

WILEY



A · M · E · R · I · C · A · N
ANTHROPOLOGICAL
A S S O C I A T I O N

A Historical Archaeology of Capitalism

Author(s): Mark P. Leone

Source: *American Anthropologist*, New Series, Vol. 97, No. 2 (Jun., 1995), pp. 251-268

Published by: [Wiley](#) on behalf of the [American Anthropological Association](#)

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/681960>

Accessed: 18/12/2014 10:39

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at
<http://www.jstor.org/page/info/about/policies/terms.jsp>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.



Wiley and American Anthropological Association are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *American Anthropologist*.

<http://www.jstor.org>

A Historical Archaeology of Capitalism

Considering Political Context

I raise the need for historical archaeology to be more involved with the politics that sustains it. I advocate involvement with the factors that have defined wealth and social control in the past and continue to do so now. Such political involvement will provide a more coherent justification for our concern with forgotten, anonymous, and unknown peoples and groups, who are the exploited and suppressed members of classes. These people have not been left out of mainline presentations of the past by mistake. Rather, it is the politics of class that accounts for the absence of immigrants, children, women, slaves, and free African Americans in the models of social behavior that are created through historical narratives. This politics not only suppresses the exploited themselves, but their histories as well, leaving historical archaeology as their means of finding a voice.

Without the explicit consideration of politics at both the local and larger levels, there can be no adequate understanding of the material bases of historical archaeology in our own society. Nor can we effectively realize, without such an orientation, the rationale for historical archaeology as the study of European expansion throughout the world. The alternative is to continue to live with our current political innocence and political ineffectiveness.

Calls are coming from two directions for historical archaeologists to consider politics and be political. One call comes from outside the field, one from within. Critiques of historic preservation, outdoor history museums, urban renewal, historical places, and tourism constitute the call from outside the field.¹ In recent issues of this journal, Friedman (1992) and Bruner (1994) have pointed out the centrality of political concerns when an archaeological past is used to establish national identity. Friedman argues that people negotiate their national and local identities with a seriousness that shows these identities are vital to group existence. Bruner sees the discussion of historical matters as central to the creation of meanings

and thus central to the process of culture itself. Both authors are aware that archaeology has an important role to play in debates about the political role of the past in people's ongoing lives. Each makes it clear that local politics, in turn, affects discussions of the past. The immediate context may be a debate over local economic or tourist development; but the ultimate explanation for the debate broadens, depending on the author, to include the power relations among contending elites, the continuing struggle for existence among minority groups, or the process by which humans string meanings together in order to make sense of life. But despite all the calls for political awareness, these authors do not deal with the fact that archaeology and archaeologists are unaware of being entangled in the social relations they describe.

Over the last 25 years, cultural anthropologists have largely achieved the political awareness I am advocating for historical archaeologists. Dell Hymes, in the 1970s, and more recently Clifford, Marcus, and Fischer have argued that the field of anthropology, as historically constituted, has sometimes fostered colonialist, repressive, and exploitative relations, or else tried to avoid politics altogether.² Today, anthropologists join with scholars in other fields such as cultural studies in trying to understand how American culture and capitalism have shaped their field.

Cultural anthropologists including Eco, Grossberg, During, Foley, Newman, Varenne, Deming, Passerini, Messick, and Connerton have critiqued ethnographic method and advocated hermeneutic readings of historical sources.³ They pay close attention to local history and politics and discuss the problems caused by disciplinary boundaries. Unlike many mainline scientists, they are willing to situate their work in contemporary environments. Many of these writers use deconstructive techniques derived from Derrida (1978) to reveal the role of the present, even when the role is being suppressed. They elucidate the role of capitalism in constructing and imprisoning anthropology. And others, like Foley and Rapaport, involve themselves and their work in local politics.⁴ As historical archaeologists, we are thus surrounded both by calls to understand the political character of our scholarship and by calls for explicit political action, though none of these calls is aimed specifically at us.

MARK LEONE is Professor, Department of Anthropology, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20572.

The second call to political awareness comes from within archaeology itself. The most consistent voices come from British prehistorians, including Shanks and Tilley, Daniel Miller, Barrett, and Hodder and his students, who invoke the work of Adorno, Benjamin, Gramsci, and Habermas.⁵ For depth of intellectual development, knowledge of European political-philosophical traditions, and quantity of publications, they have few parallels in the United States (McIntosh et al. 1989). American archaeologists have tended to ignore this work; if it is used, it is used only in politically sanitized "contextual" studies. The call within international archaeology for self-examination in matters of power has received few responses in the United States.

However, there are American archaeologists, including Robert Paynter, Randall McGuire, Alison Wylie, Russell Handsman, Thomas Patterson, Parker Potter, Joan Gero, Charles Orser, Janet Spector, Paul Shackel, Barbara Little, and myself, who have written about the formative role local politics plays in archaeological interpretation.⁶ The work of our British colleagues and collaborators has clearly influenced our own efforts. The postmodern turn in cultural anthropology, following the work of Schneider and Geertz in the mid-1970s, has also been important to us (Barnett and Silverman 1979).

Antecedents to our own efforts are found in the work of Robert Schuyler and Stanley South, both of whom independently proposed that historical archaeology concern itself with the scientific study of European colonialism. Schuyler stated his position in plain words:

Historic Sites Archaeology can make a major contribution to modern anthropology by studying the processes of European expansion, exploration, and colonialization as well as those of culture contact and imperialism that underlie one of the most dynamic periods of world history. [1978(1970):28, 30]

Stanley South was equally clear:

The transformation to the next level would involve data reflecting indigenous territorial patterns plus the associated colonial territorial patterns. Such patterns would result from combining archaeological data from Great Britain . . . with those from the British colonial world system, thus forming new British nationalistic cultural patterns reflecting the global exploitative system. [1977:2, 4]

However, neither author would probably think that an investigation of the political context of contemporary archaeological projects would be relevant to the issues of the field itself. Thus, while the work of Schuyler and South is an antecedent to our own, in that it gives a material definition to the task of historical archaeology, we must admit that current forms of postmodern materialist theory have gone further than theirs did. Unfortunately, historical archaeology has not responded even to their calls, nor has it turned to studying any of the events they suggested.

In considering this situation, one in which I also have been personally involved, it has seemed to me that a number of factors make it difficult for the profession to recognize the political realities surrounding historical archaeology. Bringing these factors into the discussion will help us understand why materialist postmodern thought has not penetrated our field. One factor is the turn-of-the-century claim of scientific neutrality, inherited by subsequent generations of archaeologists. Another is the absence of a general theory capable of connecting past and present within the field of historical archaeology. Evolutionary theory, which still more or less provides the intellectual framework for American prehistoric archaeology, never became established within historical archaeology; nor has any other theory ever exercised a comparable dominance over our own field. Consequently, we lack the sort of overarching theoretical framework that would legitimate the methods we use and research we design.

Finally, there is the fact that earlier social theories tended to neglect the importance of material culture. Most earlier social theorists, including Tyler, Malinowski, Lévi-Strauss, and Weber, made little or no use of the material world; many considered it a mere derivative. Even though the character of archaeology that orients it to things is at odds with these social theories, most archaeologists accepted the derivative nature of the material culture they studied. Archaeologists used artifacts merely to reconstruct models of past social life in accord with the anthropological theories then current. Thus they provided little novel information. And most social theorists, in turn, had little use for the small-scale questions of origins or social development that archaeologists handled.

Postmodern theorists, however, have made it possible to connect material culture with the world of politics. Important advances include Giddens 1984 on the idea of structuration and Foucault 1979 on the exercise of power through technologies of the self. Most helpful here is Giddens's argument that material culture, like language, forms its users' meanings—or lives—in use. Thus making, like speaking, can be argued to be a part, indeed an indispensable part, of creating culture. This idea, originally found in Marx, was later made famous by Gordon Childe; but in Giddens we have a powerful intellectual descendant of those two. Foucault's work can be used to further specify Giddens's. Foucault's study of the technologies of power has enabled me to use the study of local power to connect politics with archaeology. Though I had read some of his writings, I did not know Foucault's work on the disciplines of power when I began the historical archaeology of Annapolis, Maryland in 1981. However, I believe that without the insights provided in his *Discipline and Punish*, my own work would be much less substantial.

If historical archaeology is to concern itself with local politics and political action, it must have a method for

connecting archaeologists with local settings. The writings of Georg Lukács and Jürgen Habermas offer two, somewhat different, models for studying the past in relation to the present. Both writers adjust known rationales for studying the past to modern circumstances by recognizing the impact of class relations and by raising the issue of what use knowledge of the past can be.

In his famous *Reification and the Consciousness of the Proletariat*, Lukács (1971) argued that the historian's task is to uncover the origins of modern class-based misrepresentations. Such ideologies are the received rationalizations for practices like slavery, sexism, racism, and other forms of exploitation. Lukács argues that members of classes other than the elite and the bourgeoisie can see their own present position clearly if they can be shown a past in which their condition was different. Such a form of history involves piercing the masking ideologies used to convince marginalized groups that they themselves are responsible for their current condition, or, alternatively, that their condition is natural, universal, divinely ordained, established by the Founding Fathers, or historically inevitable. Since ideology usually presents itself as timeless (Althusser 1971), an archaeologist could pierce the masks that subordinate people and groups in order to reach and describe times when these conditions did not exist. Such knowledge could lead to more effective consciousness of current economic and political conditions. This, in turn, could lead to the formation of alliances among groups that have been treated similarly but have learned to see themselves as, for example, ethnically different; this, in its turn, might lead to more effective political action. In all his writings, Lukács was committed to a critique that saw capitalism as producing a society that should be challenged and replaced.

