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Book Reviews

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Fractured Faiths: Spanish Judaism, the Inquisition, and New World Identities. By Roger L. Martínez-Dávila, Josef Díaz, and Ron D. Hart. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2016. 227 pp. 115 color plates, 15 halftones, maps, biographies, glossary. $75.00 cloth, ISBN 978-1-934491-51-5.)

This richly appointed, elegantly presented catalogue grew out of an exhibition held at the New Mexico History Museum. It tells the story, in word and image, of the complex lives and unstable identities of the Spanish Jews who ultimately found themselves in New Mexico. The curators of the exhibit and the editors of this book aptly chose the title *Fractured Faiths*. The title foreshadows the shattered history of the Jewish people, who found themselves, starting in the fourteenth century, forced to renegotiate their Jewishness. Impelled by Spain's ruthless crusade to destroy Judaism within its ever-expanding borders, the Jews had to decide who to be and how. By using the word "faiths," rather than faith in the singular, the editors of these finely written essays point to the multiple religious practices of the Jews who remained in Spain after 1391 and those who left for other homes. The essays make clear that the struggle to define and manifest the nature of their faiths was a communal matter as well as a personal process that took place individual by individual and family by family.

This bilingual book depicts the seemingly endless cycles of persecution, forced conversions, and expulsions Jewish women and men experienced as state officials defined Judaism as a threat to their vision of a unified, pure Catholic Spain after 1391. Some Jews left for more hospitable climes, choosing homes in the Ottoman Empire and Western Europe where they experienced less, or

no, duress in terms of Jewishness. Others sincerely embraced baptism and led Christian lives. Yet an uncountable number of others adopted Christian rituals but maintained various aspects of Jewish tradition, leading to the emergence of a multiplicity of practices that, with difficulty, blended Jewish and Catholic rites and rituals. After the expulsion of 1492, the powerful Spanish Crown, in league with the Catholic Church, embarked on a sustained campaign to ferret out "judaizers," those who, consciously or not, kept alive aspects of Judaism.

Scholars, including those who contributed to this volume, have long documented how women and men whose families had once been Jews joined the movement to the colonial frontier in New Spain and retained, more or less, some vestiges of Jewish behavior. Particularly after the seventeenth century, subsequent generations of the once-Jewish, who had no idea of their families' origins, continued to not eat meat and dairy at the same meal and continued to change their bed linens on Friday.

Lest anyone think that the Spanish persecution of crypto-Jews and others tainted by Jewish origins took place only on the Iberian Peninsula, the six essays that make up *Fractured Faiths*, plus the highly informative introduction, clearly demonstrate otherwise. The Catholic Church's desire to root out Jews and Judaism followed the colonial penetration of the Americas. New Spain, to which Jews by law could not set foot, became home to the Inquisition and other religious and governmental instruments to identify and punish supposed Jews masquerading as Christians.

Fractured Faiths covers an enormous period, from before the fourteenth century, when Jews, Muslims, and Christians lived in Iberia, to the present. Geographically, it moves from Spain to New Spain as a whole, and then more specifically into twentieth-century New Mexico. The book's geographic and chronological scope, the elegance of the essays, the depth of the scholarship, and the richness of the visual material make it an important contribution to scholarly and popular literature. One might ask, though, why such an august institution as the New Mexico History Museum had to wait so long to explore the Jewish roots of the state's population.

Hasia R. Diner
New York University

The Other Slavery: The Uncovered Story of Indian Enslavement in America. By Andrés Reséndez. (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2016. xiii + 431 pp. 21 halftones, 15 maps, charts/tables, appendices, notes, index. $30.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-547-64098-3.)

In this work, Andrés Reséndez provides a synthesis of research, old and new, on the history of the multiple forms of Indian servitude in the Americas from the time of Columbus in the Caribbean through the nineteenth century. He complements this with original research, primarily centered on northern Mexico and New Mexico. Reséndez recently won a Bancroft Prize in American History and Diplomacy in 2017 for this book.

For Reséndez all forms of coerced labor, including encomienda, repartimiento, mita, and debt peonage, together constitute "the other slavery" in contrast to chattel slavery, in which slaves were bought, sold, and inherited, which was broadly illegal in Spain's dominions for most of the colonial period. Reséndez challenges widely held notions, claiming for slavery the central place in explaining the catastrophic demographic decline in the Americas. In the early decades of Spanish presence in the Caribbean, there are no reports of population collapse resulting from the outbreak of disease. When epidemic episodes came later, the harsh labor regime had so thoroughly weakened the Natives that they more readily succumbed to illness. Moreover, many Indians were worked to death. Surely physical exhaustion lowered workers' ability to fight illness, but whether population demographers will replace epidemic disease with slavery as the principal reason for the decimation of the indigenous population of the Americas seems doubtful.

Reséndez makes another argument that is particularly relevant for readers of the *New Mexico Historical Review.* He holds that slavery was the main cause of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. In the immediate aftermath of the revolt, Spanish officials sought the causes of the revolt, and a host of scholars have followed in their wake. Multiple issues have emerged as possible causes of the revolt, including onerous labor, tribute demands, and famine. But most often cited as the principal cause is the Catholic Church's persecution of Pueblo religion. Reséndez counters that during the revolt the Natives demanded the release of all their people under the Spaniards' control and asked for Francisco Xavier to be surrendered to them in exchange for peace. Xavier, a notorious Apache slaver, was also in charge of the destruction of kivas and kachinas during the late 1670s in a vigorous attempt to stamp out Pueblo religious practices. Given the centrality of religion to Pueblo culture, the leadership of the revolt, and the fury unleashed on Franciscan missionaries and churches during the revolt, it seems unlikely that slavery will supplant religion as the principal cause of the rebellion. No one,

however, will be able to ignore the significance of the other slavery in the events of 1680 after reading this book.

About a third of the book covers the role of Indian slavery as Manifest Destiny drove the United States' expansion into the West. Although some readers will have an awareness of this form of slavery, most will find this new and disturbing, not at all in line with the contours of the national myth.

