

Reviews

New Book Chronicle

Robert Witcher

Colonialism in the Americas

STEVEN A. WERNKE. *Negotiated communities and landscapes under Inka and Spanish colonialism*. xix+371 pages, 113 b&w illustrations, 20 tables. 2013. Gainesville: University Press of Florida; 978-0-8130-4249-7 hardback \$79.95.

CLAY MATHERS, JEFFREY M. MITCHEM & CHARLES M. HAECKER (ed.). *Native and Spanish New Worlds: sixteenth-century entradas in the American Southwest and Southeast* (Amerind Studies in Anthropology series). xii+382 pages, 26 b&w illustrations, 4 tables. 2013. Tucson: University of Arizona Press; 978-0-8165-3020-5 hardback \$60.

MATTHEW LIEBMANN. *Revolt: an archaeological history of Pueblo resistance and revitalization in 17th century New Mexico* (Archaeology of Colonialism in Native North America series). xiii+287 pages, 27 b&w illustrations, 6 tables. 2012. Tucson: University of Arizona Press; 978-0-8165-2865-3 hardback \$50.

MARK D. MITCHELL. *Crafting history in the Northern Plains: a political economy of the Heart River region, 1400–1750* (Archaeology of Colonialism in Native North America series). xv+269 pages, 51 b&w illustrations, 27 tables. 2013. Tucson: University of Arizona Press; 978-0-8165-2129-6 hardback \$60.



This quarter, NBC heads to the Americas of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to assess a crop of books on the archaeology of colonialism; we start in Peru. In *Negotiated communities and landscapes under Inka and Spanish colonialism*, STEVEN WERNKE examines Inkan and Spanish colonialism in the Colca Valley of the southern highlands. The book draws on field survey around Yanque (the political centre of the Collagua ethnic group) and excavation at an Inkan outpost—

subsequently converted into a Franciscan *doctrina* or doctrinal settlement—called Malata. Wernke also uses colonial *visitas* (administrative surveys) spanning the period 1591–1617 to reconstruct the agricultural landscape and the *ayllus* (kin groups) which controlled them. He aims to dispense with ‘dyads’ (pre-/post-conquest; coloniser/colonised) in order to understand colonialism as an “improvisational order” (p. 8) full of compromises and interdependencies.

During the Late Horizon period (AD 1450–1532), Inkan colonial control was established across the area. Most existing settlements continued to be occupied, but some were remodelled through the addition of great hall/plaza complexes—clear manifestations of Inkan state power. Local authority, however, remained in the hands of ethnic lords (*kurakas*); the demands of the Inkan state were therefore “mere extensions of traditional, kin-based relations of reciprocity” (p. 10).

With the arrival of the Spanish in the 1530s—primarily small numbers of Franciscan friars—urban centres were transformed again with the addition of Christian chapels. By the 1570s, however, the arrival of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo instigated more profound efforts to remodel settlement and society through a *reducción* programme intended to resettle massive numbers of indigenous people into new colonial towns.

Superficially, the effects of the Inkan and Spanish colonial projects seem to contrast: continuity of pre-existing settlement following the Inkan conquest, but almost complete replacement during the Spanish period. Wernke’s analysis, however, finds subtle similarities between the two. This includes the dependency of colonial strategies on pre-existing social and political structures: from Inkan great halls to Spanish demands for tribute and *corvée* labour—all were referenced to earlier settlement and social organisation. Wernke observes that “the assertion of dominance ran up against the practicalities of enacting an extractive program that depended on the vested authorities of native elites” (p. 15). But what about the *reducción* programme? Surely the imposition of new settlements indicates a

profound break with tradition? Here, Wernke uses a sophisticated methodology, mapping the *visitas* for the area around the *reducción* at Coporaque to demonstrate that the new centre was located with careful reference to the *ayllu* system and hence to ownership of agricultural land. Rather than arbitrary colonial imposition, Coporaque attests the “highly localized negotiations between colonial administrators and local interest groups” (p. 20)—hence, the ‘negotiated settlements’ of the book’s title.