However, it is extremely difficult to achieve class consciousness and almost impossible to sustain it. Certainly it has been hard to achieve enough general knowledge of common exploitative conditions to sustain alliances between groups of working people in the United States. In an attempt to deal with this problem, which has been known for decades, Jürgen Habermas proposed the notion of an ideal speech situation.

Habermas proposes that the most desirable political environment is one in which there is a dialogue among equals.⁷ His model begins with discourse among unequal parties and proposes means of achieving a greater equality of relations among them. The goal is to "level the playing field." For Habermas, discourse among equals has four characteristics: intelligibility, honesty, legitimacy, and believability. "Intelligibility," for Habermas, means that discourse is conducted in terms comprehensible to all parties. "Honesty" means that all parties are sincere in their intentions. "Legitimacy" means that negotiation among all parties determines what will be the permissible and forbidden topics and terms of the discourse. "Believ-

ability" involves a willingness on the part of all participants to subject their proposed interpretations and explanations to criticism.

When the parties are contending over archaeological materials, in or out of the ground, two goals are important. First, all parties should commit themselves to the preservation and enhancement of the culture under study. As deconstruction has shown (Shanks and Tilley 1987a:68–99), scientific methods of study tend to demean the culture of others, as well as the others themselves, by measuring, comparing, objectifying, and denaturing them. Archaeologists, however, are also capable of providing to disfranchised groups a view of the past defined as worthwhile by the disfranchised themselves. The volumes of the first World Archaeology Congress contain many examples of archaeology done in partnership with those usually thought to be "other."⁸ An alternative point of view can be preserved in this way. Archaeology itself, then, can achieve the first goal.

The second goal is enhancing democracy by equalizing a dialogue that has long been dominated by the expert discourse of science. This can be achieved by breaking down the dominant position that members of scientific hierarchies usually accord themselves in dialogue with others.

Though nearly everyone, nearly every day, uses Habermasian strategies of negotiation in ordinary discourse, such strategies are not usually considered to be part of archaeological work. Historical archaeologists, however, may find it helpful to take such negotiations explicitly into account. Classes, in a capitalist society, are often kept in their places by ideologies that claim social place is the result of ineluctable factors (such as differing genetic and historic endowments). However, each such group also has a history and a material culture, which sometimes function to preserve uniqueness, as in the celebration of folk art, but can also symbolize or even actualize the group's subordination, as with some items of mass consumption. In a dialogue with a student of a capitalist society, each group's questions about its past, as formulated by its members, could propose useful topics for researchers in material culture, including historical archaeologists.

Lukács and Habermas, then, produce two different rationales for the work of understanding and interpreting the past. Lukács called upon historians to redirect their work and to speak with those caught within ideology. He made the historian an essential ally of the worker and directed social change to favor workers' interests. Habermas, on the other hand, sees the work of the historian as arising out of a dialogue between historians (who explicitly acknowledge both their skills and their preexisting interests) and people who live in different, but explicitly valued, cultures. Habermas locates the value of historical work, in a capitalist system, in the differences among its

classes, specifically between those who are cultural insiders and those who are outside the system (or try to be). The practices of these groups, in resisting capitalism, may constitute an implicit critique of it, which, if described and known, could leaven capitalism's effects. This is the job of the social scientist, including, by extension, the historical archaeologist.

Habermas's position, of course, can be highly problematical: the ability of capitalism in American society to absorb criticism and neutralize alternative ways of living is well known to many. If the alternative is not destroyed, it may be trivialized, romanticized, and watered down, and so absorbed into the mainstream; rarely is the knowledge of alternative ways of living used productively for reform.

However, any such argument depends upon people's willingness to see history as a potentially controllable sequence of events, not an uncontrollable "fate." These would be people who believe that history can provide useful knowledge, who are convinced that a past can do some good, and who believe that such knowledge can be had in partnership with others whose motives have usually not been paired with theirs. We have tried out the rationales of both Lukács and Habermas in Annapolis as we continue our struggle to tie our own archaeological purposes and political possibilities together.

Deconstruction of Local History

I would like to offer an example that has some general implications for a politically aware historical archaeology. As this example will show, my coworkers and I have not avoided the difficulties of a political archaeology; rather, we have lived with them. We were experimenting with Lukácsian approaches to historical archaeology; our intent was to raise the level of consciousness among tourists and residents of Annapolis. In this, we failed. However, we also began what has since become a long-term and fairly successful dialogue with people from Annapolis's varied African American communities.

My account begins with observations that led to a deconstruction of local history, in which Althusserian concepts were used to reveal the ideologies operating in historical presentations. It was assumed that such presentations are cultural creations that serve not to challenge present social relations but to continue them into the future.

For the past 18 years, I have been committed to understanding the Chesapeake region through historical archaeology. With such a commitment, one inherits the rich and substantial scholarship on European settlement in the area.⁹ One also inherits the effort, ongoing since Mount Vernon was made the nation's first historic house in the 1850s, to create national interpretations of American history in the region containing the nation's capital.

Over time, historical archaeology and material culture studies have played an increasingly important role in both concerns. Sound and basic archaeological work has been done in the Chesapeake area for over 60 years. The strong archaeological traditions at Jamestown, Colonial Williamsburg, and Historic St. Mary's City have helped define chronologies, methods, and uses for American historical archaeology.¹⁰ Yet a problem emerges when one looks at this work more closely. The archaeology and the museums that employ it are supposed to be about American origins, but both in fact are detached from virtually every aspect of contemporary American life. The pottery and the other artifacts collected and displayed in museums are not connected to issues involving patriotism, toleration, urban conditions, economic conditions, class life, city locations, poverty, slavery, or emancipation. Nor do they explain why the archaeology of such a heritage needs protecting.

When I began my work, it came as a surprise to me that there was no comparative tradition in historical archaeology. Questions about the founding and development of cities, institutions, classes, farms, landscapes, money, markets, and trade were not asked; Savannah, Charleston, Alexandria, Philadelphia, New York, Boston, and Annapolis were not compared at any level. The evolutionary questions of the new archaeology, concerning populations, agriculture, and cities, were not being asked of the 17th- and 18th-century Chesapeake area. And yet it was assumed by historians, historical archaeologists, and the public that it was our national origins on display at the museums, connected by a wonderful tale of national development to the United States of today. There seems to be nothing accidental about what happened here; it was inevitable that life in colonial times should have evolved into the lives we all lead today. Yet the story these museums present is largely irrelevant to our lives.

My deconstruction focuses on this ideology: A specific colonial "then" led to all of "us" here now. If so, no questions about the evolution of the American political economy need to be asked. It becomes the job of scholars to provide verifying details, not to ask questions about the ideology itself. However, if a locally based but nationally directed presentation of American history is subjected to the kind of questions historical materialists ask about capitalism, the outcome of the history it presents no longer appears inevitable. An alternative history could begin with classes during the era of their creation. This alternative history would link disfranchised groups and pierce ideology; it might provoke some viewers into a heightened consciousness of their own positions.

The initial discovery and settlement of the Chesapeake region by the Spanish in the 16th century, the virtual absence of slaves in early English Chesapeake society, the presence of free Africans, the fluid nature of wealth, and the wide availability of land until 1660 or 1680

all provide a look at a profit-making society that had not yet become fixed and stratified—wholly unlike the one on display at Colonial Williamsburg, the canonical version of the way America was founded.

After isolating the ideology of “inevitability,” we can seek an alternative history in the works of Chesapeake historians Edmund Morgan and Rhys Isaac. They ask a different set of questions: Why are some people poor? How do others get and stay rich? What is the relationship between them? They ask also why the American Revolution was needed to entrench these unequal relationships. Finally, they ask whom such history serves.

Over a decade ago, Rhys Isaac (1982) argued that the Virginia gentry had been steadily losing power since the 1740s; it led the American Revolution in order to avoid losing even more of its power. He argued that the country's founders used the ideas of liberty and freedom to create an alliance among poor white farmers, city workers, and gentry, based on the illusion that a profound tie, the enjoyment of liberty, united them all. It was this alliance that defeated the British.

Earlier, in 1975, Edmund Morgan had made his even more famous case. In *American Slavery, American Freedom* he argued that slavery was seen in the 18th century as leading to the same unfortunate consequences as poverty. In the minds of the country's founders, both slavery and poverty produced people unfit to share in government. The enslaved and the poor led lives made unpredictable by poverty, which made them both ungovernable and unfit to govern. Morgan argued, however, that the poverty of the workers was essential to America in any age; and that poverty and workers were bonded together intellectually throughout the 18th century. It was the poverty of the workers that made freedom possible for those who were rich. American freedom, then, depended on endemic poverty, of which slavery was just an extreme form. Here was an academically not so popular question about class, rooted in the history of the slavery- and poverty-rich Chesapeake area. Archaeologists exploring Morgan's hypothesis could ask questions like these: How was endemic poverty maintained? What archaeological evidence of classes and class resistance can be found? What uses were made of market mechanisms? What was the local subsistence level? What ideologies maintained the system of endemic poverty? What successes and failures did they have? In what material culture was all this embodied? Who would care to know about this?

Baroque and Panoptic Planning

Answers to such questions will break down the ideology that proposes a smooth and inevitable movement from the colonial era to America today. Working on such questions brings the archaeology done in the Chesapeake

area today in line with current explorations that focus on the ways power is created and distributed over groups. One easy way to do this comes from seeing the area's cityscapes and landscapes as efforts at three-dimensional control, not merely as two-dimensional plans for traffic, trade, and efficiency.

The work of Henry Miller (1988) on Historic St. Mary's City showed that Maryland's 17th-century capital had a baroque settlement plan, which used radiating streets to create vistas between the governor's house, the Catholic church, the capital, and the jail. Previously, scholars had not thought that the city had a plan. There was a largely implicit assumption that the settlement was helter-skelter; thus no one looked for evidence of a city plan. In addition, historians and archaeologists had believed large sections of the original settlement had been eroded into the Chesapeake Bay; since Miller did his work, it has become apparent that the whole of the town survives archaeologically.