Errors are unavoidable in a work of such breadth. Rather than limiting governors to half their annual salary, as the author states, the *media anata* required payment to the Spanish crown of half of one's salary for the first year only (p. 159). The people of Acoma Pueblo are Keres and those of Jemez are Towa, not Hopi (p. 174). Such mistakes do not diminish the importance of this work.

This book makes a significant contribution to the history of Spain in the Americas and offers a fuller understanding of the Native people of the western United States. It is a major addition to the historiography of slavery and an excellent synthesis of the literature on the subject.

Rick Hendricks
New Mexico State Historian

Cancionero: Songs of Laughter and Faith in New Mexico. By John Donald Robb. Edited by James Bratcher. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2015. 34 sheet music, notes. $29.95 spiral, ISBN 978-0-8263-4564-6.)

This *cancionero* (book of songs), written by the eminent composer and scholar John Donald Robb (1892–1989), is a highly welcome publication in a time when many of us have a great hunger to revisit and reflect upon our rich past through the musical traditions of the U.S. Southwest. In his foreword to this new edition, Frank McCulloch makes note of Robb's passionate love for New Mexican folk music, and that Robb worked closely with other scholars of these traditions such as Vicente Mendoza, Arturo Campa, Aurelio Espinoza, and Jenny Wells Vincent.

The first twelve songs in Robb's *Cancionero* were originally published in the appendices to his book from 1980, *Hispanic Folk Music of New Mexico and the Southwest: A Self-Portrait of a People.* The songs were arranged by Robb for voice and piano. The editorial preface to *Cancionero* points out that James Bratcher, who was a member of the John Donald Robb Trust Board of Directors from 2003 until his death in 2012, added a thirteenth song, a "composer's dozen," to *Cancionero* ("El tecolote"). Bratcher collected the song melodies and verses from Robb's archives (field recordings and documents). Bratcher also edited the scores, and in some cases edited additional melodies or concert performance versions. He also added guitar chords as an alternate accompaniment.

In light of its valuable content and relevance to *Cancionero*, Bratcher included the original introduction of Robb's book from 1954, *Hispanic Folk Songs of New Mexico.* In this important essay, Robb reflects on the meaning of folk song, and proceeds to explicate the various musical forms he studied in New Mexico. In the book from 1954, these included six types: *romance*; *corrido*; *canción*; *indita*; *relación*; and *letra*, the latter from the traditional Christmas play *Los pastores*.

Robb also alludes to the importance of the *cuando*, *decima*, *trovo*, and *alabado*. Robb notes that all of these various forms he studied and collected "are sung by New Mexicans of Spanish descent, who constitute almost half the population of the state" (p. 2). Essentially, Robb recognizes a large part of this legacy, noting that "the principal sources of New Mexico's Hispanic folk songs are Spanish and Mexican music, Indian music, music of the American frontier, and ecclesiastic plainsong" (p. 2). He proceeds to provide overviews of the songs' origins, literary characteristics, musical characteristics (e.g., singing style, meter, text setting, melodies, parallel thirds), modality or scales, chromatically altered tones, and unmeasured music (no set bars or measures).

The thirteen songs comprising the volume include the following: "la Zenaida"—canción corrido; "Manbru" ("Membru")—romance burlesco; "En la cantina de Denver"—corrido; "Cuatro palomitas blancas"—canción-relación; "El borreguero"—canción; "Don Gato"—romance burlesco; "Leonor"—relación; "Bendito sea Dios"—himno; "Tun, tun"—villancico; "Adios Jose, adios Maria"—despedida; "Entrega de novios"—canto ceremonial; "Ahi vienen los indios" ("El comanchito")—indita; and "El tecolote" (Tecolote, de donde vienes?)—canción. Musical selections, arranged for voice and piano, are organized into book sections titled "Songs of Laughter," "Songs of Faith," and "Other." An additional section includes alternate and concert settings (e.g., vocal duet and piano, or voice, oboe, and piano, among other combinations) of the previous three categories.

Cancionero represents a highly significant publication related to the beautiful and rich musical legacy of New Mexican culture and history, and is an important contribution to the work of musicologists, historians, folklorists, language and literary scholars, among many other areas of research. Its greatest contribution, however, is the music itself, and the role it can play in the lives of musicians, singers, and the general public. As Frank McCulloch notes in his foreword, "With these resources, members of the younger generation, along with families and teachers, will continue to enjoy the New Mexico folk traditions in a merging of the past with the present" (p. ix).

Steven Loza
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Portraits of Route 66: Images from the Curt Teich Archives. By T. Lindsay Baker. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016. xiii + 265 pp. 92 color plates, 151 halftones, map, index. $34.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8061-5341-4.)

Vintage picture postcards are rediscovered and celebrated in *Portraits of Route 66: Images from the Curt Teich Archives*. The historic postcard was the combined tweet and Instagram of the early twentieth century, when literally billions were produced, purchased, and sent across the country and around the world. These compact posts, typically 3 x 5 inches in their traditional format, with space for a message and address on the verso, and, a place, thing, or landscape representation on the front, were said to have been so popular that they created postcard mania in America.

T. Lindsay Baker, an accomplished Texas historian, is our guide in this handsome and colorful volume that uses 112 postcards to recollect and revisit as many locations in eight states—Illinois, Missouri, Kansas, Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, California—crossed by the original Route 66, which gained official designation in 1926. Baker makes use of vintage postcards and, through research in the Curt Teich Archive, he is able to reconstruct how Teich Company graphic artists made the postcard images, often in vivid color tones, from black and white photographs submitted to the company by individual businesses and distributors. The author relates how some forty percent of the production files for the hundreds of thousands of Curt Teich postcards produced over seventy years survive in the archive. *Portraits of Route 66* thereby enables the heritage tourist and popular historian to understand how so much of roadside America was captured in the simple format of a picture postcard.

Readers are ferried along with Baker to selected locations of the Mother Road, chiefly highways and bridges; roadside lodgings including auto camps, court motels, and hotels; gas stations and auto garages; restaurants and diners; small town main streets; and assorted entertainment venues. For each location, Baker provides a well-researched local history of the site; the town; and, where possible, the individuals who built, operated, owned, and then sold these many roadside attractions. In seven of the eight states, we revisit between ten and twenty locations along each segment of the road in the respective state. Because Highway 66 crosses the southeast corner of Kansas, only five locations are represented and discussed for the Sunflower state.

