

created these exhibitions. It introduces a number of important topics, raises provocative questions, is well-sourced, and includes ample illustrations. *Exhibiting Health* will make an excellent addition to courses in a variety of fields—from public history to public health—and deserves a wide readership in the field.

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Plundered Skulls and Stolen Spirits: Inside the Fight to Reclaim Native America's Culture by Chip Colwell. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017. 360 pp.; 10 halftones, notes, index; clothbound, \$30.00; paperback, \$19.00; eBook, \$19.00.

Repatriation of Native American human remains and sacred objects has been a legal requirement for museums and institutions that receive federal funding since the passage of the National Museum of the American Indian Act in 1989 and the Native American Graves Repatriation and Protection Act in 1990. Chip Colwell's work, *Plundered Skulls and Stolen Spirits*, contributes to the extensive literature on repatriation, providing an insider's review of how the process actually works. Discussion of repatriation often focuses on the entities involved—museums, tribes, and archaeologists—but as Colwell shows, none of these groups are monolithic. There is no single Indigenous approach to repatriation. It is equally true that there is no single museum approach to repatriation, but by giving readers a look at his work at the Denver Museum of Nature and Science, Colwell shows one very good way of working through this important process.

Colwell divides his discussion into four case studies, according to the categories listed in the federal laws: sacred objects, human remains, cultural patrimony, and culturally unaffiliated human remains. These categories contain multitudes. For example, as he shows, tribally sacred objects are often inexplicable within Western religious understandings. Additionally, the formal, somewhat detached term “human remains” can obscure its meaning: the bodies of people who were thoughtfully buried by their relatives according to custom. Colwell examines the conditions under which collections were made, and shows that collectors who believed that they were preserving Native culture did not understand that by removing items from the communities, they were contributing to attempts to diffuse Native identity. Many collections were made prior to the extension of US citizenship to American Indian tribal members in 1924. Tribal culture has been mined for its economic, artistic, religious, and cultural capital, practices that continue to this day. It is important to see museum collections within all of this context.

Part I uses the case of the Zuni Ahayu: da (usually but not quite accurately translated as War Gods), to introduce the conundrum of repatriation to a museum. Museum officials originally justified collection as a means of protecting the objects from decay, and at first glance, the Zuni's demand for their return in order to be placed in open air appeared to run counter to museums' missions to preserve and protect

the objects they collect. Yet, as Colwell shows, the Ahayu: da are not simply physical objects, and their sacred nature is not accommodated through preservation in a non-Zuni setting. In other words, the Zuni people relate to the figures in a way that the museum or its visitors never could. Colwell notes that museums did understand the problematic nature of collecting the Ahayu: da, but hoped that keeping them off exhibit for a number of years would mitigate these concerns. Further, at first, many museums appear to have believed only a small group of activists took issue with the collections. This example shows the museum's initial misunderstanding of tribal goals and points out the evolution in the museum's perception of the situation. Presenting this example in the first part sets up the book as a whole, as it allows the reader to understand the distinct worldviews that inform Native peoples' relationships with museum collections.

Colwell's discussion of the repatriation of scalps from the Sand Creek, Colorado, massacre of 1864 places the massacre in its historical and contemporary contexts. His account of the violence and the treatment of the Cheyenne and Arapaho bodies could help the reader speculate about how Native bodies have been treated in the past and in the present. Scalps collected by US soldiers were taken as trophies and used as evidence of participation in the massacre; later, collecting these remains for display transformed them into a commodity. Under consideration for repatriation, they become human remains, and with reburial, they become once again members of a community.

Colwell does not neglect Native people's participation in transferring cultural material to museums. In part 3, Colwell's description of the attempted sale of Tlingit (Alaska Native) material shows how the intrusion of the art market affected and inflamed existing tribal dissent. This incident is the background for a foundational legal case, *Chilkat Indian Village v. Michael R. Johnson*, that established the communal right to clan property, and is the basis for the category of "object of cultural patrimony" under NAGPRA.

Colwell titles the fourth section "Respect." In essence, respect is foundational to repatriation. Here, Colwell uses the case of remains of the Calusa, a Florida tribe considered extinct by anthropologists, to describe work done under NAGPRA regulations that cover repatriation of remains that have been identified by museums as culturally unidentifiable. In his discussion of the Calusa repatriation, Colwell brings the story full circle and identifies the heart of repatriation. He goes back to its origins and recounts the work of Yankton Sioux activist, Maria Pearson, and the initial shock she felt at that as late as the 1970s, Native human remains could become part of museum collections while non-Native remains from the same cemetery would be reburied. As Colwell notes, how we treat the dead often reflects how we treat the living. In presenting the history of repatriation and its eventual practices, he shows the evolution in thinking that has occurred with respect to Native American people and our cultures.

As Colwell presents it, repatriation can certainly be a healing process. I'm reminded of the times I've been honored to be present as remains were returned to

the earth, and of how it felt to witness their reburial. At the same time, the process that leads up to the reburial can be traumatic. Any discussion of the Sand Creek massacre is difficult to read. Details such as the revelation that the bodies of the Hungate family, whose murder was the ostensible rationale for the massacre, were exhibited in a location that became Denver's city hall, reveal the care Colwell has taken in showing how past activities affect present day relationships.

Initially thought to be ushering in the end of archaeology and the emptying of museums, repatriation, Colwell shows, is a process of reconstructing relationships—between people and their sacred material, between ancestors and descendants, and between human beings and the individuals to whom they wish to show respect. Ultimately, Colwell argues that a new way of working together must be constructed. He briefly notes twelve years of collaborative work at On Your Knees Cave, where ancient remains were studied and the results published with full tribal consent. If this book had been drafted as a polemic on the benefits of repatriation, more such examples might have been given. But this isn't that sort of argumentative work. Instead, Colwell walks the reader through the difficult work of repatriation, showing its effects on the people involved. He leaves it to his sensitive descriptions of repatriations to make his point that reestablishing the connections brings healing to tribal communities. Written with self-deprecating warmth, the style of the narrative facilitates reading the sometimes devastating stories of what has happened to Native people over the centuries. For those wanting to understand just where repatriation came from and how it actually works, Colwell's book is highly recommended.

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Call My Name, Clemson: Documenting the Black Experience at an American University Community by Rhondda Robinson Thomas. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2020. xii + 297 pp.; notes, index; paperback, \$19.95; eBook, \$19.95.

As I sat reading Rhondda Robinson Thomas's new book, *Call My Name, Clemson: Documenting the Black Experience in an American University Community*, two men in orange shirts—like a tiger without its stripes—caught my attention through my corner-office window. The men carried large plastic trashcans and collected pinecones along the perimeter of the campus lake. A white van marked “state inmates” idled on the road behind them. An old university truck pulled up, and a Black man in an orange shirt got out to retrieve larger fallen branches. I wondered about their names, their stories, their role on this campus. In the past and in the present, as *Call My Name, Clemson* makes clear, the contrast between our country's ideals and the lived experiences of its people are perhaps never starker than at institutions of higher learning.

Call My Name, Clemson joins a handful of recent books on the legacies of slavery and racism at US college and universities. Part of what makes Clemson a unique