In the case of Annapolis, it is an established fact that it had a baroque town plan. My colleagues and I, however, have added two points from the literature on baroque planning.¹¹ First, baroque town plans were explicit attempts to create illusions designed to enhance centers of power, using the laws of perspective codified by the Renaissance Italian theorists Alberti and Salviati (Bacon 1968). Second, even at the time of their first settlements, Europeans in the Chesapeake area were shaping landscapes, both urban and rural, into illusions intended to establish their power. They had read European theoretical writings on the use of perspectival illusions to achieve or enhance power, and they used their knowledge from the start. Thus the area around Washington has always contained illusions created to establish the power of those who built them. We are the only ones who did not know this.

One can ask whether the physical and political consequences of baroque town planning remain intact in the Chesapeake area, or whether they have been disrupted over the centuries. Baroque theories of power attempted to establish stratified social hierarchies by creating environments that proclaimed a natural law dependent on divinely ordained, natural hierarchies. This is the theory behind the orderliness of the vast majority of 18th-century plantations. But could the plans of the new American federal republic be promoted by a similar theory of power? The answer to this question also solves the Chesapeake-wide problem of how to control an impoverished and potentially unruly population. In Annapolis, for example, at least 25 percent of the population consisted of slaves by 1750, and 5 percent of the inventoried population owned, at death, 85 percent of the wealth.¹² Since 1720, the distribution of wealth in Chesapeake society had become more and more unequal, and little was to change in this respect after 1775.

The answer also makes it possible to connect the archaeological and historical work done in the Chesapeake with the founding of our democratic regime, a group of events that also, for the most part, took place in the Chesapeake area. The link I will establish between baroque hierarchy and the establishment of the republic also connects the politics of exploitation to the historical archaeology of subordination, and especially to the changes in urban planning that began in the Federal Era (1780–1820). The Chesapeake historians Isaac and Morgan argued that two needs existed after the American Revolution. One was to maintain the illusion of unity among different classes. The other was to keep classes separate in fact; some would work hard and peacefully, while others would remain unchallenged in their newly dominant positions.

At that time, in the 1780s, the state of Maryland put up a new dome, or cupola, on its prerevolutionary statehouse in Annapolis, a city that housed Congress briefly and hoped to be the new federal capital. An eight-sided, multistoried architectural oddity, which has never been successfully described, the cupola was built to dominate the town. Attempts at classification have been mired in descriptions of style: the cupola has been called, among

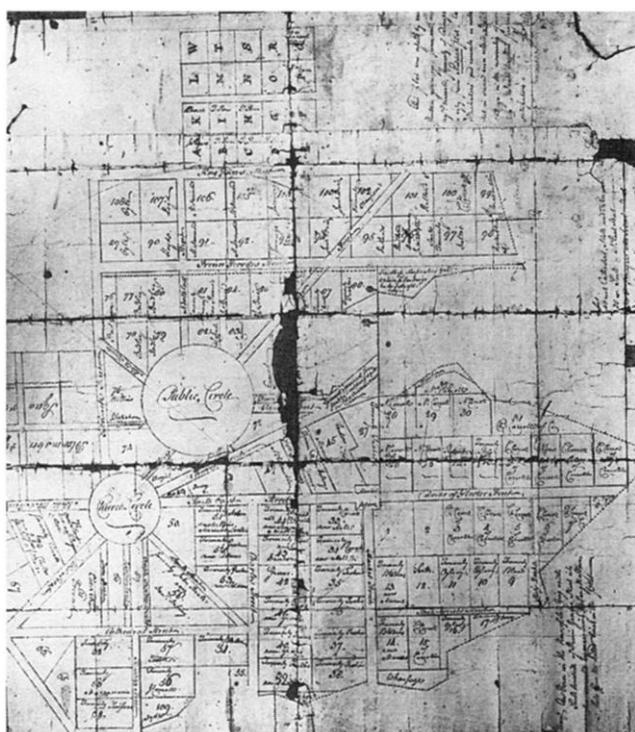


Figure 1

The Stoddert survey of Annapolis, 1718, as redone by Callahan in 1743. The statehouse is located on a hilltop in the lower left-hand edge of the larger circle. Courtesy of the Maryland State Archives, SPECIAL COLLECTIONS (Maryland State Archives Map Collection) [MSA SC 1427-1-501].

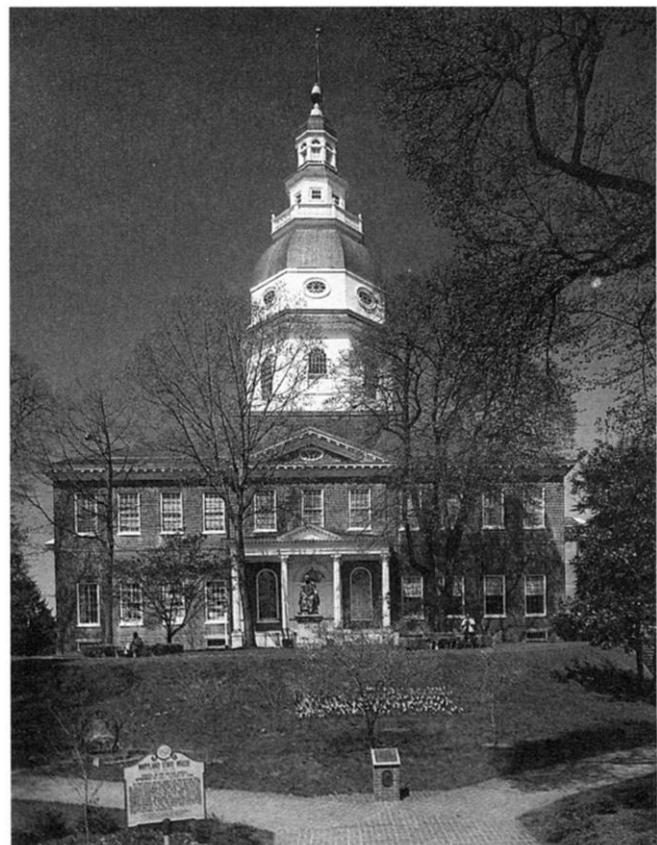


Figure 2

The Maryland Statehouse, Annapolis. The cornerstone was laid in 1772, the tower dome completed in the late 1780s. Courtesy of M. E. Warren, photographer, and the Historic Annapolis Foundation.

other things, Chinese Chippendale, an awkwardly articulated Federal period architectural device, John Shaw's masterpiece (Shaw, a famous Annapolis cabinetmaker, had built the dome), and an attempt to show that the state now dominated the nearby (Anglican) Episcopal church. On each of the eight sides of this dome-tower, there are four ranks of windows on different stories. The windows look out, down, and along the eight radiating streets and paths that approach the capital building. My notion is that the tower is, in effect, the centerpiece of a panopticon, built on a grand scale. (See Figures 1 and 2.)

The panopticon of Jeremy Bentham, most famous as a model prison, was a multisided, domed building in which all inmates were visible from one central position, from which all could be observed, but in which no inmate could see any other. Foucault (1979), to whom I owe much of this argument, shows that the inmate of the panopticon was always to imagine him- or herself being seen, which inculcated a self-conscious self-observation. Within this panoptic self-observation, I believe, is the historically earlier Renaissance notion that a person who is defined as an individual is also visible, because he or she is worthwhile

by him- or herself. The baroque state did not focus on the crowd but on the eyes of the person who saw him- or herself as an individual, and it used the rules of perspective to draw the attention of those eyes, person by person, to the state. Baroque planning requires that both ends of the hierarchy see themselves as worthy of attention, and the notion of the individual (Rowe 1966), particularly at the middle and lower levels of society, allowed this.

Foucault explained that in the imagination of the 18th- and 19th-century citizen is an obligation to watch and also to feel watched, to monitor and be monitored, to safeguard and be safeguarded, to care and be cared for. Only people who see themselves as individuals can imagine themselves this way. The notion of the individual is thus fundamental both to baroque and panoptic building plans.

I turn now to the city of Baltimore, at the northern end of the Chesapeake Bay, which became a major center of trade, population, and wealth during the Federal Era and promoted itself as an American center (the Star Spangled Banner was created there, in all senses). Baltimore is important to my argument: it shows a three-way link between Foucault's technologies of power, the definition of democracy within capitalism, and the historical archae-

