

Book Reviews

Public Indians, Private Cherokees: Tourism and Tradition on Tribal Ground. By Christina Taylor Beard-Moose. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2009. 185 pp., illustrations, bibliography, index. \$29.95 paper.)

The National Museum of the American Indian: Critical Conversations. Edited by Amy Lonetree and Amanda J. Cobb. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008. xxx + 475 pp., illustrations, acknowledgments, introduction, contributors, index. \$29.95 paper.)

Jennifer Stampe, *New York University*

Pauline Turner Strong has suggested that research on native North America is productively pursued in institutional rather than domestic settings—that is, in the museums, tourist complexes, and government centers that mediate between native and nonnative. Strong proposes that public venues for native cultural and political representation are not only the most accessible research sites now but also the most productive ones. The works under consideration here support her view.

Christina Taylor Beard-Moose traces the development of a tourism industry on the Eastern Band of Cherokee's Qualla Boundary, asking how tourism shapes and is shaped by Cherokee experience. She focuses on the Cherokee Historical Association, founded in 1946, and its products—the Oconaluftee Indian Village, the historical drama *Unto These Hills*, and the Museum of the Cherokee Indian—taking into account associated activities including craft production, casino gaming, and “chiefing,” or dressing in feathers to pose for pictures. Beard-Moose argues that in participating

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in tourism, Cherokee people reproduce a generalized Indian image found in popular stereotype. But she finds that a specifically Cherokee identity is expressed at home or in gatherings that do not interest tourists (such as Ramp Day and the Cherokee Indian Fair). Cherokee people thus cultivate a private identity and continuity with the past, apart from their engagement in commercialization and efforts to satisfy the expectations of outsiders.

Beard-Moose's approach to tourism accords with a fundamental understanding of commerce as inherently inauthentic, mystifying, and alienating. As a case in point, she explains that a 1998 museum redesign, contracted to Disney Imagineering, obscured both traditional, egalitarian gender roles and a history of Cherokee fragmentation (chapter 5). However, her interlocutors are sanguine about tourism: they say it has enabled them to protect tradition and support their families. And increasing Cherokee control over tourism is promising: a 2004 coup at the Cherokee Historical Association resulted in an all-Cherokee board and more faithful presentation of Cherokee history and culture, employing more Cherokee actors, in *Unto These Hills* (epilogue). Beard-Moose expects that a Cherokee renaissance will allow a more nuanced relationship between public and private identities: at the former TeePee Restaurant, a Cherokee-owned coffeehouse and contemporary art gallery provides a space where Cherokee people and tourists might meet and reconsider what constitutes Cherokee identity today (epilogue).

The book is approachable and engagingly written. While it could be more richly theorized (with a deeper engagement with Goffman, Marx, or MacCannell, for example), it supplies useful documentation of touristic development on the Boundary and a sensitive account of Cherokee response to and participation in it over time.

Beard-Moose's concern with Cherokee distinctions between public display and private identity provides a way to think about the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of the American Indian. When the NMAI opened on the National Mall in 2004, its innovative (though not entirely unique) collaborations were met with confusion and skepticism: some reviewers insisted that in privileging native points of view, the museum eschewed scholarship; others complained that beautiful or prized objects and authoritative facts were absent. In appealing to a heterogeneous audience, the NMAI's work to promote indigenous authority became a private orientation apart from its public self-presentation.

The National Museum of the American Indian: Critical Conversations brings together essays from two special issues of *American Indian Quarterly* edited by Amy Lonetree (2006) and Amanda J. Cobb (2005). The original, somewhat revised, essays (Archuleta, Atalay, Caro, DeLugan, Issac, Jack-

nis, Lonetree, Ostrowitz, Singer, and Vicenti Carpio) are joined by four new essays (Chavez Lamar, Erikson, Smith, and Wakeham) and three that were previously published elsewhere (Cobb, Jonaitis and Berlo, and Phillips). The volume is multivocal and interdisciplinary, offering a welcome range of perspectives from differently situated critics, including natives and non-natives; practitioners working as curators and filmmakers; and academics trained in anthropology, art history, and cultural, gender, and Native American studies, among other disciplines. The contributors document the development of an indigenous museology at (and also apart from) NMAI. Most focus on the opening ceremonies and inaugural exhibits for the Mall museum: the NMAI's Heye Center in New York City; Cultural Resources Center in Suitland, Maryland; and Community and Constituent Services department figure little here.

The essays are organized into four "critical conversations." "History and Development" comprises Ira Jacknis's history of George Gustav Heye's collection and exhibition practices, Patricia Pierce Erikson's consideration of a Native American Museums Movement and its reverberations at the Smithsonian, and Judith Ostrowitz's analysis of early planning and design consultations. "Indigenous Methodology and Community Collaboration" offers the perspectives of practitioners. Paul Chaat Smith (Comanche) explains the ambitious but much criticized "Evidence" installation in the NMAI-curated "Our Peoples" exhibit, Cynthia Chavez Lamar (San Felipe) recounts her efforts to coordinate the eight community-curated installations supporting "Our Lives," and Beverly R. Singer (Santa Clara) recalls the production of the orienting film *Who We Are*.

"Interpretations and Response" frames a debate. Some contributors defend the museum against its critics. Elizabeth Archuleta (Yaqui/Chicana) proposes that the museum's narratives depend upon indigenous storytelling practices that require an unfamiliar interpretive effort from visitors. Aldona Jonaitis and Janet Catherine Berlo demonstrate that the museum does much it is accused of failing to do, and they insist that initial criticism failed to understand the NMAI as an intervention in Western, modernist epistemologies. In a similar vein, Gwyneira Issac argues that the NMAI links coexisting but conflicting expectations that knowledge will be either "comprehensive" or "pluralistic." Other contributors assert that the museum fails to address difficult histories of genocide, dispossession, and ongoing colonization. Sonya Atalay (Ojibwe) insists that the museum's emphasis on native "survivance" (a term coined by Gerald Vizenor and embraced by the museum) becomes nonsensical without "an account of the struggle." Myla Vicenti Carpio (Jicarilla Apache/Laguna/Isleta) argues that colonialism is the absent presence that the NMAI must address in order to serve native

publics as they grapple with its ongoing legacies. Lonetree (Ho-Chunk) finds that, insofar as national reconciliation requires an explicit truth-telling, an abstracted, relativist presentation of history fails.

“Questions of Nation and Identity” takes the museum as a complex site of identity for the nation-state, native nations, and international visitors. Cobb (Chickasaw) understands the museum as a salutary exercise in cultural sovereignty, an instrument of dispossession filtered through native values and reconfigured into a tool for self-definition. By contrast, Pauline Wakeham finds that the reconciliation staged in opening festivities claims a change in museum practice as a wholesale political transformation and so promotes the interests of the state. Two essays address the “hemispheric” scope claimed by the NMAI (on account of the breadth of its collections): Robin Maria DeLugan (Cherokee) explores silence about the effects of U.S. policy in Latin America; Ruth B. Phillips examines the NMAI in relation to a similar moment of transformation at the Canadian Museum of Civilization. Finally, Mario A. Caro considers place in the work of the museum, arguing that a framing of the NMAI as a native home produces disjunctures that might usefully reconfigure our affiliations.

The volume is compelling and important, as it provides a history of the institution from the point of view of both practice and theory and archives its initial years of operation. It does suffer slightly from its multivocality. Some greater effort on the editors’ part to lay out the relevant debates and the positions that inform them would be welcome, as would a reduction of the repetition that comes from seventeen authors’ descriptions of the institution and its exhibits (Jonaitis/Berlo and Cobb offer two helpfully comprehensive accounts).

As the editors indicate in their introduction, some vigorous debates are staged across the conversations they identify. The primary one concerns not only the conjuncture of multiple epistemologies (Western and indigenous, modern and postmodern) but also competing demands for celebratory or critical histories. The American Indian Movement has denounced the NMAI for its failure to indict native genocide. Yet Smith reports that the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum inspired the beleaguered choice to tell the story of contact through a display of guns, Bibles, and treaties. This is partly a problem of pedagogy: can the museum provoke its audiences via the visual, affective, and implied, or must it employ explicit, didactic instruction? It is also an ontological question: what is this museum for and to whom is it directed? Can it nurture indigenous lifeways, addressing itself to natives in a private mode, while also pressing for recognition and understanding from nonnatives in a public one? Yet another debate examines the extent to which the NMAI represents a larger paradigm shift. Where Phillips suggests this

is a time of “epochal change” in the relationship between Native peoples and museums (406), Jacknis wonders whether the NMAI is really “a new thing.” For her part, Ostrowitz argues that planners charged with representing diverse native communities sought to identify commonalities and so “established an extraordinary degree of generalization as appropriate for [the museum’s] public address” (86). In her view, the NMAI produces anew a generalized abstraction—the “Indian”—rather than specific identities: it thus risks reproducing a stereotype but, in the words of Lloyd Kiva New, in “at least . . . a more or less updated version—espoused by Indians themselves” (cited in Ostrowitz, 103). As Beard-Moose tells us, this is not quite a new thing.

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The Lakota Ghost Dance of 1890. By Rani-Henrik Andersson. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008. xxii + 437 pp., acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, appendixes, bibliography, index. \$50.00 cloth.)