This is a fascinating and innovative attempt to break down barriers—whether between types of evidence, conceptual categories or chronological periods. It is squarely—though not uncritically—in the post-colonial camp and presents a rigorous methodology; the GIS analysis, for example, employs network analysis to assess the surveillance and shifting status of households effected by colonial reconfiguration of urban landscapes.

There are inevitable quibbles: the small grey-scale images fail to do justice to the GIS analysis and, in places, the language is unnecessarily convoluted with some clunky expressions (“experience-near rendering of place”, p. 37) and the occasional mixed metaphor (“the vast palimpsest mosaic”, p. 144). Wernke also puts repeated emphasis on the extent to which these colonial projects depended on existing structures, implying that either he is—or that he thinks we should be—surprised. Wernke conceptualises this as the “dilemma of analogy or erasure” (p. 7); that is, colonial projects which find greater analogical resonance with indigenous practices can achieve greater “cultural purchase” (p. 7), or more effectively inculcate new categories and routines; conversely, colonial projects which aim to eradicate and replace existing practices make less use of analogues and achieve less cultural purchase. Or, put simply, the most ‘effective’ colonial projects work with what they find on the ground. For example, he notes that Franciscan friars actively sought “nodes of Inka administration as sites for the building of their *doctrinas*” (p. 168). But is it really surprising that missionaries should have initially established themselves at pre-existing centres? If the aim was to save souls, evangelising in the middle of nowhere would hardly have been effective. Without overwhelming force neither Inkan nor Spanish colonisers had much alternative but to work through existing structures. Indeed, it is hard to think of comparative colonial contexts in which at least the earliest stages were not responsive to—and dependent on—existing social,

political and economic structures. Certainly, the other volumes under review take such dependency and its implications as given. Nonetheless Wernke quite rightly calls attention to the fact that such dependency modifies the coloniser as well as the colonised. But, most importantly, he illustrates how all this worked in reality—the messiness and unintended outcomes of protracted negotiation.

Next we shift 4000km north to examine what was happening during the sixteenth century as the Spanish moved north from Mexico into the southern United States. *Native and Spanish New Worlds: sixteenth-century entradas in the American Southwest and Southeast* edited by CLAY MATHERS ET AL. focuses on the first century of native European contact in the context of the expeditions (*entradas*) which set out to explore new territories and to find the fabulously wealthy—but mythical—Seven Cities of Cibola. The 15 papers here derive from sessions held at the Society for Historical Archaeology conference in 2008 and the Society for American Archaeology meeting in 2009. The volume is organised around key themes—historiography, climate, disease, political organisation and conflict—with additional introductory and discussion chapters. Most of these sections contain paired papers, dealing with the Southwest (especially New Mexico and Arizona) and the Southeast (Florida, Georgia and Alabama) reflecting the editors’ aim to bring together scholars isolated by geography and research traditions but working on similar themes.

The papers draw on documents, palaeoenvironmental records, ethnohistory and newly discovered sites and assemblages. Before the comparisons begin, however, Dongoske & Dongoske contribute an essay emphasising a native—more specifically, Zuni—perspective. This includes a section on the apparently surprising response of the Zuni Cultural Resource Advisory Team to the authors’ questions about the Zuni encounter with the Vásquez de Coronada expedition of 1540: it “happened a long time ago and. . . they did not have any particular thoughts about the subject” (p. 41). Superficially this might appear to conflict with other indicators—throughout this volume and the others under review—about the real importance attached to such historical encounters by descendent communities; the Dongoskes consider the possible explanations for this response and promise further work.