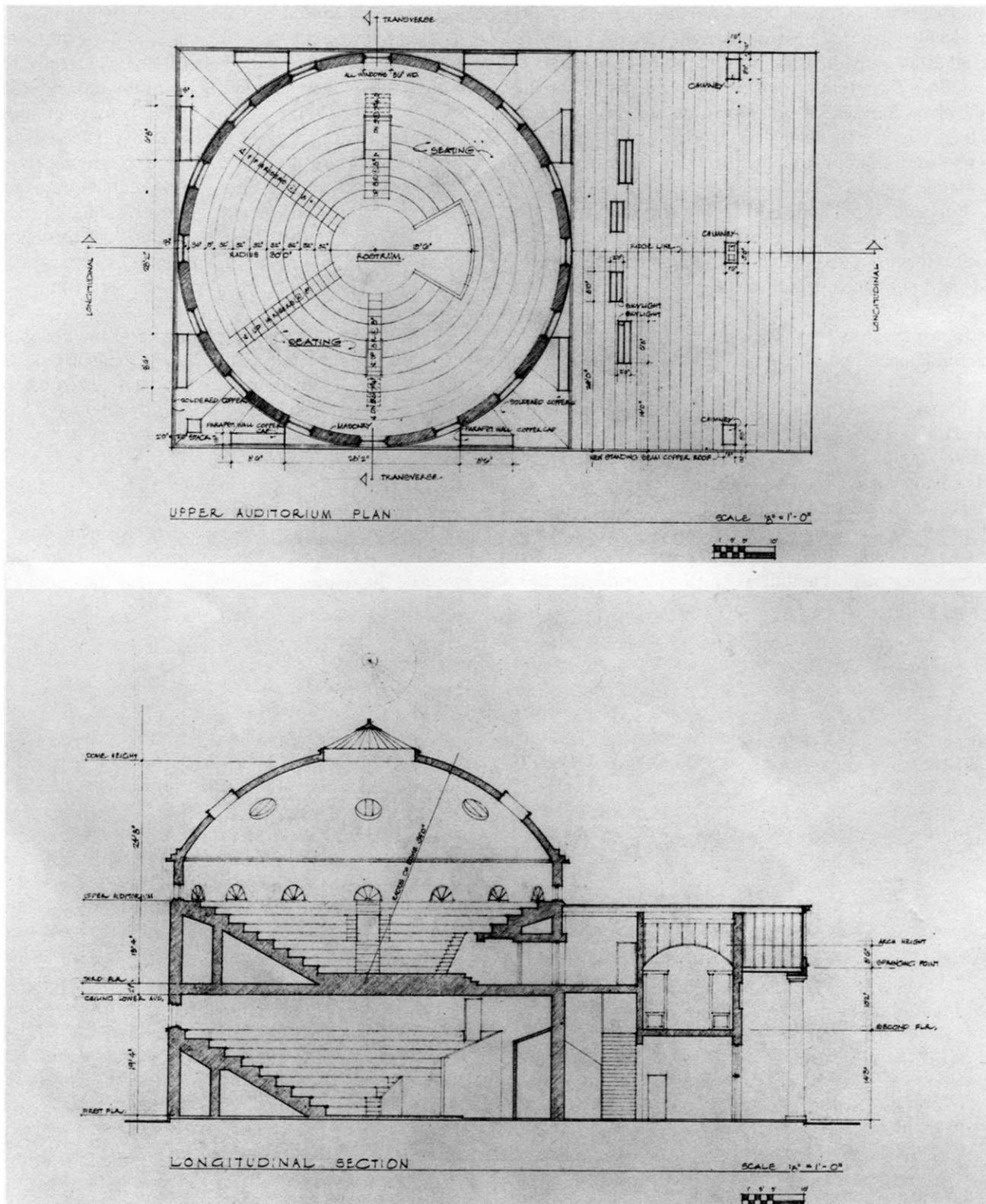
ology of class structure. In Baltimore, Benjamin LaTrobe and his fellow Federal architects built a set of novel and successful buildings in the Federal Era. A centrally domed cathedral for the Catholics, a centrally domed adjacent church for the Unitarians, a similar one for the Baptists, a domed operating theater for the newly established University of Maryland medical school, a jailhouse intended to be panoptic, and (as Silas Hurry pointed out to me) the first monument dedicated to George Washington, a tower over the whole city. These buildings help to define the connections among the archaeology of urban planning and the democracy proposed for the new country. (See Figures 3–8.)

These buildings were planned and built as celebrations of democracy. Together, they explicitly declare a unity with republican Rome and a distance from baroque notions of hierarchy. They were intended to single out each citizen and to invite each one into a democratic society; they also invited each citizen to monitor all the rest. They were built by reforming, victorious republicans who voted, fought, spoke, taxed themselves, and elected each other, living out these practices in the buildings they built. Within these buildings, citizens acknowledged the gaze of the leader to whom they said they could liken



Figure 3

Exterior of Benjamin LaTrobe's Roman Catholic cathedral in Baltimore (1808–21). Courtesy of HABS, Library of Congress [HABS MD 4-BALT 41-1 MD 186].



Figures 4 and 5

Top: upper auditorium plan of Davidge Hall, Baltimore, the first building of the University of Maryland. Courtesy of HABS, Library of Congress [HABS MD 4-BALT 59B, No. 5 of 11]. Bottom: longitudinal section, Davidge Hall (1812), University of Maryland, Baltimore. Courtesy of HABS, Library of Congress [HABS MD 4-BALT 59B-304, No. 8 of 11].

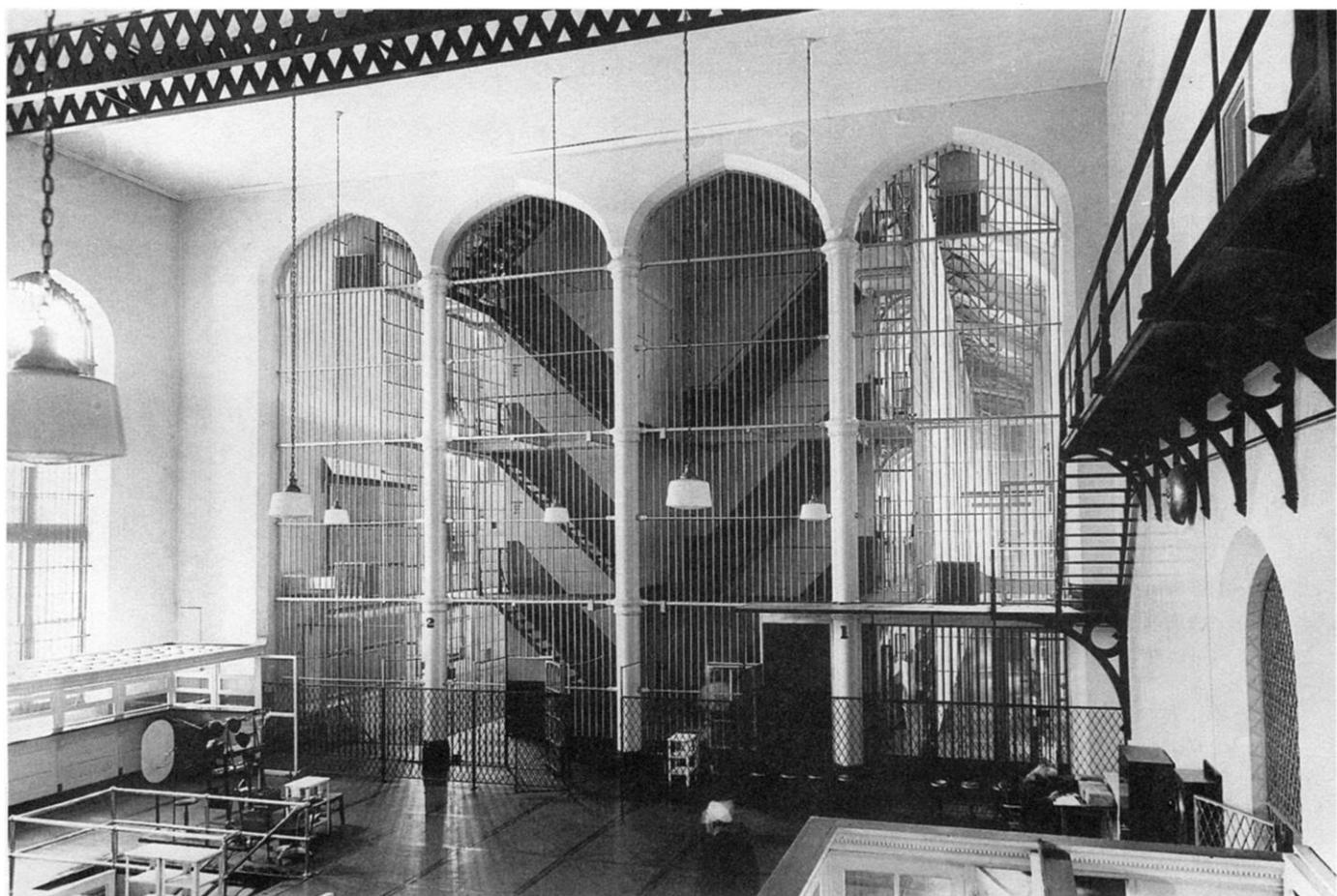


Figure 6

Interior of Central Jail of Baltimore (1859) showing modified panoptic views into the cell blocks. Courtesy of HABS, Library of Congress [HABS MD 4-BALT 112-6 MD 184].

themselves for a vote, a fee, a secular prayer, or any other rational token of admission.

As buildings, they embodied and facilitated a panoptic gaze. In semicircular rows under low domes, rooms lighted with large glass windows allowed people to see and hear each other. Over all of them, Washington gazed down and out over the city's center of population. The Washington column, built about 1820, was visible everywhere, like the tower of the Maryland statehouse. A great urban space, filled with houses and called Mt. Vernon Square, was built to surround it. The column had a dome room at its base for meetings, and people regularly climbed to the top of the hollow column.

The people of Baltimore were citizens of an unstable state marked by high alcohol consumption, low church attendance, and a degraded family structure (Smith 1985; Smithsonian Institution 1985). They lived through the rebellions that marked the early republic. Nonetheless, their question, which is also Morgan's and mine, was and is, How was the peace to be kept? Why did people work under these multiple gazes? Or, to put the question an-

other way, How were races kept unequal, women further subordinated, and minorities and classes reproduced?