At Standing Rock and Wounded Knee: The Journals and Papers of Father Francis M. Craft, 1888–1890. Edited by Thomas W. Foley. (Norman, OK: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2009. 344 pp., acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$45.00 cloth.)

Gregory E. Smoak, *Colorado State University*

Nearly 120 years after the horror of Wounded Knee, the Lakota practice of the Ghost Dance religion holds a firm grip on scholarly and popular imaginations. In the past decade alone, scholars have sought to incorporate the Lakota views of the movement more fully, examined the experience of the Lakota Ghost Dancers as performers in the Wild West shows, and offered an extended analysis of the religion as an anticolonial movement. The two very different volumes reviewed here—one presenting a postmodern interpretation of the religion from diverse perspectives, the other privileging the view of a single Euro-American missionary—add to this ever-growing literature with mixed results.

In *The Lakota Ghost Dance of 1890*, Rani-Henrik Andersson seeks to bring a comprehensive multidimensional understanding to the religion by examining the perspectives of six groups: the Lakotas, Indian agents, the army, Christian missionaries, the press, and the U.S. Congress. The Lakota chapter is the heart of the book. Andersson has combed through the full range of the standard sources as well as used several unpublished and until

recently untranslated Lakota memoirs. Students of the Ghost Dance will find a thorough consideration of the Lakota perspective but, with the exception of the previously unused accounts, will be familiar with most of Andersson's sources and interpretations. In line with recent works by Jeffrey Ostler and Sam Maddra, he firmly rejects the notion common in older histories that the Lakotas "perverted" Wovoka's peaceful doctrine into one of war. Andersson argues that the religion resonated with many Lakotas because it once again brought religious practice into the open and because its syncretic nature gave some Christian converts a means of reconciling their new beliefs with older spiritual values. Five chapters are devoted to divergent white perspectives. Considerations of the military and the press are the most extensive while the treatment of the Indian agents and white missionaries are comparatively brief. The inclusion of the congressional perspective seems a bit arbitrary, as Andersson finds that Congress showed little interest and took no substantive action in regard to the religion.

For scholars, particularly specialists in American Indian and American Western history, Andersson's theoretical framework will be quite familiar. His principal model is Robert Berkhofer's 1995 *Beyond the Great Story*, which called upon historians to acknowledge a central premise of postmodern/poststructural theory and incorporate multiple viewpoints into their narratives. Andersson is equally indebted to the New Western and New Indian history that emerged in the 1980s. Yet he never moves far beyond the basic premise of including diverse viewpoints, and his conclusion becomes simple: "The Great Story of the Lakota ghost dance revolves around fundamental misunderstanding on a collective level; the whites and Lakotas were simply unable to understand each other. Since Lakotas and whites viewed the ghost dance from their own cultural perspectives, conflict between them seems inevitable" (298). He also misses the chance to break new ground by applying the same depth of ethnohistorical analysis to the various white perspectives (nineteenth-century American religious or military culture, for instance) as he does to the Lakotas'. Still, this is a solidly researched work that will be useful in the classroom as a Ghost Dance text or as an introduction to understanding historical events and movements from diverse perspectives.

Following up on his 2002 biography of Father Francis M. Craft, Thomas W. Foley presents the priest's journals and selected papers in *At Standing Rock and Wounded Knee*. The volume caps a lifelong fascination for Foley, a "retired labor-personnel executive" who first came upon the journals in his aunt's home over sixty years ago (the journals and much of Craft's unpublished correspondence remain in Foley's personal collection). The New York-born Craft, whose great-grandmother was Mohawk, fol-

lowed a circuitous route to the priesthood. He trained as a physician, yet evinced a lifelong attraction to military life. By the time he converted to Catholicism and entered the seminary in the mid-1870s, he was a veteran of three wars. Craft proved to be a dedicated yet controversial and disruptive figure, whose “missionary style placed him at odds with nearly everyone on the reservations” (p. 20). After being expelled from his first post on the Rosebud Reservation, he began his tenure at Standing Rock in 1884. The majority of the volume contains Craft’s journals written at Standing Rock between March 1888 and May 1890. Foley’s editing style is idiosyncratic. He omits very brief and repetitive entries, rightly, but summarizes other sections of the journals written while Craft was traveling off the reservation that might be of interest to researchers. Footnotes and annotations are sparse. Most of the entries recount daily life on the reservation, Craft’s frustration with his Indian charges, and his utter disdain for the incompetence and corruption of the Indian bureau. These entries should be of interest to students of missionary activity and federal policy in the reservation era.

The volume takes on a very different tone when Foley turns to the priest’s “Wounded Knee Observations.” As the Ghost Dance excitement spread, Craft went to Pine Ridge and acted as a negotiator for the army at Wounded Knee, where he was nearly killed. His written recollections exonerate the military and blame the Lakotas for firing first. Portions of Craft’s accounts are reprinted in the volume, but instead of remaining an editor, Foley becomes an advocate seeking to elevate Craft to the position of “hero of Wounded Knee.” He chides authors stretching back to James Mooney who he believes have not given adequate weight to Craft’s reports. For Foley there was no massacre; it was a battle. He wholeheartedly embraces the “perversion” theory and casts Lakota Ghost Dancers as delusional, heavily armed fanatics spoiling for a fight. Current interpretations of Wounded Knee are characterized as “agenda-driven” efforts that slander the army and fabricate an image of Bigfoot’s band as a “forlorn group of helpless innocents” (295, 316). Yet it is Foley’s analysis that repeatedly violates the rules of historical logic and practice. Lakota accounts are dismissed in a single paragraph, and Foley never turns a critical eye upon Craft, a former soldier of fortune with a deep admiration for the military. While offering no evidence or citation, he asserts that every one of Bigfoot’s 120 “uniformed warriors” were armed with the best Winchester rifles (296, fn 301). Finally, he consoles the Lakota people that “there is no shame to have fought and lost a battle at Wounded Knee” and closes with a quote from Tennyson’s “The Charge of the Light Brigade” (319). The chapter is an unscholarly personal quest and mars a volume that might otherwise be of interest to scholars of Lakota history.

Iroquois Journey: An Anthropologist Remembers. By William N. Fenton. Edited and introduced by Jack Campisi and William A. Starna (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007. xiv + 204 pp., introduction, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$55.00 cloth, \$24.95 paper.)

Raymond D. Fogelson, *University of Chicago*

This posthumous memoir from the leading twentieth-century scholar of the Iroquois is most welcome. William N. Fenton was a versatile, persistent, and innovative researcher who, like an exceptional few other anthropologists—I'm thinking here of Franz Boas, A. L. Kroeber, and A. Irving Hallowell—produced much of his best and most influential work after he turned sixty. Up to that age, through scores of important articles, Fenton had secured his reputation as a knowledgeable and significant scholar at the Smithsonian and later at the New York State Museum and the State University of New York at Albany.

But with his retirement at age seventy, many of us had serious doubts about whether he would ever get around to producing his “big book” on the Iroquois. To our delight, and beyond expectations, not only did his definitive volume *The False Faces of the Iroquois* appear (1987) but also his magisterial *The Great Law and the Longhouse: A Political History of the Iroquois Confederacy* (1998). These two major contributions were followed up by a short yet authoritative account, *The Little Water Society of the Seneca* (2002). The present memoir will soon be followed by a volume of Fenton's selected writings on the Iroquois, also edited by his devoted former students Campisi and Starna. This late surge of productivity and continuing relevance is truly breathtaking.

The manuscript of *Iroquois Journey* was completed shortly before Fenton's death in 2005, when he was ninety-seven years old. It lacks his firm editorial hand, and his memory is understandably selective. However, the book captures the oral quality of his oft-repeated anecdotes with a clarity that denies dotage. Like his ethnography, his autobiography is richly detailed and coherent.

Because of his Ivy League education at Dartmouth and Yale, many mistakenly view Bill Fenton as a person “to the manor born.” However, his grandparents were small farmers in upstate New York, where the family's abiding friendship with local Senecas began in the nineteenth century. Bill grew up in a modest household in New Rochelle, a suburb of New York City. His parents were both teachers in the New York public school system. Bill's father was a talented artist, and after Bill left for college the family moved to Westport, Connecticut, a vibrant art colony. Dartmouth provided Bill with a solid undergraduate education. His major was sociology, and he

didn't have much exposure to anthropology. He formed lifelong friendships with many classmates, some of whom, like Nelson Rockefeller, went on to positions of power in the business and political worlds. Bill blossomed in graduate school at Yale, where he studied with Edward Sapir, Leslie Spier, George Peter Murdock, Peter Buck, Cornelius Osgood, and Clark Wissler, among others; his informal mentor in Iroquois studies was Frank Speck. Bill began his formal fieldwork with the Seneca as a social worker for the Indian Service. He represented his client's interests faithfully, created much goodwill, bonded closely with the elders, and was ultimately adopted into the Hawk Clan. His dissertation was published as *An Outline of Seneca Ceremonies at Coldspring Longhouse* (1936).

After a brief teaching stint at St. Lawrence College, Bill joined the Bureau of American Ethnology, where he continued his long-term Iroquois research. He was a transitional link between the glory days of the bureau's amateur past and its increasing professionalization and closer connection to academic anthropology. In Washington, Bill served on many government boards and committees, particularly with regard to the war effort. He moved easily among influential leaders and proved to be a sensible and able administrator. Bill, his wife, Olive, and their children became active members of the greater Washington community. However, Bill's movements were never fully restricted to the constraints of Washington's beltway. Besides his frequent forays into Iroquoia, he became a presence on the larger anthropological scene through his work with international congresses and scholarly conferences. Much of his memoir describes his extensive worldwide travels and engaging encounters with notable figures within and without anthropology.