The historiography papers deconstruct the evolution of historical and contemporary understanding of the *entradas*. For example, Flint & Flint argue

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that the Vásquez de Coronada expedition was far from the regimented state-sponsored military force often envisaged, and is better understood as a self-organised, makeshift militia, with as many speculators as soldiers. The papers dealing with the influence of climate make connections between various historical events and climatic change: in both regions, mega-droughts stressed the indigenous communities and people on the *entradas* alike (during the following century, the particularly cold 1660s and 1670s may have contributed to the Pueblo Revolt, below). Both the papers on disease tackle the orthodoxy that, within a century of contact, European pathogens had dramatically reduced indigenous populations. This is a controversial subject—in his discussion paper, Ewen argues that disease “appears to be a satisfying explanation that accounts for all change and lets everyone off the hook. . . no one suffers any blame. It is an explanation we can all shake our heads sadly about” (p. 283). Neither paper in the disease section denies massive depopulation; rather, they argue, it was attributable to multiple factors (including slave raiding and population movement as well as disease), was uneven across time and space, and was drawn out over centuries, not decades.

The section on political organisation contains three papers: Chapman tackles Spanish (mis)perceptions of settlement in the Upper Middle Rio Grande Valley; he argues that the large Pueblo settlements encountered during the *entradas* led to deep misunderstanding about the structure of Pueblo society. Specifically, the Spanish assumed these settlements were occupied year-round by hierarchical societies through which they could extract tribute. Instead, these pueblos were occupied flexibly with seasonal dispersal and frequent relocations of households and whole villages. In Wernke’s terms, the Spanish thought they had found the analogy which would allow them to exercise colonial power when, in fact, they had badly misread the situation—the repercussions came in 1680 (below). Things worked differently in the Southeast; Ethridge & Mitchem consider the Hernando de Soto *entrada* of 1539–43 which headed north from Florida, deep into the Appalachians, before turning west to Arkansas and finally back, via the Mississippi, to the coast. Here, the Spanish encountered chiefdoms and paramount chiefdoms, finding social and political structures through which they could extract submission and support—even if not the great wealth they sought. Finally, Worth’s paper focuses on Florida where he documents the

foundation of St Augustine—colonial in origins, but evolving to become, in effect, a form of paramount chiefdom on which the surrounding communities depended.

The final section tackles conflict; Rodning *et al.* explore how some native groups in the Southeast exploited the *entradas* to advance personal or community interests, leading to conflict between indigenous groups as well as with the Spanish.

The volume concludes with two discussion papers. Thomas draws interesting parallels between Hispanic and Mississippian societies emphasising honour and hierarchy, which allowed some degree of—in Wernke’s term—cultural purchase. Indeed, Thomas notes that “readily recognizing the lines of authority and decision making, the Spanish could draw to a large degree upon previous colonial experiences in Peru” (p. 255). But ideas of honour and hierarchy could also conflict, such as the materialist interests of the Spanish *versus* the Mississippian emphasis on status. Meanwhile in the Southwest, the different social and political structure of Pueblo communities leads Thomas to note: “if the nature of Pueblo decision making and embedded sociopolitics has confounded generations of academics, one can only imagine the confusion and frustration experienced by Vásquez de Coronada” (p. 270).

It is to the long-term consequences of that ‘confusion’—in the form of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680—that we now turn. MATTHEW LIEBMAN lists at least 20 previous book-length treatments of this topic; what makes *Revolt: an archaeological history of Pueblo resistance and revitalization* different? Liebmann sets out to re-evaluate the events leading up to and following the revolt by putting them into the comparative perspective of other resistance and revitalisation movements and, especially, by introducing the results of his recent fieldwork in Jemez Province in north-central New Mexico. His aim is to present “a work of historical anthropology, investigating the recurrent phenomena of subaltern resistance, cultural revitalization, and the manipulation of colonial signs that characterize colonized populations more generally” (p. 4).

Liebmann provides an account of the longer-term context in which the revolt occurred, but the book focuses on the period of Pueblo independence from 1680 to 1694. Approaching such a short chronological arc from an archaeological perspective would be challenging in any circumstances.

