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Book Review: The Archaeology of American Labor and Working-Class Life by Paul A. Shackel

James A. Delle

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world. By the 19th century, ideas of death and burial were changing in new and interesting ways. Seeman touches briefly upon these later changes.

This well-written, timely book has much to recommend it. I found few flaws. The discussion of pre-contact Native American burials might have been expanded. While the volume contains considerable information drawn from archaeological excavations, the author does not discuss in any great detail the early grave markers or death practices of the settlers who came in great numbers to Eastern North America in the 17th and 18th centuries. I was surprised that the only illustrations of classic New England grave markers are of stones commemorating African Americans in Newport, Rhode Island. Admittedly, these are extraordinarily important markers, but I would have liked more on early grave markers and commemoration. Perhaps this is a topic for another volume.

These quibbles aside, I found this to be a valuable book. It is jam packed with information and would work well in advanced undergraduate or graduate courses on historical archaeology, the anthropology of religion, commemoration, the Atlantic World, and early American history. Seeman is to be complimented on producing an important volume.

Richard Veit is an Associate Professor of Anthropology and Anthropology Program Coordinator in the Department of History and Anthropology at Monmouth University. He also directs the university's Center for Excellence in Teaching and Learning. A historical archaeologist, his research interests include early American commemoration, military sites archaeology, industrial archaeology, and vernacular architecture.

Richard Veit
Department of History and Anthropology
Monmouth University
West Long Branch, NJ 07764-1898
rveit@monmouth.edu

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF AMERICAN LABOR AND WORKING-CLASS LIFE, by Paul A. Shackel, 2009, *The American Experience in Archaeological Perspective Series*, University Press of Florida, Gainesville, 160 pages, 20 illustrations, \$69.95 (cloth), \$19.95 (paper).

Reviewed by James A. Delle

This volume, published by the University Press of Florida as part of *The American Experience in Archaeological Perspective* series, sets out to provide a concise review of the recent literature on the historical archaeology of labor in the United States, concluding with a series of recommendations on where the archaeology of the working class might go. The volume is organized into six chapters, with a separate introduction and conclusion. The substantive chapters address the rise of industrial capitalism in the United States, the development of surveillance technologies in industrial settings, working-class housing, working-class resistance to the industrial order, future directions for Labor Archaeology, and the interplay between memory, commemoration, and the archaeological record of working-class life, and how this latter has been publically interpreted.

In his brief introduction to the volume, Shackel points out that, over the course of the past two decades or so, the archaeology of industry has moved beyond its origins in industrial archaeology; the latter being a term laden with meaning and relevance to those archaeologists interested in examining the development of industrial technology. Shackel argues that only recently have industrial archaeologists begun to turn their attention away from the machines of industry to the lives of the workers who operated those machines. He clearly states that his goal in this book is to review research on working-class life, rather than the traditional technologically-driven work of many industrial archaeologists.

Chapter One explores the rise of industrial capitalism through the lens of Wallerstein's World Systems approach. Shackel contends that to best understand the lives of the working class in the United States, one must first consider that the industrial

system that created those lives was part of a global economic shift that began in the early modern period. As this volume is intended for an undergraduate audience, Shackel spends most of this chapter in providing a brief overview of the history of industrial development in the United States, paying closest attention to the shift from home-based production to factory-based production, and the concomitant rise of a true industrial working class in the United States, dependent on wages paid for work.

In Chapter Two, Shackel addresses the mechanisms of control developed by industrial capitalists to best control the productive capacity of their labor force. Basing his thoughts on the work of the French social theorists Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu, Shackel reviews the archaeological work famously conducted at two important American industrial centers: Lowell, Massachusetts and Harpers Ferry, Virginia (and later West Virginia). In both cases, Shackel reviews the documentary evidence of the workers' lives, as well as the archaeological excavations conducted in the two cities, providing evidence of how the built environment was designed and constructed to control the lives of the working class as industrial capitalism developed in the early 19th century. He ends the chapter with a review of other studies of industrial landscapes, suggesting that the control over the built environment was a central goal of industrialists from the textile mills of New England to the coal fields of Colorado.

The third chapter of the volume focuses on late-19th-century working-class housing. The chapter begins with a consideration of how 19th-century observers depicted working-class housing in tenements and boarding houses. This unsurprisingly unsympathetic set of contemporary observations of the housing and habits of the urban working class is followed by a discussion of the archaeological evidence for tenement and boardinghouse life analyzed from work at the Boot Mills boardinghouses in Lowell. The chapter concludes with a discussion of Victorian era attempts to reform tenement housing, particularly in New York. This discussion is contrasted with brief reviews of the archaeology of working-class neighborhoods conducted at Five Points in New York, and the landscape of the Pullman district in Chicago.

