Paper Trails: The US Post and the Making of the American West, by Cameron Blevins. New York: Oxford University Press, 2021. 248 pages. \$34.95, cloth. \$23.99, electronic.

From its creation, the United States Post Office Department (later reorganized as the United States Postal Service) has served as a prime symbol, even a synecdoche, for the larger state apparatus it represents. For much of U.S. history, post offices, mail vehicles, and letter carriers provided the principal points of contact between ordinary citizens and the federal government. Proponents of expanded federal presence (from anti-pornography crusaders to Populist reformers) have used the Post Office to pursue their goals, while anti-government ideologues have sought to undermine its operations and stigmatize its perceived inefficiency. Historians, too, have turned to the mail system, primarily for studying the workings, capacities, and development of the American state.

Paper Trails, Cameron Blevins' lucid and eloquent contribution to this inquiry, focuses primarily on the U.S. West from the Civil War through the Progressive Era, providing a sequel to Richard R. John's classic account of the Post Office in the early republic, Spreading the News: The American Postal System from Franklin to Morse (1995). Blevins' main interest is assessing the state-building infrastructure that mail service provided (and represented) as the Post Office expanded westward in the 1870s and 1880s. Postal service, he argues, formed a decentralized "gossamer network" of semi-autonomous offices, part-time employees, and subcontracted local agencies. The delegation of government business to agencies was prominent in the nineteenth-century U.S. West, especially on the proliferating "star routes" along which private transportation companies carried mail from steamships and railroad lines to rural communities on behalf of the federal government. This agency model of governance allowed the Post Office to expand into rugged terrain and pursue its mandate of providing universal service even in more sparsely populated parts of the West. With this flexibility, he maintains, the Post Office integrated the region into the national economy and hastened the colonization and exploitation of indigenous lands in the West.

As the century wore on, the Post Office turned to more centralized, bureaucratic operations. Postal money orders, which grew spectacularly in the 1880s, provided a national financial utility, "a public counterweight to a private financial sector" (pp. 122-123) under technocratic, efficiency-oriented administration. In the 1890s, the federal government introduced Rural Free Delivery, which made the home "the basic unit of delivery," allowing for the closure of rural post offices and diminishing the role of local agencies (p. 140). Blevins resists concluding the Post Office had simply entered the age of modern bureaucratic centralization, pointing out that money orders accounted for a small portion of mail and that Rural Free Delivery had much less impact on the West than the Midwest and South, for various geographical and political reasons. From the perspective of American political development, money orders and residential delivery were not anomalies; they epitomized and heralded broader shifts associated with the Progressive Era. Ultimately, the lesson of this book may be that postal service fits uneasily into standard narratives of state power because of its unusual commitment to universal access, which extended the reach of the federal government earlier than we would expect and resisted transition to bureaucratic efficiency far longer than we would expect.

The value of *Paper Trails* extends far beyond its lessons about state power. Blevins details the workings of ordinary post offices and private mail contractors across the West, and courses on the Gilded Age will find useful examples of fraud and political patronage. His book will help advanced students perceive the blurry lines between local and national communications—and public and private space—that the postal network created in the nineteenth century. Finally, Chapter 2 ("Stories and Structures"), which follows an erstwhile postal employee's relationship with his three siblings, opens a window into the experiences of the network's users. Students wishing to understand how the Post Office remapped social relations across California and Arizona will especially appreciate this chapter.

Because Blevins is a proficient practitioner of the methods of computation, cartography, and display often lumped together under the rubric of digital history, instructors might consider this as an example of that practice. Blevins introduces *Paper Trails* as "a rejoinder" to the critique that digital history is just "a fancy way of showing patterns we already know" (p. 5). Indeed, Blevins documents many things we didn't already know, drawing on the laborious data collection of postal historian Richard Helbock. Blevins displays this data with precision not possible without computers. Striking quantitative and geographical observations abound, such as the fact that the number of post offices in the U.S. in 1889 exceeds the total number of Walmart stores, Wells Fargo branches, Walgreens pharmacies, and McDonald's restaurants in the country today. Like so much else in this fine monograph, such observations are feats of research and arithmetic, rather than data analysis or digitized display.