While clearly anchored to the conservative, data-driven, four-field approach of Smithsonian anthropology, Fenton attended to new theoretical developments in academia. As a student of Sapir, he was sympathetic to psychological approaches to culture; through his connections with Wissler and his experiences as a social worker, he maintained a continuing concern for reservation communities and for the uses of applied anthropology; but most significantly Bill Fenton was attracted to the study of cultural dynamics through critical examination of historical documents, through acculturation studies that were rapidly replacing former interests in diffusion, and through structural-functional analysis of social and political systems. The dynamics of culture change were important but so were, he insisted, the dynamics of cultural persistence. Fenton is perhaps best known for the theoretical model he labeled "upstreaming," his name for "reading history backwards," or moving from the present cultural situations back against the currents of the past to discern continuities and discontinuities. I never

confronted him as to whether his trope had anything to do with his ardent love of fly-fishing.

An equally important dimension of his ethnohistory was his constant effort to understand native history from a native perspective. This involved viewing native ideas about cosmogenesis and ethnogenesis as major orienting points in indigenous history; considering the epics of culture heroes and legendary mythic figures as significant historical documents; and conceiving of prophetic dreams as generative forces rather than mere reflections of cultural change. I think it was Fenton who first discovered that while we punctuate our history by reference to wars the Iroquois measured historical time by the rare interludes of peace.

In 1945, Bill helped spearhead the successful annual Iroquois Conference, first held at Red House in the Allegeny State Park and later moving to conference facilities in Rensselaerville, New York. This venerable institution continues to serve as a meeting ground for archaeologists, linguists, historians, folklorists, and others interested in Iroquoia. Here ideas are examined, information is exchanged, and new generations of scholars are immersed into the ongoing stream of Iroquois studies.

In 1954 Bill became director of the New York State Museum and Social Service. He accomplished much during his fourteen-year tenure. He assembled an effective staff who curated the valuable collections, mounted new exhibits, and developed successful educational programs. Before his retirement from the museum, Fenton became embroiled in a bitter controversy with the Onondagas over ownership of twelve wampum belts. He took seriously his custodial responsibilities for the care and preservation of these irreplaceable artifacts. Bill honestly believed that his research proved that the belts had been acquired by the museum in legitimate fashion. The legal battles dragged on for twenty years. However, the political winds were against him, and eventually the belts were repatriated in 1989. These struggles plus the (mis-)perceived exclusivity of the Iroquois Conference alienated Fenton from the younger generation of native Iroquois scholars. For them, many of whom I genuinely respect for their desire to reclaim their heritage, the participants of the annual Iroquois Conference can be derisively dismissed as "Fentonians."

I hereby confess to being a loyal "Fentonian." He was a mentor and friend. His work exemplified some of the high points in Native American scholarship. He played a prominent role in shaping modern ethnohistory. I predict that future Iroquois studies will be indelibly marked and inspired by his pioneering research. While on first encounter, Bill may have seemed aloof and condescending, for those who got past first impressions, he proved to be a warm, generous, and responsive friend.

Iroquois Journey is an important component of the Fentonian legacy. Jack Campisi and William Starna deserve credit for seeing the book through to publication, as well as for providing a thoughtful introduction and a valuable bibliography of the extensive writings of William N. Fenton. Both Campisi and Starna, along with several others, earned their PhDs under Bill's tutelage when he served as Distinguished Research Professor at SUNY Albany until his retirement in 1979. Thus to his many other accolades and accomplishments as a researcher and administrator must be added his brief but successful career as a teacher. His school-teaching parents would have taken pride in this late phase of their son's distinguished career. Fenton's Iroquois journey was long and arduous but ultimately rewarding.

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Red Gentleman and White Savages: Indians, Federalists, and the Search for Order on the American Frontier. By David Andrew Nichols. (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2008. xi + 291 pp., acknowledgments, introduction, maps, bibliography, notes, index. \$39.50 cloth.)

Patrick Spero, *University of Pennsylvania*

In *Red Gentleman and White Savages*, David Andrew Nichols chronicles the tumultuous and highly contested early years of U.S.-Indian relations. Nichols's account focuses on four major groups who tried to shape early federal Indian policy: Federalists, Indian leaders, pan-Indian "federationists" (often young warriors), and "frontier white savages" (Euro-American settlers). Members of each of these groups tried to advance their own vision of the relationship between the United States and native peoples.

Nichols argues that federal officials "often opposed western expansion" or "favored western settlements but wanted them confined to a limited area controlled by the federal government" (10). These Federalists, whom Nichols also calls "nationalists," believed a strong central government could best accomplish these ends. The group Nichols calls "Indian leaders" or "civil chiefs" could find common ground with Federalists. Indian leaders believed that a strong federal government would protect their land claims and were willing to cede some ground to the new nation in exchange for an ordered and restrained settlement.

Pan-Indian federationists and white settlers shared a similar but oppositional outlook. Both groups viewed the other with hostility. Federationist Indians, often Shawnees and Wyandots, rejected many Euro-American land

claims, often did not participate in the diplomacy between the United States and Indian leaders, organized armed resistance to Euro-American expansion, and distrusted U.S. intentions. White settlers for their part harbored a deep hatred of Indians, suspected Federalists acted to serve their own interests at the expense of settlers in the West and wanted an uninhibited expansion of American territory. In the end, the visions of Federalists and Indians failed because “both ultimately depended on frontier militants” for support (14).

Nichols’s story begins during the Confederation period. After the Revolution, private land companies, individual states, and the Continental Congress vied for control over native relations and the rights to expansion. This “cacophony” of interests led to war and calls for a stronger central government (19). Leaders of the new federal government tried “to maintain peace and protect whites and Indians from one another” (79), but their efforts were frustrated by “unruly young men . . . fighting to control land . . . [and] to display their prowess as warriors” (57). Nichols shows that in the 1780s and early 1790s “local actors, be they chiefs, warriors, or militia, set the agenda west of the Appalachians,” not the federal government (80).

Nichols’s account ends with the American victory at Fallen Timbers in 1794 and the election of Jefferson in 1800. He views the two as related events. He argues that the United States owed its victory to Federalists’ ability to create a legitimate army and diplomatic corps. Nichols also notes that international events led European nations—potential allies of the federationists—to recede from the scene. The Federalists used the “Settlement of 1795–1796” to implement their vision of an ordered expansion in the West. Nichols concludes that “overall, the Federalists’ peacetime Indian policy engendered little Native American resistance” (178). White settlers, however, disagreed with Federalists’ policies and subsequently turned to the Democratic-Republicans, the party that envisioned an expansive nation made up of small landowners.

Nichols’s account pays close attention to a variety of interrelated events in the early republic. His narrative contains a nearly full account of early U.S.-Indian diplomacy and discusses often-underappreciated events such as the independent state of Franklin and the role of international influence in Indian relations. He also pays close attention to how ideas of property, power, and prestige figured into all of these groups’ perspectives. Nichols’s work is an invaluable resource for information on early national Indian relations.

The Power of Promises: Rethinking Indian Treaties in the Pacific Northwest. By Alexandra Harmon, Center for the Study of the Pacific Northwest, Contributor John Burrows (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008. 384 pp., maps, notes, index. \$28.95 paper.)

Gray H. Whaley, *Southern Illinois University-Carbondale*

Indian treaties served the United States well between the 1780s and 1871. The nation legitimized the acquisition of land and resources and asserted its sovereignty to an audience of native nations, foreign competitors, and constituent states. Great Britain had provided the model for American treaties and continued its practice through the nineteenth century, and Canada, an autonomous member of the United Kingdom, recently renewed treaty negotiations with the First Nations. In the American states of the Pacific Northwest and the neighboring province of British Columbia, native activists have ensured that treaties are not relics but vibrant, evocative documents open to challenge, interpretation, and indigenous purposes, though governmental power inequities continue to limit the effectiveness of these efforts. Taken together, the eleven essays in this volume flesh out many important parts of the treaty narrative of the Northwest.

The essays focus mostly on the border area of the Northwest coast in Washington State and British Columbia. They explore the advent of regional treaties and their cultural, political, and legal significance over time. The book grew out of a conference at the University of Washington in Seattle and well reflects the high level of scholarship developing about the native Northwest. In the introduction, editor Alexandra Harmon, a historian and former tribal attorney, provides a succinct explanation of the projects' evolution and notes the value of the writers' varied perspectives as lawyers, historians, and anthropologists. The individual contributions are relatively brief and tightly focused. Given the breadth of coverage, more context and historical background in the introduction might have been merited, but the order of the essays effectively situates readers. The individual essays tend to include significant general information before delving into specific topics, so expect more redundancies than would be acceptable in a monograph.

