BOOK REVIEWS

Graham Connah, *Vestiges of the Past: Excavating Saumarez Old Homestead.* Graham Connah, ACT, 2019; 75 pages; ISBN 978-1-64669-367-2.

In 1975, archaeological theorist Michael Schiffer and John House remarked, 'there is *no* site that cannot provide relevant information for some substantive, technical, methodological, or theoretical problem of interest in archaeology'. Their argument is that no matter how disturbed or degraded an archaeological site might appear, it is always capable of producing some information of value for archaeologists. Graham Connah's *Vestiges of the Past: Excavating Saumarez Old Homestead* illustrates this point well. The book is a 2019 write-up of excavations that took place at the Saumarez pastoral homestead—near Armidale—between 1987 and 1989.

The Saumarez squatting run was established by Henry Dumaresq in 1835—making it one of the earliest European settlements on the New England Tablelands. As detailed in the book's opening chapters, the property traded hands three times during the 19th century, with each family adding or removing structures to suit their needs. In 1888, the run's third owner Francis John White had the original homestead demolished—or as put by Connah, 'wiped from the face of the earth as though it had never been' (2019:4). The University of New England's 1980s excavations soon confirmed that little remained of the 1840s structure. Undaunted, Connah and his team instead sought out archaeological evidence of the demolition process. The book details their meticulous approach and findings.

Graham Connah will be known to many as a pioneer of Australian historical archaeology, who is the founding editor of the Australasian Historical Archaeology journal, and an archaeologist with over 70 years of excavation experience spanning three continents—in Britain, Africa, and Australia. Connah's decades of experience are apparent throughout the volume, particularly when describing how approaches to excavation have changed through time. The reflective nature of the work helps to elevate it above what could otherwise be a more traditional excavation report.

The book consists of seven chapters spread over 73 pages (excluding references). The inclusion of a combined 98 figures and tables provides the reader with an agreeably visual account of the 1980s excavation and their subsequent findings. Of note, are diagrams depicting changes to the property's structures through time, various styles of locally made bricks, and the well-excavated skeletonised remains of a household cat (Connah 2019:54). However, one downside to having so many figures over so relatively few pages is there is less room for written discussion. This is particularly apparent in the final chapter—titled 'Conclusion'—which crams the volume's overarching discussion and concluding remarks into less than two pages. With that being said, Connah writes in a detailed, yet readable prose, allowing him to make his points in a concise, yet conversational tone.

Underscoring the book is commentary on Michael Schiffer's site formation theory (Schiffer 1975), which Connah uses as a means to retrace the 1880s demolition event. Artefact distribution diagrams, produced during Samantha McKay's BA honours thesis (2000), reveal the fragmentary nature of the 37,665 artefacts recorded on site. The findings are a reminder of the pervasive influence of cultural processes on the formation and subsequent interpretation of the archaeological record. No archaeological site is immune to Time's Arrow (Ascher 1968), but, through the careful recording and analysis of material remains, it is possible to distinguish behaviour from rubble. Connah's approach focuses on the residues of destruction as a means of making sense of a perhaps otherwise limited dataset. This is a lesson as relevant for archaeologists working today as it was in 1987.

Greg Hil
Department of Archaeology and History,
La Trobe University
Melbourne, Victoria

References

ASCHER, R. 1968, 'Time's Arrow and the Archaeology of a Contemporary Community' in K.C. Chang (ed.), *Settlement archaeology*, National Press Books, Palo Alto, California, pp. 47–79.

McKAY, S. 2000, Demolition at Saumarez: A Study of Demolition as Site Formation Process at Saumarez, near Armidale, Honours thesis, Australian National University.

SCHIFFER, M.B. 1975, 'Archaeology as Behavioral Science', *American Anthropologist* 77(4): 836–848.

SCHIFFER, M.B. and J.H. HOUSE 1975, The Cache River Archaeological Project: An Experiment in Contract Archaeology, Arkansas Archaeological Survey, Fayetteville.

