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Book Reviews

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Captain Maximiliano Luna: A New Mexico Rough Rider. By Richard Melzer. Introduction by Paul Andrew Hutton. (Los Ranchos, N. Mex.: Rio Grande Books, 2017. xv + 391 pp. 146 halftones, maps, acknowledgments, preface, appendices, bibliography, index. $19.95 paper, ISBN 978-1-943681-62-4.)

Richard Melzer has undertaken what he calls "the daunting task" of completing a biography of Maximiliano Luna (p. x). Given that his subject left few letters and no journals, Melzer built his narrative by analyzing reflections of Luna's life as revealed in newspaper reports and the correspondence and recollections of friends and family. Skillfully and diligently mining such sources, the author has brilliantly brought Luna into the mainstream of New Mexico history.

Maximiliano Luna was the nephew of Soloman Luna, the acknowledged power behind New Mexico Territory's Republican establishment, and the cousin by marriage of Territorial Gov. Miguel Otero. Indeed, by blood or marriage, Maximiliano was related to the Oteros, Bacas, Jaramillos, and Maxwells; names to conjure with in New Mexico. The author emphasizes the importance of the interlocking first families of New Mexico in determining patterns of politics, patronage, and commercial opportunities. Maximiliano, fully bilingual in Spanish and English, married Berenice Keyes (granddaughter of Lucien Maxwell) in 1895. While intercultural marriages were not rare in the Territory, it was somewhat unusual for the groom to be Hispanic and the bride Anglo.

New Mexican proponents of statehood viewed service in the Spanish-American War as an opportunity to prove New Mexico's worth to the nation. New Mexico Territory sent more volunteers per capita than any other state.

However, only six of them were Hispanic. Solomon Luna used his influence with Governor Otero to appoint Maximiliano as one of the four captains. Ultimately, New Mexico's 352 troops entered federal service in the First U.S. Volunteer Cavalry, Col. Leonard Wood's and Lt. Col. Theodore Roosevelt's famous "Rough Riders." New Mexico contributed 34 percent of the Rough Riders; Maximiliano commanded Troop F.

Maximiliano's men sailed for Cuba on the Yucatán—minus horses. They fought, and in some cases, died at Las Guasimas. Luna's bilingual skills placed him as translator when U.S. general William Shafter and Spanish general Jose Toral negotiated surrender terms in Cuba. Maximiliano contracted malaria, recuperated at his wife's family's home in San Antonio, and became Speaker of the New Mexico Territorial Legislature in 1899.

The Army Bill of 1899 authorized new, numbered, volunteer regiments to replace the state volunteers. Maximiliano, and one hundred other Rough Rider veterans, joined the new Thirty-fourth Infantry, bound for the Philippines. There, Maj. Gen. Henry Lawton chose Maximiliano as his aide-de-camp. In that capacity, carrying messages, Maximiliano drowned trying to cross the flooding Agno River on 15 November 1899; his body was never recovered. New Mexico politicians used Maximiliano's heroism to counter bigoted claims that New Mexicans were unfit for statehood, a campaign that ended with statehood in 1912.

By necessity, the author employs a fair amount of conjecture: "may have been eager" (p. 100), "may have hoped" (p. 247), "doubts must have disturbed" (p. 278), and "may well have been caught up" (p. 280). The book is heavily footnoted, contains ample photographs, and includes appendices detailing the pertinent genealogies, a chronology of Maximiliano's life, Troop F's company roster, and mortality statistics for New Mexico's four troops.

Melzer does not dwell on the Rough Riders. Rather, his spirited narrative establishes Maximiliano's position in the Hispanic aristocracy of the Territory of New Mexico and then places his military service in Cuba, and martyr's death in the Philippines, in the broader context of New Mexico's campaign for statehood. This is a fine biography of a remarkable young man, and an important contribution to the history of the American Southwest.

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Aztlán: Essays on the Chicano Homeland. Edited by Rudolfo Anaya, Francisco A. Lomelí, and Enrique R. Lamadrid. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2017. xii + 424 pp. 12 halftones, 13 maps, contributors. $29.95 paper, ISBN 978-0-8263-5675-8.)