Panoptic gazes existed within prisons as well as in homes, hospitals, insane asylums, churches, schools and libraries, and forts and mines, all of which were designed for surveillance. John Cotter (Cotter et al. 1988) excavated the 1760s Philadelphia prison workshop and found the remains of the craft shops used there to teach prisoners to reform themselves by learning useful trades. He explained not only the details of craft manufacture but also the reason that craft shops could be found in prisons. It was the idea of the self-disciplined citizen, the productive reproducer of society, that was ultimately responsible for the manufacturing debris Cotter found. The tea service Noel Hume found in the insane asylum at Williamsburg probably functioned like the violin now on exhibit in the same building. The purpose of these objects was to introduce ordered behavior into disordered minds. They produced (or were thought to produce) structured behavior in lives disrupted by its absence. The techniques, or disciplines, associated with them defined normal behavior as



Figure 7

Exterior, Robert Mills's First Baptist Church, Baltimore (1818). Courtesy of HABS, Library of Congress [HABS MD 4-BALT 37-1 MD 75].

the result of internalized self-discipline, which was learned or reawakened through the use of material artifacts in panoptic institutions exercising surveillance over those thought to exhibit fringe behavior: criminals, children, students, the mentally ill, the sick, and others.

Dishes, cooking utensils, toiletries, and other utilitarian wares are found in all panoptic environments, including homes. The etiquette or discipline associated with eating is like that associated with writing, time telling, or any other routine. Paul Shackel (1993) argues that as individuals learn rules for eating, they teach, monitor, judge, and correct each other by using the rules supplied for the tasks. The self-discipline or technology of the self seen in table behaviors, as in cooking, serving, and waste disposal, constitute ways of self-maintenance. People who are taught that they are individuals internalize the gaze directed at them by others and learn to fix it upon themselves consistently as they use these items. Self-watching is the mark of the citizen; if successful, it exacts work and prevents rebellion. The toilet training and table manners of people who see themselves as individuals are

some of the ways in which a wage-labor society ensures its own reproduction.

Toothbrushes, lead pencils, mirror fragments, forks, serving dishes for specialized sauces, condiments, and faunal fragments of the meal attest to the techniques for self-surveillance that we associate with the new state. Foucault's hypothesis requires large amounts of small pieces of data from historical archaeology in order to be persuasive. Those data exist in the objects, inventories, and buildings we find in historical archaeology. Through archaeology, we may be able to find combined in them both the panoptic gaze of the state and the self-directed gaze of the citizen-individual.

Historical archaeology can identify many characteristics of panoptic buildings. It is not difficult to describe them. They usually have observation platforms which are isolated and isolating, equal-size rooms, lots of doors, opaque exterior windows or windows that look out only on confined and defined spaces, semicircular rows of seats, circular rooms, and places where each solitary member can see and be seen centrally by one person.

Unlike baroque buildings and landscapes, which command attention through the use of vistas and cupolas but do not return it, truly panoptic buildings facilitate a two-way gaze. Panoptic institutions thus command the enfranchised citizen, not the monarchic subject; the citizen is commanded to watch him- or herself precisely because he or she is the theoretical locus of the state's authority. Although the gargantuan scale of the buildings in Washington, D.C. probably lessens their effectiveness, the circles and Capitol, the obelisk of the Washington Monument, and Lincoln's own gaze from his memorial create a panoptic landscape. This is not a late baroque city, as is often claimed, but a panoptic one. And certainly the combination of bureaucracy and media in Washington leaves little doubt about its watchful effect.

I propose, however, an underlying continuity between the two theories of power utilized in the Chesapeake area under European and American settlement. Both produced buildings designed to preserve hierarchy. I would argue that there is no significant difference between the political intent of the governor's palace at Williamsburg or the public buildings in St. Mary's City, and the later Federal-period buildings in Annapolis. We know that baroque city planners created radiating streets to direct an individual's gaze at a wished-for center of power, but obedience was produced only in a person who identified him- or herself as an individual. Thus the act of being summoned by the state reproduced an individualist ideology. We also know that baroque institutions were failing to sustain stable hierarchies by the 1760s; in fact, they collapsed in the 1770s and 1780s. Baltimore and Washington are not only experiments in building, they are also experimental replacements for baroque institutions. In these cities, the new federal democracy came into being, which made the notion of the citizen-individual under a self-sustaining panoptic gaze its ideological centerpiece.

Thus, though the theory of power used at Williamsburg and Annapolis was baroque, and the one used at Baltimore and Washington was panoptic, several material reasons encourage an argument that their purpose was the same. By 1720 a class structure had been created in the Chesapeake region in which a few families controlled most of the wealth, along with the local courts and elective offices.¹³ This group of gentry had reduced poorer whites, Native Americans, and African Americans to an impoverished class, as Terry Epperson (1990a, 1990b) has pointed out, and relied upon racism to inhibit consciousness of economic status from becoming a basis for political unity. The American Revolution fixed these classes in place; it did not alter their relationship. A historical archaeology concerned with capitalism, investigating the roots of those who have been denied pasts and explaining why they are here now in the condition in which they find themselves, could use the organization of these cities' streets to show how the exercise of power maintained

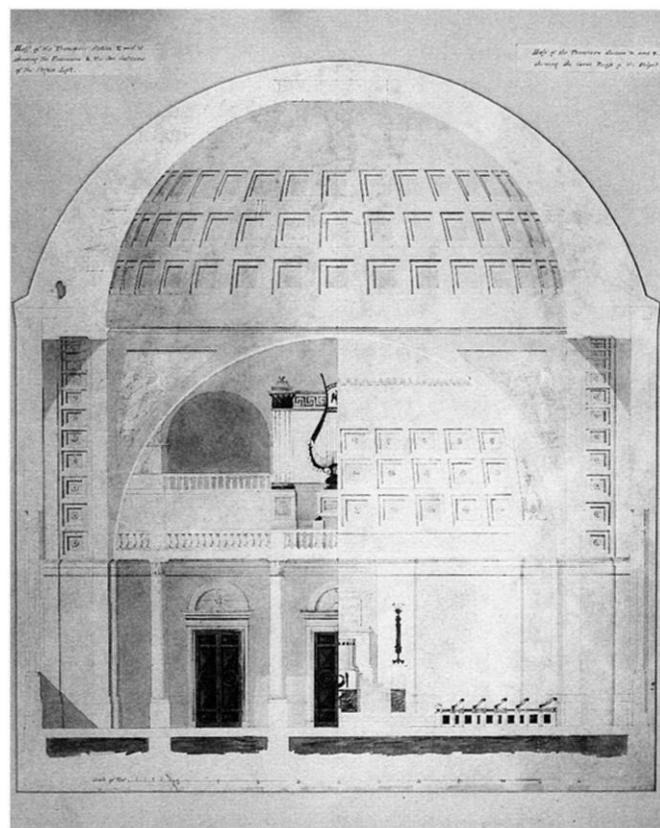


Figure 8
Cross-section, Maximilian Godefroy's First Unitarian Church of Baltimore (1818). Courtesy of the First Unitarian Church of Baltimore and its congregation; photograph from the Peale Museum, Baltimore [MC 2552(7)].

poverty in the past, thus linking past impoverishment to its continuation in the present.

In our work we have been guided by Lukács, who defined the historian's job to be standing up against capitalism. Our concern is with class maintenance; Foucault's theories of discipline and surveillance specify the points at which power is applied in the material culture of everyday lives. In the 1980s, we worked out Foucauldian interpretations of the Annapolis city plan and the Federal period rules for orderly eating and punctuality (Leone et al. 1987). Archaeologists, trained by a theater producer who was an expert at presenting neighborhood histories, delivered these interpretations on tours of Annapolis archaeological sites. The tours were very popular throughout the city, but as far as I can tell, they changed consciousness not at all (Potter and Leone 1992).

The popularity of these tours, however, was helpful to us; we needed the city's support for protecting archaeological sites that are, after all, the city residents' own property. But we also realized that, as far as social change was concerned, we were speaking to the wrong audience. For a historical archaeology of capitalism to be possible,

there would have to be dialogue with those who see knowledge about themselves as a way of dealing with their own oppression or victimization. This conclusion, though not taken from Habermas, is supported by his analysis of discourse among potential equals. Since any kind of archaeology occurs in a local setting, it need not be difficult to identify living people who want to know more about a past they see in some way as their own. Such engagement creates questions that may have archaeological answers. Byron Rushing, well known in historical archaeology for sponsoring excavations at the early-19th-century African Meeting House on Beacon Hill in Boston (Bower et al. 1984), has pointed out that black people want to know how they got to be here now. White people, on the other hand, do not want such knowledge.

In Annapolis, then, we began dialogues with two African Americans who were in charge of the Banneker Douglass Museum, the State of Maryland's Center for Afro-American History and Culture. Our dialogue partners had three questions for us as archaeologists. Was there, indeed, any way to tell whether archaeological material was associated with African Americans? Did they have a share in the record? What would an African American historical archaeology look like? We ourselves had to admit we did not know the answers.

Our African American colleagues also told us they were sick of hearing about slavery. That topic was well understood by black people, who found it demeaning and degrading. Not all black people were descended from slaves, after all; nor was slavery the only condition black people had ever known. What about conditions in freedom, before and after emancipation? In addition, since African heritage is prized among many African Americans but difficult to identify because of the conditions of the diaspora, they wanted to know whether African material culture had left any remains in the ground. These questions, formulated in 1988, redirected the work we were doing at many sites in Annapolis. As a result, we recovered many unique artifacts and patterns of use, were able to give very different public presentations of archaeology to visitors, and sponsored the first oral history done by archaeologists in Annapolis. We were also able to give positive answers to our dialogue partners' three questions.

Neighborhoods where African Americans lived from the 19th century through World War II are available archaeologically beneath city parking lots and United States Naval Academy lawns.¹⁴ A significant number of houses, yards, and currently open spaces in the city once contained African American housing, which is still intact archaeologically under many surfaces (Logan 1991). A third of the population of Annapolis is and has been African American, and there are several neighborhoods where free black people lived both before and after the Civil War. Their artifacts show that they used table set-

tings no different from any others; that they made selective use of white-dominated markets; that they had an established African American cuisine; and that African Americans used some items in symbolic ways that were different from white usage. Archaeological evidence shows negotiation between classes about class identities through the different use of knickknacks, wild foods, and mass-produced national brands (Mullins and Warner 1993). Integration into and resistance to the market occurred simultaneously. A persecuted people strategically maintained cultural integrity. Thus there is now some history of African Americans in a city where their historical presence has long been implicitly denied.