An African American Dilemma: A History of School Integration and Civil Rights in the North, by Zoë Burkholder. New York: Oxford University Press, 2021. 297 pages. \$34.95, cloth. \$23.99, electronic.

In this engaging monograph, Zoë Burkholder begins with a reference to Gunnar Myrdal's 1944 classic, An American Dilemma. She notes that the pathbreaking work established the "gripping dilemma caused by the inherent tension between widespread faith in democracy and equal opportunity, on one hand, and explicit racial discrimination against African Americans, on the other" (p. 8). Yet Burkholder's work pushes past a rehash of that continuing challenge in American history. She departs from a traditional activists-versus-racists model, and instead puts black citizens, clergy, parents, and activists at the center of her narrative. Burkholder examines institutional and community changes in Northern schools "to analyze how Black educational activists have conceived of and used school integration since the founding of free, tax-supported public schools and how and why others have rejected this approach in favor of separate, Black-controlled schools" (p. 6). Burkholder's work "seeks to shed light on the complex relationship between Black educational activism, school integration, and the larger civil rights movement," and, in doing so, to "revise our understanding of the history of school integration in the North" (p. 4).

Burkholder's lively narrative is footnoted extensively, with multiple references to existing secondary sources, and supplemented with an extensive array of quotations and vignettes from local, state, and national organizations. The study begins in a period that spans from the 1840s to the 1900s, when some of the earliest educational debates took place in cities like Boston, Cincinnati, or Jamaica, New York. At that time, black activists connected educational access to their ability to confront slavery and to enjoy freedom, but they were confronted by ardent white racism, particularly during the rise of Jim Crow practices after the Civil War. Burkholder traces the increase in support from 1900 to 1940 for separate black schools in places like Philadelphia or Dayton. Some felt that separate schools would aid in "racial uplift," but this effort often presented a difficult choice: "whether separate schools with approximately equal facilities are more or less advantageous than mixed schools 'with prejudice'" (p. 49).

The period from 1940 to 1965 reflected more concerted support for integrated schools, as the growing civil rights movement and wartime claims of democratic opportunity backed the growing influence of the NAACP. The landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* decision saw a corollary increase in backing for integration, but not without protest. Some activists clung to the hope for high-quality separate schools like the Bordentown School in New Jersey or in other communities like New Rochelle in New York. Burkholder says that those who supported separate schools "adjusted their goals" on the one hand by supporting integration efforts, but still decrying racial animosity in the schools (p. 116). From 1966 to 1974, in places like New York City, Boston, and Newark, disagreements about desegregation grew. Some grew in their support for radical black activism, and along with that pressed for the hiring of black teachers or a more inclusive curriculum. Ardent

public debate, teacher strikes, white resistance, and movements for community control of education made such steps contentious at every turn. Burkholder's final chapter surveys changes since 1975. In it, she documents some support for integration, with conditions: "Black families wanted racially mixed schools, but they also wanted real power to influence their interests within these schools" (p. 169). However, renewed backing for separatism also flourished, seen particularly strongly in the anti-busing campaigns of the mid-1970s, the shifting legal terrain (Supreme Court rulings that made it harder to achieve integration), and growing efforts to create Afrocentric curricula. Burkholder shows that some schools (like Hartford) have managed to create more inclusive curricula, but these issues remain unresolved in other communities. Nonetheless, she concludes that "integration continues to be an integral part of the northern Black civil rights movement supported by organizations including the NAACP and the Urban League" (p. 202).

Burkholder's narrative is exhaustively documented with primary source material from across the Northern states. She provides outstanding illustrations of the complexity of ideas in educational circles by parents, teachers, attorneys, clergy, and activists. This meaty book potentially could be used in Advanced Placement/dual-credit courses, but may work better in college-level classrooms, particularly in classes devoted to black history, educational policy, or legal change. Students will appreciate its readable content, and may learn how to write carefully about challenging topics.

Indiana University Kokomo

Sarah E. Heath

African Women in the Atlantic World: Property, Vulnerability, and Mobility, 1660-1880, edited by Mariana P. Candido and Adam Jones. Woodbridge, United Kingdom: James Currey (Boydell and Brewer), 2020. 304 pages. \$75.00, cloth. \$29.95, paper. \$24.95, electronic.