The current review is for the revised and expanded edition of *Aztlán: Essays on the Chicano Homeland*, edited by Rudolfo Anaya, Francisco A. Lomelí, and Enrique R. Lamadrid. The edition from 1989 included twelve essays, an introduction, and El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán (El Plan). This edition carries the original twelve essays plus six new ones, as well as a new introduction, El Plan, and a list of illustrations.

The book is divided into four different sections: "Aztlán as myth and historical conscience," "Historicizing the dialectics of Aztlán," "Redefining Aztlán as a discursive concept," and "Comparative applications of Aztlán." In the introduction, Lomelí notes how scholars in the Chicano Movement sought to use "a historic-geographical Aztlán . . . as the most unifying force in the emerging cultural renaissance" (p. 2). The essays explore Aztlán's symbolic complexities and theoretical possibilities. These articles are in dialogue with El Plan as they struggle to find meaning to various articulations of culture and nationalism (including a search for origins, a quest for the spiritual, the re-centering of literary sensibility, a political strategy, and forging an identity).

The essays in the first section investigate the tension between myth, history, and the meaning of Aztlán as presented in El Plan. The authors seek to ground the myth of Aztlán in history and culture to provide a point of origin for the Chicana/o. Rudolfo Anaya, Michael Pina, and Cosme Zaragoza draw upon Aztec myths to center a Chicana/o origin, while Joseph P. Sánchez links the imaginary of Aztlán with other stories like Teguayo. Daniel Cooper Alarcón, in contrast, blends conflicting imaginaries, subversions of texts, and paradoxes complicating Aztlán.

In section two, Gladys Leal's and E. A. Mares's commentaries scrutinize Aztlán as a symbol that functions in the present, receiving its meaning from the Chicano Movement. The essays by Elyette Benjamin-Labarthe and Ramón A. Gutiérrez take the reader in a different direction. Gutiérrez explains how Aztlán could be appropriated, reinterpreted, and selectively transformed by non-Chicanas/os to symbolize a different political story than one proposed by the Chicano Movement. In his article, Benjamin-Labarthe explores the reaction to Alurista's transformation of Aztlán into a Chicano Movement symbol, introducing the Marxist critique of El Plan and cultural nationalism.

In section three, Rafael Pérez-Torres, Gloria Anzaldua, and Cherrie Moraga demonstrate redefinitions of Aztlán that leave behind the limited symbolic

and mythic use of Aztlán found in El Plan. Pérez-Torres uses the notion of the "empty signifier" to support Anzaldua's redefinition of Aztlán as a Borderland, while Moraga adds the concept of Queer Aztlán (p. 212). The three writers rearticulate Aztlán, as well as complicate Mexican identity, indigeneity, and the Aztecs. While Guillermo Lux and Maurillo Vigil follow the spirit of El Plan and assert Chicana/o indigeneity, Chávez complicates the call to an Aztec past by writing about the role of the Eastern Nahuas in the defeat and conquest of the Aztecs and the settling of northern New Spain.

Four of the five essays in the last section appeared in the edition of 1989. Genaro M. Padilla and J. Jorge Klor de Alva consider Chicana/o nativism in light of other national movements—nineteenth century Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia to more contemporary Irish nationalists, the Quebecois, and Puerto Rican nationalists. Lee Bebout's article explores how white nationalist and supremacists exploit Aztlán to attack Chicanas/os and Latinas/os. The last two essays of the text, written by Alurista and Sergio D. Elizondo, bring the reader back to El Plan's call for Chicana/o cultural consciousness and cultural nationalism.

The editors of *Aztlán* have gathered a strong collection that explores Aztlán and other symbols, especially as they link with Chicana/o culture and nationalism. Unfortunately, the book's exploration of cultural symbolism reappears at a time when much of this symbolism finds more meaning among white nationalists and less so among Chicana/o activists struggling to better the Mexican American and Latina/o condition. The book would have profited from an updating of some of the essays and a couple of commentaries on the Chicana/o cultural turn that did not surrender to cultural nationalism. Lastly, the text would have benefited from a list of previously published essays like in the edition from 1989.

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Borderlands of Slavery: The Struggle over Captivity and Peonage in the American Southwest. By William S. Kiser. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017. 266 pp. 12 halftones, maps, notes, bibliography, index, acknowledgements. $45.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8122-4903-3.)

