**Book Reviews**

**Slavery, Contested Heritage, and Thanatourism**


Thanatourism is defined as dark tourism, heritage staged around attractions and sites associated with death, acts of violence, scenes of disaster and crimes against humanity (Seaton 1996). This kind of tourism poses to an extreme degree the problems of ownership, control and representation inherent in all heritage development.

These papers come from a symposium devoted to ‘an examination of the implications of the Afro-Caribbean slave trade of yesteryear for the heritage industry of today’. Scholars working in tourism, economics, history, journalism, business and cultural studies focus on the historical dimensions of slavery, their consequences for tourism and their relationship to broader heritage issues. They cover a fascinating range of sites, from the USA through the West Indies to the UK, and more or less eloquently describe the difficulties that lie at the heart of the proposition that sites with unhappy histories can make for happy visitors.

Most highlight the inherent tension between ‘an interpretation of the history of slavery and the temptation to provide a sugar-coated version for a predominantly white audience in order to protect attendance figures’. Too easily this can lead to ‘distory’ or a distorted version of history, that deals in half truths (slave quarters tarted up to look like overseers’ houses), untruths (slave quarters retitled ‘carriage houses’) or trivia (focus on details of technologies). Shades of happy new Australian convicts liberated from the hellholes of London slums, depraved criminals who deserved everything they got or heroic working men and women, hapless victims of the Industrial revolution, endlessly and universally engaged in resisting the System!

The strength of these papers lies in the interesting and important questions that they ask; the weakness is that they make little progress in answering them. One of the most significant impediments lies in the fact that all speak as ‘heritage providers’ or academic analysts. There are interesting studies on how messages are constructed but none on how messages are received. So there is no understanding of who the audience might be or why they visit. In light of this, it may be that the tension between presenting ‘real’ history and sugar-coated ‘distory’ may also be a mistaken in-house construct, born out of curatorial or marketing rather than visitor squeamishness.

For me, two papers stood out as most thoughtful and useful. Butler, in a textual study of promotional literature from a number of plantation tours in Louisiana and South Carolina, finds that slaves or slavery were the topic least often referred to, ranking behind furniture! He asks ‘does it matter?’ and concludes that it matters a great deal. A plantation is a museum, and people go to museums because they know that there they will see what is real. This element of trust is violated if ‘distory’ is presented. And furthermore, this is an opportunity to provide visitors with knowledge necessary to their lives, so that they can resist such evil in the future.

A gritty paper by Roushanzamir and Kreshel on Laura Plantation in Louisiana makes the important point, that while the visitors may be searching for their roots, heritage tourism may actually further distance from it by mediation of that experience.

They argue that heritage, as a kind of representation, proposes a certainty that history, as critical inquiry, can never promise. They wonder if heritage can ever achieve more than a strictly representational status.

After reading this volume I felt depressed. I had suddenly discovered that I was engaged in a sordid deception, that I had betrayed all those thousands of convicts who trudged through Port Arthur. But even if heritage is only ever a curatorial construct, a poor simulacrum of a simplified past, we can at least struggle to create a story that does not consciously misrepresent the experience of our subjects. And to resist the ameliorating impulses of the sugar-coaters, we must begin to understand what it is that drives visitors to spend their holidays in hell.

Julia Clark

**Reference**


**Restoring Women’s History through Historic Preservation**


This book has its roots in the ‘Reclaiming Women’s History in Historic Preservation’ conference held at Bryn Mawr in 1994, the first of a now triennial event in the United States. The intention of the editors was to bring together the best work on women’s history from the range of interests and disciplines that gather under the rubric of heritage. This is a difficult package to deliver and the quality of the essays is uneven. Nevertheless the scope is impressive with 20 chapters arranged into five sections that range from the history of women in the heritage preservation movement, historic houses and museums, women in the built environment, exemplary projects and, preservation policy and practice. It is an awkward taxonomy, and the most engaging essays are embedded deep in the book.

Heritage practitioners determined to integrate women’s history in Australia will be familiar with many of the frustrations expressed by our colleagues across the Pacific: from countering accusations of pushing ‘political correctness’ and contaminating ‘neutral’ history, to achieving recognition for controversial sites; from convincing agencies and committees that women’s history matters, to having to contort that history to fit existing processes for heritage protection. Nor is it only male bastions that resist broader interpretation.

Barbara Howe, looking at the history of women in the
preservation movement, indicates their complicity in preserving a classist and xenophobic past. Kim Moon looks at the cultural gulf that often exists between academic historians and site staff in the slow process of persuading guides to introduce ‘other people’ into William Penn’s story, which exposed him as a slave-owner. Her article discusses Pennsylvania’s ambitious ‘Raising Our Sites,’ program which linked academic historians with historic sites to develop interpretation strategies for women’s history. Those involved in the struggle for the protection of movable heritage will appreciate Abigail Van Slych’s salient arguments for preserving interior arrangements and not just architectural shells in her case study of libraries and the spatial politics of gender in the workplace, and Judith Wellman’s essay on the campaign to create the Women’s Rights National Historical Park at Seneca Falls will resonate with anyone who has had to struggle for funds and recognition in adverse political conditions.

Three essays stood out for me. Patricia West, author of The Political Origins of America’s House Museums, savages the notion of ‘neutral’ interpretations and argues that ‘presenting the “main”, usually male, historical occupant of a house as having been disconnected from a wider, social world – from women, servants or slaves, from the poor side of town – is a highly political, yet utterly familiar approach.’ (83) West suggests that instead of being met at the front door, and entering rooms designed to make labour invisible, visitors could enter via the tradesmen’s entrance and be shown the working house. She argues for an approach that explores the symbolic function of the house, the intensive labour involved in its production, and the way class was played out both within and outside the walls. Using as an example President Van Buren’s house, she links his political platform on equality and ten-hour days to the reality of power and labour in his home. Her imaginative interpretation of artefacts underpins this approach. Ruffle iron symbolises Van Buren’s dependency on hours of cheap female labour to maintain his toppish appearance, an appearance that was to lose him a second term in office. West’s essay is a gem in this collection, a must for anyone connected with house museums.