The contributors to African Women in the Atlantic World weigh in on debates about gender, power, and agency in the Atlantic, arguing that African women played significant roles in transformations to property, mobility, and vulnerability from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. Essays in this volume situate African women in the narrative of the Atlantic world, stressing the multiplicity of Atlantic and African identities, motivations, and experiences in the Atlantic world. This volume contributes to ongoing debates about the methodology of microhistory and biography in the Atlantic world and offers methods and strategies for better understanding the experiences of women.

Each chapter centers on African women, focusing on West and West-Central Africa before the colonial rule of the late nineteenth century. The editors and contributors express their aim to "deprovincialize a particular period of African history and emancipate it from the national and disciplinary silos to which it has often been confined" (p. 15), stressing the centrality of African women to the narrative of Atlantic studies.

The volume is divided into three sections: property, vulnerability, and mobility. Suzanne Schwarz examines freedwomen in the Sierra Leone colony from 1790 to 1812 in Chapter 1, studying their labor practices, economic opportunities, resistance to British authority, and social mobility. Esteban A. Salas' chapter on agriculture in eighteenth-century Catumbela describes the slave trade as a catalyst for major societal transformations, situating women as directly impacted by these changes as laborers, property holders, and a significant portion of the population. Mariana Candido's essay utilizes wills and inventories to examine consumption, trade, and women's role as consumers in nineteenth-century Benguela.

The next section highlights vulnerability. Examples include Natalie Everts' work on coastal Akan women, who implemented strategies for maintaining independence in the face of threats of violence and enslavement. Ademide Adelusi-Adeluyi examines the effects of the British invasion of Lagos and the complicated labor relationships that accompanied shifts in power, exploring the case of two enslaved women, Alabon and Awa. In Chapter 8, Kristin Mann reads criminal and civil colonial court proceedings to reconstruct the life of Ajatu, a freedwoman murdered by a male member of her household in the midnineteenth century.

The final essays explore mobility in the Atlantic. Colleen E. Kirger tells the story of Hope, whose experiences as an enslaved child and later a high-status returnee reveals insights into the social and economic challenges faced by Euro-African women during the early modern period. Lorelle Semley explores the mobility of African women in the Atlantic world through the life of Anne Rossignol, a mixed-race African woman who led what Semley describes as a "Trans-African life." Finally, Hilary Jones explores gaps in knowledge about signares in colonial Saint Louis and Gorée, emphasizing how elite women in Atlantic ports formed and articulated consumption habits, tastes, friendships, and identities.

Each author approaches the key terms uniquely, reckoning with property, mobility, and vulnerability in ways that allow for nuance and a broadening of how these terms are used within Atlantic studies. These terms overlap in the text, such as at moments where women experienced both mobility and vulnerability, or the accumulation of property and vulnerabilities that accompanied ownership over people, land, and material goods.

This volume expands the boundaries of biographic and archival reconstruction: contributors follow some women who left significant traces in the archives, and others who appear briefly at moments of engagement with emerging colonial states. As a result, this volume is particularly useful for teaching and thinking through the diverse experiences of African women in the broader Atlantic world, and how scholars might ascertain those experiences, packaged in a format that is accessible for students of the Atlantic world at any level of study. Individual chapters might be assigned as stand-alone microhistorical investigations of a particular moment in the Atlantic world in an Atlantic survey course, or the book itself might be given to graduate students thinking through the methodology and significance of the biographical turn in Atlantic history alongside works such as Lisa A. Lindsay and John Wood Sweet's *Biography and the Black Atlantic* (2014).

African Women in the Atlantic World ultimately allows for scholars to think more thoroughly through questions of who is centered within Atlantic studies, the methodologies with which we reconstruct their experiences, and the significance of individuals in the Atlantic—particularly those marginalized by existing narratives. It is a useful addition to the syllabus of any course interested in exploring the limitations and possibilities of Atlantic studies.

The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Kaela E. Thuney

Americans and the Holocaust: A Reader, edited by Daniel Greene and Edward Phillips. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press and United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2021. 265 pages. \$59.95, cloth. \$19.95, paper. \$19.95, electronic.