This political and legal history explores captivity and peonage in New Mexico, mostly focusing on the 1840s to 1870s. Engaging with relevant works on bondage in the Southwest, especially the scholarship of James F. Brooks and Andrés Reséndez, William S. Kiser enhances that historiography by exploring peonage

in greater depth and by connecting bondage in New Mexico to the politics and laws of Reconstruction and the Jim Crow Era.

According to Kiser, captivity and peonage were rooted in Indigenous captivity practices as well as Spanish colonial policies, especially the just war doctrine and the encomienda system. In New Mexico, there was no legal or political distinction between captivity and peonage until 1778. The vast majority of slaves were Indigenous war captives, while peons were usually lower class mestizos forced into bondage through debt. Over the decades, elite Nuevomexicanos sometimes found it politically or legally useful to differentiate between captivity and peonage, but in practice little distinguished them. Kiser demonstrates that the children of Indian slaves often became peons. Once ensnared in peonage, many found it difficult to escape because masters charged high rates of interest for advanced wages and inflated prices for necessaries like food and clothing. Until 1857, when the territorial supreme court decided *Jaramillo v. Romero*, peonage could be inherited. If a peon died while still in debt, his master could bind the labor of the deceased's spouse or children until the debt was satisfied.

Kiser's most novel contribution is his consistent focus on the relationship between New Mexico and broader continental politics, especially the American Civil War and its aftermath. As the war approached, Eastern politicians and reformers debated New Mexican captivity and peonage, but ultimately found these practices too inscrutable and failed to take definitive action. Seeking to preserve the labor that supported them, elite Nuevomexicanos encouraged the notion that their systems of bondage were humanitarian, benign, even voluntary—quite distinct from African American slavery in the South. In the war's aftermath, however, Pres. Andrew Johnson as well as Radical Republicans sought to eliminate the Southwest's own peculiar institutions. Via the Peonage Law of 1867, the federal government expanded the Thirteenth Amendment and specifically extended emancipation to New Mexico. Comparing the Peonage Law to the Emancipation Proclamation, Kiser explains that it did little "to actively liberate servants" (p. 165). Over the course of the 1870s, federal agents forced the decline of captivity and peonage, though Nuevomexicano juries refused to indict masters. Federal action stymied the raids and financial practices that produced captives and peons, but those already held in bondage often lingered there for decades.

One of Kiser's key arguments is that debates over New Mexican bondage practices shaped national politics in the United States. The strongest example of this comes in the conclusion, where Kiser demonstrates the primacy of New Mexican legal cases in overturning some of the worst abuses of the carceral state in the Jim Crow South. Citing *Jaramillo v. Romero* and other New Mexican precedents, the Supreme Court of 1905 ruled to end servitude for debt, explaining that peonage "however created, is compulsory service—involuntary servitude" (p. 177).

Kiser's fine book should find a wide audience among those interested in the history of slavery, Borderlands history, and the West during the Civil War and Reconstruction.

Christina Snyder
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Ordered West: The Civil War Exploits of Charles A. Curtis. Edited by Alan D. Gaff and Donald H. Gaff. (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2017. xiii + 575 pp. 26 halftones, maps, bibliography, index. $39.95 cloth, ISBN 978-1-57441-669-5.)

Since the Civil War centennial, historians of the Southwest Borderlands have worked to document the struggle in the Far West. Publishing diaries, letters, and reminiscences of Union and Confederate soldiers, they have made available first-person accounts that fill the gaps in the military correspondence compiled in the Official Records of the War of the Rebellion and other government documents. Just when it seems that the primary sources have been nearly exhausted, something special is uncovered.

Ordered West is one such discovery. This reminiscence of Lt. Charles A. Curtis covers his service with the Fifth U.S. Infantry in New Mexico and Arizona from 1862 through 1865. Serialized and published in a New England newspaper between 1877 and 1880, Curtis's extraordinary story was lost to history until editors Alan and Donald Gaff hunted down the scattered pieces, excised redundancies, and compiled the whole into a single well-footnoted and illustrated volume.