In Oklahoma City, near the halfway point of Route 66 between Chicago and Los Angeles, Baker selects, for example, seven eateries as representative of the variety of food service available to travelers along the road: Herman's, a seafood restaurant; the Venetian Room of the Skirvin Hotel, a toney dining spot with an orchestra; Patrick's Drive-In and Garland's Drive-In, two early fast food

establishments; and El Charro Café and El Fenix, two Mexican restaurants that pioneered the vending of ethnic food. Perhaps the most famous restaurant in the Sooner capital city is Beverly's Chicken in the Rough, started by Beverly and Rubye Osborne. Their largest restaurant was located on Route 66 immediately north of the Oklahoma State Capitol, and seated eleven hundred diners who paid fifty cents for half a fried chicken and trimmings. Although this location closed in 1961, Chicken in the Rough franchises later appeared in 234 locations across the United States.

Portraits of Route 66 will appeal especially to the many tourists who now ply the Mother Road in search of a bygone era, but it has a place as well on the bookshelves of American popular culture scholars despite the absence of source citations and bibliography. I recommend readers extend their excursion through its pages with the occasional roadside stop in Arthur Krim's *Route 66: Iconography of the American Highway* (2005) and Jeffrey Meikle's *Postcard America: Curt Teich and the Imaging of a Nation, 1931–1950* (2015).

Daniel D. Arreola
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Losing Eden: An Environmental History of the American West. By Sara Dant. (Malden, Mass.: Wiley Blackwell, 2017. xiii + 221 pp. 22 halftones, maps, index. $29.95 paper, ISBN 987-1-118-93429-6.)

Losing Eden is a slender text with broad ambitions: it aims to both present a synthetic account of the environmental history of the American West from prehistory through the current day, and to challenge readers to envision a sustainable future for the region and the world. That Sara Dant largely succeeds in these goals is a testament to the author's command of the subject matter and engaging writing style, which will appeal to undergraduate students and general audiences alike.

The title refers to the historically persistent "Edenic myth" held by European and American immigrants and observers of the West. Dant "encourages readers to lose this conceit of a 'virgin continent'" and instead explore how humans have modified and managed the western environment (p. 3). A related theme is the "tragedy of the commons," popularized by the ecologist Garrett Hardin. Dant employs Hardin's concept broadly to explain "the exploitation of open-access resources such as forests, water, air, and grazing lands" (p. 4). In ten chapters, Dant explores how the West's residents, ever in search of profit, have reenacted the tragedy time and again and how, fitfully, they have sought to escape it.

The text introduces readers to some of the most influential ideas and key turning points emphasized by environmental historians in recent decades,

including the Columbian Exchange, ecological imperialism, the Land Ordinance of 1785, the Mormon migration, the California Gold Rush, the Homestead Act, the Pacific Railroad Act, predator eradication efforts, Progressive-era conservation and preservation, dam building, atomic weapons, suburbanization, post–World War II environmentalism, the Wilderness Act, and the Sagebrush Rebellion. Along the way, it delves into stories of some of the most influential and, in many cases, prescient individuals in western environmental history, among them Brigham Young, John Wesley Powell, George Perkins Marsh, Buffalo Bill Cody, Wovoka, Theodore Roosevelt, John Muir, Aldo Leopold, Rachel Carson, and James Watt, and it explicitly draws on prominent contemporary scholars and thinkers. Helpful suggestions for further reading follow each chapter.

Consistently, Dant asks her readers to consider not just the profits that were extracted from the West, but the costs of that extraction to the region's environment and people. One particularly moving example is her account of the devastating impacts of dam building on northwestern fish populations, especially the "Oxbow Incident" of 1958, a botched attempt to truck adult Chinook salmon and steelhead trout around the Oxbow Dam on Idaho's Snake River that resulted in the deaths of thousands of fish before they were able to spawn. Today, dams in the Columbia River basin kill untold thousands of salmon and steelhead and block them from 40 to 60 percent of their original habitat (pp. 143–44).

A book that attempts to do so much in such a brief format cannot give every subject its due. An early chapter on European colonization leaps from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century and then back again, making its points at the cost of historical context. American Indians largely drop out of the story after the Wounded Knee massacre. Furthermore, occasional mentions of inequalities in the distribution of the profits and costs of environmental exploitation among the West's residents leave this reader wanting more. Finally, Dant's choice to devote nearly a full chapter to the political achievements of centrist Idaho senator Frank Church, while compelling, crowds out other important figures in the postwar environmental movement.

Losing Eden is a timely book. As battles over environmental regulations, public lands, fossil fuels, and the risks of climate change intensify, Dant delivers powerful lessons from the distant and not-so-distant past that remind us that what is at stake may be our very survival.

Gregory Brueck
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Mapping the Four Corners: Narrating the Hayden Survey of 1875. By Robert S. McPherson and Susan Rhoades Neel. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016. xvii + 284 pp. 30 halftones, maps, notes, index. $29.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8061-5385-8.)

In their discussion of the Hayden Survey, historians Robert S. McPherson and Susan Neel document one of the most significant, yet little known, surveying efforts of the nineteenth century. Through extensive use of survey members' own words collected from letters, field reports, and newspaper dispatches, the authors take readers back in time into those arid landscapes and communicate a sense of adventure.

The Hayden Survey was named after Ferdinand V. Hayden, the prominent director of the U.S. Geological and Geographic Survey, who led the famous surveys of Yellowstone in 1871 and 1872. For the survey in 1875, Hayden developed an efficient plan to have four groups (divisions) cover the Four Corners area. The divisions were led by notable figures in the exploration of the West: William Henry Holmes, James Gardner, Henry Gannett, and William Henry Jackson. The divisions included scientists, artists, a *New York Times* reporter, cooks, and mule packers. They all started out of Denver and then proceeded south and west to the unmapped area of the Four Corners. Their day-to-day hardships, observations, and discoveries are revealed as readers travel with the teams.

