and tenure relations to "that central logic . . . from which [they have] been analytically divorced by ecological and [evolutionary] Marxian" approaches (p. 168). Wilmsen's detailed analysis of kinship relations among Zhu (which will surely engross kinship specialists) greatly extends Lee's recognition of the importance of group-"owned" territories or *nqoresi*. Repeated marriages between classificatory cousins within circumscribed areas combined with bilateral kinship (tracing of descent and entitlements through both parents) leads to the Zhu's having "a descent coterie in which affines are simply recategorized kin." The stability in marriage patterns is paralleled (and reproduced socially) by long-term association of families (up to eight generations in the genealogies collected) with a particular area. The resulting "stability in space" contrasts fundamentally with views, such as Yellen's, of ecologically driven "random" movements of San in the environment. Detailed data collected by Wilmsen and his colleagues on production and consumption (stock, hunted game, wage work, dietary intake, and so on) show large differences among homesteads (clusters of related families). Significantly, those homesteads that are *nqorekausi* or "owners" of the land are the better off. Wilmsen's conclusion is that "Zhu society is and was . . . stratified" (p. 257). This is Wilmsen's most controversial argument and has already generated heated debate. (For a recent treatment see the review article by Jacqueline Solway and Richard Lee with attendant commentaries in *Current Anthropology*, April 1990.) The strength of Wilmsen's position is his historicizing of San social relations, the weakness is obscuring fundamental differences in patterns of political organization and of exchanges typical of ranked polities and those of non-state groups like the San.

The academic controversies over appropriate analytical approaches to hunter-gatherers that Wilmsen presents are shown also in the final chapter of the book, "What it means to be excluded," to be significant for present policy and political action in Botswana. The focus is the political construction and use of "ethnicity." Here Wilmsen adds to a discussion that has increasingly engaged anthropologists, historians, and others in recent years about the ways in which the exercise of power has in many places and times entailed the construction of difference and inequality in terms of "ethnic" distinction. The shift over several hundred years of the San from Barwa, meaning aboriginal inhabitants, to Bushmen and Basarwa, a marginal, subordinated category, has taken place as a consequence of the long history of white incursions, colonial overrule, and class formation in contemporary Botswana. Out of the myriad and shifting relations of San with other groups, "a monolithic 'Bushman' image" has been created. The colonial policy of indirect rule which reinforced and reified "tribal" affiliation and ethnic distinction, the work of anthropologists in their search for pristine populations, and the ongoing competition over land with Botswana have all, willy-nilly, fed this creation.

Today, the Zhu include a few families who can equal the Tswana in stock and wealth, but most have extremely low incomes, are subject to an accelerating process of discrimination and disadvantage, and manifest deprivation in poor physique and undernutrition. Against this meticulously documented picture of current deprivation, Wilmsen criticizes a "gradualist" policy directed to the San, who are referred to as Remote Area Dwellers in policy documents (like the label "Bushman," this term has its own history). The gradualist policy is premised on a cultural incapacity for change among the San, whereas, according to Wilmsen's arguments, San social relations are "compatible in essentials with those of Tswana." Only by recognition of their place in the same history as the Tswana, only by recognition that their kinship, marriage, and property relations play the same roles in allocating entitlements to valued resources, can more appropriate and fair policies be developed. Wilmsen hopes that his work will "help anthropologists, administrators, and the public" to move away from the "fascination with a fixed forager image" that causes San to be seen as stuck in the past, unable to move in step with other groups (p. 325).

It may do so. The detailed socioeconomic and other data on the Zhu, the wide range of historical and archeological sources drawn on, and the ethnohistorical analysis all provide fascinating substantiation of the main thesis of the book. But the more polemical points on the "end of ethnography," the parallels in kinship and property systems posited between San and Bantu, and the extent to which the history of the San over the past 200 years may be "read back" 1000 years will surely draw fire. The recent conclusion of Headland and Reid that in the new view Wilmsen's argument exemplifies "we see a theory finally coming of age" is probably over-sanguine, since "the significance of contact" between foragers and others is, as Wilmsen's book indicates, still in contention.

PAULINE PETERS
Harvard Institute for International Development, Cambridge, MA 02138

Adventure and Ethnography

A Victorian Earl in the Arctic. The Travels and Collections of the Fifth Earl of Lonsdale, 1888–89. SHEPARD KRECH III. University of Washington Press, Seattle, 1989. 207 pp., illus., + plates. $35.

That the Fifth Earl of Lonsdale would spend a year seeking adventure and hunting opportunities in the American Arctic was not so unusual for a gentleman of his time and station. Nor was it extraordinary that he returned with a small collection of ethnographic specimens that he donated to the British Museum in 1890. But certainly the past became exceptional—serendipitously, one might add—when Shepard Krech undertook analysis of the Lonsdale collection almost a century later.

At first glance the collection must have seemed rather uninteresting, especially if the researcher's goal was enhancement of ethnographic knowledge about the peoples of the American sub-Arctic and Arctic. In the words of Krech (p. 94), the collection consisted of "a variety of artifacts [which] was unsystematically obtained and unaccompanied by collection notes." Further investigation, however, revealed much more; Krech was able to locate Lonsdale's journal, letters written to several people while he was traveling, and numerous other miscellanea pertaining to the trip. Data from these sources have been integrated here with those derived from historical research, photographs (some taken by Lonsdale and his contemporaries, others of the ethnographic specimens), a detailed comparative study of the specimen types, and a historical sketch by J. V. Beckette outlining the somewhat scandalous circumstances that initially sent Lonsdale to the Arctic.