Chapter Four consists of a review of several sites of resistance to the industrial order that have been examined archaeologically. These sites include the Russell Cutlery Factory in Turners Falls, Massachusetts, where archaeologists uncovered evidence suggestive of industrial sabotage on the part of the workers in the mill. Shackel also reviews the archaeology of the Ludlow Massacre, where a tent city of striking coal miners and their families was attacked and burned by the Colorado National Guard, resulting in a number of fatalities to women and children. Shackel also considers how certain traditional consumption patterns were continued in resistance to mass-produced and mass-marketed goods by some working families, and concludes the chapter with a brief review of the development of utopian communities in the 19th century, and how such communities actively worked in opposition to the selfish values inherent in and reproduced by the capitalist system.

The fifth chapter consists of a series of musings on how certain themes inherent in the archaeology of working-class life can make historical archaeology of industry resonate with the public. For example, Shackel argues that the history of post-bellum race relations, both between whites and African Americans and whites and Asians, is closely tied to the history of American industrialism. Shackel argues that the archaeology of industry can also be tied to the study of gender relations, as well as the study of environmental degradation and issues of public health.

The final substantive chapter of the book, Chapter Six, examines how American labor history has been incorporated into the landscapes of commemoration and memorialization. He examines how certain landscapes of industry have been idealized—like the 17th century Saugus Iron Works—to romanticize and naturalize the development of industrial capitalism as an inevitable part of the American experience. He suggests that such memorialization is a contested process; for example he records how the memorial to the victims of the Ludlow Massacre has been venerated by modern union members, as well as damaged by unknown vandals. Similarly contested was the memorial to the famous Haymarket Incident in Chicago, where eight labor leaders were arrested and condemned

without evidence following a bomb explosion which injured and killed a number of police sent to disperse a labor demonstration in 1886. Tension existed between those who would erect a memorial to the labor leaders and the Chicago police who opposed such a memorial. In the end, a compromise, over a century in the making, was finally struck when a monument to free speech, which does not make specific mention of the Haymarket Incident, was erected in 2004.

The volume ends with a Conclusion; in this final chapter, Shackel reviews some of the primary themes to emerge in the study of working-class life. Much of the chapter is dedicated to a review of industrial sites that have been restored and/or opened to the public and which can be used to supplement the often inadequate school curricula to educate future generations about the long history of labor strife and struggle, of impoverishment and resistance, and of social mobility and environmental degradation, that have defined the development of industrial capitalism in the United States.

Shackel's volume is a compelling review of the archaeology of labor and working-class life in the United States. Veteran historical archaeologists will note that many of the examples used by Shackel in his discussions are familiar—from the Boot Mills to Five Points to the Colorado Coal Field War Project. Nevertheless, this book serves as an excellent introduction to the archaeology of American industrialism, and how the development of this mode of production so deeply impacted the lives of so many.

James A. Delle
Associate Professor and Chair
Department of Anthropology and Sociology
Kutztown University
P.O. Box 730
Kutztown, PA 19530
delle@kutztown.edu

BENEATH THE IVORY TOWER: THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF ACADEMIA, edited by Russell K. Skowronek and Kenneth E. Lewis, 2010, University Press of Florida, Gainesville, 352 pages, 115 illustrations, \$59.95 (cloth).

Reviewed by David R. Starbuck

This is a great book! *Beneath the Ivory Tower* is a provocative look, by archaeologists, at campus life and buildings at colleges and universities all across the United States. Who can resist the thrill—and yes, the convenience—of an on-campus dig? How many of us who teach have wanted to take our students out to dig on the weekends but have lacked a suitable site? Hasn't every last student in our *Intro to Archaeology* classes asked if they could go digging with us (even though they rarely are available except during actual class time)? And how often have colleagues suggested to us that we really should find a dig site on campus, as a means to draw the administration's attention to our department, or as a photo op that can appear in all of our college's publications? Undeniably there are plenty of excellent reasons to hold excavations on-campus, especially when the alternative is renting vans, negotiating with private property owners, and waiting untold minutes at the back door of the class building, wondering whether our students will *ever* arrive so that we can embark on an hour-long drive to a local site.

While on-campus digs are surely convenient, college campuses should not be dug up solely to give our students a *hands-on* experience. There must be legitimate research goals. We need to ask: Can archaeology help to reconstruct past elements of an historic campus, including building layouts, pathways, consumption patterns, and changing functions of space? How do the artifacts on a campus compare to those from surrounding domestic sites? Can it be proven that students were engaged in a variety of illicit activities? For any of our colleagues who jokingly ask whether our on-campus digs are done just to "get students dirty", the many excellent case studies presented in *Beneath the Ivory Tower* fortunately help to dispel that notion. College