Mapping the Four Corners is organized chronologically and geographically, making it easy to follow the progress of the expeditions. A compelling aspect of the book is its articulation of the scientific, technological, political, economic, and cultural context of the era. The 1870s were a time of change in the United States, and the Hayden Survey played an active role in this period of transition. As McPherson and Neel note, "Hayden and his team helped create this changing world by contributing new approaches to the visual representation of scientific knowledge, the bond between publicly funded science and economic development and the professionalization of disciplines ranging from anthropology to geology" (p. 33).

The book's inclusion of survey members' observations in their own words highlights the biased attitudes of the day toward indigenous people. The book covers the survey's interactions with the Utes, including one harrowing chase and escape. The treaty negotiations at that time between the U.S. government and the Utes resulted in the loss of millions of acres to white settlers and miners. The survey was accelerating a fundamental change: "The Survey's work in Colorado was to incorporate an indigenous space into an Anglo-American system of thought and utility" (p. 256).

The Hayden Survey's ultimate goal was "to produce a series of thematic maps giving visual expression to the region's potential" (p. 15). Unfortunately, absent from this book are examples of the expedition's cartography, though it does include some key W. H. Jackson photographs and drawings. The inclusion of some of the beautiful geologic maps and landscape drawings from Hayden's *Atlas of Colorado* (1877) would have been a great addition. The location route maps made for the book are of good quality, though the main overview map, Map I, is a bit busy and difficult to read (p. 3).

Overall, the authors of *Mapping the Four Corners* are to be thoroughly congratulated for writing an engaging read and a must-have reference for historians, geographers, cartographers, scholars of the American West, and anyone with an attachment to the Four Corners area.

James E. Meacham
University of Oregon

Outdoors in the Southwest: An Adventure Anthology. Edited by Andrew Gulliford (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014. xxiii + 413 pp. 31 halftones, maps, glossary, bibliography, contributor biographies, index. $26.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8061-4260-9.)

At a time when acrimonious debates swirl about President Obama's designation of Bears Ears National Monument (including a variety of wilderness possibilities), a book on "wilderness" is welcome. There are threats to roll back federal protection for Bears Ears, if not gut the American Antiquities Act, while recent promotions such as "Every Kid in a Park" and "Find Your Park" seek to foster new, youthful constituencies.

Like Edward Abbey, scion of solitude who is prominently featured in the opening pages of this work, Gulliford grouses. Too few people today visit wilderness. For those that do, few understand the landscape before them. Young people are distracted by the shiny new objects of technology and social media—the warm glow of a false sense of community, a claim Gulliford returns to often. Extreme adventurers such as BASE jumpers, avalanche-prone snowboarders, and other assorted testosterone-infused sports lovers are not his target market, either. Nor is this work about hunting or fishing. It is also not a guide book, as Gulliford clearly states. Instead, Gulliford offers a text aimed squarely at various programs of backcountry leadership, academic or otherwise. In short, the book is a collection of writings, characterized as an "adventure anthology" and a supplemental reader.

As the editor, Gulliford has assembled many tales—some reflecting what he terms "experiential education in the field." The writings are grouped by various

themes into eight chapters that open with introductory comments and close with study guide questions framed by his students at Fort Lewis College, a campus perched on a mesa overlooking Durango on the southern flanks of the San Juan Mountains of Colorado.

The bulk of the heavy lifting for this anthology occurred during a sabbatical in the fall 2008, although many of his articles published earlier in popular media are repurposed as well. In his introductory comments for "Why We Need Wilderness," Gulliford covers familiar ground, citing Aldo Leopold, Wallace Stegner, and others. This is coupled with alarming reports of faltering public interests in wilderness values and experiences, though oddly based on sources almost a decade old. In making the case for the importance of wilderness to the national character, Gulliford seemingly conjures up the notion of a historical "virgin wilderness" devoid of any human actors in the onrushing tide of Western civilization from sea to shining sea. For example, Gulliford writes, "How can we begin to understand what wilderness is if we have never experienced a place that is unaltered and unagitated by our own species?" Gulliford goes on to a brusque dismissal of those who "criticize the 'wilderness idea' as a holdover from our colonial past . . . that ignores concerns of indigenous people" (p. 35–36). Gulliford has written elsewhere about preserving the American Indian past. This introductory section is followed by the lengthy "Looking for History" that explores the human past in the American Southwest, including Native Americans. Yet, its initial sidebar column by Rick Athearn tackles "Visiting Historic Mining Sites," with an emphasis on private property, ownership, and vandalism. Anarchists would object.

There are complex discussions about tribal collaborations for Bears Ears, the San Francisco Peaks of Arizona, or Mount Taylor in New Mexico. These lay claims for new constituencies, and perhaps offer case studies in traditional cultural landscape designations for those seeking careers in wilderness management or recreation. Although this anthology includes many images and maps that help to illustrate the important stories that Gulliford offers, they are mainly of the Colorado Plateau. The Colorado Plateau is a wondrous landscape, but it is only part of the story of the Southwest. As it stands, the title, *Outdoors in the Southwest*, is misleading.

Michael J. Lawson
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Smoke over Oklahoma: The Railroad Photographs of Preston George. By Augustus J. Veenendaal Jr. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2017. xiii + 194 pp. 160 halftones, maps, index. $29.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8061-5568-5.)

On 2 July 1939, Preston George photographed St. Louis-San Fancisco ("the Frisco") locomotive 183 as it was about to depart Union Station in Oklahoma City. The Frisco was rebuilt in 1927, a quarter century after its manufacture, to better compete with gas-electric passenger-express-mail cars ("doodlebugs") operating on branch lines. The superbly equipped and maintained, but aging, locomotive caught the eye of a precise, thoughtful photographer documenting the steam locomotive and related railroad subjects of Oklahoma and surrounding country. At the close of the Depression, No. 183 no longer shone resplendent in roaring-twenties dark green paint and gold striping but proved ready for the stunning wartime effort George later recorded.