In 2018, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum (USHMM) opened an exhibition that offered a new assessment of the relationship of the United States to Nazism and the Holocaust. Americans and the Holocaust (https://exhibitions. ushmm.org/americans-and-the-holocaust) poses a significant challenge to the conventional viewpoint that the United States was too antisemitic to open its doors to Jewish refugees from Nazism and too indifferent to their plight to intervene in the genocide. Although the exhibition remains bound to questions that were first raised by historians in the late 1960s and early 1970s concerning what Americans knew about the Holocaust, when they knew it, and to what extent the United States government could have done more to save Jewish lives, it introduces a significant degree of nuance that has often been lacking in these discussions. The critically acclaimed exhibition brings a wide selection of perspectives to the topic and insists on the necessity of examining it with consideration to the larger political, geopolitical, economic, and social contexts that shaped the many-and often inconsistent—responses of the United States. By bringing together artifacts that include government documents, citizen letters and petitions, editorials, and items from popular culture (along with compelling data-driven multimedia presentations), the exhibition demonstrates that although the United States had had the capacity to assist and intervene to a much greater extent than it did, the country's response was far more involved and complex than has been previously acknowledged.

Although the USHMM (regrettably) did not publish an exhibition catalog, this new and very welcome reader—which was edited by the exhibition's chief curator, Daniel Greene, and a former USHMM staff member, Edward J. Phillips—contains many of the artifacts used in the exhibition. The volume is divided into sections that cover the Weimar Era in Germany, the pre-World War II years of Nazism and Franklin Roosevelt's presidency, the first years of the war when the U.S. officially maintained its neutrality, the years when the U.S. was actively fighting the war, and the immediate aftermath. Each section is preceded by a brief historical overview that efficiently summarizes how each phase of the United States' relationship

to Nazism and (eventually) the Holocaust was shaped by a range of factors, including anti-immigrant sentiments and American nativism, the impact of the Great Depression, increasing antisemitism, political polarization, misinformation, and the contingencies of the war itself.

This impressive volume provides a large assortment of viewpoints that highlight the many and varied stances that Americans took towards the Nazi regime. One of the strongest sections, "Desperate Times, Limited Measures, 1938-1941," demonstrates just how contested was the national debate on whether—and how best—to contend with the growing refugee crisis of the late 1930s, when, in the face of increasingly deadly Nazi violence, German and Austrian Jews desperately sought to find safe havens abroad. *Americans and the Holocaust* reproduces not only some of the best reporting that was available to American audiences, but also the wide range of responses—including internal debates within the Roosevelt Administration and those from advocates for refugees such as the American Friends Service Committee's Clarence E. Pickett, as well as from some of the fiercest opponents such as the Democratic U.S. Senator from North Carolina, Robert Reynolds. The book includes Gallup polls surveying popular opinion, editorials from national and local presses, and reports by individual Americans who risked their own safety and security to act on behalf of imperiled European Jews.

Given that scholarship on the Nazi Holocaust has expanded over the past decade or longer to examine how campaigns against European Jews were interconnected with other manifestations of Nazi racial violence, *Americans and the Holocaust* might have used this reader as an opportunity to further change the terms of the long-standing debate on the U.S. response by paying more attention to non-Jewish victims of the Nazis' genocidal campaigns (such as persons perceived as disabled, Roma and Sinti, Afro-Germans, and others) and by giving stronger focus to the structural racism and ableism that prevented so many victims of Nazism from finding shelter in the United States. Nevertheless, this reader provides an invaluable teaching tool for instructors at both the high school and university levels who are seeking to communicate the extent to which debates were fractured over America's role in coming to the aid of European Jews during the Nazi era.

Wake Forest University

Barry Trachtenberg

The Honor Dress of the Movement: A Cultural History of Hitler's Brown Shirt Uniform, 1920-1933, by Torsten Homberger. Amherst and Boston, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2021. 213 pages. \$90.00, cloth. \$28.95, paper. \$22.99, electronic.