In part one, "Colonial Conceits," the first essay, by Ken McNeil, explains the legal history of the treaties, and the second, by Paige Raibmon, explores the culture and politics of treaty geography through the novel approach of family history. Raibmon creatively emphasizes the important relationship between the local and the state. In part two, "Cross-Border Influences," two essays examine legal precedents shared between the Anglo judicial systems of Canada and the United States, including, of course, fishing rights. Part three, "Indigenous Interpretations and Responses," might alternatively have

been called the “unintended consequences” of treaty policy. The four essays sketch native attempts to harness the power of treaties, which had earlier dispossessed their ancestors and them, and demonstrate why those efforts so often failed on the uneven ground of colonialism. Part four, “Power Relations in Contemporary Forums,” includes three essays that demonstrate how the past—with treaties (and modern “substitutes”) at the center—continues to be reimagined and refashioned to meet the needs of new generations. Impressively, the essays examine nineteenth- and twentieth-century law and legal theory, changing indigenous perceptions, cross-border colonial relations, and ongoing contests over the nature of treaties and treaty making.

Regional and treaty specialists will want this collection. As well, the U.S.-Canadian connections should broaden its readership into the growing areas of transnationalism and comparative colonialism/indigeneity. Individual essays will probably find their way onto course syllabi, though the entire book may be suitable only for a very specific upper division or graduate seminar.

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We Have a Religion: The 1920s Pueblo Indian Dance Controversy and American Religious Freedom. By Tisa Wenger. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009. xx + 333 pp., preface, acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$59.95 cloth, \$22.95 paper.)

Brandi Denison, *University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*

What is religion? Who can define “religion”? What are the implications of religious freedom? Tisa Wenger’s *We Have a Religion* explores these questions through the previously understudied 1920s Pueblo Indian Dance controversy. Using Catholic mission records, archived oral histories, personal papers, and Bureau of Indian Affairs correspondence and records, Wenger argues the dance controversy “illuminates how some Native Americans first began to make use of the legal argument for religious freedom” and thus challenged “dominant cultural conceptions about what counted as religion” (xiii). As a cultural and intellectual history, this text provides a concrete example of mechanisms that create human conceptions of religion. It is an important contribution to the study of Native American religions, as it is a shift from traditional anthropological analytical categories (i.e., describing rituals, practices, and sacred stories) to an analysis of the historical and cultural processes that shape “religion.”

In the early twentieth century, activists attempted to suppress the

Pueblo's summer ceremony. The secretive dances led to false allegations that the dancers practiced cannibalism and sexually abused young girls. Reformers suggested that if the Pueblo were allowed to continue "savage" rites, assimilation goals would never be achieved. Contrary to these allegations, the Pueblo kept these ceremonies away from public view because "ceremonial knowledge is too sacred and powerful" for public consumption (3). Additionally, Pueblo believed these ceremonies benefited the entire community; secret society initiates had to participate.

We Have a Religion is organized into six chapters, chronologically. Chapter 1 provides an introduction to Pueblo Indian history, situating the conflict within a colonial context. Wedged between Catholic and Protestant missionaries, Pueblo Indians worked to define traditional ceremonial practices as *Pueblo* traditions, complementary to Christian practices. Most Catholic missionaries accepted this combinative identity; Protestant reformers did not. Chapter 2 discusses artists' draw to New Mexico and the impact of their advocacy on behalf of Pueblo dance practices. Protestants found unlikely allies with secular intellectuals reformists, as both saw Pueblo dances as barriers to civilized progress.

Chapter 3 places the modernists in dialogue with Pueblo Indians in the defense of land rights and tribal sovereignty over ceremonial practices. Pueblo leadership was frustrated with the government's lack of attention to white squatters on Pueblo land. Ironically, the government was concerned with the leadership's treatment of Pueblo factions that refused to participate in the dances—effectively privileging individual "religious freedom" over land rights. Pueblos and John Collier initiated a large-scale campaign to frame the dances in familiar religious categories. The public campaign led politicians to protect land rights but, as Wenger astutely notes, also re-inscribed notations of primitivism. Chapter 4 describes the Indian dance controversy as well as efforts by the tribe to define the ceremonies as religion and, therefore, immune from governmental intrusion. Chapter 5 outlines the Pueblo's religious freedom compromise—by defining the dances as religious practices, the Pueblo were granted religious freedom. However, the tribe was not granted coercion powers—religious freedom applies to individuals, not to communities. By conceding their right to require participation, the tribe successfully ended reformist meddling. The text concludes with an overview of legal decisions shaping Native American efforts to achieve religious freedom.

Wenger's text not only provides a rich description of the Pueblo dance controversy but also advances Native American religious studies from thick descriptions and categorical analysis to an intellectual history that situates Native American religious freedom within political discourses—noting both the legal triumphs as well as the costs. One drawback to this method

is that Euro-American reformers sometimes crowd out Native American voices, but despite any shortcomings, this stands as an important contribution to Native American studies.

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The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees. Edited by Rowena McClinton. (2 vols., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007. Vol. 1, xxvii + 650 pp., acknowledgments, illustrations, maps. Vol. 2, vi + 640 pp., appendixes, glossary, bibliographical essay, indexes. \$99.95 cloth.)

Andrew Denson, *Western Carolina University*

In 1800 members of the pietistic sect known as the Moravians established a small mission to the Cherokees at a spot called Springplace in present-day northwest Georgia. Settling on land improved by the influential planter James Vann, they began the first sustained effort to spread Christianity in the Cherokee Nation. Cherokees at this time showed little interest in the new religion; however, tribal leaders permitted the Moravians to live among their people on the condition that they would open a school where Indian children might learn English and other skills useful in a region increasingly dominated by Anglo-Americans. The missionaries stayed at Springplace for more than thirty years, operating their small academy and winning a handful of converts while witnessing some of the most dramatic events of Cherokee history.

In *The Moravian Springplace Mission to the Cherokees*, Rowena McClinton offers a thoroughly annotated translation of the mission diary, a journal in which Moravians recorded daily events and observations of their Indian neighbors. Its principal author was Anna Rosina Gambold, who served as the mission school's main teacher from 1805 until her death in early 1821. While Gambold taught in English, she kept the diary in the Moravians' native German, using the archaic writing style known as German script. As a result, students of Native American history have made relatively little use of this rich source. For many of us, the publication of a scholarly edition in English represents the opening of a new window on life in the Cherokee Nation during the early nineteenth century.

While Gambold's purpose in writing was to document the progress of the mission, the diary manages to illuminate most of the broader subjects that interest Cherokee historians today. The Moravians' relationship with Vann, for instance, meant that the missionaries were in a position to observe Cherokee politics at a time when tribal leaders had begun to con-

struct a more centralized system of government. Other prominent Cherokees involved in this effort, such as Charles Hicks and The Ridge, were friends of the mission, and the diary abounds with fascinating glimpses of tribal politics during this crucial period. For similar reasons, the missionaries also enjoyed a direct view of the era's social and economic changes. Many of their Cherokee supporters had successfully adopted Anglo-American economic ways, and the mission itself lay alongside the Federal Road, an important route for trade and information from the Cherokees' non-Indian neighbors. Moreover, the mission's close proximity to the Vann plantation allowed the Moravians to observe and document slavery in the Cherokee Nation. Slaves attended Moravian services, and the diary frequently comments upon plantation management and slave life. Given the current scholarly interest in Indian slavery, this material may prove to be one of the diary's most significant contributions.

As an editor, McClinton brings to the diary a thorough understanding of both Cherokee history and Moravian religious practice. The meticulous notes place the journal entries in rich context while guiding the reader toward a deeper appreciation of the complexity of this cross-cultural meeting. In addition, McClinton provides extremely helpful appendixes, most notably a set of carefully compiled biographical lists of the mission's Moravian personnel, Cherokee students, and Cherokee and non-Indian visitors to Springplace.

Historians of the native South have been blessed lately with a wealth of new editions of important primary sources. Kathryn Holland Braund, for instance, recently published a new version of James Adair's *History of the American Indians*, while Duane King has produced a wonderful edition of Henry Timberlake's journal. *The Moravian Springplace Mission* is a welcome and worthwhile addition to this list. It both reflects and will contribute to the growing vitality of southeastern Indian studies.

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High Stakes: Florida Seminole Gaming and Sovereignty. By Jessica R. Cattelino. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008. xiii + 304 pp., acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$79.95 cloth, \$22.95 paper.)

Andrew K. Frank, *Florida State University*

In the popular press and many native communities, casino wealth is often seen as a homogenizing influence that threatens to destroy Indian traditions

and communities. In this compelling and sophisticated ethnography of the modern Seminole Tribe of Florida, Jessica R. Cattelino demonstrates how these accounts simplistically obscure the complex ways in which Indians have used casino wealth to secure their tribal sovereignty and cultural distinctiveness. In the process, Cattelino makes several important contributions, especially as they relate to the literatures on Indian gaming, tribal sovereignty, and the fungibility of money.

Thirty years ago, the Seminoles had an annual budget of less than \$2 million. Since then, they have been vanguards in the fight for Indian gaming rights and have profited from their successes. They opened the first high-stakes bingo hall by a North America tribal community in 1979, won precedent-setting legal cases (see *Seminole Tribe of Florida v. Butterworth*), and more recently purchased the Hard Rock Café brand in 2006 for nearly a billion dollars. The self-proclaimed “unconquered tribe” now provides generous monthly dividends to its citizens, and the tribe can afford to offer a host of new social services to its members.

