap in the archaeological analysis of 19th-century reform movements by focusing explicitly on the religious discourses that underlie them. I used this book in a graduate class, and the students found it to be very accessibly written. Finally, although the focus on a single, relatively eccentric figure and his family might seem to limit the book's relevance, Kruczek-Aaron does an excellent job using this as a case study to present methods for the study of everyday religion in other contexts.

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CONSUMERISM AND THE EMERGENCE OF THE MIDDLE CLASS IN COLONIAL AMERICA, by Christina J. Hodge, 2014, Cambridge University Press, 247 pages, black and white figures, references, index, \$95.00 (cloth), \$88.00 (eBook).

Reviewed by Stephen A. Brighton

The main research question framing Christina Hodge's book *Consumerism and the Emergence of the Middle Class in Colonial America* is how the process of refined practices, thought to be exclusive to the eighteenth century's wealthy and powerful, becomes incorporated and transformed into a necessary and distinctive way of life for the middling sorts. This is a complex and loaded question and Hodge does not shy away from this difficult research agenda, deftly weaving together her data. Her main point is that the emergence of a middle class, traditionally thought of as a phenomenon of the mid-nineteenth-century, in fact has a deeper structure reaching to early eighteenth-century American life. She argues that the middling sorts negotiated this socio-economic transformation into a Consumer Revolution through selective practices taken from and in reaction to the refined social world of the wealthy.

Hodge's argument is inspired by and in direct conflict with theoretical perspectives arguing for this period in Colonial American history to be structured by the dominant ideological thesis, trickle-down theory, and/or emulation models of why certain practices of gentility and refinement are visible in the material culture of people outside the wealthy and powerful. She confidently contends her research will push the emergence of class structures back to the colonial era. According to the author, she wishes to move material culture studies in a new direction to illustrate that individuals of the middling sorts actively chose objects, such as specific types of decorative ceramics, to express their own creative sense-of-self independently of the socio-economic context of the refined practices of the wealthy classes. To establish such a discourse, Hodge focuses on the remains of Widow Elizabeth Pratt, an English widow and shopkeeper who lived in Newport, Rhode Island, from about 1720 to 1750. Hodge uses high-quality primary and secondary documentary sources related to

the formation of class distinction as well as court, probate, and business documents related to Widow Pratt's daily life. She cleverly establishes an interesting narrative blending the documents along with the archaeological evidence. Her writing and approach is very readable and sets the stage to discuss and debate the existence, meaning, and complexities of the middle sorts.

Hodge presents her ideas over six chapters. The first two chapters establish the context and intellectual framework for the case study including her theoretical perspective on the history of refined practices of the middling sorts. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 carefully establish the connections between theory and practice through the lens of Widow Pratt's historical and material data. Finally Hodge reflects on the importance of her interpretations, the idea of the Genteel Consumer Revolution, and its impact on American society. Each chapter builds upon the last to give a solid structure to her thinking which ultimately presents a convincing argument. The ideas flow well and each provides a clear understanding of her interpretation. In sum, the book forms a holistic and cogent path towards rethinking the origins and meaning of mass consumerism.

The book does offer many instances of thought-provoking research. The issues that can be raised are primarily based on one's theoretical perspective. Hodge's approach is based on her interpretation of localized knowledge structured by the stance that individual actors form and transform the meaning of everyday objects. This process of identity creation is made manifest through mass consumerism. What is absent from the text is a discussion of power embedded within social relations. A key element when one is discussing the formation and existence of classes and more importantly class relations. The ultimate aim of the book is to show the formation of a new class identity and the conscious notions of consumer power – for at least the middling sorts. Although clear and convincing, Hodge's argument, like that of the social relations of the new Consumer Revolution, comes at a cost. In this case, the author has structured class as a static notion and placed it in the background. Thus the contradictions and conflicts associated with social distinctions becomes naturalized. She argues against the imposition of the idea of the "power over"

because her ultimate agenda is to show how individuals change situations and become relevant in the emerging modern world through obtaining the right types of objects. It can be argued by those who see struggle, contradictions, and conflict in all social relations, that Hodge missed an opportunity to demystify the larger social context of the transforming and shifting social ground whereby the middling sorts had the opportunity to make themselves distinct as a collective. I agree that this distinction has less to do with the wealthy, but missing from this study is a reflection of from whom exactly the middling sorts are being distinct? If it is not the wealthy classes then it is the "lower sorts"—the emergent "working class," the poor, and the enslaved. In these terms the material culture of Widow Pratt could be argued as a metaphor for the developing realities of capitalism concerning unequal social relations based on the ability to mass consume and embedded ideologies concerning class, gender, and racialized identities. This seems like an opportunity lost, especially in the case of slavery and the middling sorts.