There is ample opportunity to connect buildings, street plans, and artifacts with the exercise of panoptic surveillance. Alley dwellings, which are rows of houses built inexpensively and often rented to African Americans, exist inside as many as a dozen of the city's blocks (Hannah Jopling, personal communication, 1994). They were built when block interiors no longer held stables and large gardens. From period photographs it is clear that the State House cupola looked down on and could be seen from their yards. Gott's Court held 25 such houses in two rows, backed up to the rear of the city jail. Residents thus could look directly into the jail yard, as their oral histories tell us: "Well we used to climb up on the fence and boxes or chairs or whatever to see the prisoners . . . when they would come out in the yard." No one remembers seeing a hanging, although there is folklore about earlier hangings of black people: "But I heard people in there hollering" (Jopling n.d.).

In 1994 we completed a large excavation immediately behind the county courthouse, which has a tower and jail, and beside its neighbor, the African Methodist Episcopal Church. A six-house row squeezed in behind them was occupied by African Americans at the turn of the century. All of these people were living within a few feet of surveillance institutions. Some were paternal institutions, no doubt, but some were punitive, and that is a panoptic mix.

The historical integrity of African Americans is demonstrated through the archaeological recovery, at the Charles Carroll of Carrollton house, of a deposit, dated 1790–1810, of rock crystals, pierced coins, pierced bone discs, and other items used in traditional West African divination activities (Logan 1991). Though the materials were probably local, John Vlach and Gladys Marie Fry (personal communications, 1991) have pointed out that these objects not only were used in West African practices, but have been found throughout the American Southeast in sites associated with enslaved Africans. Narratives by former enslaved Africans describe a world of spirits inhabiting most of reality that, with a specialist's help, could be used to cure sickness, wreak revenge, gain power, tell fortunes, and ensure personal safety. Thousands of artifacts, including blue beads, fractured de-

canter tops, buttons, sherds, and white bones, compose deposits at hundreds of southeastern sites; they tell of a religion (or religions) scarcely acknowledged by the white plantation world. Through African-derived religions and cultural practices, enslaved Africans could partially exempt themselves from the colonizing world and from white Christianity (Ferguson 1992). While these practices were originally West African, the American evidence shows that they were so varied and lasted so long that they can also be productively thought of as African American.

A dialogue has thus begun between white archaeologists and African Americans, both of whom have defined themselves, in varied conversations, as professionals, informants, gatekeepers, facilitators, scholars, equals, students, outsiders, fund-raisers, contributors, and—sometimes and with discomfort—subordinates, ignorant but willing to learn, to be lectured to and, occasionally, to be laughed and yelled at. The dialogue has been productive for whites, who have made a long-term commitment to consult with blacks before excavation and to listen attentively when blacks propose questions that might have answers in archaeology and oral history. In addition, the Historic Annapolis Foundation, one of the sponsors of Archaeology in Annapolis, has agreed to raise major funding for the restoration of a mid-19th-century house built by a free black family, making it into a historic house museum.

Displays of African American archaeological and documentary material, along with presentations of oral history, have been experienced by well over 10,000 people from the black and white communities of Annapolis. African Americans sustain effectively their political claims that they have ground to protect, heritage to manage, knowledge to gain about African American pasts, and many students to be taught or trained. As stakeholders, they press for a share of the power of the historic preservation community.

Consequences for Historical Archaeology

The scientific literature alone will not sustain historical archaeology in its studies of European expansion and the culture of capitalism. Several kinds of helpful knowledge may be produced by dialogues with those who might otherwise be subject to archaeology. Such dialogues provide important research questions while creating a link between present and past and involve the sorts of mutual knowledge that form a part of a community's political life.

A conception of historical archaeology that assumes the importance of class differences, pays attention to community direction, and investigates the kind of exploitation endemic to capitalism makes political involvement unavoidable. But we can also assume, with Lukács and Habermas, that understanding capitalism may provide a

means of changing it. In these paradigms, consciousness is the vehicle for social change. Consequently, we must ask, Do the archaeological results of dialogue produce consciousness of social conditions or promote democratic participation in a previously isolated scientific process? The answer, over time, is becoming yes. As a result of our own dialogues, we know far more about the resistance to capitalism's many ways of invading daily life. We know that early African Americans used African religious practices and distinctive ways of hunting, fishing, eating, and feasting to avoid some forms of domination. We connect these, using the work of Eugene Genovese (1974) and Barbara Fields (1985), to forms of African American resistance that were expressed as feigned ignorance, pretended forgetfulness, and posed irresponsibility. Thus, even apparently innocuous behaviors can serve as an antidote to the kind of exploitation capitalism has created in the world of European advance since 1450.

The dialogue has produced a comprehensive description of African American sites in the city. We have elucidated the differences between the ceramics, glass, and faunal remains in sites occupied by groups of African and Euro-Americans. Just as important is the loose alliance the dialogue has created among white archaeologists and their sponsors, and several different groups of African Americans, some of whom are activists for poor people. Thus, some historical consciousness has been created among some people, and some alliances have been formed. Some quite profound knowledge of others has been created, although its social and political use has yet to be determined. There are several independent voices now speaking for pasts never before known to plural audiences.

Of particular importance for the position I am outlining is the interchange that occurs at the point of establishing truth values. American archaeologists have only just begun to accept the constructivist view of knowledge, which implies that data are not neutral (Wylie 1989a, 1992b). We are not at all accustomed to the idea of negotiating truth values with nonarchaeologists who are affected by our work. However, such negotiating does not debase archaeology, even though archaeologists may, from time to time, get pushed around some by the members of the communities in which they work. The eventual result will be a much richer archaeology. It will produce not a single interpretation of data, but many interpretations; not one uniformly useful literature, but many incomensurable literatures. Thus archaeological data can have value, not only for professionals but for people whose identity and class positions are affected by what archaeologists do and think about the past.

This is an uncomfortable but a good place to be. One has to continually negotiate the value of research and continually form alliances, while at the same time reestablishing one's own intellectual and institutional inde-

pendence. This process is likely to produce a better understanding of some remains from the past; it will certainly produce understandings of the past that satisfy archaeology's constituents. Those communities include not only archaeologists and anthropologists but also people whose identities are affected by what is said about their pasts. The results can include some understanding of our society as a profit-oriented, class-based one that routinely uses many means of marginalization to achieve its ends. Certainly it illuminates the extent to which Edmund Morgan was correct when he said that poverty is essential to American democracy. If our society is based on a hierarchy that requires the enslavement or impoverishment of some, then how and through what means is this hierarchy reproduced? A historical archaeology of capitalism can offer its knowledge to those who want to know how we and they got to be where we are now. But it can also form alliances with those same people, to challenge the oppression that falls unevenly on us all and bring about reforms.

Notes

Acknowledgments. This article was presented to the Archeology Division at the 92nd Annual Meeting of AAA as a lecture titled "Vision and the Human Landscape: Approaches to Site and Sight." Paul Mullins, Thomas Patterson, and Robert Paynter have read this essay several times and have made detailed written comments on several drafts. Each has helped make the essay more coherent, focused, and defined. Jean-Paul Dumont directed my efforts at framing material in cultural anthropology and cultural studies; Joanne Rappaport with materials on local history within communities. Michael Lucas made several helpful suggestions on the paper.

Sidney Mintz and Robert Preucel, two reviewers for *American Anthropologist*, made central suggestions in the reorganization of the material used here. Hannah Jopling graciously provided material from oral histories. Henry Miller and Silas Hurry helped me think through the connection between St. Mary's City and Annapolis using baroque town planning, and between Annapolis and Baltimore using panoptic city planning. Many students in my department helped with the many drafts of this piece. My thanks go particularly to Andrew Tobiason.

The archaeology reported on for Annapolis has been sponsored jointly and generously by Historic Annapolis Foundation and the University of Maryland. I thank my wife, Nan S. Wells, for her continual encouragement.

I take responsibility for the flaws in the essay.

1. For a critique of historic preservation, see Dorst 1989; for outdoor history museums, see Gable and Handler 1994, Handler 1988, Wallace 1981, 1984; on urban renewal, see Williams 1988, Moffett 1989; on historical places, see Lowenthal 1985; and on tourism see Anderson 1991, MacCannell 1976.

2. See Hymes 1972; Clifford 1988; Clifford and Marcus 1986; Marcus and Fischer 1986; and Marcus 1989.

3. See Eco 1986[1967]; Grossberg et al. 1992; During 1993; Foley 1990; Newman 1988; Varenne 1993; Deming 1988; Passerini 1987; Messick 1993; and Connerton 1989.

4. See Foley 1990 and Rappaport 1988, 1990, 1994.

5. Important books and articles include Shanks and Tilley 1987a, 1987b; Barrett 1988; Hodder 1982, 1986; and Johnson 1993.

6. Important articles and books include Paynter 1983; McGuire 1989, 1992; Wyllie 1985, 1989b, 1990, 1991, 1992a; Handsman 1980, 1981; McMullins and Handsman 1987; Patterson 1986; Potter 1994; Gero et al. 1983; Gero and Conkey 1991; Orser 1988; Spector 1993; Shackel 1991; Barbara Little 1994; and Leone 1978, 1981a, 1981b, 1983.

7. See Habermas 1970, 1979, 1984 and Kemp 1988.

8. See, for example, Layton 1988, 1989; Shennan 1989; and Gathercole and Lowenthal 1990.

9. Important works include Carr and Jordan 1974; Carr and Walsh 1980, 1988; Carr et al. 1988; Tate and Ammerman 1979; and Carson et al. 1993.