Smoke Over Oklahoma proves far more than the typical glossy-photograph railroad picture book. George made superb images and documented date, location, and other data critical to scholars. Veenendall knew the images before he met George, and decades after that meeting set the images in historical context. The opening chapter alone, on the history of railroads in Oklahoma and adjacent regions (illustrated with archival images outside the George collection), highlights the staggering pace of railroad development after the opening of the Oklahoma and other Indian territories to white settlement. This section emphasizes something the full-page map preceding it demonstrates: overbuilding of railroads (typically by ruthless long-haul competitors) produced a lot of mileage for George to cover. In her afterward biography, Burnis George Argo emphasizes her father's career as a civil engineer with the Oklahoma Highway Department and subsequently in a concrete plant position in Denver. Both gave him the technical expertise to refine a new hobby (sparked by an accidental discovery of the enthusiast magazine *Railroad Stories* in 1934) and facilitated his moving around (from 1940 onward, with a Graflex postcard-size camera, a medium-format instrument offering 1/1000 second) with time enough in multiple locations to find appropriate equipment subjects in stark, often austerely beautiful settings. George built an international reputation. The Oklahoma Historical Society, now the custodian of more than a thousand of his images, organized the images and a symposium, and succeeded in producing a first-class book. Within the book's chapters, the images are arranged chronologically, most concerning particular railroads. The deep stories reveal themselves to any careful reader.

Veenendall's captions put individual illustrations into multiple contexts interwoven over many pages and across railroads. The doodlebugs mentioned in the first caption (of the Frisco) arrive some sixty pages later in open country near

Lugert, Oklahoma, operating on the San Angelo, Texas, to Wichita, Kansas, route of the former Kansas City, Mexico and Orient Railway (by then owned by the Santa Fe). George, like other contemporary photographers, did not particularly like diesel-electric locomotives, as these were supplanting the marvelously photogenic steam locomotives. He did, however, photograph doodlebugs, which Veenendall notes operated daily over a 508-mile route. Veenendall emphasizes that the Bureau of Land Reclamation raised the height of the Lugert Dam and caused the relocation of the railroad line. A careful reader realizes how long into the automobile era Oklahoma railroads provided passenger service on lightly traveled routes and—in a caption under a photograph of M-190, a heavily powered, articulated doodlebug George discovered in the summer of 1946 with a mixed train (freight and passenger) northwest of Chanute, Kansas—learns that some doodlebugs hauled long trains, now a little-known technological feat.

Wartime focused George's attention on long, heavily powered, often double-headed freight trains (and some short ones pulled by old passenger locomotives). Heavy postwar traffic shifted his interest to the end of steam power and of two electric lines, the Pittsburg County and the Oklahoma Railway. He interested himself in stations (sometimes lacking trains) too, but he focused on the motive power whose distinctive features provided intermittent visual cues to Oklahomans who looked up from their work to remark the passing of "their" trains.

John R. Stilgoe
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The Erosion of Tribal Power: The Supreme Court's Silent Revolution. By Dewi Ioan Ball. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016. viii + 311 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. $39.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8061-5565-4.)

Speculation about the reasons why American Indian tribes tend to lose badly in the U.S. Supreme Court almost always extends beyond the written opinions of the court. Supreme Court majority opinions tend to be dry and minimal, answering obliquely only the question presented, and authored by only one justice. Dissents and concurrences are far more interesting reading, but they have already failed to win the day. In most cases, we never see or hear the actual reasoning of a majority of judges on the court.

The opening up of the internal correspondence of the Supreme Court justices to public scrutiny by Justices Thurgood Marshall and Harry Blackmun dramatically expands the universe of knowledge about the court. In these documents, which were never intended for public consumption, we see candid back and forth between the justices that is often surprising, or even jarring.

The Erosion of Tribal Power delves into these papers to reveal the story of why the Supreme Court shifted away from protecting tribal interests, as the Warren Court of the 1960s did, and toward undermining them in the Burger and Rehnquist courts. During the Warren Court, tribal interests prevailed before the court in slightly more than half of cases. By the end of the Rehnquist Court, that win rate had declined to around 20 percent, less than that of convicted criminals.

The court's shift against tribal interests is a topic repeatedly trod upon by legal scholars and political scientists without the benefit of the internal correspondence of the justices. Many scholars accused individual justices, particularly Justice Rehnquist, of importing skepticism about civil rights for persons of color into Indian law jurisprudence. Others suggested Indian tribes had overreached, and that the court was merely drawing lines to protect the interests of the federal and state governments. David Getches suggested the court was engaged in a more complicated project of bringing Indian law into the mainstream of constitutional law. Bob Woodward, who also had access to the inner workings of the Supreme Court, reported that individual justices did not care much about Indian law. Some even abhorred the field.

Dewi Ball's work blows apart the long-held suppositions held by scholars for a generation or more, while confirming others. The internal correspondence does not indicate an openly held animus toward Indian tribes and Indian people by any individual justice. Ball's work further shows that the Court in general did not appear concerned with tribal overreach, either. Instead, internal documents show the more conservative justices really were interested in eradicating Indian law altogether, a form of cleaning the constitutional house. In short, the members of the judiciary knew Indian law intimately, and had a plan.

Ball's most important contribution is the revelation that the conservative members of the Burger and Rehnquist courts orchestrated the undoing of centuries of foundational federal Indian law principles without nary a notice from mainstream public policy makers or legal professionals. The court reversed the presumption that tribal powers are retained absent an act of Congress undoing them, while at the same time quoting and citing the foundational cases that originated the rule. Similarly, the presumption that state taxation power does not extend into Indian reservations was reversed, while again citing and quoting the cases that established the rule.

Ball's work shows that public writings of the Supreme Court that pay tribute to precedent are well-nigh Orwellian communications that tend to cover up the actual views of the justices in conference. This work is a must-read.

Matthew L. M. Fletcher
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At a Sword's Point, Part 2: A Documentary History of the Utah War, 1858–1859. Edited by William P. MacKinnon. Kingdom of the West Series: The Mormons and the American Frontier, Volume II. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016. 698 pp. 22 halftones, maps, bibliography, index. $45.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-87062-386-8.)