Bahiyyah M. Muhammad and Melanie-Angela Neuilly (eds), *Mothering From the Field: The Impact of Motherhood on Site-based Research,* Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, 2019; 308 pages; paperback; ISBN 9781978800564. USD$30.95.

Mothers and site-based fieldwork has been the subject of research into women's studies over the last ten years. The title *Mothering From the Field* suggests that the book is a practical guide on achieving both family and career goals but instead contains a warm and practical narrative that is personable to the reader. The book is introduced by the two editors Muhammad and Neuilly who provide a background of the book's concept and personal challenges they had faced as mothers working in their respective fields. They state the overall aim of the book is to encourage more mothers into site-based research and with the hope to lead a diversity of thought in academia. The introduction flows nicely into Part 1 and Chapter 1, which lays down the theoretical foundation for women working in STEM, which they believe ultimately ties into the 'leaks in the pipeline' clearly attributed to gender imbalances within the fields of STEM and academia.

The book's structure is well designed. Split into six parts, the inclusion of personal photos adds to the lived experiences which complement the authors' practical tips found at the end of each chapter. Each part of the book guides the reader with an introduction, summary of the chapters and 'section-specific takeaways' covering such topics as 'the difficulties of doing field research for mothers', 'the importance of network and family support', 'field research before and after motherhood' and 'mothers re-defining field methodologies'. The underlining discussion raises important and relevant themes of gender inequality such as the imbalance of women in academia—at the top level, discrimination against women and/or mothers in the field and the gender norms attributed to fieldwork being androcentric.

In Chapter Two, Stacey Camp discusses 'Fieldwork and Parenting in Archaeology'. She observes that the absence of

research relating to gender issues in archaeology stems from a lack of women working in the field. This is not necessarily the case in Australian archaeology, as Geraldine Mate's and Sean Ulm research (2016) showed a high representation of women 36 years old and younger that were working in the industry. Camp proposes that moving away from the androcentric focus on fieldwork may invite new individuals into the discipline of archaeology, which would also provide a solution to the large amounts of uncatalogued artefacts. The challenge of a lower emphasis on fieldwork is to lose the very important practical skills that are essential to archaeology. Camp does raise some interesting points by suggesting an inclusive industry is one that shares and supports narratives of children and parents that play a role in archaeologists' lives and therefore practice.

The majority of contributors have studied or worked in the US and have academic roles that vary from doctoral student to professor. Their diverse background ranges from engineering, archaeology and anthropology with various ages and experiences of motherhood, while Chapter Eight provides a father's experience in supporting his wife and daughter in the field. Of course, while acknowledging the universal challenges that all mothers—and parents—would face working in the field, the contributors' experiences are limited to their differing academic tenure system, employment benefits and working culture.

The book concludes with a prudent assessment of the themes and recommendations in order to engage the reader and incite action towards implementing these methodological recommendations. In summary, the book is a unique collection of reflexive writing experiences from field research mothers, that will not only enable future mothers but provide new mothers—like myself—permission to use motherhood as a tool in field research. 'Mothering From the Field' is recommended to not only women but anyone interested in the unique experiences and impact of mothers working in predominantly field based research—such as anthropology and sociology—while providing a valuable narrative and insights into how more women can be included in field research, which has previously been patriarchal.

Melissa Tsafkas
The Uncovered Past Institute

References

MATE, G. and S. ULM 2016 'Another Snapshot for the album: a decade of Australian Archaeology in Profile survey data', *Australian Archaeology* 82(2): 168–183.

