

GLOBAL HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY: A SCOTTISH EXAMPLE¹

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In summer 2005, I participated in a National Science Foundation project administered through the Pennsylvania State University Department of Anthropology that sought to develop an ethnoarchaeological history of a remote Scottish Island. My involvement in the project fundamentally challenged my previous understanding of historical archaeology and my academic training in anthropology. This paper is a result of my attempt to reconcile my fieldwork experience with the current disciplinary and theoretical trends within the field of archaeology. Through an analysis of the history and development of American historical archaeology, this paper critically considers the limitations of the emergent specialization to projects such as the North Orkney Population History Project (NOPHP). I argue that the NOPHP is a compelling example of the current trend in historical archaeology and that it represents the specialization's inevitable global orientation. Because the project pushes the boundaries of the narrow definition and geographical limitations of American historical archaeology, it can be utilized as an example of the specialization's relevance and application in increasingly global context.

As a specialization within archaeology, historical archaeology is a relatively recent development that took place in the Americas and can be traced to a specific event, the formation of the Society for Historical Archaeology. Prior to the formation of the Society for Historical Archaeology in 1967, historical archaeology was subsumed under the umbrella of general American archaeology (Cotter 1993). Cotter emphasizes the fact that "historical archaeology in North America may have said to have come of age at Jamestown with the planned and funded investigation of the whole community of the first permanent English settlement on Jamestown Island, 1607, in James River, Virginia" (Cotter 1993). These hallmark excavations at Jamestown in 1934-1941 and 1954-1957 brought historical archaeology to the forefront of a major debate which led to the foundation of the Society for Historical Archaeology. This organization sought to provide a venue and a forum for discussion on topics pertaining to historical archaeology.

At the root of historical archaeology was a concentration on the particular geographic region of North America. All previous rudimentary efforts at historical archaeology occurred in places such as the American Northeast, Northwest,

Southeast, Southwest, Mid-Atlantic and Canada (Cotter 1993). Historical archaeology has continued to evolve and progress in these regions, but until recently has not expanded as widely or readily in other areas of the world.

There is, however, a great deal of discussion focused on what can be classified as historical archaeology. In a general sense, "historical archaeology is the study of the material remains of past societies that also left behind some other form of historical evidence" (http://www.sha.org/About/sha_what.htm 2005). Certain professional organizations go even further and place historical archaeology into a particular geographical and historical context. This practice is partially observable with the Society for Historical Archaeology, whose members seem to focus their research concentration on the period after European colonization, with an even more narrow emphasis on the New World (http://www.sha.org/About/sha_what.htm 2005). Relevant excavations that fall into either a different time frame or are conducted in regions outside of the New World are referred to in terms other than historical archaeology. What is referred to as historical archaeology in the United States is called post-medieval archaeology in Europe (Gilchrist 2005). This distinction is based only on location, rather than the time period from which the information originates from. In a positive light, a unifying phenomena is now taking place. The term "global historical archaeology" or "international historical archaeology" is being used to define all of these topics as a whole (Gilchrist 2005).

As noted above, there is currently a trend to globalize historical archaeology. By implementing a more general definition of historical archaeology the wealth of information that could be contributed to the field is significant. A shift in this direction is evident in a journal series by Charles E. Orser Jr. and the compilation of works edited by Lisa Falk. These two individuals focus their efforts on a "global historical archaeology" (Falk 1991; Orser 1996) with Orser's work stressing the fact that "historical archaeologists are now conducting research across the globe, in Latin America, Asia, the Pacific, Africa and Europe" (<http://www.springer.com/sgw/cda/frontpage/0.11855.4-40109-69-33108205-0,00.html> 2005). In her edited book *Historical Archaeology in Global Perspective*, Falk (1991) brings together papers that were presented at the "After Columbus" meetings in honor of the 500th anniversary of Columbus' landing and the resulting events that were set in motion. She stresses that the "main points brought forth by these papers is the global nature of our world - today and historically" (Falk 1991).