Cattelino spent more than a year conducting fieldwork among the Seminoles, volunteering at the Ah-Tah-Thi-Ki Museum and other cultural enterprises within the Florida communities. She divided most of her time among the Hollywood, Big Cypress, and Brighton reservations—the largest of the six Seminole reservations that are dispersed across the Florida peninsula. As a result *High Stakes* is informed by countless informal conversations that took place in the course of various social activities as well as by “semistructured interviews” (28).

Throughout the volume, Cattelino documents a multiplicity of ways in which Seminoles have proactively used casino wealth to build and preserve their tribal community. In addition to providing employment with a “traditional leave” policy for “ceremonial and observance purposes” (51), gaming has also allowed the tribe to build a museum and open the Pema-yetv Emahakv Charter School at Brighton and the Ahfachkee School in Big Cypress. There, students learn the Seminole language and history and traditional crafts. Seminoles have also created new programs or taken control of those that were once run by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. They now provide their citizens with universal health care services, senior centers, housing programs, and other social services. They fund their own media—with the *Seminole Tribune* covering the local events and Seminole Broadcasting airing events on local-access television and creating documentary films. Casino wealth has also allowed individual Seminoles to build traditional chickees in their backyards and participate in an extensive social calendar that is funded and encouraged by tribal leaders. Although Seminoles struggled with some of the ramifications of their sudden wealth, Cattelino

concludes that the wealth has reinvigorated and consolidated the Seminole community.

In addition to cataloging how casinos funded a “cultural renaissance” (66), Cattelino uses the Seminole experience to reorient our understanding of sovereignty away from both the concept of independence and an emphasis on federal-tribal relationships. Instead, she explores how tribal sovereignty is established through various interdependencies—often with municipal, state, and other tribal governments. The Seminoles, for example, have arranged revenue-sharing relationships with local municipalities to help fund roads and other necessities just as they have established jurisdictional agreements with local police. Through these and other external relationships and mutual obligations, the Seminoles have strengthened their ability to control their own lives and thereby enjoy sovereignty.

Cattelino’s optimism for the Seminole community occasionally obscures the problems that the various new programs have been designed to address. Nevertheless, this is an ethnographically rich and theoretically sophisticated monograph that is filled with countless insights that extend far beyond the concerns of the Florida Seminoles. *High Stakes* deserves, and will undoubtedly receive, a wide readership.

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Intercultural Utopias: Public Intellectuals, Cultural Experimentation, and Ethnic Pluralism in Colombia. By Joanne Rappaport. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005. xx + 330 pp., introduction, glossary, notes, works cited, index. \$84.95 cloth, \$23.95 paper.)

Countering Development: Indigenous Modernity and the Moral Imagination. By David Gow. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008. xi + 300 pp., introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$84.95 cloth, \$23.95 paper.)

Michael Ennis, *Duke University*

The Cauca region of southwest Colombia is home to a majority of the country’s indigenous population. Often caught between guerrillas, paramilitary groups, and drug cartels, the indigenous peoples’ struggle for autonomy provides the subject for these two new analyses of the cultural politics of Colombia. While Rappaport and Gow cover similar terrain, their different perspectives bring valuable insights to the material, not so much overlapping as complementing each other’s ethnographic and theoretical agendas. Readers will find each a provocative and timely contribution to the

literature on indigenous social movements, a topic whose significance has been forcefully reasserted by the recent violence in the Peruvian Amazon. Together they overlay their treatment of the situation in Cauca with compelling theoretical arguments that speak directly to the ethnographic data.

Rappaport weaves her analysis of the cultural politics of Colombia—and a particular emphasis on the Nasa people—with narratives of “utopian individuals” who endeavor to construct “intercultural utopias” through their efforts to articulate indigenous identity, preserve Nasa history and traditions (particularly shamanism), and engage in the difficult work of translating and dialoguing between indigenous, academic, and state discourses. Although Rappaport critically engages several concepts in order to delineate the particular complexities of Nasa activism—contact zones, autoethnography, double consciousness, the dialogic, subalternity—she funnels these discussions through her analysis of the predicaments of the indigenous intellectual. As such, several key questions inform the work: What is the purpose of intellectual work and academic research? What are the tenets of a pluralistic society? How can an indigenous intellectual work with nonindigenous activists and researchers while maintaining his or her identity? Rappaport answers these questions with biographical narratives that weave through the broader discussion of the social movements they help constitute. The inclusion of individuals’ voices grounds the abstractions in the more intelligible struggles of the activists.

David Gow starts with a more focused question: he seeks to understand indigenous attempts at development planning in the wake of the 1994 earthquake that devastated the Cauca region and displaced several indigenous communities. By comparing the planning processes and development plans of three newly formed communities—Cxayu’ce, Tóez Caloto, and Juan Tama—Gow offers valuable insight into how communities seize on a crisis to articulate communal ideals and identity. Moreover, the contrasts in both the planning processes and the documents they produced give a richly detailed picture of the heterogeneity of indigenous responses to modernity.

Since the two works cover similar time frames and draw on data often collected during joint fieldwork, there is naturally considerable overlap in the topics discussed. Both authors treat the formation of indigenous education programs in the region in detail, and readers will benefit from the discussions of the goals and strategies different communities and social activists use in creating an “indigenous” curriculum. Both authors also treat the legacy and influence of Padre Álvaro Ulcué, a Nasa priest and activist who was assassinated in 1984. Gow and Rappaport also go to lengths to situate themselves as committed scholars and reflect on the implications of working as activists and researchers.

The two subtly differ in their framing of their most interesting conclusions. Rappaport reconstructs Nasa utopian visions based on an in-depth engagement with concepts the Nasa use in their discourses. She summarizes the relationship of culture to utopia in the social movements: “For indigenous activists and their supporters, culture is more of a political utopia than a concrete and preexisting thing. Culture is a tool for delineating a project within which people can build an ethnic polity protected from the hegemonic forces that surround them: including drug lords, paramilitary units, and guerrilla columns. Culture also provides a vehicle for the reconstruction of lifeways that afford indigenous communities alternatives to the dominant values of individualism and consumerism” (38–39). Rappaport explores how cosmovision and shamanism inform Nasa arguments about their own identity and ethnic pluralism. Nasa relationships to land and time (95), the model of the house garden or *tul* (147), and the layers of authority over time and space (199) all provide keys to understanding the way that Nasa concepts productively recast notions of utopia and a pluralist state.

While Rappaport looks to the Nasa’s own concepts to articulate their utopian work, Gow gestures toward an understanding of Nasa moral imagination to an alternative modernity, extrapolating the consequences of indigenous activism in relation to Enlightenment ethics. The inclusiveness offered by “counterpublic” political spaces “called for the forging of a culturally informed *mundus imaginalis moralis*—a moral imaginary—that reinforces and strengthens an indigenous presence in the region but also engages the moral promise of the Enlightenment, complementing the discourse of human rights with those of economic, social, and cultural rights” (239). By a moral imaginary, Gow refers to the means by which one can transcend the views of the individual and “empathize with the plight of others” (251). While the moral imaginary constructed here remains rooted in Nasa experiences, Gow sufficiently abstracts it to put it into communication with other moral discourses. Such a move would be more difficult to accomplish with the concepts from Rappaport. Perhaps this is a consequence of the histories of the respective concepts that govern the works. Modernity remains a concept to be challenged and criticized by anthropologists, and Gow does give an excellent critical account of a counter/alternative modernity here. While utopia may once have implied a totalizing impulse, the concept has more recently been appropriated in a variety of leftist and subaltern discourses.

Both of these works offer innovative approaches to anthropology and should find readers among those interested in indigenous social movements and the politics of knowledge production.

Domination without Dominance: Inca-Spanish Encounters in Early Colonial Peru. By Gonzalo Lamana. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008. xiii + 287 pp., about the series, table of contents, acknowledgments, introduction, maps, chronology, notes, glossary, bibliography, index. \$22.95 paper.)

Invaders as Ancestors: On the Intercultural Making and Unmaking of Spanish Colonialism in the Andes. By Peter Gose. (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2008. xviii + 380 pp., illustrations, acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index. \$35.00 paper.)

Karoline P. Cook, *University of Southern California*

What can “talking books” and ancestor cults tell us about encounters in the Andes? Both Gonzalo Lamana and Peter Gose strive to reconceptualize the Spanish invasion of Peru from the perspective of Andean peoples. Lamana narrows his gaze to a twenty-year period encompassing the conquest of Peru, while Gose scans social and religious transformations from the sixteenth century to the present. Both authors challenge the historiography of contact and domination and present fresh methodological insights into how scholars might approach indigenous understandings of a changing order. For both, local politics mattered in the creation of hybrid understandings of the relations between native peoples and Spaniards.

Lamana scours the chronicles of conquest for often overlooked references to man-eating horses, talking books, and attacks conducted under a full moon. While seemingly anomalous in the self-confident narratives composed by chroniclers with particular agendas, these references provide a glimpse of how Andeans might have tried to make sense of Spaniards. Lamana argues that these references are critical for understanding early moments of contact. He contrasts the chronicles written long after the conquest era with testimonies taken from the more immediate *probanzas*, in order to analyze how people attempted to make sense of things in a new environment where meanings had yet to be determined. Lamana rightly identifies the fissures within Andean society existing at the time of the arrival of the Spaniards. He examines how conflicts over local Inca sovereignty took center stage for Andeans, infusing their responses to the invaders with local meanings.