Traveling overland from the fighting in Virginia to the western territories, Curtis's point of view is decidedly Anglo, Eastern, and Regular Army officer—providing some interesting contrasts to volunteer soldier narratives from California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas. Arriving in New Mexico just as Gen. Henry H. Sibley's invading Confederate army was being pushed back to Texas by Union forces, Curtis saw no action against the rebels in the Borderlands. However, the young lieutenant was a keen observer of all around him and provides wonderful details of peoples, flora and fauna, camps and villages, and army life.

Curtis shamelessly drops names of famous characters he comes into contact with: Kit Carson, Gen. James H. Carleton, frontiersman Pauline Weaver, naturalist Dr. Elliott Coues, Col. J. Francisco Chaves, Judge Joseph Pratt Allyn, Gov. John N. Goodwin, and many others. His encounters with Native Americans, both allies and enemies, reflect the Anglo biases of the time and place, but Curtis is often more sympathetic than most writers to the plight of the

downtrodden—including Natives, working class New Mexicans and peons, poor emigrants and settlers, and abused enlisted men.

While Curtis used notes and letters to reconstruct the first two thirds of the narrative, the final chapters were from memory. Some of the tales related here are reminiscent of the exaggerated and embellished work of journalist J. Ross Browne and California volunteer major John C. Cremony. Picaresque accounts (some borrowed from other works) of outsmarting, outshooting, and outfighting Apaches detract from Curtis's other recollections that, more often than not, ring true. The reader must sort out fact from fiction. Was Carleton a womanizer, as Curtis implies? Was Elliott Coues the egocentric, bumbling greenhorn he is made out to be?

Curtis spent much of his time in New Mexico and Arizona serving as a quartermaster. No detail is too small to escape his attention. Those involved in living history and historical reconstructions will delight in descriptions of the paint colors on Carleton's water wagons that traveled the Jornada del Muerto; how to fix a broken iron wagon tire or repair worn out shoes with rawhide; re-rigging pack saddles to mount infantry; and other military minutiae.

Scholars will find Curtis's narrative easy to read, and the editors' biographical introduction provides insights into Curtis's life and character. Editorial comments are often long but generally useful, especially when pointing out errors in Curtis's memory or material excerpted from other works. The maps and photos woven through the text appear at just the right places to complement the narrative.

Ordered West offers some tantalizing new tidbits on the Civil War in the Southwest Borderlands. While there is no compelling new thesis here, scholars will appreciate the many small details that fell through the cracks of history.

Andrew E. Masich
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The History of the Death Penalty in Colorado. By Michael L. Radelet. (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 2017. xxi + 283 pp. 13 halftones, tables, appendices, index. $45.00 cloth, ISBN 978-1-60732-511-6.)

In his latest book on the death penalty, Michael L. Radelet takes the reader through the history of criminal justice in his home state of Colorado and avails himself of the judicial national climate in order to explain the changes that have periodically occurred in statutes, methods, and attitudes toward the ultimate punishment.

In the introduction, Radelet carefully explains his methodology for defining an execution deemed to be counted and examined in his work. He includes

those executions that were considered "legal executions," meaning executions that were the result of a trial by a legal body within the state. As a result, lynching was excluded from the analysis. Radelet utilized M. Wyatt Espy's database and supplemented his work with searches in libraries in Colorado. This methodology enables Radelet to weave a historical narrative of capital punishment in Colorado, which in some ways reflects local peculiarities and in others the national attitude at a given time.

Radelet succeeds in providing statistical information and interesting facts related to the history of the death penalty in Colorado. His data set includes the names of the executed, times between sentencing and execution, race of defendant and victim, day of the week on which executions took place, and the number of attendees to public executions. He also outlines the changing justifications for adoption and implementation of the death penalty. In the nineteenth century, people used religious principles, deterrence, and the lack of prison space to argue for capital punishment (p. 25). Today, they tend to lean more towards ideas of retribution and closure for the victims' families (p. 25).

Interestingly, despite the argument that the death penalty is part of a mechanism of deterrence, in 1889 the legislature decided for executions to become exclusively private events. Graphic details of executions were outlawed and witnesses to executions were warned not to divulge any details of what happened behind closed doors (p. 34). These changes constituted an interesting development for abolitionists around the country, particularly in Pennsylvania, who traded their failure to abolish capital punishment for confining executions to private quarters. Eight years later, Colorado would go through the experiment of abolition. However, a series of lynchings were used to argue for the reimplementation of capital punishment (p. 45).