Liebmann, however, is able to draw on fieldwork at an extraordinary sequence of newly built, reoccupied and abandoned sites which literally track the Jemez population as it moved around the landscape working through the implications of independence, ethnogenesis and—eventually—reconquest (regarding the latter, Liebmann insists that to view this, and other revolts, as failures is to misunderstand them profoundly).

The fieldwork on which the book builds was conceived and conducted collaboratively with contemporary members of the Jemez Pueblo tribe. It was agreed that the project should not involve invasive techniques such as excavation and that sites should be left as found—even artefacts collected from the surface were to be returned after study. The project would also train Pueblo interns. All the work was approved at each step by the Tribal Council—including the resulting book—acting as “an additional form of peer-review” (p. 22).

Following the revolt in 1680, the Spanish briefly returned the following year. They did not reach Jemez Province, but the Jemez took no chances; they razed the missionary village of San Diego de la Congregación—including their own homes—and retreated to higher ground founding a new site at Patokwa. Here, geophysical and surface survey has identified a regularly planned twin-plaza complex defined by ‘ladder-type’ roomblocks; within each plaza was a *kiva* (subterranean room for religious ceremonies). Using two different methods, Liebmann estimates the population at around 600–900 persons.

When, in 1683, an attack on Patokwa came, it was not by the Spanish, but by the nomadic Ute, seemingly disgruntled that the revolt had disrupted trade relations with the Europeans. As a result, a faction left Patokwa and founded a more defensible settlement at Boletsakwa on an isolated 150m-high outcrop. Fieldwork here reveals a very similar layout to that found at Patokwa (two plazas, two *kivas*), though a smaller population of around 350–450. Both sites attest centralised leadership, communal labour and careful planning; both were also founded directly next to earlier abandoned Pueblo sites—a fact which Liebmann connects to the revitalisation movement that helped foster the 1680 revolt under the influence of the charismatic prophet Po’pay. Settlement relocation was a rejection of Spanish missions and *congregación* (forced resettlement), and a return to ancestral places and architecture.

Liebmann also traces the revival or creation of traditions through ceramics. Assemblages from pre-Revolt sites are dominated by Jemez black-on-white pottery; the post-Revolt sites at Patokwa and Boletsakwa have less than 2 per cent. Liebmann sees this as the rejection of a type of ceramic which had become ‘contaminated’ by association with Franciscan missionaries. In its place came an entirely new ceramic ware, Plain red, which was traded more widely than pre-1680 pottery; there were also new and widely-shared ceramic motifs. All these changes both created and reflected pan-Pueblo ethnogenesis which “was arguably the most important outcome of all the colonial appropriations that occurred during the Spanish interregnum” (p. 158).

The final section documents the breakdown of revivalism and the Spanish reconquest. Expelled from their pueblo by the returning Spanish in 1689, the people of Zia and allies moved into Jemez Province and founded a new settlement—Cerro Colorado—next to the remains of the old Franciscan mission at San Diego de la Congregación. Field survey at Cerro Colorado demonstrates a very different situation from Patokwa and Boletsakwa. Not only did the site not reference an earlier Pueblo site, it also lacked the idealised combination of twin-plazas and *kivas*.

The closing act of this drama concerns the siege of Astiaklakwa. With the return of the Spanish, relations between indigenous groups broke down. Under imminent threat of attack, the Jemez abandoned their settlements, building the fortress-pueblo of Astiaklakwa on an isolated site surrounded by 300m cliffs. Field survey at the site—which was occupied for just eight months during 1694—has revealed structures hurriedly built and haphazardly dispersed. When the assault came, it was not just the Spanish but also the neighbouring Punames who attacked. Here, and elsewhere, Pueblo independence came to an end.