Torsten Homberger's book on the Nazi brown shirt uniform explores an important and hitherto understudied aspect of the rise of the Nazis to power and the political culture of the Weimar Republic more generally. Homberger's central argument is that the "honor dress" of the Nazi movement, worn by members of the paramilitary

Sturmabteilung (SA), facilitated the reconciliation of profound contradictions within Nazi thought and practice—between violence and order on the one hand, and between cultural rebellion and the defense of traditional norms on the other. The uniform signaled a clear and brutal threat to the Nazis' political enemies on the streets of German cities, while also projecting an image of cohesive discipline and aestheticized unity that was reassuring to a growing number of conservatives, nationalists, and traditionalists. Homberger's work is an important addition to the historiographical literature.

The book begins with an introduction that situates Homberger's approach within the context of recent studies on Weimar aesthetics, consumer culture, and political violence. The two subsequent chapters explore the role of uniforms within the broader Weimar system, which was characterized increasingly by militarism across the political spectrum. Homberger first provides brief descriptions of the uniformed image constructed by three major non-Nazi paramilitary organizations—the rightist Stahlhelm, the pro-republican Reichsbanner, and the communist Rotkämpferbund—before proceeding to trace the origins and evolution of the Nazi brown shirt uniform itself. A common feature across all paramilitaries was the initial absence of a mandatory formal uniform, as members instead wore more generic common elements like military-style caps, windbreakers, breeches, boots, and belts, typically combined with organizationspecific insignia and symbols. As the Weimar Era progressed, paramilitary uniforms became increasingly standardized and exclusive. Regarding the Nazis, Homberger demonstrates that the iconic brown shirt itself should be credited to Edmund Heines, a close associate of Ernst Röhm (who would later be appointed SA chief of staff and, with the help of Heines, led the organization through its massive period of expansion in the early 1930s).

Homberger's focus shifts in the middle chapters to an analysis of the interplay between the brown shirt uniform and specific aspects of Nazi political mobilization. Homberger argues that strict regulation of the uniform served as an effective means of social control and discipline for SA leaders during a time in which they could not seriously punish their ranks. The uniform also played a role in the logistics of Nazi mobilization, particularly in enhancing the powerful propagandistic aesthetic of Nazi public marches and choreographed mass rallies. The analysis then proceeds to the early 1930s, when the uniform continued to evolve into a standardized, professionalized military-style ensemble, paralleling the organizational streamlining and professionalization of SA command structures under Ernst Röhm. The final two chapters provide, respectively, an analysis of the uniform's representation in Nazi cultural mythology—exploring three major Nazi films and two books—and a geographic case study of Nazi mobilization in Hamburg, highlighting both the uniform's centrality to local leaders such as Alfred Conn and Arthur Böckenhauer and its implication in increasing clash violence on the streets of the city.

The book is not entirely without flaws. While the focus on Hamburg as a case study is fully justifiable and supported fairly well by a variety of sources, the book would have benefited from a broader and more robust archival base. Homberger often draws extensive conclusions from a relatively limited number of documents

from the NS-23 collection of SA materials in the Bundesarchiv in Berlin. Parts of the book also strike a somewhat awkward balance between the broader narrative of the Nazi rise to power and the specific evolution of the brown shirt uniform. While Homberger is careful to note that the uniform changed as the role of the SA changed, at times, his focus on the minutiae of uniform design creates the sense that those changes developed within a vacuum. At other times, the uniform largely disappears from discussion, as seen particularly in the chapter on the logistics of Nazi mobilization and in parts of the chapter on Nazi mythology, which occasionally become a recounting of the plot lines of the films and books under examination.

Ultimately, though, none of these criticisms should overshadow the book's many strengths. It is clearly written, provides a number of effective visual images, and could certainly serve as an effective text for undergraduate courses on the history of Nazism. Overall, Homberger is to be lauded for producing a work that adds significantly to our understanding of the role played by material culture in the Nazis' successful political mobilization.

Oakland University

Derek Hastings

Presidential Leadership at the Crossroads: William Howard Taft and the Modern Presidency, by Michael J. Korzi. College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2021. 272 pages. \$50.00, cloth. \$30.00, electronic.

