

Edited by Martin Gallivan

Current Northeast Paleoethnobotany II. JOHN P. HART, editor. 2008. New York State Museum, Albany, NY. 235 pp. \$34.95 (paper), ISBN-13 978-1555571641.

Reviewed by Justine McKnight, Archaeobotanical Consultant.

John Hart's second volume on paleoethnobotanical research in the Northeast provides a thorough survey of the progress made over the years between symposia on regional paleoethnobotany held at the New York State Museum in 1996 and at the 71st annual meeting of the Society for American Archaeology in 2006. In 16 chapters, leading researchers present an impressive amount of data, combine multiple lines of scientific evidence, and shape a revised theoretical context for interpreting these results. The result successfully moves the field of paleoethnobotany forward.

Hart's introductory chapter explores how changes in both archeobotanical method and theory are extending our understanding of human-plant relationships in northeastern North America and how these relationships connect to broader philosophical discussions within archaeology. Hart emphasizes recent theoretical shifts away from the traditional categories of hunter-gatherer and agriculturalist and toward a more nuanced view of the relationships between people and plants. Many of the contributors to the volume underscore the need to revise conventional conceptualizations of pre-historic subsistence.

Throughout the volume, the value of new analytical techniques and the use of multiple lines of evidence in modern paleoethnobotany are stressed. While macrobotanical remains continue to provide critical data, advances in microbotanical studies (e.g., pollen, starch grain, phytolith and lipid residue analyses) and increasing use of direct AMS dating strengthen our science and are refining histories of horticulture in the Northeast and beyond. *Paleoethnobotany II* highlights recent innovations in a variety of microbotanical subdisciplines. Katy Serpa's creation of a phytolith comparative collection of Northeastern indigenous plants suggests great potential for phytolith preservation and study. Timothy Messner, Ruth Dickau, and Jeff Harbi-

son demonstrate the promise of the application of starch grain studies in the Northeast, successfully documenting the presence of plants often invisible in the macrobotanical record. Eleanora Reber and Hart report on chemical analysis of lipids extracted from ceramic sherds, which permits identification of the contents of vessels and aids in interpreting vessel usage.

The adoption and intensification of maize farming in the Northeast is the primary focus of numerous chapters in *Paleoethnobotany II*. Expanding on her 1999 synthesis of Maine archeobotany, Nancy Asch Sidell's chapter explores the impact of maize-based agriculture on native plant communities from central Maine to central Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Elizabeth Chilton and Ninian Stein each make important contributions to the North American maize debate in their chapters addressing horticulture. Chilton examines the strategy of mobile farming to interpret maize data from coastal New England. Her results support a blurring of traditional definitions of forager and farmer that allow for recognition of a wider range of cultural choices involved in food production. These choices are implicated in ideas regarding land ownership that were especially significant during the colonial encounter. Stein effectively describes Late Woodland subsistence patterns in New England as existing between traditional Western categories of foraging and farming and explores the nature/culture dichotomy exposed by her analysis. Tonya Largy and E. Pierre Morenon's chapter focuses the maize debate on coastal Rhode Island, where the intensity of agriculture is juxtaposed against shifts in settlement concentration during the Late Woodland and surrounding European contact. Jeffrey Bendremer and Elaine Thomas explore the history of maize in Mohegan culture from pre-Colonial times to the present by combining archeobotanical data and tribal knowledge.

In his chapter summarizing ongoing research on maize, beans, and squash, Hart offers various models to account for the intersecting biological and cultural variables that bias paleoethnobotanical data and influence our understanding of their significance.

A comprehensive review of macrobotanical data from Pennsylvania and vicinity by Mark McConaughy focuses on horticultural histories of the region. Robert

Phil, Stephen Monckton, David Robertson, and Robert Williamson view regional connections between crop husbandry and Late Woodland village life in the Grand River valley of Ontario. William Lovis and G. William Monaghan draw upon direct dating of *Cucurbita pepo* squash and careful study of local floodplain ecology to understand the development of regional horticultural history in the Saginaw River region of Michigan. Michael Deal and Sarah Halwas investigate late prehistoric landscape and plant use based on macrobotanical data as well as ethnohistoric and ethnographic information in the maritime Minas Basin area of Nova Scotia.