In the early twentieth century, lawmakers looked for more-humane methods of execution, especially since hanging was rarely effective, resulting in a prolonged strangulation. Colorado bypassed implementing the electric chair and instead installed a gas chamber capable of executing three people at once. This remained the method of execution in Colorado from 1934 until 1967.

In the modern era of capital punishment (i.e., post-*Furman v. Georgia*), Colorado has rewritten and tweaked the statutes of the death penalty. These new changes were the result of rulings by higher courts determining that the previous statutes were unconstitutional. Since 1976 Colorado has only executed one man, thanks in part to the success of the public defender's office in capital cases (p. 118).

Radelet provides the reader with the changing views and implementation of capital punishment in Colorado that reflects the changes around the nation. With the wealth of information provided in his book, which includes indices of death sentences and executions, death penalty scholars have another resource

to explain why America retains this peculiar institution when the rest of the developed world has long since abandoned it.

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Convict Cowboys: The Untold History of the Texas Prison Rodeo. By Mitchel P. Roth. (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2016. xi + 436 pp. 46 halftones, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. $32.95 cloth, ISBN 978-1-577441-652-7.)

Focusing on a crucial cultural performance, Mitchel P. Roth's *Convict Cowboys* offers a detailed account of the emergence and disappearance of Texas prison-produced rodeo. Operating between 1931 and 1986, the Texas Prison Rodeo was a Texas tradition for much of the twentieth century. As Roth carefully notes in his title, this is a history that has largely gone unwritten and unspoken in the years since the rodeo ceased. Providing a coherent and engaging chronology, accompanied by excellent photographs, this work offers the reader thirteen chapters dedicated to successive eras within the rodeo's history. Roth's work displays the complexities of uncovering an incarcerated population's role in staging a large-scale and highly dangerous event for a paying public.

The book's greatest strength is the author's ability to illustrate the intertwined nature of regional and national culture through the increasing participation of celebrities in the mid-century rodeo. Roth traces how rodeo organizers capitalized on popular culture trends by using film and music stars as a way to draw increased attendance, while celebrities in turn used the rodeo as a way to associate themselves with the imagined American West. Roth, however, demonstrates that this was not an easy relationship. Inmates and officials, for example, felt frustrated at having to manage an inebriated John Wayne who showed little interest in interacting with incarcerated men. While organizers wanted a "family-friendly" and upbeat show, stars' own personal proclivities often threatened to intervene.

For scholars of the U.S. West and Borderlands, the core contribution of this narrative lies in Roth's dedication to arduous archival work. *Convict Cowboys* describes much of the behind-the-scenes rodeo organization by prison officials, providing indispensable information about how and why the event was staged. Having sifted through decades of rodeo programs, news media coverage, prison officials' records, personal correspondence, and financial reports, Roth weaves together a story of meager public funding for incarcerated people and savvy prison officials harnessing the mythology of the West to turn a profit at the prison, at times dipping into the pot to line their own pockets.

While Roth's work represents an important contribution to the recovery of marginalized people's histories, especially in the historiography of rodeo in general, the author does not fully extend these contributions to the emerging theoretical literature on the meaning of prison rodeos. Roth largely frames the prison rodeo as a rare place that allowed the transgression of the color line during Jim Crow. This often leaves the reader with the impression that the rodeo only offered potential benefits for participants, downplaying the exploitative violence of the performance itself and its racialized overtones. Roth is more successful at illustrating the complex nature of this rodeo when he places it within the larger context of public voyeurism and the prison tourism industry.

Wonderfully detailed, *Convict Cowboys* sheds light on an otherwise overlooked cultural event. An exciting narrative populated by interesting characters, this history speaks to a general readership and scholars interested in the popular performance of the mythological U.S. West.

Rebecca Scofield
University of Idaho

New Deal Cowboy: Gene Autry and Public Diplomacy. By Michael Duchemin. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2016. x + 316 pp. 35 halftones, notes, bibliography, index. $34.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8061-5392-6.)