Dolores Hayden’s essay encapsulates some of the material in her ground-breaking book The Power of Place: Urban History as Public History (1995), although it necessarily omits the strong and thoughtful analysis of place and identity in that work. Hayden combines academic rigour, imagination, cultural awareness, knowledge of planning process, and a determination to involve and represent those whose history is first to be destroyed in urban redevelopment programs. In the early 1980s she was a ‘founder of Power of Place, a small, experimental, non-profit organisation’ which began by producing a multicultural labour history walking guide for central Los Angeles. The identification of one of the sites, once the property of the midwife Biddy Mason, led to the opportunity for interpretation within a redevelopment program. Power of Place brought a team together whose most lasting achievement was a 27m interpretive wall by artist Sheila de Bretteville, incorporating a history of Los Angeles during Mason’s lifetime and the story of her life including her walk to freedom from slavery. The wall is a powerful symbol of the reinscription of women’s lives into the urban fabric and the essay reminds us of the necessity for interpretation to be built into the earliest planning for redevelopment.

Reinscription is also the theme of Gail Lee Dubrow’s ‘Blazing Trails with Pink Triangles’ and the ‘glaring omissions, deafening silences, misleading euphemisms, and downright lies’ that gay and lesbian heritage professionals are faced with in their daily interactions with heteronormative interpretations. She calls for not only including sites that are significant to gay and lesbian culture but to also carve out places in the interpretive process for places associated with homophobia, such as Anita Bryant’s house, military bases and mental hospitals. Insofar as women’s history has now evolved into the analysis of the construction of gender for both sexes, she argues that beyond isolating gay and lesbian history sites, interpretations could be broadened to examining the construction and enforcement of heterosexuality across heritage sites.

Last, but not least, I urge you not to judge this book by its prosaic title and uninspired dust cover. The reproductions may be poor quality but there are well over a hundred of them. It is a beautifully bound book, good to hold, and its layout and fonts are easy on the eye; none of which can be taken for granted these days.

Miranda Morris

Mining in World History


This is quite simply the best history ever published on the role of mining in shaping world events. It performs the huge task of making sense of a complex range of industries that took many forms and produced many products, over centuries of change and development across every continent on earth. It does so in just 350 pages of succinct but comprehensive prose, remarkably free of errors of both fact and judgment.

Most previous histories of mining have restricted themselves to a single mining district or product; even the more ambitious have rarely gone beyond the borders of a single country, continent or industry. And almost all mining history is compartmentalised by the disciplines of its authors, so that engineers will describe the extraction processes in loving detail, but tell us nothing about the workers’ housing conditions; economic historians graph the commodity price changes that paid the company’s dividends, but never mention mine safety issues, and social historians will dwell at great length on both housing and safety standards, but not say a word about the technological processes and economic movements that were imposing those standards on the board of directors. Martin Lynch has managed to present the big picture of mining, composed of the inter-relationship of all those elements and more.

So what? Well, for a start, mining is very important in Australia’s history. There are very few countries in the world (our neighbours Chile and South Africa are two others) where mining has done more to shape contemporary society. Try mentally re-writing Australian history without the Victorian gold rushes. Go a step further and imagine Australia in 2004 if it had no mineral industries at all in its history, and an economy still dominated by grazing; a giant desiccated Falkland Islands with the population of its largest town perhaps approaching half a million people. Australia’s wealth, political traditions, attitudes to sport, economic activity, vocabulary, population size and distribution, transport routes and ethnic makeup have all been shaped by mining industry. Our mining heritage makes up a
vitaly important part of the legacy we have inherited and must aim to keep.

Understanding that big picture is essential to the successful conservation and interpretation of the evidence of mining. The phenomenon of mining is extraordinarily complex and varied, leaving as its heritage not only mines and mills, but housing, chapels, waste dumps, mansions, stock exchanges and statues; the bronze figures of benefactors Thomas Elder and Walter Hughes on the lawns of the University of Adelaide are monuments to fortunes won from the copper mines at Wallaroo and Moonta. Over forty years ago, Geoffrey Blainey’s The Rush That Never Ended went a long way toward encouraging readers to see the big picture of Australian mining history. This book does something similar on a global scale.

Such breadth of vision is not encouraged by the Australian Historic Themes (Canberra 2001), a publication which slices the industry neatly into 3.4.3 Mining, 4.5 Making Settlements to Serve Rural Australia etc. Not surprisingly, breadth of vision is rarely encountered in the interpretation of individual mining sites either, where the people writing the signs generally keep the visitors’ attention firmly focussed on the foreground. Like historians, people conserving and interpreting mining sites have frequently allowed their disciplinary biases and their own interests to run away with their work, so that in the early years of mine site interpretation we were confronted with starkly technical descriptions of the crisply-restored engineering monuments, while the nearby settlement was left in weed-grown piles of stone. Now the pendulum has swung so that on more recently interpreted sites we are more likely to find heavily sentimental interpretation of housing, accompanied by woeful ignorance – or complete disregard – of the industrial processes alongside.

Worse things have been done. The outback town of Coober Pedy which saw its greatest prosperity during its copper mining years once had a local history museum devoted to explorers, graziers and the Flying Doctor, with no mention of mining anywhere. Ravenswood was the first mining centre in the world to trial the revolutionary cyanide process for gold extraction. Yes, in the world. Astonishingly, an interpretation sign in the town today tells the visitor that the process was introduced there from South Africa, which in reality only saw its first cyanide tanks several years later! (Even Lynch, rapidly telling the story of world mining in 350 pages, gets that sequence of events right.)

The conservation of mining sites is rarely easy or cheap. The big ones like Mount Morgan or the Wallaroo smelters exhibit the ruins of 60 or 100 years of industrial evolution spread over a few square kilometres of land. Difficult to grasp even after prolonged study; more difficult to explain to a visitor. Many mine sites are ugly and unfriendly places, with crumbling structures, very deep holes and toxic or radioactive waste dumps. It may be constructive to keep all these public liability worries in perspective by relating them to the rest of the story: how many families’ incomes were brought home from these abandoned works; where are those families’ descendants now? How much money was made by the shareholders; how did they spend it; where is that money today? How important is this place in the history of mining; how does it compare with Freiberg and Potosi and Rio Tinto and Haut Katanga? How has it made Australia a different place?

I am not suggesting that every consultant drawing up a conservation strategy for the ruins of the Wombat Gully gold battery should necessarily read Lynch’s Mining in World History first, but it would help a little bit. I think it must help us to do our job better if we see every conservation and interpretation task not as something complete in itself, but as a small piece of a very big picture.

Peter Bell

**Hill End: An historic Australian goldfields landscape**


Most of us will have heard of Hill End, and many Historic Environment readers will have been there. One of New South Wales’ best known gold towns, officially protected as a National Parks and Wildlife Service Historic Site since 1967, and captured in the 1870s by the wonderful Holtermann collection of photographs, Hill End attracts many visitors.

