

BOOK REVIEWS

More Inclusive Archeologies

Those of Little Note. Gender, Race, and Class in Historical Archaeology. ELIZABETH M. SCOTT, Ed. University of Arizona Press, Tucson, 1994. xvi, 217 pp., illus. \$45.

The Archaeology of Gender. Separating the Spheres in Urban America. DIANA DIZEREGA WALL. Plenum, New York, 1994. xx, 241 pp., illus. \$37.50. Interdisciplinary Contributions to Archaeology.

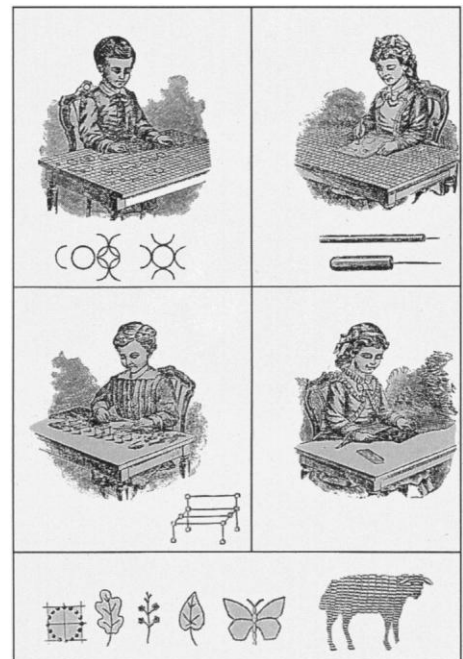
The discipline of historical archeology is growing in many ways, addressing increasingly sophisticated questions in increasingly convincing ways as its practitioners learn how to integrate the seemingly insignificant detritus of daily life into a meaningful interpretation of the social and cultural conditions of our history. It is refreshing to find in the works under review here no apology for the interdisciplinary nature of the studies; historical archeology is no longer embarrassed by the eclectic nature of its data sources. In Wall's book and in many of the

contributions in Scott's, archeological remains moreover take their place as an independent and essential—not simply illustrative—data source.

There is much to interest both archeologists and non-archeologists in these two books. The latter audience will appreciate clearly presented arguments in both and the smooth organization of Wall's book. Archeologists will find Wall's data valuable for comparison with other collections and will value many of the provocative ideas in Scott's compilation.

The themes identified in the subtitle of *Those of Little Note* are not new to historical archeology. Class, race, and particularly ethnicity have been the subject of numerous studies and arguments, and gender, a relatively new concern, has received a burst of attention in the last several years. What is innovative and useful about this collection is the gathering of these themes together as a coherent focus. Historical archeology is in a position to explore and demonstrate the connections among the categories used to separate people. In her introduction to the work Scott writes, "To create more inclusive archaeologies requires change of at least two kinds: in the visibility of nonelite disenfranchised groups in the past and in the incorporation of non-Western perspectives in our interpretations of the past." She stresses the present sociopolitical context of her authors' studies and acknowledges that historical archeologists incorporating gender and feminist approaches must consider critiques of white Western feminism.

Of particular interest with respect to non-Eurocentric perspectives are the contributions of Louise Jackson and Everett Bassett. Jackson discusses the visibility of



"Advertisements for Froebel kindergarten gifts with durable parts that archaeologists might recover. These include metal rings (top left), wire model parts (below left), pricking needles (top right), weaving needles (below right), shells, and seeds (bottom). Children's clay products could also be found by archaeologists, but Froebelian blocks usually would not be preserved. The relative numbers of Froebelian and other toys would indicate the degree of adherence to Froebel lessons." [From Spencer-Wood's chapter in *Those of Little Note*]

native women and their role in trading in Russian America, reanalyzing older data to tease out information on gender in a way that will be interesting to archeologists. Bassett's work on the context of Apache-white labor relations during the early-20th-century Roosevelt Dam construction project brings new insight to a complex situation. The Apache point of view is represented through a rich mixture of archival, oral-historical, and archeological approaches. Wage labor at the dam provided a respite from constant external pressure on the Apache to assimilate because, as the only available labor force, they could structure the work relationship to fit their own needs. Archeology documents the retention of Apache social structure and ideology and provides data with which to examine men's and women's roles.

Elizabeth Kryder-Reid offers a fascinating analysis of the creation of "genders" at a single-sex site. Researching an all-male religious order, she describes institutionalized expectations and hierarchy for the residents of the community. Feminine qualities and roles, familiar and rationalized in 19th-century society, were assigned to the least powerful men, the lay brothers, while "manly courage" and other masculine attributes



Apache girl near wickiup during the building of the Roosevelt dam, around 1909. "Despite the variability between camps, the characteristics of the material assemblages are a key to identifying them as Apache. . . . Attributes . . . include ephemeral wickiup rings composed of cleared, leveled areas roughly ten to twelve feet in diameter that may or may not have rocks around their edges; small hand-sized cobbles with minimal use wear; reused manos and metates collected from nearby prehistoric sites; and mirror and glass fragments that may have been flaked. Other reused and altered Euro-American artifacts are also found on these sites." [From Bassett's chapter in *Those of Little Note*]

were expected of the men who had been ordained or were training for ordination.