Lamana proposes to “de-occidentalize” the conquerors by showing the contradictions between the Spaniards’ attempts to cast themselves as Christian and civilized and the lived reality in which they were forced to engage with Andeans on their terms, mimicking local forms. Images of man-eating horses could thus be used by both Spaniards and Andeans to different ends.

Lamana labels this narrative process a “strategy of subalternization” (6) that resulted in a self-created myth of Spanish dominance that has persisted in the historiography. In the example of Cajamarca, usually rendered as an iconic moment in the chronicles, Atahualpa rejects Valverde’s book, throwing it to the ground. Lamana views this exchange not as a rejection of Catholicism that justified Spanish conquest. Instead, he places it in the context of ongoing interactions, as Atahualpa gathered information about the newcomers via messengers and sought to incorporate the Spaniards into his political plans to maintain the Inca imperial order. Other groups were vying for power with Atahualpa, and messengers could provide faulty information for their own political or personal gain. Unlike sacred huacas, the book did not “speak” or hold oracular power, thereby rendering the Spaniards’ protectors powerless in the eyes of the Inca.

Trained as an anthropologist, Gose examines how Andeans attempted to make sense of the Spanish invaders and form alliances with them by incorporating them into their understandings of their relationships with their ancestors. He acknowledges the potentially controversial implications of this argument that positions “inter-cultural kinship as colonialism’s most salient and memorable feature” (4). To some this might seem an admission that native peoples collaborated with conquerors, thereby sanctioning colonial rule. Yet Gose makes a convincing argument that Andean peoples were motivated by political and strategic decisions in their relationships with their ancestors and with invading peoples. Like Lamana, Gose does not consider Spaniards to be *de facto* conquerors but rather one of a series of groups vying for power in a multiethnic society.

Drawing from a vast array of documents from Peruvian and Spanish archives, Gose analyzes how ancestor worship in the Andes was transformed over five centuries by changing social and political relationships. While a *longue durée* study risks overlooking particular histories, Gose’s attention to detail in most chapters makes this approach work. Gose emphasizes that Andean peoples experienced waves of conquest prior to the arrival of the Spaniards and they consequently had a preexisting narrative framework in which to incorporate new invaders. This included a genre of songs in which ancestors experienced “remote generation, subterranean travel, and emergence in a specific locality” (57). Native Andeans applied this dynamic framework to both Spaniards and local factions in subsequent power struggles, until the ayllu lost importance as a community organizing unit approaching the end of the eighteenth century.

Gose uses the lens of ancestor worship to reinterpret much of what we know about Andean history. Early in the book, he challenges the idea

that sixteenth-century Spaniards were the first to cast themselves as gods (*viracochas*) in order to justify conquest. Gose argues instead that Andeans used “viracocha” as an intelligible label to incorporate a new invading group, thereby entering into what they thought would be a hierarchical yet reciprocal relationship. This reflected moiety distinctions between high and low, connoting hierarchy and reciprocity as well as physical location, that Andean peoples soon applied to colonial relationships.

Gose also addresses the pressures that the resettlement program of *reducción* and the anti-idolatry extirpation campaigns placed on Andean religiosity. He points out that as extirpators destroyed sacred entities (*huacas*) and colonial officials resettled Andeans in villages far from their burial caves and mummified ancestors, Andean peoples adapted creatively to the altered sacred landscape. Burials had quickly become a “major flashpoint” (139) for supporters of *reducción*, who attempted to guide Andeans toward Catholic beliefs and practices concerning the afterlife and the cult of saints. They also faced vulnerability to new diseases such as smallpox, raising the question of whether their ancestors or the Christian God and saints were more powerful beings in the new order.

Gose is careful to place the transformations taking place in “the longer run of Andean ancestral politics” (82). In doing so, he demonstrates that political authority was deeply connected to local understandings of ancestorhood, as reflected in mortuary practices and the sacred landscape. Gose carefully mines the evidence collected by extirpators to challenge the persisting idea that Andeans worshipped mountains (165); instead they invoked their ancestors for agricultural gain and associated them with abundance and water. They began to bury their baptized dead in caves separate from those of their “pagan” ancestors (*mallquis*), just as “Christianity was beginning to animate the landscape” (223). Crosses and shrines built on mountaintops acquired the older meanings associated with mummified ancestors, as *reducción* had made mountains the “negative counterpart of parish centres” (273). By the late eighteenth century, as *curacas* lost their ancestral titles and mummies were repudiated as pagan, their roles were assumed by mountain spirits rather than by the mountains themselves.

Both Lamana and Gose provide fascinating new approaches to Andean ethnohistory. They highlight the importance of taking into account the shifting politics in which Andean symbols and accounts were embedded and how they were both understood and misunderstood by native peoples and Spaniards and transformed over time. While their conclusions may be controversial and some specialists may disagree with the details, both works raise compelling questions about the nature of interaction and the importance of taking native Andean understandings of the sacred seriously.

Both are challenging, rich in detail and complex analysis, and contribute to a deeper understanding of the Andean past.

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The Archaeology of Colonial Encounters: Comparative Perspectives. Edited by Gil J. Stein, School of American Research Advanced Seminar Series. (Santa Fe and Oxford: School of American Research Press and James Curry, 2005. xii + 445 pp., acknowledgments, introduction, maps, illustration, bibliography, index. \$24.95 paper.)

Susan Kellogg, *University of Houston*

In an era marked by interdisciplinarity, archaeologists and historians remain strangely divided methodologically and theoretically. Far less cross-disciplinary dialogue takes place than might be expected. The volume under review represents a welcome change and features discussion of archaeological approaches to the study of a crucial historical concept, colonialism. It makes major contributions to the study of this topic in three ways: first, it deconstructs the concept itself; second, it elucidates the material correlates of varying colonialisms; third, it points the way to a more synthetic interpretation of the meaning and impact of colonial encounters. It does so by moving beyond European colonialisms to consider colonialisms of the ancient and early modern world very broadly.

While deconstruction of the term *colonialism* is hardly new, the discussions of the etymology and historiography of this and related terms are quite informative. Especially useful in pointing out the uses and abuses of often oversimplified and reified definitions of Roman and later European colonialisms, the introductory essay by Gil Stein and the chapters by Michael Dietler and Janine Gasco address the definitional issues. While these authors recognize the importance of economic motivations for colonization, they also recognize the many different types of colonies to be found in the archaeological and ethnohistorical record. Without denying the far-reaching effects of European colonialisms of the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries, these authors question overarching analyses such as world systems theory. They place a far greater emphasis on concepts of agency, practice, and identity and delve into the complex question of how to recognize colonies in the archaeological record, a subject discussed at some length by Stein in his introductory essay. Dietler's essay, "The Archaeology of Colonization and the Colonization of Archaeology," questions the "'colonization' of modern

consciousness by the ancient Greco-Roman world” (35), and Janine Gasco does a wonderful job of illustrating just how problematic the “European colonialism” concept is. She shows that not even “Spanish colonialism” can be understood as a single imperial undertaking since it varied dramatically in its regional application and consequences (though she might also have pointed out its chronological variability).

Another cluster of articles provides useful discussion of colonialism’s material correlates. Peter van Dommelen investigates settlement patterns in the ancient Mediterranean with an eye toward analyzing the impact that local inhabitants had on different colonizing systems, with material and cultural hybridities a common outcome in areas colonized by Phoenicians and Carthaginians. Focusing more on a particular site rather than a region, Michael Spence introduces the concept of a “diasporic network” in an excellent article on a Zapotec enclave community at Teotihuacan. Carefully analyzing multiple lines of evidence, Spence shows how Zapotecs differentiated themselves culturally at Teotihuacan and hypothesizes about the material correlates of ethnicity. Katharina Schreiber examines colonies of the Wari Empire of ancient Peru (an empire that existed between about 750 and 1000 CE, predating the Inca Empire by several centuries) in two regions—the central highland and south coast—of this part of South America. Using Stein’s notion of “axes of colonialism” (as discussed in his introductory essay), she analyzes relations among the metropole, the host society, and the colony and hypothesizes that local resistance such as refusal to cooperate with Wari plans for ecological exploitation influenced its imperial agenda.

In another strong essay, Terence D’Altroy synthesizes archaeological and ethnohistorical evidence to describe the ambitious colonizing project of the Inca who remade ethnic geographies throughout their extensive empire through numerous projects of resettlement of subjects within and beyond their homeland. Arguing that archaeologists have much to contribute to a theme whose discussion has been dominated by ethnohistorians, D’Altroy promotes what he calls “colonization archaeology,” suggesting that it could document the material consequences of Inca projects of ethnic relocation. Also synthesizing numerous lines of evidence, Kent Lightfoot compares Spanish and Russian colonization in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century California and illustrates how the interplay of specific dimensions of colonial encounters led to “divergent processes and outcomes” that are visible in the archaeological record (233). In demonstrating that neither imperial power could simply impose its will to create specific colonial outcomes, he shows the highly variable ways indigenous cultural practices influenced colonial encounters in California. Another essay, that of Susan Alcock,

examines a good deal of historical and archaeological evidence relating to Roman colonies in parts of what are today Greece and Turkey to argue not only for the importance of indigenous cultural agency in shaping colonizing outcomes but also for the necessity of understanding how imperial politics may have affected identity creation in Roman colonies.