This is an important book which presents an original archaeological history of the revolt. Liebmann demonstrates a lightness of touch, dealing convincingly with the theoretical ideas whilst pushing forward a highly readable—and human—narrative. More than the other volumes under review here, he is also conscious of not only what can be drawn from comparison to other historical contexts, but what the Pueblo example can contribute back to wider understanding of resistance and revitalisation. One area where it would have been fascinating to know more of Liebmann’s thoughts concerns the

(unmentioned) tension between the non-invasive methodology and the information gleaned from looting and illegal excavation. For example, Liebmann notes that the geophysical survey could not identify room size—a critical proxy for population. He was, however, able to estimate room size based on evidence from structures revealed by clandestine activity. This is a conundrum any archaeologist might face, but some discussion of the issue in this specific context would have been very interesting.

Next, we head north once again, to the northern middle Missouri in North Dakota, to examine another perspective on what MARK MITCHELL labels the ‘trans-Columbian’ period. Like the other volumes under review, *Crafting history in the Northern Plains: a political economy of the Heart River region, 1400–1750*, sets out to combine documentary, ethnographic and, especially, archaeological evidence to tell the story of colonialism from a different perspective; in this case, the focus is the Mandan people. Again, the aim is to stress the local context within which colonialism occurred and the agency that the native population used to appropriate or resist colonialism. The main focus is an analysis of the changing organisation of craft production, settlement and exchange.

Mitchell starts with a review of the writing of archaeological histories in colonial contexts; this ranges widely and reveals multiple influences including Giddens and Bourdieu, and Pauketat’s historical processualism. Like Wernke, Mitchell defines a unique combination of post-colonial ideas and analytical methods. The core analysis concerns lithic and ceramic assemblages from four villages: Bypass, On-a-Slant, Double Ditch and Scattered. The lithic study, for example, examines over 2000 stone tools, analysing 37 variables. The results indicate significant variation in lithic production between the four sites in terms of the acquisition of raw materials, the skill of producers (specialists *versus* non-specialists) and the range of tools produced. General trends include the expanded production of arrowheads during the 1600s, and the increased involvement of specialists in their manufacture.

Between 1200 and 1750, Mandan communities were based exclusively in aggregated settlements using flexible strategies of hunting (predominantly bison), farming (predominantly maize) and trading. Chapter 4 provides a comparison of ethnographic and archaeological evidence for these activities, drawing out correlations and emphasising the aspects which are poorly recorded in the documentary sources.

From AD 1200 to 1400, villages, averaging *c.* 4ha with populations of around 300 persons, were located on terraces overlooking the floodplain. Semi-subterranean lodges (houses) were distributed in irregular groups; around half of the settlements were fortified. After 1400, village layouts became more regular (e.g. plazas) and most were fortified. Although mean settlement size remained static, the number of lodges per hectare trebled, indicating significant population growth; in addition, sites clustered closer together. In turn, these developments necessitated the emergence of supra-local leadership to manage decision-making and conflict.

During this period, exchange networks also expanded—with the hunter-gatherers of the Northern Plains and with other hunter-farmers on the Missouri. Trade items included ceramics, stone for tool-making, maize, bison meat and copper. Alongside this expansion of exchange came an increase in craft specialisation (including arrowheads) and an intensification of the hunting of bison (as indicated by increased numbers of arrowheads), as well as diversification to include smaller prey species; maize production may also have intensified. As the population was stable during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, this intensification represents production for exchange.

Mitchell also reviews the evidence for the role of climate observing that the expansion of exchange and the aggregation of settlement pre-date the fourteenth century mega-drought (though may have intensified in response); in turn, these changes may have provided resilience to the mega-droughts of the mid fifteenth and mid sixteenth centuries.

Such subsistence-buffering (i.e. surpluses, exchange networks) encouraged the emergence of social differentiation and growing conflict within and between communities. The resulting spiral of increasing production, population and exchange spanned two centuries before collapsing with the smallpox outbreak of the 1770s and 1780s. Disease—as the Mathers *et al.* volume reminds us—rarely provides a complete explanation and Mitchell notes that, had smallpox not struck, the horses and guns acquired by the mobile hunters of the Northern Plains were already undermining Mandan stability.