I believe that even though historical archaeology was first created with a focus on the New World, the field can complement its literature base with information collected from other areas of the world. Access to archaeological data and historical documents unites a wide array of geographically different locations. This

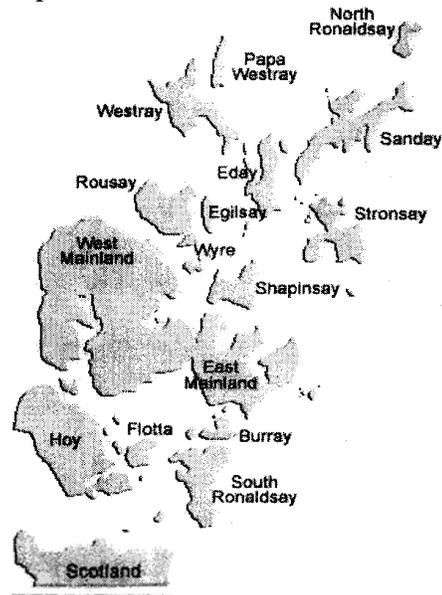
geographic eclecticism should not limit historical archaeology, but instead strengthen it as a whole. In this paper, I will review literature in the field of historical archaeology and note the impact that overall theoretical trends in the broad discipline of archaeology have had on historical archaeology. The North Orkney Population History Project will be presented as an example of the current global and interdisciplinary direction of historical archaeology today.

The North Orkney Population History Project

The North Orkney Population History Project is an on-going collaborative effort directed by Pennsylvania State University researchers² and funded by the National Science Foundation's Research Experience for Undergraduates³ Grant (<http://146.186.95.23/noph/NOPH/Information.htm> 2005). In the summer of 2005, a total of eight undergraduate students⁴ and four faculty members collaborated on collecting research data. The main goal of the project is to "reconstruct changes in population, settlement, and landscape use of the past c. 300 years on the islands of Westray, Papa Westray, Sanday, North Ronaldsay, Eday, and Pharay⁵, the northernmost of the Orkney Islands, located off the northern tip of Scotland" (<http://146.186.95.23/noph/NOPH/Information.htm> 2005). Principal investigators Patricia Johnson, James Wood, Timothy Murtha, and Corey Sparks sought to create a research environment that enabled students to "study the "total" demographic anthropology of a well-defined island community" (anthro.psu.edu/noph/Information.htm). After a thorough selection process that included interviews, I was chosen to participate on the 2005 North Orkney Population History Project that spanned the months of June and July. My research task was to input census data for analysis, survey, and map abandoned buildings for digitization, and conduct and transcribe interviews of island inhabitants for review. All three of these aspects were combined to form a picture of the islands for the past 300 years. I participated in all of the three research activities, but the greater part of my time mapping crofts and digitizing drawings that were created in the field.

The Orkney Islands are an isolated group of islands that can be reached by plane or ferry from the mainland of Scotland. The islands have a long history that can be traced to the Picts, who inhabited the area over a thousand years ago (Thomson 1987). Following the abrupt end of Pictish occupation, the Norse took up residence on the islands and now make up the ancestral population of the current Orcadian inhabitants. It is this cultural continuity that is the focus of the North Orkney Population History Project. Thomson (1987) stresses the fact that a "remarkable continuity does exist in the way of life and in the human response to the environment." Traditional Scottish farmsteads that are referred to as crofts are located in close proximity to Viking settlements. This demonstrates that ancient settlement locations were adopted by later generations. It is this unique situation

of transcending prehistoric archaeology into historical archaeology that gives the project its unique aspect.



The data available from the historic period of the project focus consists of censuses, vital registers, cemetery headstones, deteriorating croft complexes, and oral accounts from the living inhabitants. All of these elements come together to form a picture of a community that has gone through extensive changes over the past 300 years. The focus of the project is on the currently uninhabited island of Farray, just southeast of Westray.