10. On Jamestown, see Cotter 1958, Cotter and Hudson 1957; on Colonial Williamsburg, see Noel Hume 1963, 1983; on Historic St. Mary's City, see Miller 1986, 1988, Stone 1974.

11. See Leone 1984, 1987; Leone and Shackel 1990; and Leone and Little 1993.

12. See Russo n.d.; see also Fields 1985; Ives 1979; and Leone and Shackel 1987.

13. See Isaac 1982; Walsh 1983; Russo n.d.; Leone 1987; and Shackel 1993.

14. See Cox and Seidel 1994; Cox et al. 1994; Bodor et al. 1993; Goodwin et al. 1993; Warner 1992; Warner and Mullins 1993; and Logan 1991.

References Cited

- Althusser, Louis
 1971 Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses. In Lenin and Philosophy. Ben Brewster, trans. Pp. 127–186. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Anderson, M.
 1991 Selling the Past: History in Museums in the 1990s. In Packaging the Past. J. Rickard and Pierre Spearritt, eds. Australian Historical Studies, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.
- Bacon, Edmund N.
 1968 Design of Cities. New York: Viking Press.
- Barnett, Steve, and Martin Silverman
 1979 Separations in Capitalist Societies: Persons, Things, Units and Relations. In Ideology and Everyday Life. Pp. 41–81. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Barrett, John C.
 1988 Fields of Discourse: Reconstituting a Social Archaeology. Critique of Anthropology 7:5–16.
- Bodor, Thomas W., Gilda M. Anroman, Jean B. Russo, Hannah Jopling, and Kevin M. Etherton
 1993 Culture Resource Survey at the United States Naval Academy in Annapolis, Maryland. Report Prepared for Chesapeake Division Naval Facilities Engineering Command, United States Naval Academy. Archaeology in Annapolis Project. Annapolis: Historic Annapolis Foundation.

- Bower, Beth, J. Cheney, and Byron Rushing
 1984 Report on the Archaeological Testing Program in the African Meeting House Basement. Boston: Massachusetts Historical Commission.
- Bruner, Edward
 1994 Abraham Lincoln as Authentic Reproduction: A Critique of Postmodernism. *American Anthropologist* 96(2):397–415.
- Carr, Lois Green, and D. Jordan
 1974 Maryland's Revolution of Government, 1689–1692. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Carr, Lois Green, P. Morgan, and J. Russo, eds.
 1988 Colonial Chesapeake Society. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture.
- Carr, Lois Green, and Lorena S. Walsh
 1980 Inventories and the Analysis of Wealth Consumption Patterns in St. Mary's County, Maryland, 1658–1777. *Historical Methods* 13(2):81–104.
- 1988 Economic Diversification and Labor Organization in the Chesapeake, 1650–1820. In *Work and Labor in Early America*. S. Innes, ed. Pp. 144–188. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture.
- Carson, Cary, R. Hoffman, and P. Albert, eds.
 1993 Of Consuming Interests: The Style of Life in the Eighteenth Century. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.
- Clifford, James
 1988 The Predicament of Culture. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Clifford, James, and George Marcus, eds.
 1986 Writing Culture. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Connerton, P.
 1989 How Societies Remember. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cotter, John
 1958 Archaeological Excavations at Jamestown, Virginia. Washington, DC: U.S. National Park Service Archaeological Research Series, No. 4.
- Cotter, John, and P. Hudson
 1957 New Discoveries at Jamestown. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- Cotter, John, R. Moss, B. Gill, and J. Kim
 1988 The Walnut Street Prison Workshop. Philadelphia: The Athenaeum of Philadelphia.
- Cox, C. Jane, and John L. Seidel
 1994 Guide for Cultural Resource Management, United States Naval Academy. Legacy Resource Management Program Archaeological Reconnaissance Survey. Prepared by Archaeology in Annapolis. Annapolis: Historic Annapolis Foundation.
- Cox, C. Jane, John L. Seidel, Hannah Jopling, Jean B. Russo, Lynn Jones, and Carey O'Reilly
 1994 Map Analysis, Oral Histories and Tract Histories. Legacy Resource Management Program Archaeological Reconnaissance Survey. Prepared by Archaeology in Annapolis. Annapolis: Historic Annapolis Foundation.
- Deming, Greg
 1988 History's Anthropology: The Death of William Gooch. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.
- Derrida, Jacques
 1978 Writing and Difference. A. Bass, trans. London: Routledge and Keegan Paul.
- Dorst, John
 1989 The Written Suburb: An American Site, An Ethnographic Dilemma. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- During, Simon
 1993 The Cultural Studies Reader. London: Routledge.
- Eco, Umberto
 1986[1967] Travels in Hyperreality: Essays. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc.
- Eppersen, Terrence
 1990a "To Fix a Perpetual Brand": The Social Construction of Race in Virginia, 1675–1750. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms.
- 1990b Race and the Disciplines of the Plantation. *Historical Archaeology* 24(4):29–36.
- Ferguson, Leland
 1992 Uncommon Ground: Archaeology and Early African America, 1650–1800. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Fields, Barbara Jeanne
 1985 Slavery and Freedom on the Middle Ground: Maryland During the Nineteenth Century. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Foley, D.
 1990 Learning from Capitalist Culture. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Foucault, Michel
 1979 Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison. New York: Random House.
- Friedman, Jonathan
 1992 The Past in the Future: History and the Politics of Identity. *American Anthropologist* 95(4):837–859.
- Gable, Eric, and Richard Handler
 1994 The Authenticity of Documents at Some American History Museums. *The Journal of American History* 81(1):119–136.
- Gathercole, Peter, and David Lowenthal, eds.
 1990 The Politics of the Past. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Genovese, Eugene
 1974 Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made. New York: Pantheon.
- Gero, Joan M., David M. Lacy, and Michael L. Blakey
 1983 The Socio-Politics of Archaeology. Amherst, MA: Research Report Number 23, Department of Anthropology, University of Massachusetts.
- Gero, Joan M., and Margaret C. Conkey
 1991 Engendering the Past. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Giddens, Antony
 1984 The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuralism. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Goodwin, Christopher, S. Saunders, M. Moran, and D. Landon
 1993 Phase II/III Archaeological Investigations of the Gott's Court Parking Facility, Annapolis, Maryland. Report pre-

- pared for the City of Annapolis. Frederick, MD: R. Christopher Goodwin and Associates, Inc.
- Grossberg, Lawrence, Cary Nelson, and Paul A. Treichler, eds. 1992 Cultural Studies. London: Routledge.
- Habermas, Jürgen 1970 Toward a Theory of Communicative Competence. *Inquiry* 13(4):360–376.
- 1979 Communication and the Evolution of Society. Boston: Beacon Press.
- 1984 The Theory of Communicative Action. Vol. 1, Reason and the Rationalization of Society. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Handler, Richard 1988 Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Handsman, Russell 1980 The Domains of Kinship and Settlement in Historic Goshen: Signs of a Past Cultural Order. *Artifacts* 9:2–7.
- 1981 Early Capitalism and the Center Village of Canaan, Connecticut: A Study of Transformations and Separations. *Artifacts* 9(3):1–21.
- Hodder, Ian 1982 Symbols in Action. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 1986 Politics and Ideology in the World Archaeological Congress 1986. *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 5:113–118.
- Hymes, Dell, ed. 1972 Reinventing Anthropology. New York: Pantheon.
- Isaac, Rhys 1982 The Transformation of Virginia 1740–1790. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Ives, Sallie M. 1979 The Formation of a Black Community in Annapolis, 1870–1885. In *Geographical Perspectives on Maryland's Past*. R. Mitchell and E. Mueller, eds. Pp. 129–149. College Park, MD: Occasional Papers in Geography, No. 4, Department of Geography, University of Maryland.
- Johnson, Matthew 1993 Housing Culture. London: University College London Press.
- Jopling, Hannah n.d. Oral History Interview with Former Residents of Gott's Court, Annapolis, Maryland. Manuscript in possession of author.
- Kemp, Roy 1988 Planning, Public Hearings, and the Politics of Discourse. In *Critical Theory and Public Life*. J. Forester, ed. Pp. 177–201. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Layton, Robert, ed. 1988 Who Needs the Past? Indigenous Values and Archaeology. One World Archaeology, No. 5. London: Unwin Hyman.
- 1989 Conflict in the Archaeology of Living Traditions. One World Archaeology, No. 8. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Leone, Mark P. 1978 Time in American Archaeology. In *Social Archaeology Beyond Subsistence and Dating*. C. Redman et al., eds. Pp. 25–36. New York: Academic Press.
- 1981a Archaeology's Relationship to the Present and the Past. In *Modern Material Culture*. R. Gould and M. Schiffer, eds. Pp. 5–13. New York: Academic Press.
- 1981b The Relationship Between Artifacts and the Public in Outdoor History Museums. In *The Research Potential of Anthropological Collections*. A. Cantwell et al., eds. Pp. 301–313. New York: New York Academy of Sciences.
- 1983 Method as Message. *Museum News* 62(1):35–41.
- 1984 Interpreting Ideology in Historical Archaeology: Using the Rules of Perspective in the William Paca Gardening Annapolis, Maryland. In *Ideology, Power, and Prehistory*. Daniel Miller and C. Tilley, eds. Pp. 25–36. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 1987 Rule by Ostentation: The Relationship Between Space and Sight in Eighteenth Century Landscape Architecture in the Chesapeake Region of Maryland. In *Method and Theory for Activity Area Research*. S. Kent, ed. Pp. 605–632. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Leone, Mark P., and Barbara J. Little 1993 Artifacts as Expressions of Society and Culture: Subversive Genealogy and the Value of History. In *History from Things*. Steven Lubar and W. David Kingery, eds. Pp. 160–181. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Leone, Mark P., Parker B. Potter, Jr., and Paul A. Shackel 1987 Toward a Critical Archaeology. *Current Anthropology* 28(3):283–302.
- Leone, Mark P., and Paul Shackel 1987 Forks, Clocks, and Power. In *Mirror and Metaphor, Material Culture and Social Construction of Reality*. D. Ingersoll and G. Bronitski, eds. Pp. 45–61. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.
- 1990 Plane and Solid Geometry in Colonial Gardens in Annapolis, Maryland. In *Earth Patterns: Essays in Landscape Architecture*. W. Kelso and R. Most, eds. Pp. 153–167. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.
- Little, Barbara J. 1994 Considering the Hermaphroditic Mind: Comments on "The Interplay of Evidential Constraints and Political Interest: Recent Archaeological Work on Gender." *American Antiquity* 59(3):539–544.
- Logan, George C. 1991 Archaeology at Charles Carrolls's House and Garden and of His African American Slaves. Annapolis: Historic Annapolis Foundation. Brochure.
- Lowenthal, David 1985 The Past Is a Foreign Country. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lukacs, Georg 1971 Reification and the Consciousness of the Proletariat. In *History and Class Consciousness*. Rodney Livingstone, trans. Pp. 83–222. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- MacCannell, Dean 1976 The Tourist. New York: Schocken.
- Marcus, George 1989 Imagining the Whole: Ethnography's Contemporary Efforts to Situate Itself. *Critique of Anthropology* 9(3):7–30.
- Marcus, George, and Michael Fischer, eds. 1986 Anthropology as Cultural Critique. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- McGuire, Randall H. 1989 The Sanctity of the Grave: White Concepts and American Indian Burials. In *Conflict in the Archaeology of Living*