In the West, more than in any other region, Franklin Roosevelt appealed directly to his liberal and progressive base for support during his presidential bid of 1932; for reasons peculiar to the region, many looked directly to Washington, D.C., for relief from the Great Depression. The national government held and controlled expansive swaths of land in the western portion of the United States, and most believed federal capital was necessary to further utilize the natural resources of this largely undeveloped land. Candidate Roosevelt also pointed out that the last frontier had long ago been reached and the nation must begin the sober, less dramatic business of administering resources, and distributing those resources and wealth more equitably. By the 1930s, a western prairie where those displaced by the Eastern economic machines could look for a new start no longer existed.

Yet, these Depression Era realities were starkly at odds with public perceptions and long-held national assumptions about the American West. For many, the region continued to conjure images of the lone cowboy on the open plain, and evoked the romanticized myths of rugged individualism and pioneer experiences. Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis in 1893 and western fiction writers such as Louis L'Amour, who enjoyed a growing audience in the 1930s,

encouraged such scholarly and popular notions about the West. With these circumstances as cultural touchstones, Roosevelt's base of support may have deteriorated. Instead, Roosevelt remained popular in most of the regional West through three subsequent presidential bids. It is within this cultural milieu that Michael Duchemin's book, *New Deal Cowboy: Gene Autry and Public Diplomacy* exists, and why it represents such an important contribution to both New Deal and western historiography.

As Duchemin states, by "[s]howing the singing cowboy's support for Franklin Delano Roosevelt," his book "explains how Autry used his mastery of multiplatform entertainment and the techniques of transmedia storytelling to make the president's policies more attractive to the American public" (p. 5). In eight concise and illuminating chapters, Duchemin explores various topics which connect Autry's musical and other cultural productions—which utilized numerous media sources—to Roosevelt's public initiatives. Specific topics include the hybridization of country-western music and film in the 1930s and Gene Autry's efforts to present these to the public; Autry's translation of both himself and the New Deal message as examples of the modern, postindustrial New West; and Autry's films, which promoted Americanism, war preparedness and friendly relations with Latin America at a time that the majority of Autry's audience favored isolationism. The book also provides an in-depth analysis of the social significance of specific Autry songs, such as "South of the Border, Down Mexico Way," and "Melody Ranch."

The book's conclusion states without hyperbole that the singing cowboy "codified a brand of American patriotism rooted in a contemporary New West, forged under Roosevelt's presidency, and adopted internationally as Gene Autry's Cowboy Code" (p. 235). Indeed, Autry's cultural creations transcended well beyond their entertainment value and actually shaped public opinion and boosted morale within mainstream society during a time of unparalleled national challenges. *New Deal Cowboy* clearly demonstrates the "public diplomacy" marshalled by Autry during the Great Depression and war years and, as with other recent scholarship, allows for a wider understanding of this era through the lens of a specific historical figure or phenomena. Duchemin's superbly researched and presented monograph is a valuable addition to the growing body of cultural histories of the New Deal Era and the West.

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A Surgeon with Custer at the Little Big Horn: James DeWolf's Diary and Letters, 1876. By James Madison DeWolf. Edited by Todd E. Harburn. Foreword by Paul Andrew Hutton. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2017. xxv + 257 pp. 40 halftones, maps, acknowledgments, appendices, notes, bibliography, index. $29.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8061-5694-1.)

"Love [*sic*] & kisses darling my regards to all. from your loving Hub [husband]" (p. 123). So ended Acting Assistant Surgeon James Madison DeWolf's letter to his wife, written on 21 June 1876, from the mouth of Rosebud Creek, Dakota Territory. DeWolf had been assigned to Maj. Marcus Reno's battalion of Lt. Col. George A. Custer's Seventh Cavalry Regiment. The letter to his wife would be the last letter DeWolf ever penned, four days later he was killed at Little Big Horn.

The present volume features the thirty letters from DeWolf to his wife between March and June 1876. It also reprints his diary of the Custer campaign (which fellow surgeon Henry R. Porter retrieved from his body at the scene), originally published in 1958 by North Dakota History. In addition, it prints for the first time his postage account book and early diary entries from October 1875. Independent scholar Todd E. Harburn provides biographical materials and extensive citations.