I discuss how this project can serve as an example of global historical archaeology that illustrates and expands the data and theoretical base for this developing specialization within the field of archaeology. The majority of the historical archaeology research base is composed of information from sites in North America (Schuyler 1993). Synopses by Cleland (1993), Deagan (1993), Cotter (1993), Hardesty (1999), Adams (1993) and Schuyler (1993) of the Society for Historical Archaeology, a major institution in 'the study of historical archaeology, emphasize research in areas focused on North America. Recent articles in a theme issue of *World Archaeology* (2005) stress the importance to "create global historical archaeology to address the grand historical narratives of the period" (Gilchrist 2005). The North Orkney Population History Project is just such an example of this recent shift in a more global orientation.

Literature Review

"Should the historical archaeologist be an historian with a shovel or an anthropologist with a history book" (Dollar 1968).

As a separate specialization, historical archaeology is a relatively new field that grew out of an American tradition. The broad explanation of what historical archaeology is can be summed up as archaeology that "incorporates textual sources into their research but work in other time periods" (Wilkie 2005), but the literature and research database is not as wide as the definition. Most of the literature on historical archaeology is focused on two aspects, North American archaeology and the Colonial period.

In a review of historical archaeology prior to 1967 Cotter (1993) notes key excavations that led to the formation of historical archaeology as a subdiscipline in America. There were a few serious attempts at conducting what we would view as historical archaeology in the 1700s and the 1800s. Deliberate excavation did not occur until the late 18th and mid 19th century in locations such as St. Croix Island, Maine and Duxbur, Massachussettes (Cotter 1993). The first large scale excavations occurred at Jamestown, Virginia in 1934 and 1954 (Cotter 1993). These excavations set the stage for a historical archaeology with deep roots in North American archaeology.

Other important influences on the subdiscipline of historical archaeology were theoretical methods that were being embraced by American archaeologists. Their ideas and discourses trickled down to historical archaeology and shaped what was being studied and how it was being approached. The major forum for all information that was historic in nature was the Society for Historical Archaeology and the influence of processualism was visible in the foundation of that organization. In the 1960s when the Society for Historical Archaeology was coming into fruition, processualism was the leading topic of interest in American Archaeology. Processualism sought to "put an end to distinctive regional schools and lead to the creation of a unified world archaeology" (Trigger 1986). Processualism also supported the use of standards with scientific approaches and methodologies. All supporters felt that there is a "high degree of regularity in human behavior" which enables the formation of general laws about human behavior (Trigger 1986).

Prior to the Society for Historical Archaeology, there were few practicing historical archaeologists. Most were "trained in history and the humanities and were knowledgeable about the historic context of sites and the artifacts they contained" (Cleland 1993). After the Society for Historical Archaeology was recognized, "the field was instantly overwhelmed with archaeologists trained in prehis-

tory who for the most part knew precious little about documentary research or the artifacts which resulted from industrial processes" (Cleland 1993). Most of these prehistoric archaeologists were advocates of processualism. A conflicting element of processualist archaeology that created a distinct disadvantage to historical archaeologists was that they "deemphasized specific historical context and artifacts" (Cleland 1993). The use of historic text was an important element of historical archaeology and it was seen as trivial by processualists. This viewpoint was contradictory to the central aims of historical archaeology and the nature of the data available to researchers. Even though historical archaeology and processualism disagreed on this point, their influence was felt in the published works by Stanley South.

After the founding of the Society of Historical Archaeology in 1967, the focus on North America's colonial period flourished. In his book, Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology, South introduces the volume as "the first systematic comparative study of archaeological data relative to the historic period in North America" (South 1977 :xi). He uses a specific site in North Carolina as the context to describe the methods and theories that can be implemented in the field study of sites in historical archaeology.

As an influential figure in historical archaeology, South advocated the scientific elements of processualism and how they could be used to benefit historical archaeology (Adams 1993). He was a major proponent of pattern recognition and felt that "the key to understanding culture process lies in pattern recognition" (South 1997). In South's Carolina artifact pattern, he excavated five sites in North and South Carolina and calculated the average number of artifacts related to architecture, kitchen, furniture, arms, clothing, personal items, tobacco pipes and activities (South 1997). The mean percentage of artifacts that fell into these specific categories constituted the Carolina artifact pattern. Even though this methodology has since become antiquated, South's pattern recognition serves as a perfect example of processualism in historical archaeology.

