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responded to the same questions as the Native American field technicians in the film.

Despite this one critique, the film ends on a high note with a wonderful story told by Diane Teeman (Northern Paiute), demonstrating her understanding of situated knowledges even though she may not be aware of this term or its use in feminist theories. Teeman describes blind men in a room who need to rely on each other to describe different parts of a whole object in order to arrive at the conclusion that it is an elephant. As Teeman states "...science has an interpretation, tribes have an interpretation. We know what things are, you know, but other people have a different idea of what they are, and that's their belief. And I think us all talking together and collaborating, we can get a bigger picture of reality and our knowledge of what this world is." No one in Teeman's story is asking anyone else to wholly take on his/her perspective. Rather, the story encourages everyone hearing it to be open to the possibility that each one of us only knows and understands partial truths. We can work together and support and learn from each other. In doing so, we will deepen our understandings of each other and our respective and collective histories on this planet.

As George Nicholas (2010:13) states in his edited volume, *Being and Becoming Indigenous Archaeologists*,

there is much value for Indigenous persons entering this profession in knowing that other Indigenous persons have struggled and succeeded in being archaeologists. For non-Indigenous people, these narratives bring to light the obstacles that Indigenous people face in the discipline and raise awareness as to why accommodations are necessary to make the discipline more inclusive of Native American people. As a young Native American person pursuing a profession in archaeology, I find it immensely encouraging to hear the stories of both hardships and successes in *Breaking New Ground*, and it strengthens my resolve to find my place in a discipline that is simultaneously frustrating and rewarding, physically and mentally challenging, not traditional in my tribal culture, and yet very necessary to learn. It is our responsibility as Native American people to be the stewards of those who came before us, learning and using every tool at our disposal, because the old people are the ones who got us where we are today. *Breaking New Ground* encourages us to do just that.

REFERENCE

- Nicholas, George P.
2010 *Being and Becoming Indigenous Archaeologists*.
Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press.



The Fifth Beginning: What Six Million Years of Human History Can Tell Us About Our Future

Robert L. Kelly,
Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016,
168 pp., ISBN 9780520293120, \$24.95 (hardcover).

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Readers of this journal will be familiar with at least some elements of Robert Kelly's professional record: archaeological work in North America, ethnography on Madagascar, discourse on archaeological practice, and *The Foraging Spectrum*, his widely cited synthesis of

hunter-gatherer ethnology. Here he draws on some of this background in a project of the sort many of us tout as important, but few undertake in any serious way—an effort to explore the relevance of lessons learned from the study of the human past to the looming challenges of rapid environmental and socio-economic change, phrased in terms accessible to a non-specialist audience.

Kelly begins with a short statement about the advantages and disadvantages of an archaeological perspective—the grand temporal and spatial scale of inquiry versus the limits inherent in reliance on material evidence of past human behavior, not every aspect of which has a tangible correlate. These limits can be offset by reference to a theoretical perspective that enables analysts to anticipate and develop potentially testable

explanations for past changes in behavior, even those that lack an obvious material signature. As anyone who has read much of Kelly's work can testify, he often appeals to one—Darwin's theory of natural selection. An interesting question is whether it guides him here as much as it might.

Four chapters make up the heart of the book, each concerned with a 'beginning,' a major change in the human condition marked by significant shifts in some combination of anatomy, demography, geographic distribution, technology, and social organization. Each chapter offers a concise description of the beginning of interest; each summarizes a sample of current conventional anthropological wisdom about its causes.

Beginning One (B-1) is marked by the appearance of genus *Homo*. Kelly's explanation cites the catalytic effect of late Tertiary climate changes that altered the availability of critical food resources, favoring the development of bipedality, increased reliance on lithic technology and large animal prey, the use of fire in food processing, and the collaborative provisioning of altricial young. It's essentially Sherwood Washburn's 1960s argument, updated to reflect improved understandings of the fossil and archaeological records.

B-2 is about the origin of *culture*, defined as socially learned behavior that produces a worldview, an understanding of the circumstances of existence reflected in metaphor and symbols, traceable to the period 50,000–200,000 years ago. Reorganization of the cerebral cortex, development of a capacity for abstract thought, language, shared intentionality, and empathy are all implicated; global expansion and the emergence of archaeological records similar to those produced by historically known hunter-gatherers are among the results. Unlike B-1, the model is not readily traced to a single "ancestral" author, but it does reflect the shape of recent discussion on the topic.

B-3 is about the origins and implications of agriculture, understood as the result of terminal Pleistocene climate change, human population growth, increasingly sedentary lifestyles, subsistence resource depletion, and early experiments in the manipulation of plant and animal genomes. The resonance with Gordon Childe's

mid-twentieth century model is indicated. B-4 treats the rise of state societies, marked by characteristics with which we are all familiar. Kelly highlights warfare as a key catalyst; I'm reminded of Robert Carneiro's work in reviewing the argument.

The concluding chapter, on Beginning 5, looks ahead. Kelly highlights some important challenges: climate change, the end of cheap labor and the difficulties this presents for capitalist economies, the limits of modern warfare as a means of settling disputes, and the 'globalization of culture' as both a coalescent and disruptive force. The problems posed are clearly crucial. Kelly's prescription for confronting them is the development of more comprehensive patterns of cooperation.

As Kelly anticipates, professional archaeologists will find much to dispute in his treatment of Beginnings 1-4. But rehearsing such concerns in any detail would involve reviewing a book that Kelly did not (and did not intend to) write. His goal is to speak to a general audience in general terms about some of what archaeologists have learned about the human past and what it might mean for the future. The question is whether his look back provides a useful perspective on the way(s) forward.

Much as I admire Kelly's ambition and the quality of his syntheses, I think the exercise falls short on two related grounds. First, it lacks a consistent approach to explaining past developments, one that provides a realistic framework for anticipating what comes next. Population growth and competition are rightly flagged as crucial drivers, yet neither is explored in sufficient detail across all four transitions. More consistent reference to Darwinian models might have helped, but that is not the way the argument is developed. The other difficulty involves his prescription for the road ahead, one that flags the potential importance of ever-widening circles of cooperation but ignores the multilevel conflicts of interest that inevitably frustrate such enterprises. Wishful thinking, however appealing, doesn't help.

Still, it's a good read. If one seeks intellectual provocation, either as a professional or as a member of the general public, here's a place to get some.