It also attracts historians. Alan Mayne, from the University of Melbourne, has written a revisionist account of this gold town, a settlement dramatically located on a range-top eyrie high above the Turon River near the junction with the Macquarie. A strong element in the book is the author’s empathy with what he rightly calls an ‘elusively poetic place’, and his sensory appreciation of remote Hill End and its landscape is conveyed to the reader.

Hill End is famous for the boom times of the early 1870s, when fortunes were made and lost under Hawkings Hill with its buried reefs, when the amazing slab called the Holtermann ‘Nugget’ was unearthed, when pubs seemed to be on every corner (and in between) and when share-dealing appeared to be going crazy. Later it gained fame as the home of artists, Donald Friend and others. It is this public image of Hill End’s history that Mayne is revising; as he says ‘this book attempts to provide a more balanced and more fully textured historical appreciation of Hill End’. The place is ‘a multi-textured cultural landscape’, and Mayne differentiates between what he calls realities (how history has been interpreted) and actualities (what actually happened).

Earlier claims that Hill End was Australia’s most significant gold town, and that it created the Sydney Stock Exchange, are properly criticised. More specifically, Mayne feels that the NPWS interpretation of Hill End, focussing on the boom years, is narrow and clichéd. There is more to be told about Hill End, its life as a mining centre before and after the boom, the times before and after gold, and the social life of the people throughout. Much of Mayne’s book is devoted to this alternative view of the past. Whereas many who visit the town might think that it just died after the boom, Mayne sustains his argument that Hill End was in fact much more resilient.

Mayne criticises historian Harry Hodge for misplaced emphases in Hodge’s multi-volume *The Hill End Story*, for he says that it is Hodge’s work which has influenced later interpretation and the public view of the goldfield. While he respects Hodge because of his enormous knowledge, Mayne is, I think, a bit too hard on him. At one point a rather bitchy quote from Friend is used to describe him (saying more about Friend, perhaps, than Hodge). We should be grateful for Hodge’s work, for without it we may not have had any view of
Hill End for decades. We all write from the perspective of our own time. Mayne does give a helpful survey of some other historians' work.

The artists who came to Hill End – Friend, Drysdale, Bellette, Smart and others – form an important chapter in the town's history. Mayne argues, however, that it is debatable as to whether the place had a huge influence over them as artists, and he rates Heide (the Melbourne home of John and Sunday Reed) as a more significant place in Australian art history. As is noted, Sofala, further up the Turon, was of more significance to Drysdale at least, for it was his painting of that town which won the Wynne Prize in 1947. (As an aside, it is at once fascinating and appalling to read that Friend and partner Murray removed Chinese headstones – which Friend intended using for a fireplace)

The proclamation of Hill End as an Historic Site in the late 1960s led to much local discontent, and Mayne looks at the complex issues running through the community in this context. He importantly points out that the proclamation was not something that arose totally because of outsiders, but that locals had been striving to conserve their heritage too. Hill End as an example of cultural heritage conservation and management, from the pre-AHC and Burra Charter days through to the present, is seen by the author as being highly significant.

After levelling out the graph of Hill End's legendary status, Mayne still concludes that the place is a 'national heritage treasure', more important for its representativeness than its uniqueness. One thing that is unique about Hill End, though, is the Holtermann photograph collection, for it is this which gives us incredible detail about the 1872 boom town. Selected Holtermann photos are used in the book, and many depict the gardens of the miners (which itself is a theme in the book – in keeping with the landscape emphasis indicated by the title). It is this conjunction between past and present that is one of the most wonderful things about this former gold town.

If you've never been to Hill End, apart from being ashamed of yourself, you should go and see the place, imbibe its very special character, read this book and others and then make up your own mind about Hill End's past. Both journeys will be worthwhile.

Matthew Higgins

The Default Country: A lexical cartography of twentieth-century Australia

Many years ago when I was a student, the geomorphologist Jim Peterson mentioned that the reason there were so many studies of glaciation in Australia was that the University lecturers of the time were all trained in Britain. There, glaciation was a primary geomorphic agent, so on arrival in Australia – well known for its snow and ice — they went off to study glaciers. For me, this was an early realisation of the subject of Arthur's book, The Default Country, which she defines as 'the kind of country implicitly present in the English language.' It is revealed in the language used to describe or map Australia's environment where Australia is described or compared to an ideal land embedded in the English language itself.

Arthur argues that because the language, English, was formed somewhere else, i.e. England, Australia can only be understood in relation to another kind of place, the 'default country' – 'England's green and pleasant land,' so to speak. This is not just the superficial bias of a casual visitor but deeply embedded in our language and culture. She argues: 'Australia cannot be seen first, even by those who have never been anywhere else, because the language has been formed elsewhere' (27).

Arthur's approach is 'lexical cartography'. She makes word maps of Australia, marking an intersection between language and place. It is done by taking words and phrases used in the twentieth century to describe the physical space and environment of Australia, and organising them around conceptual themes to form the word map. For example, Chapter 7 deals with the colonists' vocabulary of change and transformation of the environment. Terms such as 'stump', 'clearing', 'improvement', 'ringbarking', 'sapping', 'burning off' and 'picking up' are all discussed. The frustration is that they are briefly discussed and there is little reference to the underlying historical contexts of the terms. 'Improvement', for example, has links to particular Christian beliefs of the nineteenth century about what one does with one's life and raw talents. Nor is there mention that improvement has specific legal definitions, as it was part of the legislation covering selection and closer settlement.

Arthur rightly acknowledges that there are likely to be contradictions in her mapping, that her cartographic eye may be biased and that she does not see all. She records her intellectual position as located in a settler society, and is appropriately PC, in that we are all colonists etc... This sort of writing annoys me; I see it as a new form of cultural cringe. If it annoys you too, skip through these sections (mainly the Introduction and Chapter 1) to get to the conceptual themes in the subsequent parts. The later chapters are obviously only snapshots of what could have been if Arthur was ubiquitous and omnipotent. Much will have to be filled in by others inspired by her start. At some points I strongly disagreed; at others I agreed enthusiastically. This is a mark of a good book in my view: it provokes thought.

Like many varieties of geography, Arthur's lexical cartography diminishes the concept of change over time by lumping accounts from all over the twentieth century and all different types of context into the process. It reminds me of the nineteenth-century parish map, created with reference to each portion but with no control linking the map to the physical reality of the land. It is not clear how language itself has changed to deal with experience of living in Australia, but presumably, it has changed, just as Australian artistic approaches to the environment have changed.

It is also not clear whether the examples collected are strictly comparable. Is bringing together a scientific work with a tourist brochure a bit of comparing apples and oranges? There is also a notable lack of fiction and poetry in Arthur's lexicon, which makes me wonder how creative writers' approaches to the environment deal with the 'default'? 'Default' is in itself a curious expression to use. Archaeologists developed the term 'mental template' for something similar, and the idea of 'subtext' also comes to mind. I assume that default is used in the sense that a computer has default settings, which have to be changed by the user to suit their tasks. Or perhaps default is used in the sense of failure or defect?
Overall, Arthur's Default Country is a serious work that sets an agenda for further research and reflections by those interested in the past and Australia's environment. It is a challenging work requiring writers to consider the nature of their language.

Iain Stuart

The Great Barrier Reef: History, science, heritage


This book won the NSW Premier's History Award in 2003. What does it take to look after the planet's largest World Heritage area? Bigger than Italy, the Great Barrier Reef is a dramatic water garden of coral reefs and living organisms, still poorly understood. Its unique beauty attracts hordes of developers and sea chancers. The greater the appeal, the greater the threat.

James and Margarita Bowen, research fellows at Southern Cross University, have written an absorbing scientific, cultural and political history of the Great Barrier Reef. Astonishingly, this is a first. It encapsulates 250 years of global European impact on the natural world, exploring the tension between the scientific quest for knowledge and the economic impetus and technological capacity to exploit.

The first part, 'Navigators and Naturalists in the Age of Sail', describes European exploration and the efforts to describe, chart and understand a natural phenomenon both beautiful and mysterious. Our heroes are all there: navigators Cook and Flinders charting its labyrinths, scientists Banks, Darwin and Huxley setting an early agenda for reef science. The Bowens are particularly good at placing this exploration in the intellectual and social context of the times. As the narrative builds we become aware of the desperate need to understand the ecology of the Reef even as we contemplate the unrestrained exploitation of its resources, the growth of coastal settlements and the trade in human beings for Queensland's early sugar industry.

The second section, 'A New Era in Reef Awareness, from Early Scientific Investigation to Conservation and Heritage' begins with the biggest mystery of all, the coral itself. How are the reefs formed? The youthful Darwin put forward a theory that coral builds continuously upwards on geological structures that are slowly sinking. This remained controversial until 1947 when drilling in coral atolls for atomic testing proved Darwin correct. His description of the three different kinds of reefs is still used today: fringing, lagoons (atolls) and barrier.

The Bowens chart the political complexities of Reef management, more tricky than any coral labyrinth Cook encountered. Negotiations between the Commonwealth and Queensland governments were often difficult. Jurisdictional disputes, parochialism and buck passing were compounded by 21 local governments, and competing business, tourism and fishing interests.

Support for marine science has been pathetically inadequate. The earliest Australian scientific body, the Great Barrier Reef Committee, was established only in 1922 and chronically underfunded. As the treasures of the reef became more widely known and understood, national and international pressures grew for protection. The radical conservation movement, in alliance with marine scientists, was indispensable in defeating Dr Bjoerk Petersen's moves for oil drilling and limestone mining. It was only in the mid seventies that the community-based popular campaign to 'Save the Reef' pressured the Gorton and Whitlam Commonwealth governments to establish the Australian Institute of Marine Science (AIMS) and the Great Barrier Reef Marine Park Authority. The GBRMPA's history has been almost as rocky as the reef itself and the Bowens are blunt about too many decisions based on too little research. The problem of infestation by the Crown of Thorns problem is still not solved after 35 years.

The book is well organised to help the reader keep tabs on the facts and figures, colourful characters, heroes and villains, and the complex scientific and political dramas. This makes manageable the detailed research driving the argument and allows generous room for the authors' multi-disciplinary approach to ideas and analysis.

The Bowens insist that we still cannot be confident that we are managing the Reef for its long-term survival, even without the looming impact of global climate change. They claim that the general focus is still more on sustaining maximum use and extraction, than on conservation. Is there hope? How much of the Heritage Area enjoys real protection from land-based pollution and from commercial and recreational fishing?

At the moment only a tiny 4.6% of the Reef Marine Park area is protected under the high-level green zones or no-take zones. A new proposal from the Federal government extends this to 33%. This is welcome, although the ACF and other conservationists urged a minimum of 50%, and they want protection much closer to the inshore areas. The symbiotic relationship between land and sea must be reflected in an integrated 'divide to drop off' management planning.

In addition to providing us with an exciting account of the past, the Bowens ask the tough questions about the future. Their message is that we cannot continue today's level of use and expect the Reef to survive, as we know it. Paradoxically, elevating the Reef to World Heritage status has increased the pressure.

Their last chapter is entitled 'Heritage: A Sustainable Ideal?' This is the question we all need to face.

Rachel Faggetter

Historic Themes in Queensland


Professional historians spend a lot of time helping to devise, test, promote and apply historic(al) themes to heritage in Australia. This 'resource guide' is a recent manifestation of that work. As explained in the foreword, the book outlines the main themes of the State's history and shows how they help readers "to assess the significance of local places within a broad thematic context". It is one of four guides published by the Queensland Heritage Trails Network, the others advising on museums and Indigenous heritage. It is pleasing to see the concept of historical themes for heritage places being adapted for other aspects of Queensland's cultural heritage as has also
been done in national publications such as Significance: a guide to assessing the significance of cultural heritage objects and collections (R Russell and K Winkworth, Heritage Collections Council, Canberra 2001).

The Queensland guide is based on a study commissioned by Queensland's Environmental Protection Agency. The study identified nine principal themes 'that have shaped Queensland as a place'. They were, in turn, based on the Australian Heritage Commission's Australian Historic Themes: A framework for use in heritage assessment and management (Canberra 2001). The Australian Heritage Commission (AHC) has been a major influence in helping to develop and test historical frameworks, in its early years through national estate funding and more recently by developing and applying its own, expanding on Australian Historic Themes. The nine Queensland themes are: Peopling the land; Exploiting and utilising the land; Developing secondary and tertiary industries; Collections Council, and dwellings; Maintaining order; Creating social and cultural expansion of the regional and national economies.

The themes represent an appropriate state/regional adaptation of the AHC framework, particularly if they are understood as relating to tangible heritage rather than to the state's history overall. As the last chapter explains, 'The themes identify the key processes that have shaped and formed Queensland's cultural landscape' (117). In particular, a greater emphasis is placed on this framework on economic history than in the AHC framework by identifying three economic themes, derived from subheadings within the single AHC theme Developing local, regional and national economies. The Queensland themes also adopt a more institutional approach to social and cultural history than the AHC framework.

There are some risks in this approach. Most seriously, the summary histories under theme 1 (Peopling) include no reference to the Aboriginal peopling of the land, nor to their history of contact with the Europeans, although frontier violence is referred to under the heading ‘Policing the frontier’ in theme 6 (Maintaining order). This contrasts with the explicit references to Aboriginal life and to conflict under the same AHC theme (Peopling Australia) and the first of the state thematic frameworks, the South Australian State Historic Preservation Plan: Historical Guidelines published 23 years ago.

There are, however, references to Aboriginal history in many parts of the text, which is substantial, authoritative and well written. Queensland's history is also set in its international and Australian contexts, for example, in the historical account of immigration. Two surprising omissions in this account are convicts (apart from a brief initial reference) and the mass migration of Australians from the southern states over the past generation, which has had such tangible heritage impact as the construction of the Gold Coast. British and Sydney-based administration during the convict period (1824-42) is also absent from 'Government and public administration' in Maintaining order. There is no explanation given for this exclusion and it is surprising because there are more heritage places dating from that period than is generally recognised (such as the Dunwich convict jetty on Stradbroke Island).

The inclusion of footnotes in the guide is welcome, although the superscript number is missing in some places (for example, footnote 1, p. 108). The sources are wide-ranging, including unpublished histories and heritage studies, and some archival records as well as international, Australian and Queensland histories. However, a resource book of this kind should also include a bibliography or a further reading list as well as an index.

The book is a generous production, printed on good quality paper with text and photographs in blue and white. The margins are perhaps too lavish, leaving much unused space, and there is a surprising dearth of photographs (which are also small, unpeopled and unattributed). A map of Queensland would also have been useful. However, I commend the author and QHTN on this valuable guide and urge that it be also published on the Internet, as done by the AHC and the NSW Heritage Council.

Susan Marsden

A History of Architectural Conservation

Jokilehto's book contains some wonderful information about architectural conservation through the centuries. It derives from the author's doctoral thesis, and is now in its third print run, so it apparently enjoys a measure of popularity. Jokilehto describes the aim as 'to identify and describe the origin and development of the modern approach to the conservation and restoration of ancient monuments and historic buildings, the influence that this development has had on international collaboration in the protection and conservation of cultural heritage, and the present consequences world-wide' (1). While enjoying many moments through the book I did not find it an easy or satisfying read.

The 354 pages are divided into 10 chapters. The first five provide a history of conservation efforts from what Jokilehto calls 'traditional' society through to the age of Romanticism, ending in the mid-nineteenth century. Early societies referred to focus to tend on Europe, and Greece and Rome in particular. The last five chapters examine general aspects of conservation practice, often in their historical or geographic context. They include themes like stylistic restoration, international influences, and trends. With more interest than cringe, I went looking for Australian references, and found we do rate a couple of mentions. The Burra Charter gets half a paragraph, and there is an odd and brief reference to Kakadu.

I found myself a little confused and irritated by the early chapters of the book but was eventually persuaded. On first reading, the first chapter struck me as the sort of theoretical gobbledegook one gets from Europeans of a philosophical bent: difficult, dense and unclear. On a second, look it appears to be a summary chapter with all the attendant problems of trying to cram a great deal of material into a short space. Moving on, one finds some lovely information, eg, the debate in sixteenth-century Rome whether it was better to leave damaged sculptures/ sculptural fragments as they were or reconstruct them. This case demonstrates Jokilehto's very
useful examination of art conservation as a parallel to architectural conservation.

It is fascinating to see the early appearance of conservation concepts which are part of the current heritage toolkit. In 1794 Abbé Grégoire ‘emphasized the documentary value of historic monuments of all periods and the need to preserve them as a whole. He also insisted that the objects should be kept in their original location and could only be moved for the purposes of conservation’ (72). This demonstrates the great age of the conservation effort – intriguing for an antipodean practitioner with a tendency to believe modern conservation ideas largely arose in the 1960s and 70s in the sunburnt country, with a little nod towards SPAB. Another specimen of early thinking about conservation management is the history of regulations to protect places and the creation of inventories. We learn of a 1521 publication, the Epigrammata antiquae urbis, the first list of protected monuments in Rome (33). What we do not get is a sense of why these techniques apparently fail, for in each succeeding chapter there are new regulations and new lists replacing the old.

This points to a broader issue: the treatment of sources. There is little evidence that Jokilehto reflects on his source material and how it influences his findings, eg the discussion of early conservation efforts is hampered by the limits of ancient sources compared to later periods. Perhaps we can’t know why the early heritage lists were not successful because the historical record is silent, but it would be nice to round out the story in some way rather than leaping from fact to fact with little analysis of why change occurred. In its absence, we get the sense of relentless progress in conservation, even though this is clearly not the case.

An ongoing problem (which Jokilehto only acknowledges in his final chapter) regards the variability of terminology through time and across countries. I found it disconcerting trying to understand what he meant in any given context when using such terms as repair, rebuild, restore, maintain, conserve and revive – and that was by page 3! Another concern is the Eurocentric character of the book. While it may have more to do with the publisher and the title A History of Architectural Conservation, the material is largely European with only occasional refers to other continents and cultures. A more accurate title would be appropriate. The three systems of referencing are also unfortunate (ie, no referencing at all in places, then references within the text, and chapter notes/references as well).

Having whinged at length, I still strongly recommend this book to those with an interest in heritage conservation. Despite my doubts about the framework and some of the analysis, Jokilehto provides many interesting theoretical links and a great deal of fascinating historical information.

Duncan Marshall

The Economics of Heritage: A study in the political economy of culture in Sicily


I should begin by admitting that my grounding in economics is so weak as to be, in the formal sense, non-existent. One, however, cannot have any involvement in the field of heritage without acknowledging economics as an essential element in heritage management. Rarely is heritage conserved and presented to the public for altruistic reasons alone. Even when the existence value of a property or item far exceeds its use value, there will be reasons to at least attempt to quantify that existence value, and to raise money towards conservation and management costs from the use values. Valuation of heritage in money terms becomes particularly important in benefit-cost analysis, environmental impact statements, and management plans, particularly when these are used as the basis for seeking funds from government or other outside sources. While some people see certain heritage items as being priceless, others in the community and government need convincing that any heritage at all is worth preserving in the face of development pressures and alternative calls on public finances. We cannot ignore the economists, so we need to make an effort to understand them, even if we refuse to join them.

This book arises from a research program in cultural economics carried out by a group in the Department of Economics and Quantitative Methods at the University of Catania, Sicily. The individual chapters were originally presented at a workshop held there in late 1999. The majority of the contributors, and one of the two editors, are from that university, while the remainder are based elsewhere in Europe.

The book has the inevitable characteristics of a collection of papers that have not been editorially planned and coordinated to form a cohesive whole. This is not necessarily a shortcoming, though, as there is often a great deal of value in publishing a collection arising from a conference or workshop. In this case, coverage of the field is far from complete, so this certainly is not a textbook or manual for the economics of heritage or, more accurately, perhaps, cultural economics. I make this distinction because the papers are at least as much concerned with museums and galleries as with the built heritage that is of more central interest to ICOMOS members. The papers, like those in most collections, are of somewhat variable quality. I suspect that most were originally written and presented in Italian, and the translation to English, while generally of a high standard, is not perfect, leading to sometimes overly formal and occasionally difficult expressions. There are, however, very, very few typographical errors. My other general comment is that a fair degree of understanding of economics and its jargon is assumed in some of the chapters, especially in the early part of the book.

Having said all that, this does give a useful introduction to the political economy of heritage, for politics looms as large as economics in many chapters. It also gives a feeling for the cultural heritage of Sicily, though not nearly as much as I hoped when agreeing to review the book, coming hot on the heels of a most enjoyable ten days experiencing that heritage at first hand. Many chapters are non-place-specific, and so could be applied far beyond Sicily, while the final three chapters deal quite explicitly with non-Sicilian examples, namely with France, Scotland, and Italy more generally.

The Economics of Heritage is organised in four parts: Institutions, Supply of Heritage, Demand for Heritage, and Comparative Perspectives. The first part is perhaps the most specifically Sicilian in orientation. After a sound general introductory chapter, Chapter 2 deals with the organisation and finance of cultural heritage in Sicily. Unfortunately, the reader really needs to have read Chapter 4, which outlines the organisation of the heritage bureaucracy in Sicily, before
tackling Chapter 2. The latter, in itself, is informative, highlighting the fact that Sicily is unique among the Italian regions in having a degree of autonomy similar to that of Scotland in the United Kingdom. Part 2 is a ‘miscellaneous’ collection of topics, with chapters covering measurement of the efficiency of museums (one of a few highly quantitative chapters), heritage and tourism, the role of non-profit organisations in financing heritage, and the use of new technologies. The last is a particularly useful treatment of the potential, and to some degree realised, utility of information technology in museums and, by extension, heritage sites more generally. Part 3 includes an excellent general treatment of the various techniques economists use to attempt to put monetary values on such things as heritage, along with a case-study application of their favoured approach, a contingent valuation study. Finally, in this part, a chapter on ‘organised art consumption’ has, I think, confirmed my plans to rejoin the Art Gallery Society on my imminent retirement. To finish the collection, Part 4 contains the three non-Sicilian chapters, as mentioned earlier. These all add extra dimensions to the book; the French chapter is particularly interesting as it deals well with the contentious issue of the desirable degree and type of state assistance to private owners of heritage properties.

This is a rather specialised, but nonetheless worthwhile book, though not a thorough, integrated coverage of the political economy of heritage. Anyone interested in the application of some aspects of that field in other nations should find it of value, though the price (£59.95) might be off-putting for all but the keenest.

Graeme Aplin

The Sulima Pagoda: East meets West in the restoration of a Nepalese temple

Edited by Erich Theophile and Niels Gutschow.


The Sulima Pagoda comprises a series of essays which review and critique the restoration of the fourteenth-century Ratneshwara temple in Sulima, Patan, within the Kathmandhu valley. In the words of the co-editor Erich Theophile, the anthology of essays engages in a ‘missing dialogue’—that is, dialogue between international projects [for which read foreign-funded and -advised], and local projects. The dialogue presented is wide-ranging and diverse, and has application and relevance to the philosophy of conservation projects throughout the world, not just in Nepal and the so-called underdeveloped bits.

Although the dialogue is intended to be global in its reach and authorship, most of the essays are by European conservators either based in Nepal or in the West. There are some ‘local’ voices, which tend to read as supporting cameos. These essays reflect on the subjective and practical impact of projects on local practice and processes. I felt the local voices could be better represented. This, and the fragile appearance of the book’s typescript are the only negative aspects of what is a fine and well researched anthology.

It is an intense dialogue, dense with fact and thought. Here is part of that conversation. Erich Theophile quotes a visiting German conservator who commented that Japan has a tradition of cyclical re-building which appears contrary to our western fabric-based approach:

Not a molecule of the former building is retained. This represents landmark preservation in its highest degree: all actions expended on the new construction originates in the heads and hands of living humans who are compelled every time to clarify for themselves how forms are precisely determined, how material and technology must be implemented to serve a function conceived for eternity (75).

That is, the creative process of conservation exists as an evolving dialogue for the craftspeople. Emphasis is placed primarily on the conservation of ideas and skills, and then on conservation of the fabric.

Niels Gutschow pursues this theme, discussing the dilemma between traditional craftsmanship and the impulse to conserve:

Local craftsmen have a solution for repairs. It would be appropriate to maintain only fabric that is historical and structurally sound, but in the context of international preservation standards this is not acceptable because it does not retain as much of the historical fabric as possible... The responsible conservation architect must also address the preservation of the role, skills, and methods of traditional craftsmen, even if it is sometimes at the expense of historical fabric (96).

This quote illustrates the core issue of conflict between the western propensity to conserve the maximum amount of historic fabric, even (or especially) in its distressed state, and the eastern determination to conserve traditional skills and crafts practices, often through radical reconstruction.

The dichotomy of approaches is deftly recounted by A.G. Krishna Menon in his account of ‘the Sulima strut story’, referring to the restoration of the temple from 1996 to 1999:

...The story highlights the replacement of lost carved elements as part of the conservation work. These parts were carved by traditional craftsmen and purport to be authentic equivalents to the original. Such an approach challenges the hallowed principles of conservation that prohibit imitative replication of lost architectural elements... Eurocentric norms are inimical to indigenous practices of conserving, or not conserving, ancient buildings because they make the traditional craftsmen and their skills redundant (106-7).

These norms, focusing as they do on the monument rather than on the woodcarvers, preclude the opportunity to improve the prospects and status of traditional trades. The difference between conserving monuments and conserving the skills that built them must be polemised into a critical culture of conservation wherever traditional practices still survive. This is the significance of the Sulima strut story, but there is a great irony in the message: such critical thinking would not have occurred without outsiders or foreign funding. When the implication of this message sinks in, we will find it both salutary and tragic.

Wim Deslagen, in his thoughtful essay ‘Artificial Life of Heritage’, quotes the Dutch architect Rem Koolhaas on the historic city as caricature: ‘Regret about history’s absence is a tiresome reflex... tourist visitation to the historic city is like... an avalanche that, in a perpetual quest for character, grinds successful identities into meaningless dust’. (96) Deslagen also comments on the contrasting eastern and western conservation approaches:
The gap between living cultures and the culture of scientific restoration is wide; this is reflected in the different ways in which the historical fabric is dealt with. The clever restorations of the international specialists are transformations from everyday life into a dream of the past as true as one can possibly make it (98).

Sharon Sullivan reflects on the philosophy of the heritage charters, and the increasing breadth of understanding and approach from the Venice Charter of the 1960s to the evolving Burra Charter:

The Venice Charter has been widely accepted and has prevented much well meaning, but ignorant damage or destruction to important monuments. Underlying the Charter is the strong tradition of the historic and aesthetic values of places where the ravages of time can be clearly seen, and in experiential terms the undeniable fact that such places raise strong emotional reactions in the educated western visitor. These places connect us with the past history of humanity, but also give us a strong nostalgic feeling of its distance and the impossibility of fully recovering it in the present... The Burra Charter seeks to resolve these problems in two ways. It broadens the definition of cultural significance to include ‘historic, aesthetic, scientific, and social value for the past, present, and future generations’. More fundamentally it introduces the notion of cultural assessment of a place, prior to determining appropriate conservation or restoration values. In this way all the values that a site has are discovered and made visible (116-7).

All in all, this modest-looking monograph provides a valuable and insightful read. It has lessons for all who wish to understand the craft and philosophy of conservation.

Peter Freeman

Conservation of Historic Buildings


I only met Bernard Feilden once but our meeting left me with a lasting impression of the man and his total commitment to education. Our meeting occurred during his term as Director at ICCROM in Rome when I was spending a couple of months on leave absorbing the many treasures of that wonderful city. Bernard Feilden was not interested to learn anything about me or my work in Sydney. He preferred to use the brief time of our meeting to impart his views about the importance of knowing and understanding buildings in a way that would provide for good conservation decision-making. It is a mark of the man that he would not miss any opportunity to deal with the detail of conservation practice, especially to one so green as I was at that time. The book reflects the man. No detail is overlooked.

I have never really used Feilden’s major treatise in my own work. I have always found the practical advice in the APT Bulletins to be more useful in day-to-day matters. However I would be one of the first to recommend Conservation of Historic Buildings to anyone who is embarking on a career in building conservation. I will probably return to my own copy from time to time when dealing with matters of first principle - the things you know but can never be sure why you know them or when you learned them.

Take for example the matter of surveying and recording. It’s a bread-and-butter issue for anyone working in the field but how would you explain it to someone who is not experienced in this aspect of work and what important points would you stress? Feilden provides details that are so comprehensive that they might appear to some to be patronising. ‘Equipment for an initial inspection should include a writing board, ...., pen or pencil, GOOD electric torch, ... tape measure ... camera with flash, ... Nylon overalls ...and, finally, TOWEL and SOAP for cleaning oneself’ after the survey. Now this is thorough and it is important. Buildings, after all is said and done, are very dirty places and in my experience the important information is never to be found in the clean places. It is usually under the floor or in the roof space. Therefore it is useful to be reminded to take along something to use at the end of the job to clean up. However, for practical reasons, due to our high summer temperatures I would recommend cotton or Tyvek overalls and I have found that the little damp paper napkin kits supplied by Qantas and Countrylink get me by on remote projects, in conjunction with a tap or a puddle at the survey site.

Feilden’s propensity for assiduous detail is very useful in areas such as examining cracks and recording details. Admittedly his work was often on very large and complex structures (eg York Minster) where thorough systems were needed to deal with complex relationships. But Feilden’s words also apply to the far more mundane structures that we encounter here. On the subject of photogrammetry, he volunteers that ‘considering the cost of the necessary precision instruments and the need for skilled operators, photogrammetry is most economical if it is used continuously’. How true that is! I recall when, as a young architect searching for a technological edge, I involved the NSW Police Scientific Branch in a building recording exercise, using their sophisticated photogrammetry equipment. All went well until the plotting stage when the discrepancies between the inside and the outside dimensions of the door and window openings in the elevations emerged as an apparently insurmountable obstacle. The issue was resolved but only after much anguish and a brief architectural lesson in the construction of traditional doors and windows whose internal reveals are smaller than the external openings.

Lest you think that Feilden’s work is narrow and of limited relevance to any who are not involved in the day-to-day practice of building conservation (slipping on their Tyvek overalls and measuring hairline cracks until their eyes bulge) it might be noted that he has an obvious respect for the needs and offerings of the full range of professionals, from electrical engineers to curators. Anything less would be an oversight, given the role of ICCROM in educating all of the conservation disciplines and Feilden’s responsibilities there as Director between 1977 and 1981. Nevertheless the conservation field is evolving so quickly that there might be a few readers who would be disappointed to note the omission of their specialisation between pages 189 and 201. It’s a depressing fact that the community-based heritage study specialist and the indigenous heritage specialist are two that are entirely absent.

Another area of Feilden’s treatise that falls victim to the rapid pace of change and evolution in the modern profession is in the matter of buildings of the modern movement. Students of Functionalist design and construction would find the section on the conservation of modern buildings to be a useful starting
point beyond which they might have already travelled. Although I could not name a more comprehensive coverage of the subject for the enthusiastic student to study, I nevertheless have a suspicion that this section is somewhat shallow and discursive. Feilden poses the philosophical questions but fails to answer them. Perhaps that’s a good start?