The context of slavery in this book is problematic. The author does mention slavery yet does so in the context of mass consumerism and individuality. This is exemplified by her description of the social relations between Widow Pratt (master) and Dinah (enslaved African). Throughout the chapters Hodge gives one the sense that Dinah is an intimate part of the Pratt family, and while that may be true on the surface, there is no in-depth discussion about the realities of human trafficking and the legalities of holding human beings in perpetual bondage. There does not seem to be any consideration of the power relations that were at play on a daily basis between Widow Pratt and Dinah. This set of social relations could have been discussed further as part of the complexities of class distinction. The middling sorts were establishing their own identity through acquiring highly decorative objects, but more importantly they had purchasing power defining their collective status that went beyond owning the objects and setting a proper table. The middling sorts created distinctions by having enough capital to purchase other human beings.

Theoretical perspectives aside, Christina Hodge's book *Consumerism and the Emergence of*

the Middle Class in Colonial America book is well-written. The book is an attempt to break away from the traditional role of emulation studies. Her use of primary and secondary historical data is sound and provides a nuanced view in Hodge's thinking of class relations in the eighteenth century. After reading this book, I think it would be of interest to scholars and students not just in historical archaeology, but also in the disciplines of history, sociology, and cultural geography. Hodge makes a convincing argument and illustrates the importance of re-examining our understanding of eighteenth-century collections. This text will certainly provide much fodder for discussions of the emergence and meaning of the social and consumer revolutions in Colonial America.

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THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF RACE IN THE NORTHEAST, ed. by Christopher N. Matthews and Allison Manfra McGovern, 2015, University Press of Florida, Gainesville, 392 pages, \$84.95 (cloth).

Reviewed by Alexandra Chan

The Archaeology of Race in the Northeast, edited by Christopher N. Matthews and Allison Manfra McGovern, is something to celebrate. An anthology of some of historical archaeology's best and brightest names—both well-established and up-and-coming—the volume is offered up explicitly as a “contribution of our generation” to the historical archaeological enterprise (p. 1). It provides a sampling of diverse work, whose primary aim is to address race—its origins, meanings, and manifestations—in the Northeast. It is timely and on point with a growing theoretical trend that has seen historical archaeologists gradually moving away from concepts of “ethnicity” and “culture,” in favor of the notions of “race” and the process of “racialization” as the most applicable and effective means of understanding identities and social relationships on historical sites.

What makes this volume stand out, however, is the explicit understanding that northeasterners of *all colors* were “influenced by and contributed to the meaning of race in the U.S.” (p. 2). No longer are discussions of race the unique purview of African Diaspora studies. While essays in this collection do address the lives of enslaved and free blacks, they also treat intersections of race, class, and gender. And perhaps in the two biggest breaks from tradition, they present an active engagement with race in the archaeology of historic Native American contexts and the evaluation of whiteness itself as a racial category.

The former of these two innovative additions to the topic is an exciting development because few scholars have yet made the leap to explicit discussions of “race” when talking about the Native American experience of colonialism. Historical archaeological studies of colonial Native America have overwhelmingly been conducted under the rubric of colonial archaeology or acculturation studies, never with an eye toward how Native Americans acted within and responded to emerging

concepts of race or their own racialization—as “producers” in their relationship with European “collectors” (p. 9).

Part III of this volume is dedicated to establishing whiteness as its own racial category which makes an already stellar collection of essays truly a stand-out contribution to the archaeology of race. How laborers “learned to be white”; the elite construction of “memorial landscapes to their whiteness” (p. 23); and how whiteness is forgotten in archaeological practice (p. 24)—both the whiteness of the subjects, as well as the whiteness of many archaeological researchers themselves—are some of the questions the contributors grapple with, and they represent one of the more exciting and promising aspects of this volume.

Not only have the authors stepped outside the norm to explicitly examine and critique racialization, but they have done so in the Northeast, a place Charles Orser says, in the final chapter, still harbors a “racial righteousness” that has “deep historical roots” but that is naturally no more than a “mirage” (p. 314). This volume goes far towards correcting it.

In reading this anthology, we find that the Northeast was as racialized as any place in America and that racialization goes far beyond simple dichotomies of black and white. Rather race was, and continues to be, a “force of domination used against a shifting set of peoples” (p. 317), meaning that the definitions of “white,” “black,” or “other” have been fluid, while the use of racialization to dominate has been constant. The circumstances of how that force fell on each set of people, and the ways in which each group received and responded to those pressures, can be argued to have been idiosyncratic across time, space, and cultures, but Orser believes the process itself is “steadfastly rigid” (p. 316).

This conclusion—that the process of racialization is structurally constant, though its application, effects, and manifestations may vary—allows researchers to begin addressing big-picture questions, such as “Does racialization originate at the local level or is it simply practiced at that scale?” (p. 324). This is fascinating stuff to ponder, and *The Archaeology of Race in the Northeast* is an excellent companion with which to begin those explorations.

Finally, this collection represents an important maturation of, and in a way, a kind

of *mea culpa* for, the archaeological discipline at large. I am referring, of course, to archaeology’s long and complicit past in the history and perpetuation of racialization in the first place. Our pseudo-scientific origins in chasing the myth of the Mound Builders, lost cities of the Amazon, phrenology, grave robbing, biological determinism, and the like provided ostensibly “scientific” justifications for the process of racialization. It seems only right, then—or perhaps it is simply gratifying—to see the discipline self-correcting in this way.

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Alexandra Chan is the author of *Slavery in the Age of Reason: Archaeology at a New England Farm*, active in public outreach and education about the archaeology of African slavery in the North, serves on the Academic Advisory Council of the Isaac Royall House Museum in Medford, MA, and has taught courses on historical archaeology, comparative colonialism, material culture studies, archaeological ethics and the law, and the archaeology of early African America.

TOBACCO, PIPES, AND RACE IN COLONIAL VIRGINIA: LITTLE TUBES OF MIGHTY POWER, by Anna Agbe-Davies, 2015, Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, CA, 184 pages, \$94.00 (cloth), \$34.95 (paper and eBook).

Reviewed by Sara Rivers Cofield

Do not be fooled by the title of this book, because as author Anna Agbe-Davies states outright, “This book is not really about pipes” (p. 195). Instead, the focus is on the language and methods used in historical archaeology and the need to be reflexive about the analyses routinely churned out by the discipline. Pipes serve as a focal point only in as much as they allow Agbe-Davies to launch an artifact analysis on (and with) her own terms.

In the first two chapters, Agbe-Davies walks the reader through her thought process and explains her interest in locally-produced 17th-century tobacco pipes. Instead of looking for “Indian” or “African” origins of decorative motifs on the pipes, as has been done by previous researchers, Agbe-Davies adds to the scientific conversation by applying critical systematics and pragmatism as theoretical approaches to her work. In doing so, she rejects traditional taxonomies that adopt a Linnean model, noting that just as hierarchical classifications do not work for sorting people by race, they also organize artifacts in ways that may limit the analyst’s ability to address specific problems with the data at hand. Instead of sorting pipes into “types,” she tracks each attribute (mold scar, pipe angle, heel shape, etc.) as its own “mode,” all the while being explicit about how she defines her terms. This approach shifts the emphasis from decorative motifs, which can be easily imitated, to manufacturing technology, which is likely to be a better indicator of different pipe makers.

Chapters 3 and 4 go on to apply the approach outlined in the previous chapters to assemblages from five plantations around Jamestown and six structures within Jamestown proper. The data collected on various modes of locally-made pipes is put to its paces in statistical analyses and assorted tables as Agbe-Davies tackles the question of whether Virginia’s elite colonists controlled local pipe production and distribution in the second half of the 17th century.

The data reveal extensive variation both within sites and between sites, suggesting that multiple pipe makers operated in the region and no site relied on a single source for pipes.