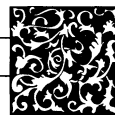
In *The Archaeology of Gender* Wall examines the role of women in the separation of men's and women's spheres from the end of the Revolution to the 1830s in New York City. She addresses the question of when the home and the workplace became separated and is particularly interested in the role of women in creating the domestic sphere and in shaping the spatial separation between genders.

The changing social landscape of the city and the stylistic changes in public and private architecture reflecting and reinforcing those changes are shown. Wall also documents the changing composition of the household, addressing family size and new relationships between family and other household members as male employees moved out and female domestics moved in. The archeological data—remains of ceramic table and tea ware—provide a basis for discussing the ritualization of family meals and the importance of ritualized space and artifacts for negotiating the social place of a woman's home. Wall concludes that both women and men were active agents in creating the separate spheres.

Although she places her study in the context of a changing market economy and developing capitalism in the new Republic, Wall stops short of connecting these factors with the consumer choices that supplied the material for ritualizing the domestic sphere. Her decision to focus on the setting of the household is not inappropriate, however, and her data demonstrate how historical archeology brings a needed dimension to studies of consumer choice; that is, it provides information about what people actually used in their households and neighborhoods.

Wall makes effective use of many sources of data—ceramic remains, city directories, tax and census records, maps, and illustrations—to discuss a number of factors pertinent to gender-related cultural change. She provides an honest discussion of potential sampling problems with both her documentary and her archeological data. Her discussions of her data, methods, and logic are clear enough to be understandable and useful for several different disciplines. Wall ends (p. 163) with a quote from Foucault: "People know what they do; they frequently know why they do what they do; but what they don't know is what what they do does."

I can't think of a better reason for doing the kind of historical archeology shown in these two books. To raise awareness of our own histories—particularly of the details, the everyday choices, that affect who we have become and how we have defined the categories that divide us and according to which we live our daily lives—is to help



Vignettes: Titular Judgment

Starting in the mid-1980s, with the publication of the conservative theorist Allan Bloom's *The Closing of the American Mind: How Higher Education Has Failed Democracy and Impoverished the Souls of Today's Students*, there has been a steady stream of books insisting that the universities are letting the nation down. Their titles and subtitles tell the story: *Killing the Spirit: Higher Education in America*; *Profscam: Professors and the Demise of Higher Education*; *The Moral Collapse of the University*; *Inside American Education: The Decline, the Deception, the Dogmas*; *Illiberal Education: The Politics of Race and Sex on Campus*; *In the Company of Scholars: The Struggle for the Soul of Higher Education*; *Up the University*; and *Impostors in the Temple: American Intellectuals Are Destroying Our Universities and Cheating Our Students of Their Futures*. . . .

No one who reads this literature could mistake its intended audience. The argument is framed less to engage colleagues in a serious discussion than as a call to arms.

—Kenneth Prewitt, in *The Research University in a Time of Discontent*
(Jonathan R. Cole, Elinor G. Barber, and Stephen R. Graubard, Eds.; Johns Hopkins University Press)

Most of the attacks on the university are ostensibly criticisms of trends in scholarship; but their authors tend to know very little about these trends and don't waste much time examining them. What they do know is that readers find it easy to believe that people as profoundly professionalized as professors are insular, self-aggrandizing, politically motivated characters who have perfected a theoretical apparatus that conveniently excuses their using their positions to exercise power as they see fit. One of the titles of these books says it succinctly: "Tenured Radicals." Emphasis on *tenured*.

—Louis Menand, in "The Trashing of Professionalism,"
New York Times Magazine 5 March 1995

ourselves understand how what we do affects us and our future.

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Other Books of Interest

The Sipuncula. Their Systematics, Biology, and Evolution. EDWARD B. CUTLER. Comstock (Cornell University Press), Ithaca, NY, 1995. xx, 453 pp., illus. \$69.95 or £50.95.

This is a book "designed to bring together everything known about" its subject, a group, now considered a phylum, of unsegmented vermiform marine coelomates. More specifically, it is intended as "the first replacement" for the 1883 German monograph by Selenka *et al.* and as an updating and expansion of several more recent works in various languages. The introductory material in the volume includes a checklist of species and a glossary of anatomical terms as well as a brief historical

and biological summary of the group and information on techniques for handling specimens. Over 200 pages are then devoted to the systematics of the group, divided into six families (sipunculids, golfingiids, phascolionids, themistids, phascolomatids, and aspidosiphonids) and 18 genera; a number of species are described individually, with information on distribution, and for others references are cited. Part 2 of the book is a review of sipunculan biology that covers the group's ecology, integument and muscle systems, coelomic cells and immune system, respiration, genetics, biochemistry, excretory, digestive, and nervous systems, and reproduction (which may be sexual or asexual) and regeneration. Part 3 is devoted to zoogeography and evolution. Here the author attempts to apply what is known about endemism and "centers of cladogenesis" to individual genera and describes a hypothetical ancestral sipunculan; he notes that material in this section is "descriptive and general" and somewhat speculative and expresses the hope that, given that the phylum is of "manageable size" for phylogenetic analysis, further work, especially applying biochemical and genetic approaches, will help to "unravel the re-