Ivor Noel Hume describes the need for the study and documentation of Colonial American sites in his seminal book Historical Archaeology (1969). Hume has directed excavations at historic sites in both the United States and England, but he focuses on the importance of the American sites. He also discusses a conflict of terminology surrounding "historical archaeology," He defines the term "historical archaeology" as stemming from a decision by the Society for Historical Archaeology to combine the terms "colonial archaeology" and "historic sites archaeology" (Hume 1968).

In this seminal publication, Hume draws a distinction between sites in Great Britain that encompass the same period as those in North America. The growth of interest in archaeology pertaining to sites from the sixteenth and seventeenth century was occurring in both England and the United States in the 1960s. In the United States, individuals who founded the Society for Historical Archaeology sought a "term that would satisfactorily embrace all cultures of any period other than those of the Indian" (Hume 1968), but a similar problem did not exist for England. The Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology was formed in 1967 and simply subsumed the time period where the Society for Medieval Archaeology ended in England.

More recently, individuals have chosen to delve into a broader research arena for historical archaeology. A recent edited volume by Lisa Falk entitled, Historical Archaeology in a Global Perspective, combines works by several historical archaeologists. The title "comes from James Deetz's appeal to historians and archaeologists to look globally when trying to understand the remains of the human past" (Falk 1991). For example, an article by Carmel Schrire (1988) tracks the colonial influences in South Africa. Expansion into areas that have evidence of historical archaeology is the focus of this edited volume.

Recent volumes, such as those by Falk and Orser, have been heavily influenced by a major theoretical shift in "mainstream" archaeology - the development of what was termed "postprocessual archaeology" in the 1980s. Postprocessual archaeology is also termed post-modern archaeology, and is an orientation in which theorists wanted to change the emphasis in the field from a "scientific" orientation to a more complex humanist and literary critical focus. Falk and Orser embody the influence of a drastically different theoretical method from processualism. The contentious debate between historical archaeologists and processualists was that processualists "stressed studies that were evolutionary rather than historical in character" (Binford 1983). Post-processualism argued against major theories that the processualists embraced. In the processualist search to infer laws and regularities that they felt were essential aspects of human behavior visible in archaeological sites, they failed to view each culture as distinct. Post-processualists sought to distinguish themselves completely from processualists. Post-processualists found a research base in historical archaeology and "the post-processual critique of processual archaeology found fertile ground in historical archaeology, and the vast majority of early post-processual work was on historic sites" (Ellis 2000). In 1984, Mark Paul Leone's excavations at Annapolis, Maryland "pioneered post-processual research" (Ellis 2000).

James Deetz defines historical archaeology as "the archaeology of the spread of European societies worldwide, beginning in the fifteenth century, and

their subsequent development and impact on native peoples in all parts of the world" (Deetz 1991). This definition unifies articles by various authors that are present in Falk's edited volume.

The difficulty in deciphering a complete and all encompassing definition for historical archaeology from the literature serves as a hindrance in categorizing sites. What one individual or society defines as historical archaeology can vary greatly from researcher to researcher. This ambiguity will be explored in this paper through a discussion of the North Orkney Population History Project.

METHODS

The basis of this paper stems from a combination of two distinct research methods, including extensive library research at Bloomsburg University⁶ and information collected from North Orkney Population History Project. This dual approach proved to be quite productive in that the review of the literature created the theoretical base that embeds the fieldwork within larger disciplinary issues at the same time, the fieldwork gave real meaning to the theoretical debates.

Summer Field Program

The summer field program took place on the Orkney Islands off the northern coast of Scotland. The research was conducted from May 19-July 25, 2005 and included a regular workday from 8:00am-4:00pm, Monday through Friday. There were three basic tasks that individuals performed and participants were rotated weekly among these different responsibilities. Field workers participated in census inputting, interview recording and transcribing, and croft mapping and digitizing. All individuals conducted research at least once in each of these areas and once each person had experience in these areas, the professors would place them in a particular activity according to skill level and interest.