In Chapter 5, Agbe-Davies factors in the social milieu of the assemblages by comparing site pairs that represent close friendships or alliances and site pairs that represent rivals or enemies. Pipes from sites occupied by friends did not seem to be more similar than pipes from sites occupied by enemies. Even when multiple sites with the same owner were compared, there was no major trend toward similarity of assemblages, though geographic proximity did seem to rate as a significant factor in pipe variation. In sum, elite owners apparently did not control local pipe production and distribution. Agbe-Davies declines to offer her opinion as to who exactly did control this local craft, seeming satisfied to have demonstrated, through exhaustive data collection and statistics, that local pipes represent the limits of elite control over non-elites, be they free or bound, or of one ethnic background or another.

In the final chapter, Agbe-Davies shifts the application of her modal analysis from pipes to words, producing a linguistic survey of 17th-century references to slavery, servitude, and ethnic identity. As 17th-century owners adopted different classes of bound labor—namely labor bound “for a time” and labor bound for life (applied primarily to “Negroes”)—shifts in language and naming dehumanized people and reinforced the power of owners over laborers. The categories used still resonate and have power today, keeping us in the prison of limited check boxes that falsely categorize people. The conclusion here is that historical archaeology as a discipline should make more of an effort to “unwrite” such limiting categories by stepping back from the tendency to search for meaning by assigning simplistic labels like “Indian” or “African” to artifacts such as pipes.

Overall, readers looking for a comprehensive guide to locally-made pipes of the English colonies will not find their heart’s desire here. If this book were really about pipes, it would probably start with a discussion of the different methods of manufacture and decoration, preferably well-illustrated, followed by a lot of images of the pipes produced, attributes noted, and decorations used. Some of that content is here, but it is not exhaustive and not necessarily

in the order that one would want in an introduction to pipe-making. This will frustrate readers who look to the book for guidance on how to analyze pipes. Anyone who has not done a pipe analysis will be asking themselves, "What is a fire cloud? What is the difference between smoothed and burnished? What is a chattering mark? What is 'Tool 14' and what does it do? Where are all of the definitions???" The fact that answers to these questions are not always offered, or at least, not included when the concepts are first mentioned, serves as a reminder that the pipes themselves are not the most important part of the message. One might be curious, and critical reading may well raise questions about the pipe data and its connection to the historical record, but getting bogged down in those details misses the point of the book.

Agbe-Davies does not offer this book as a means for teaching every cataloguer a rote way of identifying and describing pipes. On the contrary, she argues that dogmatic classification systems are not suited to every problem, and historical archaeology's continued reliance on prescriptive categorization is like an addiction that should have us seeking a 12-step program. By not offering the details on each and every decorative tool and attribute measurement, Agbe-Davies prevents readers from being tempted to go down the same old rabbit hole, thereby reminding the reader that the book is not about pipes. The book is about how historical archaeologists think—or more to the point, do not think—about artifact analysis and the implications and consequences of the categories and meanings we assign to things. When artifacts refuse to fit neatly into the categories we want them to, like local "Indian" pipes versus pipes with "African" motifs, the artifacts are not the problem, we are.

Perhaps the greatest strength of the volume, however, is that it does not stop with the deconstruction portion of the program. So many critiques of method leave one with the impression that the archaeological record is not capable of expressing anything other than the agenda of the archaeologists doing the analysis. This book, however, achieves the rare feat of combining critique with a viable method of collecting and manipulating data that is at least as much about the people who made and used the artifacts as it is about the

people studying them. That is indeed a valuable contribution to the discipline, and one that I hope to see applied in many more artifact studies to come.

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EATING IN THE SIDE ROOM: FOOD, ARCHAEOLOGY, AND AFRICAN AMERICAN IDENTITY, by Mark S. Warner, 2015, University Press of Florida, Gainesville, 208 pages, black and white illustrations, references, index, \$74.95 (cloth).

Reviewed by Stéphane Noël

In *Eating in the Side Room*, Mark S. Warner skillfully demonstrates how foodways were used by African Americans to negotiate and assert their distinct identities. Through the integration of multiple lines of evidence—archaeological, archival and ethnographic—Warner builds a narrative in which he explains how meat procurement and consumption was used to respond, although subtly, to the rampant racism and oppression prevailing in post-Emancipation Annapolis, Maryland, and the Chesapeake Bay region. He argues that while African Americans were actively participating in the emergent mass-consumer society of the late 19th- and early 20th-centuries, they also found ways of opting out of the white-dominated economy, mainly through informal networks, household production and the exploitation of the environment.