Mitchell demolishes the idea that economic intensification and long-distance exchange were the products of indirect (seventeenth-century) or direct (eighteenth-century) colonialism; indeed, the success of the European fur-traders depended largely on the

networks which had developed two centuries earlier. Mitchell suggests: “it is easy to imagine that the Mandans and their contemporaries valued the same entrepreneurial spirit, the same commercial drive, motivated by the rewards of prestige and profit, that the fur traders valued” (p. 207).

This “first-generation narrative” (p. 199) provides yet another way of approaching and reading the evidence for this turbulent period. The volume appears in the ‘Archaeology of Colonialism in Native North America’ series of the University of Arizona Press, but what is striking is how colonialism is relegated to simply one of many processes. This is surely appropriate, not because colonialism was unimportant—on the contrary—but because it probably better reflects the reality of how colonialism played out across decades and centuries.

These volumes concern four very different regions: the Colca Valley of southern Peru, the Southwest and Southeast USA, New Mexico and the middle Missouri. What unites them is not strictly the experiences of colonialism they describe—although there are similarities—but the approaches of their authors.

Binary categories (or dyads, if you must) are everywhere under attack. This includes breaking down ideas such as coloniser *versus* colonised (e.g. recognising that the ‘Spanish’ *entradas* involved Africans and indigenous allies, and that native communities could be divided by status and motivation). There is also emphasis on uniting pre- and post-conquest narratives to appreciate better the long-term and dynamic contexts within which colonialism played out. All are aware of the limitations of the documentary sources—the silences and biases—and all are adamant that archaeological evidence is a vital corrective, though there is perhaps some disagreement as to whether the latter should be afforded primacy or simply equal footing. Everyone stresses the importance of adopting local and regional perspectives in order that the nuances of colonial relations can be appreciated; but all of the authors are also conscious that these local details can only be understood in the global context of colonialism.

The centrality of native agency is universally accepted, as are the logical consequences, including recognising the active roles played by native peoples in the colonial process (this for example helps to explain the “ambivalence” of the Puname alliance with the Spanish in their attack on Astiakkakwa; Liebmann p. 159).

The need for colonial powers to appropriate existing social and political structures is documented in all of these volumes, whether Franciscan friars at Inkan centres or the evolution of St Augustine into a paramount chiefdom. As a result, there is recognition that the nature and effects of colonial control were heavily influenced by native society—different accommodations were reached in different areas. Where the colonisers misunderstood pre-existing structures or sought to bypass them, the effects could be particularly devastating.

Clearly there are specific sensitivities amongst diverse descendant communities and therefore different approaches are appropriate in each case. All constitute “good-faith efforts” (Mitchell p. 44). No one, however, is bold enough to claim to speak for the descendants of the colonised; most explicitly, Liebmann is suspicious of “historical ventriloquism” (p. 8).

Post-colonial theory is a universal inspiration for these authors, though it is not always uncritically accepted; Bourdieu and Giddens are *de rigueur*. Particularly striking is how the authors are able to integrate highly diverse theoretical and methodological approaches; I struggle to think of comparable studies by European scholars which so easily blend post-colonial theory with chi-squared tests and standard deviational ellipses. The results, however, are innovative and rigorous ways to interpret data, whether using GIS to understand surveillance or archaeometric traits to document craft specialisation. The terminology varies and the interpretation of detail is necessarily unique, but these books are united by more than divides them.

Colonialism as but a chapter: the Southeast USA

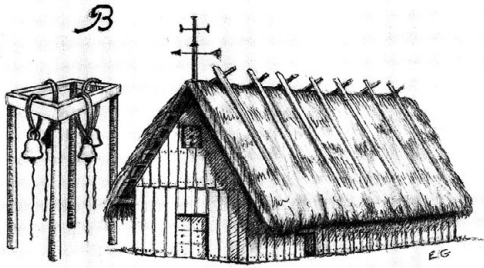
ELSBETH GORDON. *Heart and soul of Florida: sacred sites and historic architecture*. xxii+350 pages, 65 colour and 175 b&w illustrations. 2013. Gainesville: University Press of Florida 978-0-8130-4400-2 hardback \$45.