It is not unreasonable for Feilden to say that, so far, ICOMOS has produced no charters specifically for modern buildings. He concedes that the principles in its doctrine would apply. I would be confident that the Burra Charter would be also up to the challenge. However the dilemma that is posed by modern buildings and reported by Feilden by way of reference to the work of others such as Alan Baxter in the Journal of Architectural Conservation, is that the use of unproven pioneering technology in many of the structures erected in the modern era has resulted in many alarming failures. Baxter suggests that we should celebrate the abstract intellectual achievement of modern buildings rather than the fabric. This leads to a new and radical approach for conservationists – to replace rather than conserve. It is dangerous territory, through which Feilden might have taken more time to guide the reader. Perhaps he will provide the tools in the next edition.

Somewhere, I seem to recall, it has been stated that we must study our history or we will be destined to repeat its mistakes. For this reason alone I would commend Conservation of Historic Buildings as a work that is both thorough and comprehensive in dealing with a subject that contains many pitfalls for the unwary. By dealing with the subject so assiduously Bernard Feilden has provided a document that records the history, processes and issues in building conservation of the past half century. It will enable anyone in the profession to review what came before, in order to go forward with confidence to tackle the complex issues of the modern movement and succeeding challenges.

Donald Elsmore

Much More than Stones and Bones: Australian Archaeology in the Late Twentieth Century.


Du Cros’s study of Australian archaeology, published in 2002, comes at a time when archaeologists are interested in reviewing and historicising their discipline for several different reasons. One of these reasons is that, as the century ticked over, there was a desire to see how far archaeology had come. As the first generation of Australian archaeologists came to retirement age, it was time to review and celebrate their achievements. Another explanation for this introspective turn derives from a broad ranging interest in the social context of archaeology, seeing research as a product of a particular time and place rather than as completely objective science, with a progressive, evolutionary trajectory.

Yet another relevant theme relates to the establishment and growth of the heritage industry, a movement that has seen ‘archaeological research value’ expressed in Australian legislation as an aspect of ‘cultural’ or ‘heritage significance’ – as a collective possession of the nation and its ‘estate’. Archaeology situated within the philosophy of the heritage movement is therefore public property, an asset to be managed for the benefit of its stakeholders or owners. It is significant that 2002 saw publication of another important book concerning the social context of Australian archaeology, focusing on the relationship between archaeology, Indigenous people and the broader public, Sarah Colley’s Uncovering Australia: Archaeology, Indigenous People and the Public (Sydney, Allen and Unwin, 2003).

One of du Cros’ main aims in this book seems to be the demystification of archaeology as a job done by (relatively) ordinary people, with a range of workplace and operational issues, just like any other job. Du Cro states that erroneous myths or misconceptions about what archaeology is, and what archaeologists do, impact upon heritage management issues in negative ways (15). Another aim of the book is therefore to allow archaeology to participate more effectively in Australian cultural life by providing a clearer explanation to the interested public about the nature of Australian archaeology.

In Chapter 1 du Cros considers some of these misconceptions about Australian archaeology as well as the ways in which archaeologists have responded to local historical myths which are sometimes held dear by communities. The latter section introduces an important issue for any consideration of the social context of archaeology: namely the authority of the discipline of archaeology, in its broader social context, and the ability of its interpretations of the past to prevail over alternative versions.

Du Cros states that her intended audiences are those who have dealings with archaeological research and ‘entry level’ students of archaeology. The book is based on a case study approach, featuring five major cases which pick up on the areas and issues where Australian archaeology has gained the highest media profile, firing controversy and conflict in most instances. The case studies cover: excavation and community involvement (Chapter 3), Tom Haydon’s film The Last Tasmanian (Chapter 4), First Government House site in Sydney (Chapter 5), archaeology and the Franklin Dam (Chapter 6) and human skeletal remains (Chapter 7). She draws on a diverse array of sources including interviews, media reports, scholarly articles and unpublished consultants’ reports and this is undoubtedly one of the main strengths of her work.

While another review described du Cros’ style and tone as ‘gossip’ (Mackay in Archaeology in Oceania, 2003) because she draws in details of the personal as well as the professional lives of archaeologists, I have more sympathy with this approach. I prefer to see the ways in which research, theory and practice develop as the result of a complex amalgam of individual strengths and interests, and social and political factors, rather than a discrete, disciplinary evolution. In this vein, biographies can indeed be an important way to understand how social, political and personal circumstances combine to provide a microcosm of their own times. Admittedly, it can be a fine line between a voyeuristic interest in the personal lives of people who have made an important contribution to archaeological research, and a genuine attempt to link trajectories of archaeological research to the personalities and interests of influential archaeological writers. I don’t think du Cros crosses this line; however, her motivations for using this technique could have been more fully explained by further analysis.

For instance, we know from her past research that du Cros has
a keen interest in feminist analysis and in sexism and gender dynamics in archaeology. Yet while we hear the voice of a feminist in this work, sexism is not an overt object of examination. Du Cros’ comment on the ‘Boy’s Own adventure’ attitude towards fieldwork on the Franklin Valley, Tasmania, is one of the few instances where this issue enters her analysis. Otherwise, discussion of feminist critique is limited to the section in Chapter 2 on archaeology and postmodernism (37). Changes to attitudes towards women in the work force, and the broader intellectual implications of feminism, must be one of the most significant social changes of the late twentieth century, and du Cros has been influential in raising this issue in the Australian context. The biographical style would have been amenable to raising more feminist issues for Australian archaeological practice and I am surprised that it is not a greater feature of this work.

Overall the book is attractively presented with a great cover and lots of illustrations and photographs inside – although the quality of the reproduction of some of these must have been a disappointment. While there are some niggling errors, such as consistently describing archaeologist Judy Birmingham as Cambridge-trained, we must admit that in undertaking accounts of events in recent years, du Cros dives into dangerous waters. She has chosen to see the players as individuals and personalities and has rejected the academic veneer of a depersonalised account. It is inevitable that some will not see events as she sees them; it is also inevitable that those actually involved in the events will know of factors and circumstances unavailable to the author.

So was the risk worth it? I think that we need scholars who are brave enough to critique and make sense out of recent events and to reflect upon why we, as archaeologists in Australia, do things the way we do. In this vein du Cros’ research is a valuable addition to the literature, and one that is accessible to a broad cross-section of the community. On the negative side I think the book missed the opportunity to link the case studies to the broader cultural discourses of their time, and to account for the cultural, political and social changes which are an undeniable feature of the late twentieth century. Archaeology itself has been intertwined with cultural change, meaning that the ‘past’, its values, and the act of studying them, has also been transformed.

Tracy Ireland