Census Data and Analysis

Although the project included all of the Orkney Islands, the census data was collected from the northern islands in Orkney. Most individuals interviewed during the project were either from Westray or the town of Kirkwall. The majority of the croft mapping was done on Westray and Faray.

Once researchers had become familiar with the techniques of data collection, they were given the opportunity to conduct research on the small and uninhabited island called Faray. The researchers were divided into teams to gather information in the same manner that had been utilized for the larger islands. Census

data was obtained from the local registrar and the Orkney Library and Archive in Kirkwall. The census information was copied and then re-entered into an Excel document so that information and tables could be created from it (Table 1).

Table 1

Example of Excel Layout and Labeling

House Name	House No	ED	HID	Geocode	Surname	Name F	Name M	Position	Condition	Age	YOB	Occupation	Land Held	Birthplace
Windywall	6	55-6		76	Drever	Ann	w	m	f	47	1854			Pharay
Windywall	6	55-6		76	Drever	Barbara	d	u	f	3	1898			Pharay
Windywall	6	55-6		76	Drever	David	s	u	m	20	1881			Pharay
Windywall	6	55-6		76	Drever	Jessie	d	u	f	11	1890	scholar		Pharay
Windywall	6	55-6		76	Drever	John	h	m	m	57	1844	farmer		Pharay

Information was gathered for 479 individuals from Faray, with census dates spanning the time from 1841 through 1901. The project directors created a specific Excel format so that the same data could be collected in a consistent manner. Such information included house name, house number, enumeration district, house identification number, geocode, surname, first name, middle name, position in household, marriage condition, sex, age, year of birth, occupation, land held, and birth place.

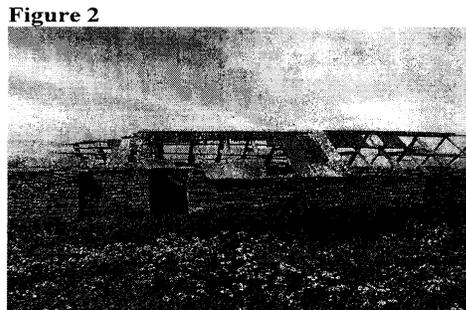
Croft Mapping and Digitizing

Individuals who had the task of croft mapping and digitizing were sent to the island of Faray. A tape measurer, ruler, compass, graph paper, and pencil were used to measure and sketch croft complexes and all measurements were recorded with metric information. Below are two examples of croft complexes in different states of deterioration (Figure 1 and 2). A GPS (Global Positioning System) point was taken from a specific location and indicated in each of the drawings. A total of ten croft complexes were surveyed including Quoy, Cot, Doggerboat, Hammer, Windywalls, Holland, Ness, Lakequoy, Roadside, and The Hill.

Figure 1



Figure 2



Most of the structures on the islands, like those on Faray, have been abandoned and are in various states of deterioration. One example, called Doggerboat (see Figure 2) has a final census recording indicating a last date of occupation in 1901. The walls are uneven and a majority of the roof has collapsed. However, one building on the island, called Schoolhouse, has been repaired and is currently being used during the sheep shearing season (see Figure 1). Once the drawings were completed, they were scanned into the computer and ultimately imported into AutoCAD, a digitization system.