Tim Murray and Penny Crook, *Exploring the Archaeology of the Modern City in Nineteenth-century Australia*, Contributions to Global Historical Archaeology, Springer Nature Switzerland AG, 2020; 291 pages; ISBN 978-3-030-27168-8

Over nearly half a century, Australian archaeologists have compiled a wealth of data from hundreds of historical archaeological sites across the country. These sites range from World Heritage listed convict sites to ephemeral outback explorers' camp sites. While extensive research has been conducted on many of these sites, until now broader comparative analyses between archaeological sites were predominately limited to scholarly articles and academic theses. Murray and Crook's years of research on the archaeology of the modern city has led to this book that addresses the long overdue need for comparison and synthesis of artefact data from archaeological sites. The book's aim is to pose a methodology for transnational comparative research between two urban working-class neighbourhoods—the Cumberland and Gloucester Streets site, in The Rocks area of Sydney, and the Commonwealth Block in Melbourne. The authors' long-term and wide-spread research into these two major Australian archaeological sites enables them to search beyond the raw data to identify comparative patterns within and between these neighbourhoods.

This methodology starts with an account of the evolution of urban archaeological research in these two cities, that searches to understand the context of urbanism in colonial and imperial worlds. It is followed by an approach that links social and cultural changes throughout the 19th century and early-20th century. The work then progresses on to the specifics of the methodological approach for their research design, centred around a comparative study of select artefact types recovered from 20 cesspit assemblages from the two neighbourhoods. The core of the book examines the historiography and key themes to be addressed in this comparison. Prevailing themes throughout the book are migration, market access, consumer choice and sanitation reform during Australia's colonial era. Through re-analysis of dominant aspects of large archaeological collections associated with 20 working-class cesspits, this work demonstrates the level of data that can be obtained from a widening of the spectrum.

Murray and Crook's main focus is a comparative study of ceramic tableware assemblages and to a lesser extent alcohol bottles and glass beverage tableware. The study affords an opportunity to compare and contrast use patterns of tableware in working-class households during the second half of the 19th century through examination of broad material and decorative types represented and the ratio of tea to tableware. Analysis of alcohol bottles serves to identify alcohol consumption patterns and compares the ratio of alcohol containers to drinking vessels in which these beverages were served. Throughout this book the authors point out the issues that complicate such comparisons. In particular, they discuss the limitations of market access, consumer choice of tableware and bottle reuse practices that may prejudice the interpretation of alcohol consumption patterns.

For me, the strongest sections of the book are those that clearly demonstrate the key elements to be considered for constructing a methodological approach used during the comparison of 19th-century artefact collections. For this particular study these elements draw on many resources beyond archaeology to develop the character of the assemblages. Key elements include national, regional and local histories that are all relevant to the evolution of demographic, sociological and cultural changes experienced in neighbourhoods during the course of the 19th century; market access and its influence on consumer choice; and the effects of 19th-century social and regulatory reforms.

The research presented in this book represents more than 20 years of research by the authors. Both project areas are subject to ongoing research by Murray and Crook. While the authors note that their research has not advanced to the point where a synthesis of this comparative data can be achieved, their work does present extensive data that demonstrates the utility of comparing assemblages. If there is a weakness to this book, it is that it leaves the reader wanting an interpretation of the findings and what they mean in the evolution of working-class neighbourhoods during the 19th century.

E. Jeanne Harris
School of Humanities, University of New England
Armidale, NSW

Pamela Ricardi, *An Archaeology of Nineteenth-Century Consumer Behavior in Melbourne, Australia, and Buenos Aires, Argentina*. Springer, Cham, Switzerland, 2019; 246 pages; hardback; ISBN: 9783030215941. €79.99 (also available as an ebook).

Within *An Archaeology of Nineteenth-Century Consumer Behavior in Melbourne, Australia, and Buenos Aires, Argentina* Ricardi compares the assemblages of two late 19th-century sites, with the aim of determining the role of class, gender, age, ethnicity and choice on consumer behaviour. The two sites are both described as working-class, urban, domestic households: the first site is Casselden Place located in Melbourne, Australia and the second is La Casa Peña in Buenos Aires, Argentina. There is an obvious disparity between the two sites, as they are vastly different in terms of their location, ethnicity and past history. It is, therefore, initially difficult to reconcile why the two sites should be compared. It isn't until delving deeper into the book that these worries are put to rest. Ricardi has cleverly used the sites' colonial history as well as their more local similarities—of being working class, predominantly immigrant neighbourhoods—to shed light on how people across two different countries were demonstrating similar purchasing patterns.