While space has not allowed me to discuss each contribution, the volume's essays are of uniformly high quality, and the Old World/New World comparisons are very informative. The book clearly shows many of the different ways metropolises, host societies, and colonizers have interacted in world history. Colonial scholars of different periods and regions must rethink the tendency to assume a single definition for or model of colonialism. While of greatest utility for scholars in archaeology and ethnohistory, instructors could use any of the essays with advanced undergraduates or graduate students. This is a well-written, edited, and produced volume that is a model of interdisciplinary dialogue about a major force that shaped the ancient and modern world.

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Memory Work: Archaeologies of Material Practices. Edited by Barbara J. Mills and William H. Walker. (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 2008. xii + 300 pp., references, index. \$34.95 paper.)

Thomas H. Guderjan, *University of Texas at Tyler*

Cynics have said that archaeologists are great borrowers of theory and that we become addicted to every new theoretical construct. Some of the less sophisticated applications of world systems theory, political economy, and political ecology show that the critics are partially correct. The paradigmatic change sought and predicted by their proponents has not occurred. However, the less cynical see strength in archaeology's ability to test theory developed in other social sciences. The authors and editors of this volume may not be proposing paradigmatic change, but they seek to view aspects of the past in more meaningful ways. Specifically, they borrow concepts of collective and social memory from sociology, psychology, and other fields, examining how these concepts intersect with archaeological studies of material culture or materiality.

In the introductory chapter, the editors frame the discussion by documenting the progression from Durkheim's notion of "collective memory" to their "memory work." Then, Rosemary Joyce furthers the discussion by

outlining how archaeologists can move from examinations of static stages to “historicized chains of practices.”

The rest of the volume follows a common approach of authors summarizing data from their areas of expertise and applying the principles outlined in these first two chapters. This time-honored anthropological approach of cross-cultural comparison has both strengths and weaknesses. Joshua Pollard shows that the deposition of cultural material was often a symbolic action in southern Britain’s early Neolithic record. Timothy Pauketat examines how American Plains Indian creation mythology is embedded in archaeology. Some have said that there is little to be learned about the Midwest, however, Pauketat’s scholarship and leadership in the application of concepts of agency and world systems theory has shown this negative view to be incorrect. Equally fascinating is Barbara Mills’s discussion of memorializing people and places in Chaco Canyon. She reminds us of the astonishing materials at Chaco, such as the cache of wooden ritual objects that were sealed into a room and subsequently found by early-twentieth-century excavators.

Susan Gillespie discusses the processes of remembering and forgetting within the archaeology of the Olmec center of La Venta in Tabasco, Mexico. She masterfully draws upon information from the original excavations, and early critiques, to outline a biography of the ceremonial court. Glaringly absent, though, is any reference to Kent Reilly’s important, insightful, and directly pertinent interpretations of the same materials. In a discussion such as this, she is remiss not to engage with his arguments. Furthermore, she does not mention ongoing efforts at the site by Rebecca Gonzales Lauck.

Creation mythology and cosmology are common topics for archaeologists grappling with understanding ancient architecture and archaeology, but William Walker’s “The Afterlife Histories of Witches and Dogs in the American Southwest” incorporates emergence (creation) and other aspects of religion. Lisa Lucero summarizes current research dealing with Maya dedication and termination ritual caches and presents examples from her own excavations in central Belize. Axel Neilsen deals with memory and ancestor worship in the southern Andes. Finally, Lynn Meskill, upon whose work much of this discussion is built, provides a commentary on the papers as a whole, correctly noting that this is “a remarkable set of essays.”

This is a thought-provoking and important volume that moves archaeology back in the direction of meaning in material culture and certainly offers new ways of getting inside the heads of the people who left behind the material culture we study. Every archaeologist, regardless of regional and topical interest, would find benefit in reading this volume.

Nahuatl Theater. Volume 3. Spanish Golden Age Drama in Mexican Translation. Edited by Barry D. Sell, Louise M. Burkhart, and Elizabeth R. Wright. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008. xx + 420 pp., foreword, preface, acknowledgments, references, index. \$49.95 cloth.)

David Tavárez, *Vassar College*

After two volumes containing new translations and interpretations of select Nahuatl doctrinal plays and Guadalupan dramas, the third volume in the Nahuatl Theater series addresses an even more momentous encounter: the translation into Nahuatl of works by Spanish playwrights Lope de Vega and Calderón de la Barca, as carried out by mestizo author don Bartolomé de Alva. Such a meeting of minds brings up three major questions: What drove a colonial Nahuatl-Spanish author to translate three Spanish popular plays? What was these unpublished manuscripts' intended audience? And how did Alva render Spanish Baroque conventions into terms familiar to Nahuatl speakers? This volume's authors closely trace the contours of the extant documentary evidence, thus focusing on the last question and on several contextual observations providing highly plausible answers to the first two more tantalizing topics.

A foreword by John F. Schwaller emphasizes the transformative nature of the works of Alva, a priest descended from the rulers of Tetzaco, and a brother of the well-known chronicler don Fernando de Alva Ixtlilxóchitl. This foreword and the preface note the links between Alva and a circle of Nahuatl scholars who collaborated with the Jesuit Horacio Carochi, author of the most exacting colonial Nahuatl grammar (or, as some have it, the most precise ever compiled). Then, after noting the early contributions of Jesús Bustamante regarding Alva's translations, Elizabeth Wright's essay sets the stage—no pun intended—for a reasoned understanding of the sociocultural meanings of late-sixteenth-century Spanish popular drama. This is, indeed, the genre exemplified by the plays Alva translated: Lope's *The Mother of the Best* and *The Animal Prophet and the Fortunate Patricide* and Calderón's *Great Theater of the World*. Wright shows how, in spite of institutional resistance, clandestine copies of these plays could have reached Carochi's circle by the 1630s. Paradoxically, putting aside self-censorship, Alva's Nahuatl rendition of Calderón's *Theater* could well be this play's earliest extant version, for Alva's version does not include the Plowman, a character included in the work's oldest-known Spanish version.

Sell provides a careful philological contextualization of the rapport between Alva and Carochi's circle. Besides his concern with preserving an exalted language register perhaps routinely employed only by a minority by the seventeenth century, Carochi employed diacritics recording two Nahuatl phonological features—glottal stops and vowel length—not tran-

scribed systematically elsewhere. The fact that only one of the translations reflects this system suggests that Carochi or others revised Alva's work. Finally, Burkhart's inspired survey of a hybrid genre she calls "Nahuatl Baroque" provides illuminating examples of Alva's translation choices. Besides downplaying European allegory, inserting Nahua terms indexing class and ethnicity, contrasting the Christian god with Mexica deities, and employing flowers, birds, and jewels as metaphors for the wondrous, Alva fashioned indigenous versions of Spanish comical characters. Hence, while a secondary female character is called Malintzin—after Cortés's famous translator and consort—Lope's Vulcan becomes Tizoc, a sympathetic but barely Christianized trickster who, as Burkhart quips, was named "after the Millard Filmore of Aztec emperors."

Why did Alva translate these works? Since we do not know how or when these Nahuatl plays were performed, it may initially seem as if their Golden Age rhetoric were but an ornate frame for Nahuatl instruction: Sell observes that Carochi's grammar cites one of these translations to illustrate an adverb's proper use, and that Lope's *Mother* features a female character's direct speech acts, possibly to strengthen a confessor's language skills. However, this volume also helps locate these translations as another shining landmark in a series of intellectual experiments by doctrinal authors and their indigenous collaborators that possibly began with the Nahuatl translation of Kempis's *Imitation of Christ* and continued with the rendering of an astoundingly diverse number of devotional and humanist works, political treatises, fables, and plays into Nahuatl. This volume provides a detailed view of the variegated paths that literary hybridity embraced in colonial Mexico and should attract a deservedly diverse audience of undergraduates and graduate students interested in Latin American history, Spanish theater, colonial studies, and world literature, particularly if a paperback version is eventually produced.

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Hijos del Pueblo: Gender, Family, and Community in Rural Mexico, 1730–1850. By Deborah E. Kanter. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008. ii + 151 pp., acknowledgments, introduction, maps, glossary, bibliography, index. \$55.00 cloth.)

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Deborah Kanter's fine-grained study of community life in the Tenango del Valle district of central Mexico explores how social order was constructed

and maintained in the critical “middle period” spanning the late-colonial, independence, and early republican eras. Concerned with the “changing meaning of being Indian” (7), Kanter offers several “mini-case studies” to flesh out the worlds in which Indian villagers, men and women alike, operated and defined their lives. Thus one sees a village leader contending for decades with administrators of a neighboring hacienda, seeking redress for intrusions onto village lands and personal attacks (chapter 1); three couples whose marital difficulties revealed attitudes and assumptions about “proper” gender roles and behaviors (chapter 3); “scandalous” challenges by both men *and* women to patriarchal societal norms (chapter 5); and women both protected and punished through the institution of *depósito* (chapter 6). Undergirding village life was what one scholar has called a “patchwork of patriarchies” (7) ordering society through ties of reciprocity and obligation; Kanter argues that rural dwellers tended to work within these structures rather than challenge them, maintaining rather than disrupting social order.