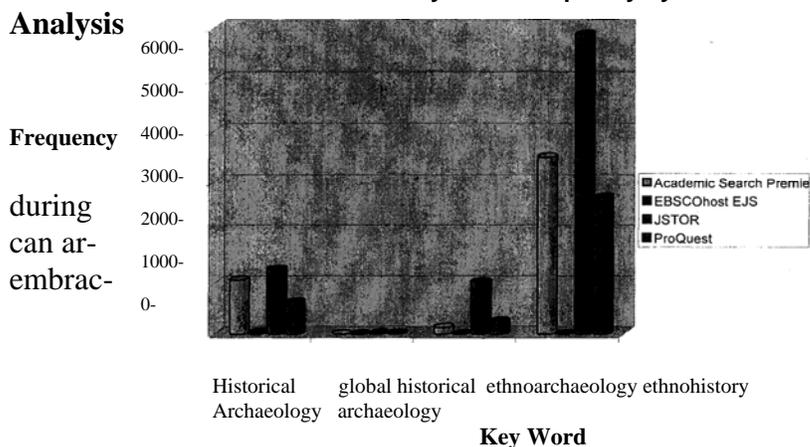
Interviewing and Transcribing

A third group of researchers were in charge of formulating questions and conducting interviews with individuals who had some connection with the island. Three interviews were conducted, tape recorded, and eventually transcribed into written form. The program Ethnograph was used to elicit certain useful information from the interviews by pulling up any key words that were requested by the transcriber. Finally, census data, croft drawings, and interviews were brought together to create a picture of the island at various times.

Library Research

All library research during the Fall 2005 semester was conducted through the Harvey A. Andrus Library and its accompanying website and included journal and book searches. Searches were conducted based on a selection of key words, including historical archaeology, global historical archaeology, ethnoarchaeology, and ethnohistory. These four keywords were searched through the journal sources Academic Search Premier, EBSCOhost EJS, JSTOR, and Pro Quest for the years that encompassed 2005-1990. The frequency of hits for each key word were listed according to the appropriate journal search engine (see Chart 1). The majority of hits were in JSTOR, while the lowest turnout was in EBSCOhost EJS. Based on both my personal field experience and a thorough review of the literature, I can now place the North Orkney Population History Project in a larger theoretical perspective within the subdiscipline of historical archaeology.

Chart 1 Key Word Frequency by Database



and Discussion

As discussed in the Literature Review, the 1960s American archaeologists were using processualism.

Along with an emphasis on a scientific perspective, another major component of processualist theory was the emphasis on "studies that were evolutionary rather than historical in character" (Binford 1983). It was this theoretical landscape that formed the basis for the new subdiscipline of historical archaeology. From its infancy, historical archaeology has been greatly influenced by processualism (Wilkie 2005), even though at first glance the historical nature of historical archaeology conflicted with the ideas of processualists. In the 1960s and 1970s, historical archaeology was grappling with whether to embrace the scientific aspect of processualism wholeheartedly or branch out into the emerging humanistic approaches adopted by postprocessualism.

The NOPHP defies easy classification in the specialization of historical archaeology and in particular does not conform readily to a processualist approach. For example, Fontana (1965:61) attempts to fit historical sites into the framework of processualist ideas and defines "historic sites archaeology" as "archaeology carried out in sites which contain material evidence of non-Indian culture or concerning which there is contemporary non-Indian documentary evidence." This attempt to present historical archaeology in a way that is acceptable by processualists decreases the importance of written documents and limits the topics that can fall into this category. Defining historical archaeology in such a narrow way restricts its application to other areas and time frames. One specific statement in Fontana's introduction that I found especially problematic was his view on international historical archaeology: "Although the notion of historic sites archaeology may have validity for other parts of the world, its major utility is in the Americas and not elsewhere." He asserts that historical archaeology is only useful in the Americas. Clearly such a definition negates the expansion of historical archaeology to global sites such as the Orkney Islands.

In response to the processualist methods and theories, articles by "post-processualists" such as Hodder, Bradley, Miller and Tilley flooded the journals in the 1980s. The authors argued that sociocultural phenomena was much more complex than at first thought by processualists. While processualists attempted to study cultures in isolation from other cultures, post-processualists sought to "analyze each feature of a culture in a relationship to the total configuration of that culture" (Trigger 1986).

Another important focus for post-processualists that was central to the development of historical archaeology was the exploration of "gender, sexuality and personhood" (Wilkie 2005). This was in opposition to the main thrust of processualism. Processualists sought to develop laws and rules for cultures where the emphasis was on the whole and not on individuals (Wilkie 2005). The North Orkney Project reflects both processualist and post-processualist concerns, focusing on both cul-

ture writ large and on the individuals with that culture.