ROBERT S. CARR. *Digging Miami*. xiv+296 pages, 88 illustrations. 2012. Gainesville: University Press of Florida; 978-0-8130-4206-0 hardback \$29.95.

VICTOR D. THOMPSON & DAVID HURST THOMAS (ed.). *Life among the tides: recent archaeology on the Georgia Bight* (Anthropological Papers 98). 494 pages, 184 colour and b&w illustrations, 59 tables. 2013.

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New York: American Museum of Natural History; 978-0-9852016-1-6 paperback.



If some coherence can be claimed for the previous quartet, we finish with a look at three volumes which remind us that the archaeology of colonialism in North America can be framed, studied and presented in other ways. Specifically, it might be considered as simply a single chapter in much longer narratives of the past. We focus in on Florida and Georgia.

One striking aspect of all the books discussed so far is the sparse—in some cases, inadequate—visual material. Not so ELSBETH GORDON'S *Heart and soul of Florida: sacred sites and historic architecture* which is beautifully illustrated with an abundance of plans, photographs and reconstructions of the sites and architecture of Florida from 6000 BC to the present—including some of those mentioned in Mathers *et al.* I confess that the title—and indeed, the dust jacket—of this volume did not recommend it to me, but I was pleased to have looked inside—and not just for the pictures. This is very much an account of the architectural, rather than strictly archaeological, heritage of Florida and it therefore pursues very different aims and approaches from the volumes already considered. It could not, for example, be considered post-colonial in outlook; indeed, be warned, there are ‘mysteries’ out there. Nonetheless, there is much, especially in the first half of the book, which can be set profitably alongside the previous volumes, for the general reader at least. I was particularly struck by the observation that “when authors write that Philadelphia is the first planned community in the United States...it means they have not looked far enough into the past to see the comprehensive sixteenth-century Spanish town-plan of St Augustine” (p. 282). This comment—and the book as a whole—is a reminder of the competition between Spanish, French and English colonialism in the creation of the US foundation story, as well as the way in which individual states incorporate their unique combinations of cultural

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heritage—from prehistoric mounds to an apparent rash of twenty-first-century neo-Gothic churches—into coherent narratives of identity.

A more explicitly—but not necessarily traditional—archaeological account is *Digging Miami* by ROBERT CARR, the first county archaeologist of Miami-Dade County. The book takes the form of a highly readable chronological narrative of the evidence gathered during three decades of largely development-led archaeological investigation across the county. Carr cleverly weaves together the wider historical framework with stories of individual archaeological investigations and description and interpretation of the sites and artefacts recovered. There is not much by way of introduction—and certainly no theoretical discussion citing Bourdieu. Instead, we are carried along by Carr's detailed knowledge of—and passion for—Miami's archaeology. The book comprises four chronological sections which take the reader from the evidence of the earliest human activity, through the sites of the Tequesta people, the ‘failed’ colonial settlements of the Europeans, and the sites of the Seminole people and nineteenth-century pioneers, concluding with the twentieth century; discoveries of the latter date include Coca-Cola bottles and—disturbingly—the graves of African Americans which “somehow had disappeared from community consciousness” (p. 228) until accidentally rediscovered in 2009. Each section focuses around the stories of individual sites, their discovery, and how they changed understanding, including a section on the ‘Miami Circle’, a series of pits arranged in a circle 11.5m in diameter, dating to c. AD 50. Discovered in 1998 and declared a sacred site by the Five Indian Nations of Oklahoma, the precise form and function of the site is still under debate.

Digging Miami defies easy categorisation. It is personal but rigorous; it is data-rich but engagingly written; it is about the past peoples of Miami-Dade County but also about their discovery in the present. Regardless of what label is deserved, it works.