- Traditions. R. Layton, ed. Pp. 167–184. London: Unwin Hyman.
- 1992 *A Marxist Archaeology*. Orlando, FL: Academic Press.
- McIntosh, Roderick J., Susan Keech McIntosh, and Téréba Togola
- 1989 *People Without History*. *Archaeology* (January–February):74–107.
- McMullen, Ann, and Russell Handsman, eds.
- 1987 *A Key into the Language of Woodsplint Baskets*. Washington, CT: American Indian Archaeological Institute.
- Messick, Brinkley
- 1993 *The Calligraphic State: Textual Domination and History in a Muslim Society*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Miller, Henry
- 1986 *Discovering Maryland's First City: A Summary Report on the 1981–1984 Archaeological Excavations in St. Mary's City, Maryland*. Archaeology Series, No. 2. St. Mary's City, MD: St. Mary's City Commission.
- 1988 *Baroque Cities in the Wilderness: Archaeology and Urban Development in the Colonial Chesapeake*. *Historical Archaeology*. 22(2):57–73.
- Moffett, Michael
- 1989 *Coming of Age in New Jersey: College and American Culture*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Morgan, Edmund S.
- 1975 *American Slavery, American Freedom*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company.
- Mullins, Paul, and Mark Warner
- 1993 *Final Archaeological Investigations at the Maynard-Burgess House (18AP64): An African-American Household in Annapolis, Maryland*. Report prepared for Archaeology in Annapolis. Annapolis: Historic Annapolis Foundation.
- Newman, Katherine S.
- 1988 *Falling from Grace: The Experience of Downward Mobility in the American Middle Class*. New York: The Free Press
- Noel Hume, Ivor
- 1963 *Here Lies Virginia*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- 1983 *Martin's Hundred*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Orser, Charles E., Jr.
- 1988 *The Material Basis of the Postbellum Tenant Plantation: Historical Archaeology in the South Carolina Piedmont*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press.
- Passerini, Luisa
- 1987 *Fascism in Popular Memory: The Cultural Experience of the Turin Working Class*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Patterson, Thomas
- 1986 *The Last Sixty Years: Toward a Social History of Americanist Archaeology in the United States*. *American Anthropologist* 88(1):7–26.
- Paynter, Robert
- 1983 *Field or Factory? Concerning the Degradation of Archaeological Labor*. In *The Socio-Politics of Archaeology*. J. Gero et al., eds. Pp. 17–29. Amherst, MA: Research Report No. 23, Department of Anthropology, University of Massachusetts.
- Potter, Parker B., Jr.
- 1994 *Public Archaeology in Annapolis: A Critical Approach to History in Maryland's "Ancient" City*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Potter, Parker B., Jr., and Mark P. Leone
- 1992 *Establishing the Roots of Historical Consciousness in Modern Annapolis, Maryland*. In *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*. Ivan Karp, Christine Mullen Kreamer, and Steven D. Lavine, eds. Pp. 476–505. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Rappaport, Joanne
- 1988 *History and Everyday Life in the Colombian Andes*. *Man* 23(4):718–736.
- 1990 *The Politics of Memory: Native Historical Interpretation in the Colombian Andes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 1994 *Cumbe Reborn: An Andean Ethnography of History*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Rowe, John
- 1966 *The Renaissance Foundations of Anthropology*. *American Anthropologist* 67(1):1–20.
- Russo, Jean
- n.d. *The Structure of the Anne Arundel County Economy*. In *Annapolis and Anne Arundel County, Maryland: A Study of Urban Development in a Tobacco Economy: 1649–1776*. Lorena S. Walsh, ed. Manuscript on file, Historic Annapolis Foundation, Annapolis.
- Schuyler, Robert L.
- 1978[1970] *Historical and Historic Sites Archaeology as Anthropology: Basic Definitions and Relationships*. In *Historical Archaeology: A Guide to Substantive and Theoretical Contributions*. R. L. Schuyler, ed. Pp. 27–31. Farmingdale, NY: Baywood Publishing Co.
- Shackel, Paul A.
- 1991 *Consumerism and the Structuring of Social Relations: A Historical Archaeological Perspective*. In *Digging into Popular Culture: Theories and Methodologies in Archaeology, Anthropology, and Other Fields*. R. Brown and P. Brown, eds. Pp. 36–47. Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Press.
- 1993 *Personal Discipline and Material Culture: An Archaeology of Annapolis, Maryland, 1695–1870*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.
- Shanks, Michael, and Christopher Tilley
- 1987a *Reconstructing Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 1987b *Social Theory and Archaeology*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Shennan, Stephen, ed.
- 1989 *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity*. One World Archaeology, No. 10. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Smith, Barbara Clark
- 1985 *After the Revolution, the Smithsonian History of Everyday Life in the Eighteenth Century*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Smithsonian Institution
- 1985 Opening oral text for *After the Revolution*, permanent exhibition of National Museum of American History. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution.

- South, Stanley
 1977 Research Strategies in Historical Archaeology: The Scientific Paradigm. In *Research Strategies in Historical Archaeology*. S. South, ed. Pp. 1–12. New York: Academic Press.
- Spector, Janet D.
 1993 What This Awl Means: Feminist Archaeology at a Wahpeton Dakota Village. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press.
- Stone, Garry
 1974 St. John's: Archeological Questions and Answers. Maryland Historical Magazine 69(2):146–168.
- Tate, Thad, and D. Ammerman, eds.
 1979 The Chesapeake in the Seventeenth Century: Essays on Anglo-American Society and Politics. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture.
- Varenne, Herve, with Clifford Hill and Paul Byers
 1992 Ambiguous Harmony: Family Talk in America. Vol. 44, Advances in Discourse Processes. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corp.
- Wallace, Michael
 1981 Visiting the Past: History Museums in the United States. Radical History Review 25:63–96.
- 1984 Mickey Mouse History. Radical History Review 32 (March):33–57.
- Walsh, Lorena S., ed.
 1983 Annapolis and Anne Arundel County Maryland: A Study of Urban Development in a Tobacco Economy: 1649–1776. Manuscript on file, Historical Annapolis Foundation, Annapolis.
- Warner, Mark S.
 1992 Test Excavations at Gott's Court, Annapolis, Maryland 18AP52. On file at Historic Annapolis Foundation.
- Warner, Mark S., and Paul R. Mullins
 1993 Phase I, II Archaeological Investigations at the Courthouse Site 18AP63, An 1870–1970 African American Neighborhood in Annapolis, Maryland. Report prepared by Archaeology in Annapolis. Annapolis: Historic Annapolis Foundation.
- Williams, Brett
 1988 Upscaling Downtown. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Wylie, Alison
 1985 Putting Shakertown Back Together: Critical Theory in Archaeology. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 4(2):133–147.
- 1989a Archaeological Cables and Tacking: The Implications of Practice for Bernstein's "Options Beyond Objectivism and Relativism." *Philosophy of Social Sciences* 19:1–18.
- 1989b Matters of Face and Matters of Interest. In *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity*. S. Shannen, ed. Pp. 94–109. One World Archaeology, No. 10. London: Unwin Hyman.
- 1990 Feminist Critiques and Archaeological Challenges. In *The Archaeology of Gender*. D. Walde and N. Willows, eds. Pp. 17–23. Calgary, Alberta: University of Calgary Archaeological Association.
- 1991 Gender Theory and the Archaeological Record: Why Is There No Archaeology of Gender? In *Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory*. J. Gero and M. Conkey, eds. Pp. 31–54. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- 1992a The Interplay of Evidential Constraints and Political Interests: Recent Archaeological Research on Gender. *American Antiquity* 57(1):15–35.
- 1992b On "Heavily Decomposing Red Herrings": Scientific Method in Archaeology and the Ladening of Evidence with Theory. In *Metaarchaeology: Reflections by Archaeologists and Philosophers*. L. Embree, ed. Pp. 269–288. Boston Studies in the Philosophy of Science, Vol. 147. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers