Spanish civil law of property, for example, defined property rights, including water, land, and usufructuary rights, in ways that, if not diametrically opposed to the Pueblo sensibilities of space and usage, reflected the colonial assertion of sovereignty over natural resources and landscapes. Even a casual glance at the cases that have clogged the New Mexican court system over the last forty years or so verify the complexities of ascertaining Indian irrigation practices and water rights in light of Spanish property law, demographic decline, and ecological changes to the landscape brought about by Spanish (and later Anglo) settlement.

James Ivey's piece demonstrates quite nicely the fluidity of landscape in New Mexico as a result of Spanish-Pueblo interaction. He discusses the evolution of ranching in the region, particularly how *estancias* evolved into more complex and economically powerful *haciendas*. What is innovative about Ivey's chapter is how he identifies a new category of *estancia*: Pueblo ranches under the auspices of the Franciscan missionaries who, in order to satisfy the requisite provisions of Spanish law related to Indian property rights under the mission system, acted as guardians of the pueblo's material interests. As Ivey points out, however, more archival research is needed to tease out the nuances of the pueblo-mission–style *estancia*. Those specialists involved today in the historical reconstruction of the San Agustín *visita* (visiting station or satellite mission) and its garden in downtown Tucson will find Ivey's analytical framework for understanding the daily routine of political economy in the creation of Indian-Spanish missionary landscapes on the far northern frontier of New Spain quite useful.

Price and Morrow have put together a conceptually sound volume of essays that addresses early Puebloan landscapes, colonial transformations and adaptations, and the modern lessons that might be learned if we examine critically the Pueblo use of landscape and management of natural resources. This book will appeal to a plethora of specialists, including historians, archaeologists, landscape architects, site planners, engineers, and botanists. In terms of course adoption, the specialized nature of the topic makes it more suitable for advanced undergraduate and graduate students.

Michael M. Brescia
Arizona State Museum, University of Arizona

The Cherokee Nation in the Civil War. By Clarissa W. Confer. Norman: University Oklahoma Press, 2007. 216 pages. $24.95 cloth.

Clarissa Confer's slim volume *The Cherokee Nation in the Civil War* might just as aptly have been entitled *The Civil War within the Cherokee Nation*. The book's strength and weakness are the same: there was no Cherokee involvement in any major sense in the epic struggle that occurred within the civil war's major theaters of operation. Regardless of its relevance to the greater conflict, the author appropriately focuses on the bitter internecine bloodshed that was the Cherokee Nation's civil war. The Cherokee slew each other as relentlessly

(and perhaps more indiscriminately) as those in any battle between opposing armies of North and South. The designation "brothers' war" applies equally to this conflict as it does to struggles of arms between soldiers in blue and gray. The opposing groups of Cherokee were part of a struggle over, as the historian Carl Becker once wrote about the American Revolution, the question as to "who should rule at home" (*The History of Political Parties in the Province of New York, 1760–1775,*" 1909, 22). The blood and murder that had begun to stain the land with the Ridges' killing in 1839 was a blot that had never been washed away. One could conclude that the ancient *lex talionis* of primitive Cherokee law explained by John P. Reid in *Law of Blood* remained fundamental to these conflicts.

From 1861 to 1865 the actors on the two sides of this tragedy were, on the one hand, the heirs to the Treaty Party position, led by Stand Watie (whose brother Elias Boudinot was among those slain with the Ridges and who had only barely escaped death) and, on the other hand, their continuing opponents who supported John Ross; these consanguinal adversaries scourged the Cherokee Nation. A double sense of irony exists in that both parties in this feud chose the losing side in the civil war. Also ironic is that the Cherokee were consumed by a conflict within the country they so recently had been driven from; they were dragged back into its internal struggle. The endemic and catastrophic antipathy of these leaders and their partisans spared no one, least of all the Cherokee peoples living in the Cherokee Nation's several districts. Absence of any governmental control in Cherokee Territory, whether Confederate or Union, allowed unchecked pillage to sweep back and forth across the settlements. By war's end it could be concluded that the Trail of Tears had led in turn to a "land of tears." As Chekitan, Pontiac's fictional son in the play *Ponteach* observed: "All Nature's Laws and Ties are hence dissolved; There is no Kindred, Friendship, Faith, or Love Among Mankind. . . . The World Is all unhinged—There's universal War" (Robert Rogers, *Ponteach*, 1971, [Nevins edition], 254).