Casselden Place and La Casa Peña—despite being located in very different regions of the world—were shown by Ricardi to share a surprising number of commonalities. Both were European colonies, which became important port cities that flourished initially on pastoral ventures. Ricardi's work demonstrates how larger thematic frameworks of industrialisation, globalisation and trade all impacted on consumer behaviour. Ricardi notes that the houses at both Casselden Place and La Casa Peña were known to be small, overcrowded and unsanitary, with high numbers of immigrant families living in these two neighbourhoods. The workplaces of the residents were 'bleak', physically demanding, with long hours and low wages. The book examines the lifestyles of the two working-class households through the artefact assemblages to determine work tasks undertaken, health concerns, leisure activities, domesticity and taste. These insights into daily life allow for the exploration of the more overarching themes of class, gender, age and ethnicity and their influence on consumer behaviour. There are common links between the artefact assemblages from the Casselden Place and La Casa Peña, particularly artefacts relating to food and beverage, personal appearance, health and hygiene, work and leisure, and domestic items. For both sites, artefacts relating to food and beverage were noted to make up a significant portion of the assemblage, and it is therefore unfortunate that organic materials were not explored due to these types of artefacts not being available for one of the sites. Doing so would have given additional insight into the diet and purchasing power of the residents. The comparisons which were undertaken between the two sites demonstrated a surprising number of similar purchasing patterns, instead of highlighting distinct differences in purchasing preferences. For example, the artefact assemblages at both sites had items which could be deemed as nonessential, fashionable purchases, demonstrating the residents actively purchasing luxury items such as jewellery, perfume and decorative items. The type of items identified indicates that the residents were making attempts to take care of their health, hygiene, and personal appearance, as well as taking pride in decorating their home. By doing so the residents of both Casselden Place and La Casa Peña actively participated in consumer culture. This book assists in understanding consumer behaviour during the 19th century, specifically working-class families in colonial cities. This book is valuable in demonstrating how comparisons of international sites can broaden our understanding of the factors that influence consumer behaviour during this time period and encourages further comparisons of other sites which will help to broaden our knowledge of consumer patterns.

Nadia Bajzelj
Christine Williamson Heritage Consultants
Coburg, Victoria

Ian Smith, *Pākehā Settlements in a Māori World: New Zealand Archaeology 1769–1860*. Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2019; 328 pages; paperback; ISBN: 9780947492489. NZD $59.99 (also available as an ebook).

This exquisite new book paints a vivid picture of life in New Zealand during the nine decades following James Cook's arrival in 1769. As well as cataloguing the cultural exchanges between Māori and Pākehā (Europeans) throughout those often-turbulent years of contact, Ian Smith's book reveals in great detail what everyday life was like for the early Pākehā explorers and settlers.

At 328 pages—including 37 pages of notes and bibliography—this is a work of considerable breadth, depth and scholarship. It is also a beautifully illustrated book that will appeal to an audience far beyond academia. This is thanks to a number of factors. First, although Smith's primary focus is on the archaeology of the period, he declares up front that he seeks to adopt a multi-disciplinary approach, using archaeological evidence alongside documentary, oral and pictorial sources to construct a more complete picture of our recent past. By using a wider palette Smith is able to tell a more engaging story to lay readers who may be less inclined to read existing works on this period based principally on written sources.

There is a clear logic to the starting point—Cook's arrival in 1769 which was the first non-Maori footfall on these shores. For his end point Smith has chosen 1860, by which time Pākehā were numerically dominant and the country had begun a massive social and structural transformation.