Concluding chapters by Jack Rossen and John Edward Terrell provide insight into how multiple analytical approaches and shifting theoretical perspectives in paleoethnobotany contribute to understanding regional and global cultural processes. Rossen makes a compelling argument for a new theoretical paleoethnobotany in which plant studies are placed at the center of cultural analyses. Terrell explores the dialogue between fact and theory and places the regional research in a broader theoretical and philosophical context.

Hart and his collaborators present an impressive breadth of paleoethnobotanical research in the Northeast. The collective work tells a story of people and plants that extends well beyond the documentary to challenge traditional interpretations about the histories of these relationships. The work is also important in that it successfully develops a regional archaeobotany, and this view advances our appreciation of the variability of Native food production systems across the Eastern Woodlands of North America. *Current Northeast Paleoethnobotany II* bridges the realms of science and anthropology and provides an essential resource to anyone with an interest in paleoethnobotany.

The Archaeology of Alcohol and Drinking. FREDERICK H. SMITH, 2008. University Press of Florida, Gainesville. xiii + 208 pp. \$24.95 (paper), ISBN 978-0-8130-3290-0.

Reviewed by Justin Jennings, Royal Ontario Museum.

Alcohol is likely the most ancient, the most ubiquitous, and the most versatile drug in the world. For millennia, the production, exchange, and consumption of alcohol have had far-reaching effects—it has shaped household rhythms, defined elite cuisine, sealed political pacts, and, on a few occasions, has been said to be integral to the creation of the cosmos. In *The Archaeology of Alcohol and Drinking*, Frederick Smith takes us on an insightful journey into the alcohol-related cultures of colonial America (with occasional stops in Africa and

Europe). We track Caribbean rum from the sugar cane fields to its final destinations, get a good look at the giant *tinajas* used to store wine in southern Peru, and even sift through the glassware found in the privy of a New York brothel. Moving swiftly from one example to another, Smith attempts in this volume to use alcohol as a “fresh prism through which to view the complicated social, political, and economic processes that have shaped life in the modern era” (p. 134).

To construct this prism, this book begins by describing the wide array of alcohol-related material culture that can be found in colonial-era sites. The most ubiquitous of these artifacts are the various ceramic, glass, metal, and wooden vessels that were used in the production, transport, and consumption of alcoholic beverages. Smith rightly notes that these vessels often served a variety of functions over time. They could be refilled with other liquids, used as ballast on ships, and even set into the ground to facilitate drainage away from a home. Nonetheless, he argues that the presence of these vessels, along with other artifacts like distillery equipment, kilns, seals, and spigots, can be cautiously used to reconstruct past alcohol-related behaviors.

Over the next three chapters, Smith explores the far-reaching impact of the production, exchange, and consumption of alcohol over the last five hundred years. He tracks patterns in alcohol-related material culture—such as a shift from punch bowls to individual drinking mugs and the relationship between water sources and distilleries—and unravels the broader societal consequences of these patterns. The book’s strongest aspect is this section where Smith uses his exhaustive knowledge of the historical archaeology of drinking to effectively demonstrate how thoroughly alcohol transformed colonial life. Although many of us know some of the data presented by the author, we often overlook the broader implications of these data. Smith uses a case study from the Amazon, for example, to remind us of the deleterious impact that European-introduced wine and spirits can have on the power of indigenous women brewers. He later emphasizes the complicated role that alcohol played in the changing labor patterns of the industrial revolution. The author also uses his deep understanding of the literature to challenge persistent myths. In one instance, he dispels simplistic notions of the “Wild West” by showing how some saloons were high-class establishments and others catered to niche ethnic markets. In another instance, he uses household assemblages to demonstrate how the image of heavy-drinking Irish and German immigrants was largely a fabrication born of anti-immigrant sentiments.