This magisterial history is the product of six decades of William P. MacKinnon's research, scholarship, and deep reflection on the Utah War. Part 2, reviewed here, covers the period from January 1858 until the resolution of the conflict in the summer of 1859, and includes seventeen chronologically arranged chapters on the key figures and events of the conflict. The main chapters follow the path of unofficial diplomat Thomas L. Kane as he journeyed incognito to San Bernardino and Great Salt Lake City to confer with the beleaguered Brigham Young; his subsequent trek into the wilderness to find and meet the snowbound U.S. Army expedition commanded by Albert Sidney Johnston; and his remarkable achievement in persuading newly appointed territorial governor Albert Cumming to travel with him, in advance of the army, to the Mormon capital to confront and defuse Mormon opposition. Subsequent chapters deal with Young's inexplicable decision to evacuate the Latter-day Saints from the city, the veiled machinations of James Buchanan, and the ultimate resolution of the conflict engineered by Buchanan's steely commissioners, Lazarus Powell and Ben McCulloch.

Apart from the main narrative thread, MacKinnon explores several other little-known but important components of this wide-ranging conflict. Randolph B. Marcy's epic winter march from Fort Bridger, Wyoming, to New Mexico and subsequent return with much needed supplies and livestock is treated in detail. Other chapters deal with plans to create a two-front campaign by raising militia units in California and Winfield Scott's subsequent opposition to them, as well as attempts to explore the Colorado River by steamboat as an avenue for invasion and supply.

Although MacKinnon is credited as the editor of this volume, his labors would be more aptly described as author, curator, and interpreter of a rich documentary history. Employing a hybrid approach to the craft, he provides an engaging narrative paired with a rich, judiciously chosen trove of primary documents. Many of these consist of letters, dispatches, and official correspondence, reproduced in whole or in part. The most important, such as engrossing accounts of the army's advance down Echo Canyon towards Salt Lake City, occupy several pages. Collected from archives across the United States, Canada, and Great Britain, they constitute treasures gleaned from a professional lifetime of research.

The final chapters include MacKinnon's reflections on the Utah War and his critical assessments of nearly all the key figures, including Thomas L. Kane, who is presented as a self-important and somewhat duplicitous mediator; Albert Cumming, a "well-intended but under-powered governor"; and Brigham Young, the undisputed manipulator of both people and the public narrative. Mormon readers may be affronted by MacKinnon's unsparing portrayal of the Mormon prophet, but his arguments are judicious and well supported. As a final verdict, he holds Young responsible for turning a conflict over gubernatorial insubordination into an act of open rebellion such that it compelled Buchanan to remove him from office.

An epilogue examines the lengthy aftermath of the conflict, a period the author terms "Utah's Reconstruction," and the impact of the war on the people and places affected by it. Taken together with Part 1, this volume of *At a Sword's Point* should serve as the final word on this long-neglected chapter in American history. Easily accessible to both general readers and specialists, it forms an indispensable reference for scholars of territorial Utah and the West.

Warren Metcalf
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Our Indian Summer in the Far West: An Autumn Tour of Fifteen Thousand Miles in Kansas, Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, and the Indian Territory. By S. Nugent Townshend. Illustrated by J. G. Hyde. Edited by Alex Hunt and Kristin Loyd. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016. xiii + 186 pp. 65 color plates, map, bibliography, index. $45.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8061-8702-0.)

In 1879 two English gentlemen—S. Nugent Townshend and John G. Hyde—set out on a journey that took them across much of the American West. The goal of their trip was to encourage British capital investment. Townshend, in his often stilted Victorian prose, provided the text, while Hyde snapped the pictures, here reproduced in sepia. The men recorded, often in detail, the economic potential of a region, the racial qualities of its inhabitants, the people they met along the way, and the relationship of all they saw to British interests. Whether standing at Niagara Falls, in the Texas Panhandle, on the Plains of Kansas, in the mountains of Colorado, or inside a New Mexico village, the recorder and photographer accumulated facts and figures for their future audience of investors and British settlers. The authors hoped their book would be "of practical utility to the emigrant, as it will fall chiefly into the hands of those to whom the humbler classes would naturally look for advice" (p. 40).

Townshend writes as a straight-laced businessman of the time, recording in detail the cost of land, prices of crops and domestic animals, conditions of railroads, mining opportunities, and prevailing attitudes of business partners. Hyde supplements the text with carefully posed pictures. The editors of this volume, Alex Hunt and Kristin Loyd, bring the two elements together to provide a well-researched and beautifully illustrated book that captures the American West during the Gilded Age. They also provide an excellent introduction that examines the significant role British finance played in bankrolling U.S. land development. For readers interested in the period, this volume provides valuable primary source information on locales visited during the short expedition. Additionally, the coffee-table layout of text and photo makes this a handsome volume.

Today's reader, however, will have to accept a Victorian writing style. The authors, in an attempt to be erudite, begin each section with quotes from Alexander Pope and other English essayists and poets, then follow on with their own inflated verbiage. They also display a blatant disdain for other cultures, especially Hispanic, include titillating suggestions of romantic liaison, and wantonly slaughtered game while they traveled. These elements may not sit well with twenty-first-century readers. But there are other anecdotes and elements that readers will find amusing or interesting. Their stories—tales of hauling around their own bathtub, their explanation behind the oft-heard adage of "rain following the plow," the description of the Charles Goodnight ranching operation, swindles surrounding the Maxwell and other land grants, experiences hunting black bears in New Mexico—add flavor and a touch of human interest.

For the readers of the *New Mexico Historical Review*, this book—with its extensive endnotes, fine introduction, early period photographs, and detailed geographic and economic accounts—offers worthwhile information for a scholarly audience.

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Sign Talker: Hugh Lenox Scott Remembers Indian Country. Edited by R. Eli Paul. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016. xii + 260 pp. Halftones, map, bibliography, index. $29.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8061-5354-4.)

An extended excerpt from Hugh Scott's memoirs from 1928, *Sign Talker*, represents a worthy resurrection of the experiences of his career as an army officer in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Scott would eventually become U.S. Army Chief of Staff during the First World War, and his memoirs reflected

the then-current interest in military accounts by American commanders during the Great War. Unlike most of those tomes, which tended to quickly pass over WWI commanders' distant frontier military experiences, Scott's *Some Memories of a Soldier* proved most compelling in its recounting of his service on both the Northern and Southern Plains. Given Scott's well-known interest in American Indians and their cultures and societies, this should come as no surprise. A long-time student of the sign language that served as the lingua franca on the plains, Scott's descriptions of the events and personalities (military, civil, and Indian) that defined his time as a junior officer in the U.S. Army in the 1870s and 1880s should appeal to any student of the Indian Wars.