The research for this monograph has its roots in the archaeological excavations undertaken at the Maynard-Burgess house site (1850s-1990) by the “Archaeology in Annapolis project,” one of America’s most prolific historical archaeology programs. The data and ideas presented in this book mainly come from the author’s doctoral dissertation at the University of Virginia (1998). In *Eating in the Side Room*, Warner (now at the University of Idaho) offers a more concise, yet complete and refined portrait of two African American families (the Maynards and the Burgesses) and the meanings behind the food they chose to consume. He tries to answer this important question: “if blacks’ rights and actions are circumscribed by the racism of whites, how does one respond? In the face of political and social subjugation how does one affirm and reinforce autonomous individual and group identity?” (p. 29).

To answer these questions, Warner takes a resolutely multi-scalar approach, moving back and forth between site-specific data and broader regional trends. In the first two chapters, he situates the Maynard and Burgess

families in 19th and 20th-century Annapolis society. He illustrates how African Americans at the time were able to accumulate significant amounts of wealth, which in turn made them a non-negligible economic force, as they represented roughly a quarter of Annapolis’ population in 1860. While free blacks were allowed to work, live and spend their money in the city’s markets, “such economic tolerance did not translate into social tolerance” (p. 22), resulting in well-known mechanisms (both official and concealed) by which the white society tried to control the black population, culminating with the Jim Crow laws.

In chapter three, the author presents the rationale and politics behind the creation of an archaeological research project at the Maynard-Burgess house. He then moves to present the results of the faunal analysis undertaken on assemblages recovered from five different contexts, dating roughly between the 1850s and after 1905. A short discussion of the quantitative methods used during the zooarchaeological analyses (NISP, MNI, bone weight, biomass) follows. Although succinct, this latter section provides a balanced discussion of the advantages and drawbacks of particular quantitative methods. In chapter four, Warner discusses the zooarchaeological results in conjunction with an array of archival sources, providing a comprehensive view of the Maynard-Burgess meat procurement strategies and consumption. Pork dominates the diets of both families. Moreover, catching shallow-water species of fish, collecting oysters, and hunting game birds around Chesapeake Bay nicely illustrate the exploitation of wild resources and the development of an informal economy by the African American community. Warner argues that these food procurement strategies were created partly to avoid potential racism at white-owned markets.

In chapters five and six, the author contextualizes the Maynard-Burgess faunal assemblages in the broader Maryland and Chesapeake Bay regions. Through a comparison of black- and white-occupied sites, Warner shows how consumption patterns identified at the Maynard-Burgess house mirror broader regional trends amongst African Americans and specifically highlight a cultural preference for pork. In a discussion of the rise of the meat industry in the United States, Warner describes the influence of the beef

oligarchs in the changing diet of Americans in the later part of the 19th century, moving meat preference from pork to beef. Finally, the two concluding chapters take a last look at the Maynard and Burgess families' consumption, and what they teach us about the subtle, yet powerful resistance of African Americans in the face of pervasive racism. The use of Blues lyrics and quilts to reiterate the importance of pork is particularly refreshing, and it speaks to the strength of integrating a myriad of source to contextualise studies of foodways.

One of the greatest strength of this monograph lies in the ways that Warner is able to expertly build a convincing narrative by interweaving eclectic sources of information, from faunal remains to material culture, newspaper ads and editorials, recipe books, personal correspondence, federal household studies, probate inventories, oral histories, Blues lyrics, and even 19th-century quilts. This research epitomizes what historical zooarchaeology should be about: moving from subsistence strategies to address broader and more sophisticated research questions pertaining to the daily lives of people in the past. Mark Warner demonstrates that faunal remains, if collected, analyzed and interpreted properly, can offer complex interpretations, just like other types of material culture.

While *Eating in the Side Room* has been long in the making, it is a timely and welcome addition to the literature on African American identity studies and to foodways more generally. The clear writing style makes this book accessible to a large audience, and it should become a mandatory reading for any courses concerned with the archaeology and anthropology of African Americans. This monograph also has the potential to cross disciplinary boundaries and attract readership from our colleagues in history, sociology, African-American studies, and food studies. It also has contemporary relevance, providing historical depth to the modern-day problems of racism in our society. *Eating in the Side Room* is more than a study of food; it offers a window into the world of post-Emancipation African Americans in Annapolis and by extension the Chesapeake region, to help us understand how they were able to maintain autonomy and negotiate their identities in the face of oppression.