Kanter mines a rich trove of judicial records that, though skewing toward deviance, reveals the “values, roles, and understandings” operative in both public and private realms of Indian rural Mexico (11). Patriarchies, deeply intertwined with gender and ethnicity, structured both realms. Her examination of how communities were constituted, for example, nicely illustrates the public. Kanter argues that Indians’ common self-descriptor—*hijos del pueblo*, literally, “offspring of the village”—forcefully conveyed the sense of subordination and obligation to the natal village, even as it signaled the obligations of father to child, the village elders’ responsibility to care for their “children” through provision of land, protection, and maintenance of order. An equilibrium of sorts was maintained between obligation of sons to fathers and fathers to sons throughout most of the colonial era, but by the early nineteenth century Kanter discerns changes in the patriarchal relations manifested in village life. Late-colonial demographic pressures prompted increasingly exclusionist interpretations of rights to resources and a concomitant marginalization of those with weaker claims to being *hijos del pueblo*—women, especially widows, residents born elsewhere, illegitimate children, orphans, and *castas*. When landed resources abounded, all might have access; increased demand on finite resources circumscribed community membership (36).

Indians’ consciousness of reciprocal patriarchal obligations survived independence, as the shifting power dynamics of the republican era left villagers increasingly dissatisfied with local governments that failed to address their everyday needs. Longing for an idealized past where colonial “fathers” safeguarded the rights of their Indian “children,” Indians, now lacking a separate juridical and corporate identity, increasingly confronted “step-

fathers,” authorities less attuned to and concerned with local issues that remained of signal importance to villagers—notably, access to resources and defense against the aggression of neighboring haciendas.

Kanter is no less sensitive to patriarchies structuring the private realm, paying particular attention to gender as a category of analysis. The core chapters of her book take the reader into the home, exploring relations between husbands and wives and the dichotomization of female space between *casa* and *calle*. Patriarchy prescribed marital relations, unequal yet reciprocal; fulfilling one’s responsibilities to a spouse sustained the ideal social order. Yet order was regularly breached—women pursued economically productive activities outside the home, strayed sexually, took refuge in the court’s justice when abused; husbands abused their wives, failed to provide, sired children extramaritally, abandoned their families. Kanter devotes a short chapter to the practice of *depósito*, the sequestration of women to both protect and censor practiced by both clerical and, increasingly, civil authorities, noting *depósito*’s paradoxical aim—women, inherently weak, granted protection; women, inherently deviant, requiring (at least temporary) banishment.

For all the richly detailed vignettes, their larger significance often eludes, and the book lacks a clear narrative flow. It is unequally weighted in terms of periodization; only the brief final chapter explores the post-independence period at any length. That chapter’s conclusion appears intended as a conclusion of the whole but does not adequately realize that goal; the book ultimately feels incomplete, less substantial than its subject warrants. Kanter’s study nonetheless offers much of value, adding new dimensions to our knowledge of the rural central Mexican Indian world beyond the classic studies by James Lockhart, Charles Gibson, and others. It pairs nicely with but does not supplant earlier scholarship.

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Being “Dutch” in the Indies: A History of Creolisation and Empire, 1500–1920. By Ulbe Bosma and Remco Raben. Translated by Wendie Shaffer. (Athens: Ohio University Press and National University of Singapore, 2008. xx + 439 pp., illustrations, prologue, glossary, bibliography, index. \$28.00 paper.)

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Ulbe Bosma and Remco Raben seek to recount “the fortunes of the ‘Indische’ people, whose lives were inextricably interwoven with the East Indies but

who to some extent considered themselves different from the indigenous people” (xiii). Bosma’s and Raben’s research is impressive in its scope, including thirteen archives scattered across Europe and East Asia, not to mention assorted newspapers and periodicals. The majority of their information, and therefore the details in the book, date from the seventeenth through the early twentieth centuries. Though tilted toward the end of the time period under examination, the study provides both a detailed view of life in the Dutch East Indies and the process of European colonialism by following the transformation of European settlements into *Indische* (loosely, people of European descent who grew up in the Indies) communities.

To articulate colonial experiences in the Dutch Indies, the authors follow the lives and generations of various *Indische* families. This is one of the great strengths of their book in that it not only provides details on the lives and interactions of elite European men but also successfully incorporates the voices of women, members of the “underclass” (chapter 7), and children and natives (though to a lesser extent). By following multiple family lines and paying heed to groups outside of their *Indische* focus, Bosma and Raben successfully open a window into ethnic and social class relations during the colonial period.

The book is divided into nine chapters focusing on different aspects of life across the Indonesian archipelago. The authors are careful to note the distinct cultural, societal, and ethnic differences amid urban and rural areas as well as between the eastern and western islands. They thereby demonstrate that just because an individual was raised in the busy port town of Makassar (on the island of Sulawesi) did not mean that he or she was any more familiar with culture and life in Batavia, on Java, than someone just arriving from Europe. The differences among the various islands make this book a wonderful study in the process of colonialism in general, an aspect of which the authors make sure to take advantage of by drawing comparisons between the East Indies and the Caribbean. While their study does not attempt a full comparison between Caribbean and Indonesian colonial life it demonstrates how valuable a multiregional study along those lines could be.

Although a fascinating and informative read in many ways, the book fails to discuss in any depth an important aspect of colonial life, that of religion. Rather than target the nuances and intricacies of religious interaction in the East Indies, the authors continually graze the surface. At times they mention bans on interreligious marriages (and adoptions) between Muslims and Christians and how by virtue of converting to Islam individuals could lose their status as Europeans (271–72). Based on the time period the book covers, it would be surprising if there was not more religious conflict between the various religious groups than is mentioned.

Criticisms aside, the overall scope and value of the work, the research, and insight into “Creolisation and Empire” are remarkable. Bosma and Raben successfully demonstrate how colonial society could not have functioned without the Indische community, which played key roles in all levels of colonial government, trade, and communication. The Europeans who were raised in the Indies were essential to Dutch colonialism: they provided the connection to the Native population that proved essential to colonial control.

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Measuring the New World: Enlightenment Science and South America. By Neil Safier. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2008. xviii + 387 pp., preface, references, index. \$45.00 cloth.)

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Neil Safier’s *Measuring the New World* engagingly examines the joint French and Spanish expedition deployed by the Paris Academy of Sciences to South America in 1735. A charged debate of global proportions fueled this endeavor. Was the earth an oblate spheroid that bulged at the equator as Newton hypothesized? Or rather, did it bulge at the poles as Descartes had suggested? Newton’s proponents ultimately triumphed, but Safier’s examination is less interested in the resolution of this geodetic controversy. Instead, Safier rightly emphasizes the significance of this, the first nonmilitary European collaborative scientific venture through French, Spanish, and Portuguese colonial territories, for understanding the permeability of imperial boundaries and for understanding how the itinerancy of the expedition’s members, their findings, and their printed works shaped European scientific representations of the New World. Safier’s study carefully orchestrates distinct episodes of the expedition so we may better hear not only the variety of voices that were long silenced and distorted by the expedition’s members and their printers but also the echoes of the expedition that resonated in Enlightenment thought.

Safier’s first two chapters focus on Charles-Marie de La Condamine, master of representation. Although Louis Godin officially led the expedition, La Condamine emerged as its towering figure, publishing his authoritative eyewitness *Relation abrégée* in 1745. Safier does not set out to write a social history of the local Amerindians, enslaved Africans, Quiteño *mestizos*, or Creole Jesuit explorers that made his *Relation* possible. Nevertheless, Safier’s close readings of the Frenchman and of the wide variety of materials

related to the expedition yield several vivid examples that reveal the complex social milieu these Enlightenment scientists encountered outside of the controlled environment of the laboratory. French, Spanish, Dutch, Spanish American Creole, and Portuguese reactions to the *Relation abrégée* further illustrate how La Condamine's text was, much like the expedition itself, transimperial and transatlantic.

Chapters 3 through 5 go beyond the elision of subaltern epistemologies and the transatlantic itinerancy of ethnography. Editors and "authors" harmoniously crafted contradictory evidence, cacophonous testimonies, and puzzling objects (including poison arrows, platinum, quinine, and Amerindian culture) into beautiful printed volumes that seemed to leave no trace of the various negotiations, contestations, and dialogues that went into their making. Contentious epistolary reactions from readers help peel back the veneer of seamless authority. The last two chapters consider how the material and intellectual findings of the Quito expedition were folded into European knowledge productions, such as a French translation of Garcilaso de la Vega's Inca history, and the most famous product of French Enlightenment thought, the *Encyclopédie*.

The focus of this study, ultimately, is the itinerary of the expedition as circulated knowledge. Safier's own transatlantic crossings in search of archival and specialized public and private library collections allowed him to step outside the confines of imperial archives to access a more culturally nuanced and socially situated understanding of the Quito expedition's successes, failures, and indeterminacies. Like Mary Louise Pratt's *Imperial Eyes*, Safier's work traces the assemblage of the travel account as object, but goes beyond the rhetorical tool kit Pratt identified as critical for the creation of an all-seeing narrative. Drawing together early modern European print culture historiography, most notably Roger Chartier's, with recent work on the history of cartography, Safier meticulously illustrates the complex processes that went into the transformation of manuscript travelogues and maps into printed works. Ethnohistorians, so used to dealing with travel accounts and ethnographies, will welcome this innovative, groundbreaking approach. *Measuring the New World* challenges neat and tidy correlations between science and empire by illustrating how narratives of exploration in the Americas may have worked more to colonize the minds of readers than to establish a stable European presence on the ground.