In this thoughtful book, Michael J. Korzi places William Howard Taft's presidency (1909-1913) at the "crossroads" of the presidency's evolution from the "traditional" to the "modern" era. In doing so, he convincingly reinterprets both Taft and the evolution of the presidency at a key turning point in American governance. Scholars typically have divided the presidency into two historical eras, Korzi notes. First, the "constitutional-traditional" or "Whig" era (1789 to either 1917 or 1933) featured a weak, non-partisan, apolitical executive merely executing the will of Congress. The second, or "modern" era (from 1917 or 1933 to the present) is represented by bold, powerful presidential leadership in domestic and foreign affairs, and direct public appeals supporting a legislative or presidential agenda. Korzi, however, maintains that there existed a distinct "Whig-traditional or party era" from 1840-1913 as a "transitory phase" sharing characteristics with both "constitutional-traditional" and "modern" models (p. 15). This Whig-traditional era features "a concern with constitutional limits on the president's powers, a preference for presidential deference to Congress on matters of domestic policy, as well as a wariness of presidential demagoguery," but also looks forward to "a more robust leadership role for the president—albeit within the collectivity of the political party" and greater engagement with public opinion (p. 15).

Korzi places Taft's presidency at the transition between the Whig-traditional and modern eras of presidential leadership. In this "*modernized* Whig model" (p. 210), Taft combines a determination to advance his party's goals, particularly as reflected in the 1908 platform on which he was elected, with his vigorous public campaigns

in support of those goals. Taft's connection to his party's agenda links him to the Whig-traditional era; his public engagement on behalf of that agenda links him to the modern. As evidence of Taft's transitional position, Korzi reinterprets several key events in Taft's presidency and adds insightful new information and analysis. Taft's divisive tariff battles are often presented by scholars as a sign of "feckless or anemic leadership" (p. 104), as with the Payne-Aldrich bill, or imperiousness, as in his 1911 vetoes of Democratic tariff bills. Taft's actions are better understood, Korzi argues, as his "concern for party unity" (p. 104) and commitment to the GOP's protectionist 1908 platform—both signs of Whig-traditional presidents. The modern feature of those tariff battles can be found in Taft's national speaking tours in support of his party's positions, unheard of for prior presidents and almost entirely neglected by previous accounts of Taft's presidency. In support of the Payne-Aldrich bill, "Taft travelled over 13,000 miles and delivered more than 260 speeches" (p. 119). His 1911 tour in defense of his vetoes covered 16,000 miles and featured over 350 speeches, at times to crowds of up to 40,000 people, where he often received celebrity treatment. Taft's inability to unite Eastern and Western factions of the GOP in this tour is less important to Korzi's thesis than Taft's modern public speaking campaign in support of a Whig-traditional goal of unity behind a party's platform.

Unsurprisingly, Taft's fraught relationship with Teddy Roosevelt plays a significant role in Korzi's analysis, but only to advance his claims regarding Taft and his presidency. He sees Taft as erroneously portrayed as weak by scholars who valorize modern, powerful presidential leadership in Roosevelt's model, and by their reliance in part on Roosevelt's own claim of Taft's weakness. Korzi refutes that claim using Taft's actions and writings to demonstrate his expansive view of presidential power, albeit within constitutional and statutory limits. As Roosevelt advocated breaching those limits in the 1912 campaign, Korzi persuasively argues that Taft "overcorrect[ed] and seemingly embrace[d] a more constitutionalist or conservative presidency than he typically supported" (p. 215). This has also contributed to scholarly perceptions of Taft's conservatism.

This book is clearly written, jargon-free, and appropriate for non-specialist audiences, including high school history and government teachers and advanced high school students. Readers will not find in this book a march through all major events in Taft's presidency. The Ballinger-Pinchot affair, for example, is mentioned only as it highlights Taft's aversion to what he considered Theodore Roosevelt's increasingly radical ideas. Importantly, the book is also a model of how a scholar can blend the disciplines of political science and history to both advance theoretical arguments (e.g., regarding effective periodization of presidential leadership eras) and deepen historical understanding, as evidenced by Korzi's dive into Taft's use of phonograph recordings of speeches to demonstrate advances in presidential campaign communications.

In the past decade, scholars have added nuance and depth to Taft's contributions to American life as president, jurist, and statesman. *Presidential Leadership at the Crossroads* is a welcome addition to this literature.