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A HISTORY OF BOSTON IN 50 ARTIFACTS, by Joseph M. Bagley, 2016, University Press of New England, Hanover, NH, 232 pages, 153 color illustrations, references, and index, \$24.95 (cloth), \$21.99 (eBook).

Review by Patricia Samford

There has been a trend in recent years of using individual material culture objects (be they archaeological artifacts or museum pieces) as entry points into examining larger themes in history. Perhaps the first endeavor of this nature was the 2010 joint venture between the British Museum and the BBC, with their *History of the World in 100 Objects* radio broadcast and companion book (MacGregor 2013). While Joseph Bagley's *A History of Boston in 50 Artifacts* is less ambitious in scope, this factor does not diminish its significance. In his position as the City Archaeologist of Boston, Bagley, with over a million artifacts in the city collections at his disposal, is the perfect individual to have written this book.

He begins with an introduction that provides a nice overview of previous archaeological research in Boston, which helps set the stage for his later discussions of individual artifacts. The artifact-oriented history chapters are organized chronologically into five sections—pre-contact Boston (12,000-400 B.P), early colonial and Puritan history (1629-1700), the growth and industries of the city (1700-1775), the Revolutionary War (1765-1783), and post-Revolutionary Boston (1780-1983). The nature of previous archaeological work in the city and the resultant collections means that these sections are unequal in length, with the most comprehensive section being the most recent period of the city's history. This disparity (seven essays in the pre-contact period and eighteen in the post-Revolutionary period) does not detract from the book in any way.

While most of the artifacts discussed are domestic in nature (which falls in line with what archaeologists generally find), a broad range of material culture is represented in this volume. These include architectural pieces like foundation stones, commercial artifacts (scale weight), ecofacts (whipworm egg, fruit pits), clothing items, and children's toys. These artifacts serve as access points for the discussion of topics as varied as the roles and legal rights of women in the 17th century colonies, trade in

17th century, children and society, and political and military history.

While it is clear that Bagley has written this volume with a general audience in mind, it is also a great resource for professionals as well. It is written in a clear, non-formal, and accessible style, with good explanations of the different pre-contact periods, dating terminology and why archaeology is important. While the essays overall are historically sound, I found that the pieces on military, commercial, industrial and economic history were generally stronger than the essays that focused on social history.

The volume contains an easily-read map that shows locations where the artifacts were discovered. While most of the focus was on the Back Hill and North End area, there is good coverage in other areas as well. The photographs of the fifty featured artifacts (as well as photos of many other additional artifacts spread throughout the essays) are well done and aesthetically pleasing. I was initially bothered by the lack of a scale in the photographs, but eventually discovered an appendix that provided dimensions, as well as provenience information on each object. In addition to photographs of artifacts, this volume makes liberal use of other illustrative materials, including historic maps, period photographs, and portraits.

Bagley has written an interesting preface with personal information about his background and career. As he shows, the road to becoming a successful archaeologist is often fraught with setbacks and disappointments, but that hard work and persistence paid off for him in the long run. I like that the volume concludes with a discourse on the future of archaeology in Boston, with factors like site loss through sea level rise, urban renewal, and the rise of television shows that promote looting being part of the discussion. These factors are not unique to Boston; many of us face them as well and not just in cities. One can only hope that the publication of books like this one help make the general public aware of our diminishing archaeological resources and work with archaeologists to preserve the past.

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GHOST WALLS: THE STORY OF A 17TH-CENTURY COLONIAL HOMESTEAD, by Sally M. Walker, 2014, Carolrhoda Books, Lerner Publishing, Minneapolis, MN, 136 pages, 105 photographs, 18 drawings, \$20.95 (cloth).

Review by Garry Wheeler Stone

In intermittent excavations over four decades, the staff at Historic St. Mary's City, Maryland, investigated the St. John's mansion house, outbuildings, and yards. Between its construction in 1638 and its abandonment, circa 1715, the buildings housed the Colony's first secretary, his son, a small planter, a rich merchant, a governor, innkeepers, and many others. It was not only a home and a farm, but also the meeting place of legislatures and courts. By the mid-20th-century, St. John's was only a scatter of rubble in a former field. In this profusely illustrated book, Sally Walker tells how archaeologists and historians time-traveled back across three centuries to find the ghostly remains of St. John's and its inhabitants.