Sign Talkers helps flesh out the barebones narrative about the conquest of the West in its breadth, and a few topics are discussed with particular insight. Those interested in life at West Point during the nineteenth century will gain a unique understanding of that institution, at which Scott was both a cadet and superintendent. His ruminations on hazing and discipline are particularly interesting. The aftermath of Custer's defeat at the Little Big Horn is also described with verve; having just graduated from West Point, Scott used family connections to secure his transfer from the African American Ninth Cavalry to the devastated Seventh Cavalry immediately after Custer's defeat. From Fort Lincoln, Dakota Territory, Scott then served in the various campaigns against the Sioux that ended the Great Sioux War. While nominally attached to a makeshift artillery battery, Scott's interest in the army's Indian allies, and his wanderlust, led him to gain a broader perspective on the conflict than one might expect from a junior officer. His troubles in dealing with "Custer's avengers," those enlisted men recruited in the aftermath of Little Big Horn, are related particularly well and provide a good introduction into the rough-and-tumble nature of enlisted life at the time. Similarly, Scott narrates the final stages of the campaign against the Nez Perce in detail, demonstrating a keen sense of empathy for that tribe. In fact, as the Indian Wars fade into twilight, *Sign Talker* is noteworthy mostly for its attention to the plight of western Indians consigned to reservations. Through telling this tale, Scott enables readers to feel the weight of injustice heaped upon peoples facing new and uncertain futures. Although not free of racial baggage, Scott, like many frontier officers, sympathized with Indians and bemoaned the corruption and inefficiency that attended federal Indian policy. Unlike many of his peers, however, Scott's strong interest in Indian lifeways gave him access to Native households. This enabled him to develop a narrative that is fuller and richer in its appreciation of Indians as human beings and historical actors.

In short, the University of Oklahoma Press and editor R. Eli Paul should be commended for they have performed a service that benefits both the field and Hugh Scott's legacy. Scott's spare but forceful prose and wide-ranging familial

and military connections make this an engaging read, while Paul's work as an editor provides enough context in the footnotes to assist the lay reader. Those looking for a military account to pair with American Indian perspectives in the university classroom can do far worse than to assign *Sign Talker*.

Kevin Adams
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California Mission Landscapes: Race, Memory, and the Politics of Heritage. By Elizabeth Kryder-Reid. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017. xvi + 357 pp. 13 color plates, 115 halftones, maps, notes, bibliography, index. $35.00 paper, ISBN 978-0-8166-3797-3.)

According to Elizabeth Kryder-Reid, "The missions have been imbricated so intimately into cultural memory that they are inextricable from the fabric of California's and the United States' grand historical narrative and are complicit in its distortions and erasures" (p. 4). Given this thesis, it is unsurprising that Kryder-Reid's purpose in examining California's twenty-one mission gardens is to encourage those tasked with managing and interpreting these landscapes to take advantage of these spaces as possible sites of conscience and productive *Third Spaces*, where meaningful discourse about issues such as settler colonialism and decolonization might transpire. She explains present-day mission gardens as having little factual basis—ornamental gardens did not exist while the mission system operated—and instead representing efforts by post-secularization groups and individuals to evoke a romanticized Spanish past, largely for commercial purposes. She argues that these continuing efforts obfuscate history, making it difficult for the missions to serve as much more than tourist-friendly gardens, awash in references to a triumphal narrative of Western, white civilization.

Kryder-Reid uses an introduction, four chapters, and a conclusion to explain her methodological foundations and relate current mission scholarship. She describes the creation and evolution of ornamental gardens as interpretive centerpieces since the 1860s, how interpretations have been presented to and consumed by the public, and the ways interpretive practices might repurpose missions as sites for meaningful discussion about issues of race, gender, and politics of memory. Her work is deeply researched and thoroughly documented. Focusing on the interests of stakeholders such as the Roman Catholic Church, ancestor groups, affinity groups, and the state of California, she details how anachronistic interpretations of the missions from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries shaped and continue to influence interpretive plans at the

missions, despite clear evidence that such understandings hardly represent mission history. She details the politics of how references to forced labor, corporal punishment, religion, military presence, and Natives have been obscured or omitted in how the past is reconstructed at the missions.

Her command of the evidence is impressive, although sometimes she might have better unpacked relationships between theory and method (presented primarily in the introduction) and her analyses of mission landscapes (presented in the four body chapters). For example, her coverage of cultural hybridity at the Pala Asistencia lacks depth in connecting theory and evidentiary analysis, resulting in the loss of a potentially valuable support for her later arguments concerning Third Spaces. Similarly, while her examination of mission imagery and iconography—everything from postcards to ceramic mission replicas—is compelling, some obvious resources remain unexamined. For instance, produce crate labels containing images of missions as productive yet labor-less Edens are an untapped resource. They might have bolstered her arguments concerning how California Indians and the involuntary labor system that powered Spanish California's economy are typically expunged from mission landscapes and its representations in material culture. Yet these might-have-done critiques are nit-pickings in the face of what is really excellent work.

Kryder-Reid's *California Mission Landscapes* is an important contribution to the historiography of the California missions, one that historians of California and Spanish North America will certainly value. Her work also represents a useful resource for public historians interested in public memory, historic preservation, and heritage tourism. Scholars interested in California Indians will appreciate her consistent and detailed attention to issues of indigenous perspective and interpretation, particularly her use of the work of Native scholars, artists, and activists. As to Kryder-Reid's goal, the book succeeds as a primer for those interested in the ways California's missions have been interpreted to date. Further, it successfully discusses how future interpretive plans that allow for meaningful conversations to take place at sites with difficult, contested histories might be envisioned.

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Give Me Life: Iconography and Identity in East LA Murals. By Holly Barnet-

Sanchez and Tim Drescher. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2016. xxiii + 412 pp. 191 color plates, 11 halftones, maps, notes, bibliography, index. $50.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8263-5747-2.)