The broad outlines of this struggle are already well-known from Gary Moulton's works on John Ross (1978, 1985), Theda Perdue's *Slavery and the Evolution of Cherokee Society, 1540–1866* (1979), and William G. McLoughlin's magisterial *Champions of the Cherokees* (1990). Confer is evenhanded in her presentation of rivals Watie and Ross, but even she cannot diminish the ultimate sacrifice the civil war exacted from Ross, who lost wife, land, home, and indirectly even his life. John Ross died in Washington on 1 August 1866, offering almost his last breath to plead for one Cherokee nation rather than two; his death occurred only months after his opponent had surrendered, the last Confederate general to do so. As the author explains, the treaty of 11 August 1866 posthumously preserved Ross's dream of a "single western Cherokee Nation" (155).

The author's contribution to the modern student of this Cherokee tragedy, for there have been many, is to put a human face on it by bringing us stories of people other than the leaders. One is awed by the amazing courage of Hannah Hicks, whose devotion to her diary helps us see inside the life of a noncombatant staggered by the successive blows of this civil conflict. Her story

equals some narratives from Confederate women who lived in the rebellion's heart. One is hard-pressed to think of families consumed in Sherman's march that suffered to any greater degree than did Hicks. Hannah Worcester Hicks bore the murder of her husband, the loss of one home, the burning of her sister-in-law's house, the scattering of her extended family, and five robberies including all of her household furnishings and her livestock. She found one horse and several of her yoke-trained oxen lying dead in a pasture. Confer helps readers fathom the unfathomable intricacies of the almost perpetual Cherokee tragedies by reminding us that Hannah Hicks was the daughter of longtime American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions missionary to the Cherokee, Samuel Worcester. Like the biblical character, Ruth, whose qualities she mirrored, Hannah personified "for where you go I will go, and where you lodge I will lodge; your people shall be my people, and your God my God" (Ruth 1:16). She truly lived up to the meaning of her name, which was compassion. Certainly the compassionate Hannah Hicks would have agreed even with her supposed enemy, Sarah Watie (wife of Stand Watie), that both wished "to feel no dread of war" (136).

No one in the Cherokee Nation, slave or free, was spared the ravages of war. Whether in the Cherokee Nation, other parts of Indian Territory, Texas, or Kansas, all felt the cruel heel of conflict. The author estimates an overall population decline for the Cherokee of 33 percent. As if to pour salt into the Cherokee Nation's open wounds, federal commissioners at the postwar settlement negotiations demanded concessions and more land cessions from the Cherokee.

Congratulations to Clarissa Confer for tackling this challenging subject. Military historians will find little comfort here, but students of Cherokee studies can rest assured that this gap in the larger narrative has been filled. Readers unfamiliar with Cherokee families would have benefited from a page of genealogical connections, for example, how was Stand Watie related to the Ridge party, or what was the relationship (and through whom) of John Ross to John Drew, Ross's nephew by marriage. (The importance of matrilineality relationships through a mother's brother connections cannot be overlooked.) Because family is important in Cherokee society, these familial circuits are necessary for readers to connect the dots. On balance, Confer's accomplishment is an extremely useful contribution to the corpus of Cherokee studies.

James H. O'Donnell
Marietta College

Crossing Waters, Crossing Worlds: The African Diaspora in Indian Country. Edited by Tiya Miles and Sharon P. Holland. Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2006. 364 pages. $84.95 cloth; $23.95 paper.

Since Jack Forbes's seminal investigation into the lengthy shared histories of African and Native American peoples in North America in the early 1990s, the subject has drawn an increasing number of scholars, many of them prompted