DeWolf had a most unusual career. Born in Pennsylvania in 1843, he volunteered for the Union Army in April 1861. Wounded at Second Bull Run, Private DeWolf received a medical discharge and an invalid army pension. Working as a contract nurse, he recovered well enough to reenlist in his old company in late March 1865. When the war ended, he briefly returned to his family farm, but in October enlisted in the regular army's Fourteenth Infantry Regiment. DeWolf spent the next five years stationed serving in the Pacific Northwest as a hospital attendant and steward, during which time he met and married Fannie Downing. In 1873 he transferred to Watertown Arsenal, Boston, so that he could attend Harvard Medical School. Juggling his full-time army job with his studies, he graduated in two years. Although DeWolf failed his examination to be a commissioned army surgeon (as did three of every four applicants), he did secure an appointment as a civilian contract physician, and in late fall 1875 he and Fannie made the long journey to Fort Totten, Dakota Territory.

DeWolf's subsequent letters reveal he was a loving husband and a likeable, good-humored observer who enjoyed playing cards and accounted for every penny he spent. Supplemented by extensive explanatory notes by Harburn, himself an orthopedic surgeon, DeWolf's writings offer a detailed record of army society and medical practices. As did many contemporaries, DeWolf found Major Reno difficult to deal with. By contrast, he wrote, "Everyone liked" Brig. Gen. Alfred H. Terry, although on the march Terry "gets about the most

tired of anyone" (p. 98, 103). Most of the other Seventh Cavalry officers were "very good fellows except the spirit for gambling . . . is looked upon as not the thing by the majority" (pp. 87–89). Medical duties in the field consisted largely of caring for frostbite, rattlesnake bites, and accidents.

In his letter from 21 June, after nearly four weeks of hard riding, DeWolf concluded that "it is very clear that we shall not see an Indian this summer" (p. 121). Tragically, for the young surgeon and much of the Seventh Cavalry, circumstances changed quickly, and two days later DeWolf observed in his diary that the bluecoats had located signs of "an enormous number of horses." On 24 June, he added excitedly that they had "found lots of new signs" (p. 124). DeWolf was killed the following day amidst the rout of Reno's command just outside the huge Indian encampment at Little Big Horn.

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"The Touch of Civilization": Comparing American and Russian Internal Colonization. By Steven Sabol. (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2017. xii + 298 pp. 11 halftones, maps, acknowledgements, bibliography, index. $55.00 cloth, ISBN 978-1-60732-549-9.)

Exceptionalism is a long and hallowed tradition in American historiography. Although some features of American history are unique, many others are not. Comparison serves to clarify what is and what is not unique to a given historical experience. According to the late historian George Fredrickson, comparative history can serve as a valuable way of illuminating the special features or particularities of a society being examined, but also useful in enlarging our theoretical understanding of the kinds of institutions or processes being compared. Sabol's sophisticated comparative analysis of the United States and Russia and their encounters with the Sioux and Kazakhs underscores Fredrickson's point by enlarging our theoretical understanding of internal colonization and providing another significant antidote to American exceptionalism. *"The Touch of Civilization"* places American and Russian expansionism into a global context, pointing to broad similarities and deep connections to global empire building in modern world history.

Sabol's early chapters analyze pre-colonial Sioux and Kazakh societies, equestrian nomads who inhabited the north-central plains and Eurasian steppes. In the pre-conquest era, both the Sioux and Kazakhs were in constant transition, adapting innovative strategies and technologies to cope with various internal and external challenges. Each society adopted flexible band/clan social structures

and engaged in frequent conflict with neighboring tribes and adversarial Kazakh clans. Both societies exhibited complexities that the metropolitan powers failed to recognize. For example, both the Sioux and Kazakhs practiced intricate religions. The Sioux believed that all life forms of the universe were intimately connected and embodied a sacred power they called *wakan*. The Kazakhs were Sunni Muslims. In the nineteenth century, these sophisticated and expansive societies collided with American and Russian expansionism and resisted incursions into their indigenous territories. At this point "Sioux and Kazakh efforts to resist reinforced American and Russian perceptions that the nomads must settle and that pioneers and peasants must occupy the land" (p. 99). The end result, the dramatic diminution of the Native land base, military and political subjugation, and both direct and indirect colonial rule, demonstrates that American and Russian imperialism bear clear similarities.