Writing for high school students, Walker grabs our attention in the introduction with one of St. John's "ghosts," a kidnapped African crucified for refusing to be a slave. She then develops the stories in ten chapters, beginning with "House Hunting" (how archaeologists excavated the site and analyzed the finds), and concluding with the construction of the modern exhibit structure that shelters and interprets the site for visitors. In the intervening eight chapters, Walker tells the story of St. John's in chapters that are partly chronological, partly topical, and part explanation of archaeological and historical method.

In the second chapter, Walker introduces us to Calverts, the foundation of Maryland, and the man for whom the house was constructed, Secretary John Lewger. In the third through sixth chapters, she weaves together archaeology, documents, and social history to describe the building, its furnishings, and the lives of its inhabitants. The death of one of Lewger's carpenters reminds us of the high Chesapeake mortality, beautiful drawings show how the dwelling's walls and timber chimney may have been framed, photographs of flooring nails (still upright in the joist molds), plaster fragments, and shards of window glass show that the

house was unusually well finished. Excavated European and Native American tobacco pipes link archaeological dating techniques, the tobacco economy, slavery, and the fur trade. Lewger employed a Native American hunter and the skipper of his ketch, Mathias de Sousa, was the first African to vote (at St. John's) in a New World legislature. Walker describes the contributions of zoo-archaeologists, marine biologists, and soil scientists to the understanding of animal husbandry, diet, and waste disposal.

In the next three chapters, Walker deals with the role of St. John's in wider contexts: the assemblies and courts held there; the occupations by a prominent merchant and then a governor, and the conversion of the dwelling into an inn housing visitors to the capital. As in the earlier chapters, Walker illustrates each phase with memorable events: the prosecution of white Marylanders for murdering Native Americans; Mistress Margaret Brent's unsuccessful appeal for the vote; and Governor Charles Calvert's negotiations with Susquehannock war chiefs. Walker's text is never dry history—she continually mines documents for details that enliven her ghost stories. The death of Governor Calvert's first wife in childbirth is paired with the archaeological footprint (post holes) of a nursery room added to the dwelling in anticipation of the new child. The complementary relationship between history and archaeology is illustrated with an account of how the discovery of a 1678 lease enabled archaeologists to reinterpret the foundations that they had uncovered. Pollen revealed the botanical evolution of the site.

In part, Walker has been a "ghost writer." She has extended quotations from the archaeologists who worked on the site, especially Henry Miller, Silas Hurry, and Ruth Mitchell. The book is lavishly illustrated with materials provided by Historic St. Mary's City: excavation and artifact photographs, copies of portraits and documents, reconstruction drawings, and living history scenes that reinforce the text. Don Winter did an excellent job of enhancing slides from the 1970s excavations, and artist L. H. Barker rendered a series of birds-eye views of the evolution of the plantation from 1634 to the 1680s. Barker also drew several architectural reconstructions, several of which are paired with photographs of the excavated foundations. Most ambitious are (p. 41) two views of the c. 1640 dairy shed. The top image has a photograph of

the dairy pit surrounded by a semi-transparent building. Below it, the dairy structure is opaque and furnished with butter pots, milk pans, and a maid skimming cream. The same cobblestone floor shows in both images.

Only a few misunderstandings are present in the text. Walker has a frontier blacksmith forging nails (p. 74, unlikely), exaggerates the height of tobacco hills (p. 44), and confuses seed and harvested grain (p. 106). On page 67, she wrote trash pit when she meant trash dump. In the bibliography, the publishers misspelled Lois Huey's name. There are inconsistencies in the reconstruction drawings, but these were not Walker's responsibility. Overall, *Ghost Walls* is an impressive accomplishment for an author who is not a professional Chesapeake historian.

Ghost Walls is an excellent introduction to early American archaeology and history. While the publisher is targeting this book to a 5th- to 8th-grade school audience, Walker designed the book for older students. I believe that *Ghost Walls* could be used to introduce historical archaeology to college students in both anthropology and history, as well as to adults. It has a timeline, endnotes, a selected bibliography, suggestions for further reading, and an index.

As one of the many who worked on excavating and researching St. John's, I found *Ghost Walls* an enjoyable and informative journey into the distant and not-so-distant past.

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