The final book under review, *Life among the tides: recent archaeology on the Georgia Bight* contains 17 papers derived from the Sixth Caudwell Conference held on St Catherine's Island, Georgia, in 2011. The papers are edited by THOMPSON & THOMAS and divided into four main sections: analytical approaches to time and exchange, modelling coastal landscapes, architecture and village layout before contact, and mission-period archaeology, plus a preface and discussion chapter. The authors report the results of field and laboratory

work focusing on St Catherine's Island—a 90km² barrier island of tidal marsh and woodland—but the volume also includes several broader contributions examining the Georgia coastline. Papers in the first two sections include analysis of the ¹⁴C reservoir effect, reconstruction of palaeocoastlines, and a complex GIS-based palaeoeconomic model of resource exploitation from 4500–300 BP. In the latter, the terminal date is selected because the introduction of new food sources by the Spanish may have significantly altered subsistence strategies; the date format—300 Before Present—contrasts starkly with the Gregorian calendrical form used in all the other volumes discussed and usefully flags the distinctive environmental and technical approaches presented in the first half of the volume. The two papers in the third section present evidence for settlement dating to the Late Mississippian/protohistoric (or Irene) period (c. AD 1300–1450) and consider the issues of if, and how, these can be related to the ethnohistorically attested Guale population. The four papers of the final section return us to the focus of this review, the colonial period (or the historic mission or Altamaha phase). Given the sponsor and publisher of the volume—the American Museum of Natural History—and the technical and thematic focus of the papers in the first half of the volume, I expected that the approach of the final papers would present a rather different perspective on colonialism from the books reviewed above. Not so. Each is thoroughly immersed in the agency and practice theory employed by Wernke *et al.* (yes—Bourdieu gets a mention!). Even in studies of this most distinctive and challenging of physical landscapes, there is room for ‘entanglement’ as well as environment. Three of the papers focus on surveys and excavations of individual sites: Missions San Joseph de Sapala, Santa Catalina de Guale, San Buenaventura and Santa Cruz de Guadalquini. The results of geophysical survey, excavation and shovel pit testing are presented in pursuit of questions such as: “how can the social entanglements that must be correlates of mission aggregation [*congregación*] be explored archaeologically?” (p. 388). In contrast to a focus on individual sites, the paper by Thompson *et al.* presents an analysis of the effects of colonialism at a regional scale, explicitly arguing that “historical archaeology has, for the most part, undervalued regional survey and analysis” (p. 437)—though not a comment which could be extended to work in South and Meso-America. Using a database of more than

300 sites distributed along the coast of northern Georgia, Thompson *et al.* document a dramatic decline in the occupation and use of both the mainland and the barrier islands at the transition between the Late Mississippian and Altamaha periods (i.e. at the initiation of Spanish contact). This is ascribed to a combination of demographic decline and increased mobility of the Guale—the former under the influence of disease and the latter as an active strategy to resist and/or cope with Spanish control.

Summing up, Disney's recent—though less than successful—Hollywood treatment of *The Lone Ranger* reminds us that there are still colonial dragons to slay. The books under review this quarter demonstrate that, despite geographical distance and some variation in terminology, we can detect a strong commitment to post-colonial themes and values which unite the practice of the archaeology of colonialism in the Americas. How these themes and values play out in North Dakota, New Mexico, Florida or Peru varies according to local concerns, specific research questions, and the techniques deployed; similarly, how the resulting narratives are assembled and presented also varies, but they all represent ‘good faith’ attempts to deal with the messiness of empire.

Books received

The list includes all books received between 1 June 2013 and 1 September 2013. Those featuring at the beginning of New Book Chronicle have, however, not been duplicated in this list. The listing of a book in this chronicle does not preclude its subsequent review in *Antiquity*.

General

GRÉGOIRE AYALA (ed.). *Lyon, Saint-Georges: archéologie, environnement et histoire d'un espace fluvial en bord de Saône* (Documents d'Archéologie Française 106). 436 pages, 322 b&w illustrations, 85 tables. 2013. Paris: Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme; 978-2-7351-1125-1 paperback €74.

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