Sabol's thought-provoking study points to several differences as well. Russian authorities were preoccupied with subduing Kazakh resistance, opening Kazakh lands to peasant settlement, and designating spaces where nomadic Kazakh pastoralists must stay put. The Americans shared these objectives regarding the Sioux, but also insisted that their indigenous foes rid themselves of their language, culture, and religion, and replace them with a "civilized" cultural model. Concentration on remote reservations went hand in hand with assimilation, the revolutionary endeavor to "Americanize" the American Indian. In contrast, the Russians were not as eager to transform Kazakhs into Russians, "they merely wanted the Kazakhs to be less like Kazakhs" (p. 189). The Americans also defined the Sioux as "domestic dependent nations" and sought to negotiate with them via a flawed treaty-making process that culminated in the Treaty of 1868. The Russians never signed treaties with the Kazakhs. They simply annexed Kazakh lands and claimed sovereignty over its inhabitants. Despite these differences, America's frontier expansion "was not a unique colonizing exercise somehow separated from other nineteenth century European colonizations. And yet, American and Russian perceptions of their continental expansions still maintain a powerful influence on their respective national imaginations" (p. 242).

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Nature's Burdens: Conservation and American Politics, the Reagan Era to the Present. By Daniel Nelson. (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2017. x + 312 pp. Abbreviations, bibliography, index. $31.95 paper, ISBN 978-1-60732-569-7.)

In *Nature's Burdens* historian Daniel Nelson provides an overview of American environmental policy developments over the past four decades. He specifically addresses the segment of environmental issues sometimes referred to as "conservation," related to the protection of wildlands and wildlife. As Nelson notes, most accounts of conservation focus on the "golden age" of the 1960s and 1970s when bipartisan support resulted in a proliferation of new laws, many of which remain the bedrock for environmental protection today. However, the arrival of the Reagan administration marked the breakdown of this bipartisan consensus.

The new partisan context hindered government action to protect nature. At the same time, large conservation advocacy groups such as the Sierra Club and Greenpeace experienced significant organizational growth in response to the perceived threats to environmental protection from the Reagan administration and subsequent Republican presidents. The environmental movement faced a different set of challenges during the Clinton and Obama administrations, when the president adopted environmentally friendly rhetoric but political gridlock curtailed legislative gains. Instead, environmental groups had to explore alternate tactics to maintain and enhance environmental protections, and Nelson provides many examples of these explorations.

Nature's Burdens synthesizes materials from an impressive number of books on specific environmental campaigns and groups. As such, Nelson is able to incorporate some facets that have previously received less attention. For example, he covers the increasingly large role of land trusts that sidestepped political gridlock by focusing on protecting private lands through direct acquisition and conservation easements. He also highlights the significant contributions from conservation biologists and other scientists in building the case for large-scale protections in order to maintain biodiversity. Additionally, he includes a refreshing variety of examples of environmental work in the eastern United States and Alaska, beyond the more familiar campaigns in the western United States.

That said, the Southwest gets relatively scant attention in *Nature's Burdens*, with a handful of exceptions. For example, Nelson discusses the Malpais Borderlands Group's work on livestock grazing reform in New Mexico and Arizona. He also devotes a couple paragraphs to summarizing the organizational growth and impact of the Center for Biological Diversity, a prominent conservation advocacy group established in New Mexico and Arizona.

While the breadth of *Nature's Burdens* is its greatest strength, it is arguably also the book's most significant limitation. In order to keep the book a readable

length, the amount of space devoted to any particular issue, group, or campaign is usually quite brief. As such, Nelson is rarely able to delve much into the complexities of what can be contentious outcomes. In this format, there is little room for grassroots voices within the environmental community to present their critiques of the dominant approaches. Thus, it can be difficult for the reader to identify the shortcomings of the dominant approaches and the alternatives that might have been more effective. Doing so would require more detailed case studies. It is at this finer-grain level that we may more readily identify the underlying challenges for the conservation movement and the best prospects for increasing protection of wildlife and wildlands in the future.

Nature's Burdens works well for laying out the breadth of U.S. conservation activity over the past four decades, though courses that assign this book should consider supplementing it with in-depth case studies in order to delve more deeply into the conundrums facing environmental activism in the new millennium.

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