The book is organized around themes that reflect phases in Pākehā engagement with New Zealand: *Pākehā Beginnings*, *Sojourning Settlers*, *First Permanent Residents*, and *Dispersal and Diversification*. The final two chapters review the archaeological record of governance and Pākehā settlement during the Early Colonial Phase from 1840–1860, after New Zealand had become a British colony.

Smith makes some concessions to lay readers in the introduction, but they add to, rather than detract from, the appeal of the book. The first chapter, *A Māori World*, provides an overview of life in Aotearoa/New Zealand prior to the arrival of Europeans. This will be familiar territory for New Zealand-trained archaeologists. Other readers will need to read it to fully understand the challenges faced by early Pākehā, and the consequences of failing to abide, either unwittingly or deliberately, with the prevailing rules of social and economic interaction.

Smith also considers and rejects evidence for earlier contact by visitors from foreign shores, other than Abel Tasman who had visited New Zealand without coming ashore 127 years earlier. This conclusion will undoubtedly be well received by Māori, since proponents of alternative histories are often intent on undermining the status of Māori as the first and only inhabitants of New Zealand prior to Cook's arrival.

The main body of the book is set out according to subthemes—'timber stations' for example—within each chapter. Under each of these Smith focuses on the key sites, and what has been revealed from archaeological excavations or other investigation. Some of this work has been published in journals or monographs, but many other sites have only been reported in 'grey literature', student dissertations, conference papers, or not at all. Having this in a single volume, with an extensive bibliography to follow up for more information, makes *Pākehā Settlements* an essential reference source for the archaeologist's bookshelf, and not just those working in New Zealand. It will be a valuable resource for comparative studies of cross-cultural encounters internationally and will undoubtedly appeal to many Australian historical archaeologists in particular. A good many of the early sites and individuals featured have multiple trans-Tasman connections. Commercial enterprises were typically provisioned from Sydney, so it is no surprise that the material culture often shares many similarities with contemporaneous-Australian sites. Clay tobacco pipe assemblages in particular are dominated by the products of Australian manufacturers until later in the 19th century.

While it appeals on many levels, the real value of Smith's book is in the way that it broadens our perspectives on early Māori-Pākehā interaction and contributes to the sometimes-divisive dialogue over the formative years of New Zealand's collective past. As Smith reminds us, the written record of the early years is minimal, and only one of the parties had written language. Landscapes, sites and objects associated with this period provide evidence of the relationship and of life during this controversial period that the 'one-eyed' perspective of written history (Flexner 2013; Salmond 1991:431) alone cannot. The evocative image of a wicked-looking sealing club on page 84 for example, creates a lasting impression of the brutality of sealing and the character of sealers.

Many New Zealanders, both Pākehā and Māori, have a simplistic and often inaccurate perspective of this period. As Smith points out, Māori held the balance of power for much of this time—Māori traded with Europeans for items they wanted on their own terms, encouraged Europeans to live amongst them, and both sides saw benefits in making the relationship work. It wasn't always successful, but Smith shows us tangible archaeological evidence of collaborative ventures and small communities of Pākehā and Māori living and working together.

Historical archaeology, largely scorned by academic archaeologists in its early years, has undeniably come of age in New Zealand with the publication of this book. It must have given Ian considerable satisfaction under unimaginably difficult personal circumstances to have seen it finally published. That he had the tenacity to see this book through to fruition whilst suffering from what would be a fatal illness and having recently lost his partner and fellow archaeologist Angela Middleton, says much about Ian's enthusiasm and commitment to historical archaeology. It is a fitting legacy of the enormous contribution that he has made during his career.

Robert Brassey
Heritage Unit,
Auckland Council/Te Kaunihera o Tāmaki Makaurau
Auckland, New Zealand

References

FLEXNER, J. 2013, 'Historical Archaeology, Contact, and Colonialism in Oceania', *Journal of Archaeological Research* 22: 43–87.

SALMOND, A. 1991, *Two Worlds: First Meetings Between Maori and Europeans 1642–1772*. Viking/Penguin books, Auckland.