The Moundbuilders: Ancient Societies of Eastern North America, by George R. Milner. London, United Kingdom: Thames & Hudson. 2021. 224 pages. \$29.95, paper. \$14.99, electronic.

Milner's revised edition of *The Moundbuilders* offers a concise and readable summary of eastern North American archaeology at a level suitable for undergraduates and advanced high school students. The first chapter describes the environment of the Eastern Woodlands (the United States east of the Mississippi) and archaeological methods. Then, Milner summarizes archaeological evidence, beginning with the peopling of the Americas perhaps 15,000 years ago. Milner concludes with discussion of European contact beginning in the 1500s on the East Coast, and finally the Indian Removal Act of 1830, which forced most Native Americans of the Eastern Woodlands to move west of the Mississippi.

It is telling that the title does not mention Native Americans. In the preface, Milner writes, "the mounds dotting the land were built by Native American ancestors" (p. 6), and in Chapter 1, he mentions "long-abandoned Native American villages" (p. 12). The term "Native American" is not used again, however, until p. 173, three-quarters of the way through the book, when Milner discusses European contact. The first mention of a specific Native American people is the Creek when discussing Mississippian sites on p. 127, halfway through the book. Milner makes *implicit* analogy with historically known Native Americans throughout the book when interpreting the archaeological record, but does not name them as Native Americans, specifically or generally, until Chapter 6. For example, in a discussion of the Late Archaic site Poverty Point, Milner writes: "Large, culturally diverse, and impermanent groups...are known from the historic period, most memorably the one that overwhelmed George Armstrong Custer's command at the Little Bighorn in 1876" (p. 53). Milner suggests later that we don't always know which Native American peoples were described in early journals by de Soto and other Europeans, but certainly we know which Native Americans defeated Custer. Custer is named in full; why aren't Native Americans named? In short, Milner presents nearly 15,000 years of Native American history without explicit mention of Native Americans.

Milner does not seem to consider Native American oral tradition as a source of evidence. In Chapter 1, he states that archaeology is "the primary source of information for most of the lengthy human occupation of the continent" (p. 11), and elsewhere notes that "orally transmitted stories...would have been freely edited and embellished to suit the purposes of the living" (p. 117). Perhaps this implies oral tradition is not valid historical evidence in Milner's view. Milner states that "myths" and "much cultural knowledge" were lost during the contact period as keepers of oral traditions died off unexpectedly (p. 177). Perhaps this implies that oral traditions would have been useful in Milner's view, had not so many been lost. In discussion of Mississippian imagery, Milner argues that understanding deeper meanings of symbols required complete knowledge of "the group's origin myths and so on," but he acknowledges that "a superficial appreciation of what was intended could be grasped by anybody," presumably from among contemporary Native American peoples (p. 121).

I would agree, but I think that Milner's point remains true today: even a superficial appreciation of Native American oral traditions enables and enriches our understanding of the archaeological record. For example, Milner suggests that animals on Hopewellian pipes represent animals that were hunted, and he suggests that the construction of mounds on floodplains shows the importance of wetlands in subsistence. Alternatively, basic familiarity with Native American stories of the Eastern Woodlands suggests that some animals (like beavers) were earth divers, who at the beginning of the world brought the earth used to transform a water world into Turtle Island. Similarly, mounds rising from a floodplain—especially when flooded—might reference the creation of the earth from this water world. These are not controversial interpretations among archaeologists, yet Milner does not mention them.

The "moundbuilders" were Native Americans. They did more than pile dirt and adapt to their environments. They had belief systems that we might infer from the archaeological record, but only if we consider it in the context of Native American oral traditions. If I were to assign Milner's book in an undergraduate course, I would supplement it with readings by Native Americans and by scholars who emphasize Native American beliefs, practices, and oral traditions in their interpretation of the archaeological record, such as Robert Hall and Alice Kehoe. Work by these respected scholars is strangely absent from the book's "Further Reading" section.

The Moundbuilders would be much improved by incorporation of Native American perspectives. Without them, the book describes the archaeological record of the Eastern Woodlands, but does not yield much insight into Native American history.

Southern Illinois University Edwardsville

Julie A. Zimmermann