Currently, a new trend is taking place in historical archaeology with the latest research designated as "documentary" or "global" archaeology (Wilkie 2005). The research focus is on sites that have texts and documents, but lack the limiting restrictions that were present before in historical archaeology. Architecture, material culture and oral traditions are also being used to analyze archaeological sites (Wilkie 2005). The geographic limitations of earlier historical archaeology have also been removed allowing for a more global approach to historical archaeology.

Conclusion

"Historical archaeology has much to gain in the long run from encouraging a spirit of concerted, interdisciplinary, international cooperation; it stands to lose much if partisan competition for franchise rights to the field becomes overly biased and aggressive. Let us, then, welcome colleagues from all the scholarly disciplines to participate in, and contribute to, the new and exciting field in historical archaeology" (Jelks 1968).

This new global approach in historical archaeology is occurring worldwide. The focus is so recent that *World Archaeology* published a special theme issue based solely on historical archaeology. The North Orkney Population History project is a compelling example of the new direction in the field. The North Orkney Population History project combines census data with archaeological survey and mapping to create a story of the individuals who lived in small croft houses on remote islands. It incorporates contextual approaches to gain information about farmers and fishermen and the lives that they led. Information gathered from croft mapping is using to supplement the census records, which in turn is used to verify or refute information from interviews. Maps and drawings of croft complexes alone only allow a researcher to state the basic elements 'Of a structure. However, this information can be cross referenced with other sites that have the same characteristics. Historical records and interviews can "flesh out" the simple statistics produced from mapping and survey exercises. Interviewing individuals who occupied croft complexes or had any association with them can lead to an understanding of the particular artifacts or architectural elements that are found with these abandoned buildings. As a result, a very thorough and complex picture of the people and their lives unfolds from all the sources of information available to the researcher, affiliated with the North Orkney Project.

A simple attempt to classify a research project that I participated on led me into theoretical investigation of the subdiscipline of historical archaeology. By some definitions and standards, the North Orkney Population History Project

does embody the characteristics of historical archaeology. Other limiting definitions, such as those that focus on Colonialism excludes the research done in the Northern Orkney Islands as historical archaeology. An investigation into the various titles and names given to a subdiscipline that incorporates text into archaeological research led me to view historical archaeology as a byproduct of its theoretical surrounding. Whether processualism or post-processualism, the predominant theoretical approach influenced the development and application of historical archaeology.

The NOPHP is presented as a compelling example of the current trend in historical archaeology and the new direction in which this specialization is headed. Because the project expands the narrow definition and geographical limitations of American historical archaeology, it can be utilized as an example of the specialization's relevance and application in a global context. As a result, it is anticipated that "global historical archaeology" will eventually subsume and redefine American historical archaeology, thus allowing this specialization to expand its current geographical restrictions, research foci, and methodological repertoire.

Endnotes

1. Acknowledgment to Dr. DeeAnne Wymer for helping me to dissect my interests into a feasible research paper topic and her continuous proofreading and comments.
2. I would like to thank the Dr. Patricia Johnson, Dr. James Wood, Dr. Timothy Murtha, Dr. Corey Sparks for selecting me to participate in the North Orkney Population History Project. Their guidance and mentoring provided me with valuable experience in a fieldwork and research environment.
3. The National Science Foundation's Research Experience for Undergraduates program provides a grant for "travel, lodging, food allowance and a stipend" (<http://146.186.95.23/nophINOPH/Information.htm> 2005).
4. The seven other students that were part of the North Orkney Population History Project were Yvonne Benney, Robert Boyer, Amanda Gannaway, Kirsten Olsen, Steven Preston, Sarah Sorcher, and Lindsay Watkins.
5. Two forms exist for the spelling of this island. Pharay and Faray are seen in both maps and records. They refer to the same island.
6. I would like to thank David Margolis at the Harvey A. Andrus Library for all his help in obtaining articles and books for this research paper.

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