The format of *A Victorian Earl in the Arctic* deserves description because both the study's strengths and its weaknesses derive from the necessity of integrating these disparate data. On the one hand, the result is a richly textured and masterly depiction of a small incident from the past, a nexus between a slightly tarnished titled Englishman, constrained and guided by trappings of empire and destiny, and a native people who undoubtedly met his expectations of the "other," as many were encountered at the nadir of their experience with the Western world. The description of the earl's journey and the world he traveled through is as expressive as his diary and letters combined with Krech's considerable historical acumen can make it. The artifact photographs and the comparative descriptions provide a vivid picture, albeit scattered and scanty in coverage, for the researcher interested in the

"A gathering at Lowther Castle *c.* 1890 of people dressed in the native clothing brought back from North America by Lonsdale. . . . Lord Lonsdale is probably the figure at the back, second from the right." [From *A Victorian Earl in the Arctic*]

native technology of the regions Lonsdale traversed.

But unless the reader is interested in this total picture, the book becomes a rather expensive acquisition. All the contextual research may have been necessary to establish the geographical and cultural provenance of the specimens, but will the researcher interested in the artifacts plow through the journal and letters to glimpse the broader context, or would a simple notation suffice? Will those primarily interested in the narrative of Lonsdale's journey do more than just look at the pictures of the collection? Readers interested in all these things will applaud Krech's effort; those who may be satisfied with less had best get the book from the library.

EDWIN S. HALL
Department of Anthropology, State University of New York College, Brockport, NY 14420

A Chinatown Assemblage

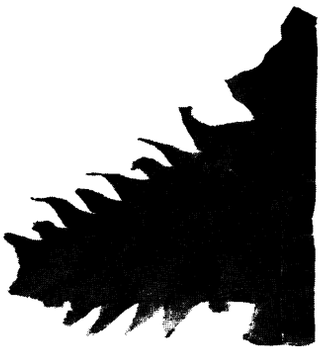
The Chinese of Early Tucson. Historic Archaeology from the Tucson Urban Renewal Project. FLORENCE C. LISTER and ROBERT H. LISTER. University of Arizona Press, Tucson, 1989. x, 129 pp., illus. Paper, $29.95. Anthropological Papers of the University of Arizona, no. 52.

Among the contributions of historical archeology is its investigation of a topic of specialized but increasing interest—the lives of 19th- and 20th-century Overseas Chinese. Growing numbers of archeological sites (railroad camps, mining settlements, and urban Chinatowns) left by this distinctive ethnic group are being explored in North America, Australia, and New Zealand. One of the earliest such projects took place in Arizona between 1968 and 1973. The Tucson Urban Renewal Project was directed by James E. Ayres, then of the Arizona State Museum, who used volunteers and students from the University of Arizona to investigate two major areas of historic Chinese concentration within 80 acres cleared and redeveloped in the city's downtown section.

Although reports on a few specific categories of artifacts (ceramics and coins) have been published, what is recognized as one of the most complete assemblages of 19th- and 20th-century Chinese American material culture has sat unanalyzed in the Arizona State Museum since 1973. Well curated and conserved, it nevertheless has been inaccessible to scholars unless they visited Tucson.

Historically Tucson's Chinese society was always demographically small (never exceeding 2% of the total population), but like so many Overseas Chinese settlements it was quite visible and set off from the general community. A Chinatown began to take discrete form after the arrival of the railroad in 1880. Somewhat dispersed and undergoing at least one major shift of settlement center after 1912, it notwithstanding had a continuous history that spanned eight decades. Its remaining, partly abandoned structures were demolished in 1968. Internally this community was hierarchically split into a lower laboring section and a more elite "merchant" group. Relationships between these incipient classes and the surrounding Anglo-American and Hispanic societies fluctuated over time. Within the 20th century the poorer, laboring group maintained a more traditional and isolated Chinese cultural pattern, perhaps resulting as much from poverty as choice, while the expanding merchant–small-business stratum moved closer to general American society.

Archeologically what makes the Tucson assemblage so important is its dual source. Significant materials were recovered from excavated privies, trash pits, and deposits, but an almost unique ethnoarcheological component was discovered in 1968 when the researchers entered the Ying On Compound. An enclosed tenement structure, this 20th-century complex of buildings was occupied from 1919 to 1968 by older, working-class Chinese men. As this population dwindled (30 to 40 men in 1935; 26 in 1952; only 2 by 1967), its rooms were filled with the discarded possessions of the former residents. Ayers and his students found a few rooms with artifacts still in place, left by the last few tenants, and trash piles of items abandoned in some of the 25 other rooms. Careful mapping, photographic recording, and an inventory document this unusual discovery. Because of the age of individual items (perhaps up to 40 years) and the stability of Chinese material culture, the Tucson assemblage is an internationally important study collection for historical archeologists. Remains belonging to standard archeological categories such as pottery sherds, bottle fragments, and sections of brass cans, which are encountered on almost all Overseas Chinese sites, are in Tucson suspended within a much broader and var-



"Cotton pennant used during certain rites by an officer of the Chee Kung Tong to mark his station. . . . The . . . inscription reads *Under Sichuan Supreme Commander Ding Zheng-tian.*" Width, about 30 cm. [From *The Chinese of Early Tucson*; Arizona State Museum photograph by Helga Teiwes]