Give Me Life is a welcome addition to scholarship about murals and public art, subjects which the authors have written about before. Holly Barnet-Sanchez is an associate professor emerita of art and art history at the University of New Mexico and co-edited *Signs from the Heart: California Chicano Murals* (University of New Mexico Press, 1993). Tim Drescher is a Berkeley-based scholar who authored *San Francisco Bay Area Murals: Communities Create Their Muses, 1904–1997* (Pogo, 1998) and has collected a photographic archive of more than 5,000 American murals. Their latest work focuses on the murals of East Los Angeles, specifically the working-class housing developments of Estrada Courts and Ramona Gardens.

This book is comprehensive (14 chapters and 412 pages) and well organized. The introduction and first chapter explain the analytical framework and terminology (hegemony, dialectics) the authors are employing. Chapter two provides a historical and geographic overview of East Los, defined as a "geographic location and a metaphorical Chicano identifier for communities and cultures generated East of the Los Angeles River" (p. 19). Likewise, the authors discuss mural clusters across the United States and the relationship between murals and graffiti.

Chapters three to eleven examine murals according to their locations, with each chapter providing a numbered diagram of the murals to be discussed. Since these murals are organized by geography and not by theme, artist, nor date, the authors hope to show the relationships between the murals and how "each is deeply inscribed within the other" (p. xviii). For example, chapter five "Estrada Courts: For Residents' Eyes Only" is very compelling as it analyzes murals not visible from the street but only to residents who walk among the buildings. Likewise, the sixth chapter, by art historian Marcos Sanchez-Tranquilino, who wrote his master's thesis on the Estrada Court murals, analyzes Nature Row, twelve murals depicting landscapes and animals along a walkway between buildings. While these murals seem to depict innocuous, colorful scenes of animals, Sanchez-Tranquilino reveals that the images are "metaphors for youth gang culture and for youth gang territory" (p. 148); a mural of a leopard, with claws bared, perched on a tree branch ready to pounce symbolizes ferocity and territory guardianship.

For chapters eight to eleven, the authors continue their geographic groupings but shift to murals along commercial corridors. Devoting nine detailed chapters to murals arranged by location begins to strain the reader. The authors'

aspiration to analyze relationships between murals loses its effectiveness; some murals have no link to one another. Instead, this reader hoped to see the work of specific artists in order to understand their evolution, style, and artistic themes. Fortunately, the authors do focus on certain muralists in chapters twelve and thirteen, but more artist profiles (especially of women) would have been an invaluable resource, especially since muralists and community artists have fewer publication opportunities.

In the introduction, Barnet-Sanchez and Drescher assert that murals "warrant scholarly attention" and request more scholarship to be produced (p. xvii). While there are publications about murals such as *Stay Up! Los Angeles Street Art* and *Street Art San Francisco: Mission Muralismo*, they devote more space to glossy, full-page images rather than textual analysis. *Give Me Life* illustrates the need for more analytical microhistories of murals across the United States. The East Los murals affirm Chicanx culture, history, and life. Moreover, murals allow communities to see themselves in art. This book is a useful text for scholars and students interested in Chicanx studies, Latinx studies, urban history, and public art.

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The Pursuit of Ruins: Archaeology, History, and the Making of Modern Mexico. By Christina Bueno. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2016. vii + 267 pp. 23 halftones, maps, notes, bibliography, index. $29.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8263-5732-8.)

The history of archaeology has become an exercise far more stimulating than writing a cumulative list of its main protagonists and discoveries. Scholars are beginning to be interested in describing how archaeology has been shaped by the constant and complex interactions between travellers, bureaucrats, local communities, collectors, amateurs, and ruins. Amid these interactions two main concepts emerge as central themes to narrate the history of the discipline: the nation and the state.

Christina Bueno shows us how the Mexican nation was imagined and constructed through and with the help of archaeology during the Porfiriato. By transforming the state and archaeology into objects of ethnographic inquiry, this book is undoubtedly a step in understanding archaeology's role in the making of Latin American nations. Not only does it bring to light rich archival material, but it also describes, with an enjoyable and fluid narrative, the complex network of actors and practices that constituted Mexican archaeology during this period.

Archaeology, as Bueno explains, enabled local communities to encounter the state in the form of *conserjes* (janitors), subinspectors, and caretakers, who were responsible for turning the nationalist rhetoric into an actual policy.

The book is divided into three sections, making its reading organized and approachable. In the first part the author explains the processes that gave meaning to the ruins, and why, how, and by whom it was done. In this section we learn about a diverse group of voices that provided meaning to the archaeological ruins that populated the Mexican landscape: local populations, foreigners, explorers, looters, archaeologists, and tourists. Simultaneously, as Bueno argues, the Porfirian elites began to assemble an archaeological project that, despite its contradictions and fissures, claimed the possession of the ruins for the good of the nation. In the second section, the author explains that this project was successfully secured with three main components: the National Museum, the Law of Monuments, and a strong bureaucratic structure commanded by Chief Inspector Leopoldo Batres, one of the most explored characters in the book. The Law of Monuments that was issued with a clear intention to "curtail the insatiable foreign and national greed that threatened the monuments" placed Batres as the main protector of ruins (p. 87).

Despite the apparent archaeological dictatorship found in Porfirian Mexico, the scenario that Bueno nicely describes in the last four chapters is full of contradictions, errors, and unevenness. In this last section the narrative seeks to unwrap the practices of transforming archaeology into patrimony. This section is the most captivating one, as we can see how the state unfolds in the field through practices of guarding and inspecting the archaeological sites. Bueno tells us the story of various local guards and caretakers, who negotiated their daily lives while quantifying, describing, and recording Mexico's pre-hispanic remains. In this section we also learn about the site's conserjes who cleaned the ruins, Indians who used the ruins to celebrate ancestral rituals, and others who forcefully opposed the state project to gather artifacts to give to the National Museum in Mexico City.

This superb and entertaining study adds a nuanced perspective to existing studies of archaeology and nationalism, and will surely be of relevance to historians of Latin American archaeology and to those interested in the anthropology of the state and the relationship between communities and archaeology.

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