The final section of the book presents an extended case study derived from the author’s investigation of Mapp’s Cave, an unusual geographic formation in the southeastern corner of Barbados. Although occupied

sporadically before the Spanish Conquest, the cave was used most intensively in the eighteenth and nineteenth century when it was turned into a drinking spot and hideaway. Smith's discussion of his excavations at the site is the most disappointing aspect of the book. While he reconstructs how the cave was modified into a living space by adding a cut coral stone masonry staircase and retaining wall, he does very little with the jar fragments, pipe stems, and other small finds associated with this period of use. None of these small finds are illustrated, there is little to no description of them, and he makes no significant comparison of the Mapp's Cave assemblage to other assemblages found in Barbados or elsewhere. Smith's interpretation of Mapp's Cave as a liminal space where slaves could relax, blow off steam, and even plan rebellion may be correct, but his case is made plausible by the cave's greater historical context rather than by the much more equivocal archaeological evidence that he presents from the site.

Despite this criticism, *The Archaeology of Alcohol and Drinking* is a welcome addition to the growing alcohol studies literature in archaeology. Smith demonstrates time and time again the pivotal role that alcohol has played in the sweeping societal changes of the last five hundred years, and the book's vast scope, accessible prose, and extensive bibliography will certainly be welcomed by all readers. The author's ultimate goal of using alcohol as a prism through which to understand the modern era, however, remains to be fully realized because many of the changes that the author associates with the "modern era" have occurred time and time again in the "premodern" world. To truly understand alcohol's role in the recent past, we need to know how it compares and contrasts to how alcohol was produced, exchanged, and consumed in the millennia before European colonial expansion. As idiosyncratic as it may sound, a deeper knowledge of Inca chosen women, Egyptian breweries, and Babylonian branding is an essential step toward constructing the "fresh prism" that the author seeks. A complete understanding of modernity, and alcohol's role in it, can only be had by breaking the interdisciplinary boundary that separates prehistoric and historic archaeology.

Early State Formation in Central Madagascar: An Archaeological Survey of Western Avaradrano. HENRY T. WRIGHT, editor. 2007. Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan Memoirs, Number 43, Ann Arbor. 311 pp. \$38.00 (paper), ISBN 978-0-915-70363-0.

Reviewed by Jeffrey Fleisher, Rice University.

The publication of Henry Wright's study from central Madagascar is welcome on a number of fronts. First, it

offers a synthetic and detailed assessment of research conducted over the last 30 years in Madagascar, much of which has only been published in summary form, or not at all. Second, it provides a rich archaeological monograph for a part of the world where such presentations of data are few and far between and where said monographs invariably focus on the *site* rather than the *region*; the regional focus is thus somewhat exceptional. And finally, it offers non-Africanist archaeologists an important alternative case study in the development of complex polities, bringing an African example of this "rare human achievement" (p. 112) into the global discussion over issues of state formation and complex societies.

Wright edited the volume with contributions from 12 other scholars and students. Susan Kus' contributions are legion. She coauthored the introduction and extensive site catalogue (Appendix A) and presented a rich and important paper on the ideological construction of capitals (Appendix E). Wilma Wetterstrom and George Schwartz also contribute appendices on paleoethnobotany (Appendix C) and subsistence economy (Appendix D), respectively. Robert Dewar offers a fascinating model for charting population changes in the region. In the main, the volume is a presentation of archaeological data. Chapters on ceramics and settlement features (ditches and banks, houses, pits, tombs, byres, gates) are descriptive and detailed, and the extensive site catalogue (where the characteristics of each site located are presented) takes up approximately one half of the entire volume. Additional chapters on the landscape and the development of the regional settlement system complete the volume.

The introduction (chapter 1) frames the data presentation. This is first and foremost a settlement pattern study in the spirit of Willey, Adams, and Sanders of the rise of the Merina state in the central highlands of Madagascar. The importance of this well-argued and detailed regional study to the small set of monographs available on eastern African archaeology cannot be overstated. Most eastern African monographs focus on a single archaeological site, leaving questions of state formation, urbanism, and landscape unexplored in any meaningful way. Wright's interest in Madagascar must be seen as part of his career-long engagement in research on the origins of the state, and the theoretical basis for the study follows from that background. The theoretical discussion in the introduction focuses mostly on works that were current in the 1970s and 80s when the project was formulated and carried out, while more current theoretical perspectives are presented in chapter 6 (Comments) and Appendix E (authored by Kus). Because Wright's work on Madagascar has resulted in relatively few publications to date, many American archaeologists may be surprised to learn of his deep

engagement in this distant African locale. However, Africanist archaeologists, especially those that work in eastern Africa, have long known Wright as a great supporter of archaeological research in the region and an important source of prescient regional summaries.

In evaluating ideas about state formation in Western Avaradrano (chapter 6), Wright first examines three extant models for the emergence of the Merina state put forward primarily by cultural anthropologists and historians (described in detail in chapter 1) which favor the role of production and tribute (Bloch), population increases and irrigation technology (Kottak), and trade (Campbell). Deploying settlement pattern and limited excavation data, Wright finds problems with each model. Kottak's model comes under considerable criticism, with Wright suggesting that although population and food production are important considerations in thinking about the emergence of complex societies, they need to be "considered as elements in the cultural system" and not as external forces that "drive political change" (p. 106). The settlement data demonstrate clearly that the Merina state emerged after an era of relative stability among a set of competing polities. Although population growth was integral to this historical process, it was specifically through "a nucleation and reorganization of the population" that the Merina state coalesced, with population growth "a part of the political process, rather than an exogenous factor" (p. 109). This reorganization occurred not only in the capital towns, but also on the frontier, where occupants of settlements were an integral part of both the productive base of the new state as well as the new symbolic state order. Incorporating these agents, Wright argues, is necessary to recognize how the emergence of states "include[s] a range of agents with different knowledge structures and strategies" (p. 111).

The absolute strength of the volume is its clear and lengthy presentation of data as well as its frankness and honesty about its limitations. The ceramics chapter (chapter 3), in particular, is a model for reporting ceramic data and the construction of cultural phases. Wright constructs eight phases (spanning the thirteenth to nineteenth centuries A.D.) through a close examination of stratified material. Although this is considered standard practice in other regions, *Early State Formation in Central Madagascar* breaks from the traditional approach in eastern African monographs of slotting ceramics into types. This is perhaps the most welcome aspect of the chapter, as it provides a solid understanding of the data, while making it possible to compare data from other sites. Finally, it should be noted that there is a rare honesty that permeates the volume; there are numerous places throughout the text that Wright notes the limitations of the evidence and changes that were made to collection procedures

throughout the course of the study. It is refreshing to understand the thought processes behind decisions made in the field over the course of many years. This is truly a model for other research reports.

Archaeology and the Postcolonial Critique. MATTHEW LIEBMANN and UZMA Z. RIZVI, editors. 2008. Altamira Press, Lanham. viii + 266 pp. \$65.00 (cloth), ISBN 978-0-7591-1004-5.

Reviewed by Peter R. Schmidt, University of Florida.

Archaeology and the Postcolonial Critique, edited by Matthew Liebmann and Uzma Rizvi, is the most important theoretical treatment of postcolonial thought to arrive on the archaeological scene since the postcolonial critique gained multidisciplinary popularity during the 1980s. The diverse case studies illustrate precisely how postcolonial theory intersects with archaeological issues and the practice of archaeology. The volume has strong coherence, with authors clearly aware of the intersections of thought between their offerings and other chapters. There are twelve chapters, with an introduction by Liebmann and a concluding chapter by Rizvi. The volume's goals are crisply and succinctly set out in the introduction in language that, contrary to some postcolonial discourses, does not obfuscate. Key domains where postcolonial thought makes important contributions are discussed: (1) the study of colonialism through the archaeological record; (2) the study of archaeology's role in making and deconstructing (decolonizing) colonial historical representations; (3) as a methodology for deconstructing archaeological practice and a guide for ethical practice.

A major issue addressed is the role of postcolonial thought in challenging and deconstructing essentialist representations arising out of Western scholarship and its enshrinement of binary oppositions. Emphasizing that essentialist representations erase complex heterogeneous structures by substituting homogeneous "essences" that reinforce hegemonic control over the colonized, Liebmann reviews how archaeology can deconstruct such constructs, e.g., the Mound Builders and Great Zimbabwe myths that arose out of colonial diminishment of native peoples and their histories. For the editors, postcolonial theory provides potent direction for the decolonization of archaeological practice—how we conduct archaeology in the field, in the laboratory, and what power relations play out within those contexts.

Following the lead chapter is Thomas Patterson's "A Brief History of Postcolonial Theory and Implications for Archaeology." Patterson reviews the basic tenets of postcolonial thought, examines critiques of

postcolonial perspectives, and addresses the implications that postcolonial thinking has for archaeology. He first provides a review of anti-colonial movements and decolonization—the contexts for the rise of postcolonial thought—followed by a useful summary of the key foundational texts so often cited in postcolonial discourses. The most important contribution is Patterson's focus on Marxist critiques of postcolonial thought, particularly the critique that insufficient attention is devoted to the tendency to homogenize or essentialize colonial-colonized experiences in the twentieth century, assuming that these also apply to earlier, historically contingent colonial experiences.

Praveena Gullapalli's chapter, "Heterogeneous Encounters: Colonial Histories and Archaeological Experiences," addresses a key theme of the volume—whether or not archaeology is by its very nature a colonial endeavor and if material culture can be used to counter dominant historical metanarratives. She presents a potent historical argument that examines how various facets of archaeology in India have been modified or persist with colonial legacies. Gullapalli foregrounds her discussion with the observation that the complex interactions of colonizers and colonized must be understood. As Indian elites modified and accommodated their positions and narratives to fit colonial expectations, they helped shape colonial perceptions of the colonized—a phenomenon that informed all sectors of social interaction including the academy and the way narratives were constructed.

Gullapalli brings to the surface how in the postcolonial setting the state apparatus through the Archaeological Survey of India tried to set national standards and legitimate research agendas, a colonial legacy that quickly ran counter to local practice and sensibilities. Of significant interest to all archaeologists is the development of the notion that archaeological data are above debate, that their materiality affirm their certainty—a reification that has deep implications for the reinterpretation of earlier archaeological findings.

Jaime R. Pagan Jimenez and Reniel Rodriguez Ramos provide a trenchant critique of postcolonial practice within the colonial setting of Puerto Rico. In "Toward the Liberation of Archaeological Praxis in a 'Postcolonial Colony': The Case of Puerto Rico" we learn how postcolonial thinking comes into play in decolonizing archaeology. The continued absence of local higher degree programs is a major cause of continued dominance of North American ways of thinking and practice in Puerto Rico.

Among the influences that they isolate are the imposition of taxonomic schemes that separate archaeology from the construction of national identity as well as the imposition of US heritage legislation and concomitant development of complementary local heritage law that

have created a modern practice according to standards imposed from outside. The authors vividly bring to light the terrible irony of the formation of diasporic "Taino" communities in the U.S. that use legal instruments (e.g., NAGPRA) to insist on heritage rights, thus perpetuating a cultural myth emanating from the colonial center, a kind of "diasporic colonization."

"Postcolonial Cultural Affiliations: Essentialism, Hybridity, and NAGPRA" by Matthew Liebmann cuts right to the center of the debates around NAGPRA and Native American claims for identity with past culture(s). Liebmann's goal is to reconcile the dichotomy that has arisen between the essentialists and the constructivists and to illustrate how postcolonial theory may support NAGPRA, which he sees as the most important device for decolonizing archaeology in the US today. Liebmann finds a way out of this polarized conundrum by proffering the postcolonial theory of hybridity as a solution. Going to the text of the law, he finds that NAGPRA does not require an essentialist model for Native American identity, but that a definition of "relationship of shared group identity" is used to determine cultural affiliation, relationship being altogether different from cultural continuity and furthermore a concept that makes space for change and flexibility. He illustrates this approach by examining the Lakota Star Quilt tradition that emphasizes traditional forms of representation yet uses different media in the face of the disappearance of buffalo hides.

Greg Borgstede and Jason Yaeger in "Notions of Cultural Continuity and Disjunction in Maya Social Movements and Maya Archaeology" provide an overview into the contradictions that arise out of local Maya movements and their appropriation of archaeologists' uses of interpretative models stressing continuities between ancient Maya and contemporary Maya. They argue that archaeological emphases on cultural continuities provide fodder for Maya activists who assert contemporary linkages to a glorious past. They review the variety of local identities linked to the term "Maya" and find that the hegemonic danger of the term is amplified by Mayan activists who consciously submerge the non-unified nature of various Maya identities by employing strategic essentialism on behalf of their political and ideological agendas. On the flip side, when archaeologists generalize using ethnographic analogies, they submerge wide local variation (and ancient variation) by imposing essentialist, timeless models.

Uzma Rizvi's chapter, "Decolonizing Methodologies as Strategies of Practice: Operationalizing the Postcolonial Critique in the Archaeology of Rajasthan," provides a useful guide to how we may decolonize archaeological practice. Rizvi's offering is pragmatic while simultaneously integrating postcolonial theory.

She compellingly proposes that contemporary practice in archaeology carries with it serious colonial baggage often manifest in how laborers are treated in the field, how power relationships play out between investigator and local populations, and how local publics are marginalized. Rizvi proposes to counter such colonial practices by developing practices that bring local people into decision making, by their joining in the formulation of research questions and methods of inquiry. Giving up power in the field and laboratory—instrumental steps in decolonizing archaeology—gives space to integrating “methodology with social activism.” Rizvi’s formula for community engagement goes a long way toward overcoming the rhetoric that surrounds interaction with “local communities.” This is a chapter that archaeologists of all persuasions will want to make required reading.

“Indigenous and Postcolonial Archaeologies” by Robert Preucel and Craig N. Cipolla is a penetrating analysis of the contribution that indigenous archaeologies have made to postcolonial thought. They argue that the focus on specific concerns of indigenous communities provides an alternative to postcolonial theories that have for so long been identified with first world academic concerns more than the welfare of communities. Preucel and Cipolla review the various genres of indigenous archaeology that have arisen over the years, including tribal archaeology, collaborative archaeology, and covenantal archaeology—all of which incorporate the idea of Native peoples as stakeholders in the past. They draw out parallels and differences at play in these different indigenous archaeologies, using their research among the Pueblo of Cochiti (Preucel) and the Brothertown Indian Nation of Wisconsin (Cippolla) to illustrate collaboration between indigenous and anthropological archaeologists.

Ian Lilly in “Archaeology, The World Bank, and Postcolonial Politics” provides a historically informed view of how heritage policy has unfolded in the Bank during the post-World War II era. Lilly captures the ambivalence and contradictions of Bank heritage policy by tracing how Bank policy has changed over time, increasingly taking on an interventionist tone only to more recently retreat again toward acceptance of sovereignty in regards to protection of heritage resources. Lilly convincingly argues that it is the influence of risk aversion that commands attention from Bank policy-makers, not some postcolonial urge to give voice to clients in poor countries. Lilly importantly argues that archeologists must take a more active stand in influencing Bank policy, calling for archaeologists to decolonize their own practice and thinking vis-à-vis Bank policy.

Sandra Schram in “Disinheriting Heritage: Explorations in the Contentious History of Archaeology in the Middle East” presents an overview of the appro-

priative trajectories within the Middle East of global organizations such as UNESCO. Schram’s concerns center on the World Heritage Program and its valorization of governments’ nationalist agendas and the use of “world” heritage as a possessive, hegemonic pronoun that extends our global cultural/political agenda over the antiquities of the Other. Schram also critiques the use of classificatory schemes that perpetuate divisions between people and that carry ethnic biases and loaded meanings, using a vignette about a classificatory debate between Israeli and Palestinian archaeologists to vividly illustrate her point.

“Situating World Heritage Sites in a Multicultural Society: The Ideology of Presentation at the Sacred City of Anuradhapura, Sri Lanka” by Sudharshan Seneviratne isolates themes about UNESCO and world heritage seen elsewhere in the volume. Using Anuradhapura (a World Heritage site since 1981) as a case study, Seneviratne outlines the deep time history of this site in northern Sri Lanka, setting it in the context of the colonial historiography. The location of the site on the margins of Tamil territory and its nationalistic valorization as sacred Buddhist territory is a metonymy for the religious and ethnic divisions in Sri Lanka today. The inclusion of a large suite of additional sites in the Cultural Triangle that includes Anuradhapura legitimizes and reifies such divisions. Seneviratne illustrates how other histories are marginalized when archaeological finds such as Hindu statues and Tamil inscriptions have been suppressed—subjugating a rich multicultural history of the region.

Archaeology and the Postcolonial Critique is one of those rare, measured volumes that comes along every decade or so to lead us to new theoretical pathways. It is well reasoned, balanced, and above all pragmatic in its grounding of theory in marvelous case studies that make vibrant the importance of postcolonial thinking in decolonizing archaeology, wherever it is practiced across the globe.

The Archaeology of Native-Lived Colonialism: Challenging History in the Great Lakes. NEAL FERRIS. 2009. University of Arizona Press, Tucson. xvii + 226 pp. \$50.00 (cloth), ISBN-13 978-0-816-52705-2.

Reviewed by Anna Hayden, University of Massachusetts Boston.

Although archaeologists have examined European Colonial sites in North America for more than half a century, the focus has typically centered on colonialism’s legacy in ensuring the decimation and inevitable disappearance of distinct Indigenous North American cultures. Only relatively recently has an emerging

emphasis on the archaeology of colonized peoples begun to shed light on the more multifaceted engagements between Native North Americans and their European counterparts. Neal Ferris's *The Archaeology of Native-Lived Colonialism: Challenging History in the Great Lakes* falls into the latter category, successfully emphasizing archaeology's place in uncovering active, historically informed native decisions regarding both change and continuity in the colonial period. The first in a larger forthcoming series entitled *The Archaeology of Colonialism in Native North America*, Ferris's book provides momentum for the developing trend in archaeology of redirecting colonial studies toward a more complex and inclusive focus on the nature of colonial interactions.

In his book, Ferris studies primarily eighteenth- and nineteenth-century colonial interactions between Euro-Canadians and Indigenous groups in Southwestern Ontario. Stressing the importance of placing these colonial encounters within a long-term framework of Indigenous history and identity, Ferris also addresses native practices and Indigenous-European interactions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Rejecting more simplistic explanations of Indigenous responses to colonialism, Ferris uses archaeology to explain native change in terms of active, internal decisions in the face of colonial interaction. Similarly, continuity in Indigenous culture throughout this period does not solely exist where colonialism is absent. Instead, Ferris shows how Indigenous people successfully maintained their historical identities through daily practices even while negotiating colonialism. Ferris does not deny that native cultures changed as a result of colonial influences. Rather, he demonstrates that changes were neither inevitable nor immediate, as many master narratives of the colonial experience might imply. Indigenous societies, especially in Southwestern Ontario, interacted with Euro-Canadian traders and settlers for at least two centuries before adaptive changes became necessary. For this reason, Ferris eschews the use of the term "contact" to describe initial colonial interactions, preferring instead to conceive of change and continuity as recurrent trends which are not restricted to a specific colonial situation (p. 26–27).

One result of the deep-rooted, Euro-centric colonial master narratives that Ferris wishes to eradicate is the assumption that acculturation can be measured archaeologically through the simple presence or absence of the dominant society's material culture. Ferris notes that this framework implies that archaeologically recognizable change only occurred in Indigenous societies after European contact and argues that "there is a lot of baggage to disengage" (p. 12). Working to this end, Ferris organizes his book in six chapters, presenting his central argument and theoretical framework in

Chapters 1 and 2, respectively. Chapters 3 through 5 contain Ferris's three Indigenous case studies and accompanying archaeological evidence, while in Chapter 6 he effectively reiterates his overall goal and also presents additional, engaging conclusions.

Chapter 3 addresses what is clearly Ferris's strongest evidence, involving his own archaeological work with eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Ojibwa communities and their ancestors in Southwestern Ontario. Ferris establishes Ojibwa ancestors as seasonally mobile communities, subsisting within fluid territorial regions and moving around intentionally with regard to knowledge of local resources and landscapes. Ethnographic records and Ferris's own archaeological data help trace these practices to the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Ojibwa, and then help account for changes in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Ojibwa communities. By focusing on settlement-subsistence patterns as well as material possessions of these communities, Ferris frames native change as the result of active community decisions about how best to modify practices in order to accommodate encroaching Euro-Canadian settlements while simultaneously maintaining Ojibwa historical identity. As exemplified by Ferris, the archaeological record disproves notions of native loss or abandonment of identity and culture, instead highlighting strategic adaptation on the part of Indigenous communities for the express purpose of perpetuating native livelihoods, albeit with some innovative incorporations of European material culture.

In Chapters 4 and 5, Ferris attempts to trace similar processes of change in the Moravian Delaware community and the Iroquois Six Nations communities within Southwestern Ontario, again focusing on settlement-subsistence patterns and material culture. Archaeological evidence for the discussion of the Moravian Delaware (Chapter 4) is not as strong as in the previous chapter because Ferris is forced to rely on notes from a 1940s excavation, but he examines this evidence critically and presents some compelling arguments for the community's attempts at adaptive change and identity maintenance through subsistence and economic practices. In Chapter 5, Ferris traces one Iroquois family's occupation of a site, presenting data from both early and late nineteenth-century households to outline the way long-term trends in one family's practices suggest not acculturation or assimilation but adaptive incorporation of European subsistence practices and thoughtful revisions of indigenous material culture. In Chapter 6, Ferris concludes by reiterating his point that colonial encounters of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when contextualized within a deeper archaeological history, are not characterized by instantaneous changes spurred by European interactions, but rather by continuations of previously established traditions

and specific adaptive responses. It is in this chapter that Ferris states his understanding of Indigenous daily practices in colonial contexts, describing them as “continued heterodox revision and change alongside heightened and retrenched orthodox reinforcement of dispositions” (p. 171). Ferris might have done well to couch his ideas in these terms before the last chapter, weaving them into his case studies to further enhance his argument, although they certainly are compelling when stated in the concluding paragraphs.

One apparent shortcoming in Ferris’s otherwise well-presented discussion is the absence of consultation with contemporary descendant communities. Ferris relies heavily (albeit effectively) on nineteenth- and twentieth-century ethnographic records and the archaeological record, and the inclusion of modern Indigenous voices could augment and strengthen the principles of identity maintenance and active decisions that Ferris

attributes to colonial-era Indigenous communities. Additionally, Ferris overlooks the possibilities of a more critical discussion and application of the limits and connotations of categories such as “European” and “native.” His desire to completely revamp the terms of colonialism, include a rejection of the term “contact,” would be further served by a reconsideration of the traditionally Euro-centric conceptions of what is “European” and what is “native,” with regard to both material culture and practices. Despite this criticism, Ferris’s well-supported ideas in *The Archaeology of Native-Lived Colonialism* are an important contribution to recent literature reconsidering colonialism, and anyone interested in this emerging trend likely will find this book enlightening. Ferris reminds us that archaeology really can shed new light on historical events, proving it imperative that archaeologists re-examine and revise popular narratives of colonialism.