White People, Indians, and Highlanders: Tribal Peoples and Colonial Encounters in Scotland and America. By Colin G. Calloway. New York: Oxford University Press, 2008. 392 pages. $35.00 cloth.

In this informative synthesis, Colin Calloway adds to the growing number of works dealing with comparative indigenous studies. Calloway focuses on the tribal peoples of the Scottish Highlands and North America (specifically Canada and the United States), who each experienced centuries of colonial policies directed toward them by English and American authorities. He contends that what Highlanders and American Indians had in common, and what makes them worth comparing, "had less to do with dress, language, and social structure than with their historical experiences as tribal peoples living on the edges of an empire and confronting historical currents at work on both sides of the Atlantic" (10). Because Highlanders and Native Americans interacted with their would-be colonizers and with each other on these frontiers of empire, their struggles reveal much about the processes of colonialism and identity.

Anyone familiar with Native American history will recognize many of the events, themes, and participants Calloway examines in the book. The same is true for readers whose backgrounds lie in Scottish history. However, what makes this book work is the fact that Calloway forces readers to rethink and reorient this established information. Seeking to illuminate and complicate "understandings of Scotland and America, imperialism and Indians," Calloway argues that "Scottish interactions with Indians took place within larger imperial contexts of British-Indian relations." These relations "involved a kaleidoscope of relationships shaped by broader historical forces and enduring colonial experiences, as well as a clash between cultures and a conflict over land" (xii). Dividing his chapters topically, Calloway delves into several key social, economic, and political areas. He chooses categories where the experiences of Highlanders and Indians were the most comparable and where their interactions with one another were the most profound. These factors include, but were not limited to, the fur trade, warfare, and their relationships to their tribal homelands. Calloway carefully constructs how tribal peoples, on both sides of the Atlantic and at roughly the same time, developed strategies to deal with colonialism. Each group attempted to carve out positions for themselves in a new capitalist system where their homelands, the centers of their respective tribal worlds, served as the peripheries of someone else's empire. In the process, these tribal peoples came together and sometimes created new societies, such as the Métis, that were "held together by shared experiences and interests, children, and ties of kinship rather than allegiance to the state" (10). However, as these tribal peripheries became increasingly drawn into the orbit of the English-speaking Atlantic world, significant differences emerged. Although they initially confronted similar colonial situations, the experiences of Native Americans and Highlanders ultimately diverged; Highlanders were incorporated into the process of empire building in ways that Native Americans were not.

One of the most intriguing themes explored in the book is the contested fight over symbols and identity, heritage and history. According to Calloway,

American Indians and Highland Scots "confront enduring challenges as they try to preserve a distinctiveness within a larger national identity" (258). Although these groups faced divergent outcomes, they both "shared experiences as subjects for imperial mythmaking" (240). As the military threats posed by tribal peoples were neutralized, empire builders constructed and superimposed their own myths on the tribes. The "vanishing Indian" became the mythological trope thrust upon American Indians, while a romantic and reimagined "Highlandism" became synonymous with all Scottish people (Highland, Lowland, and urban) and let Scots "celebrate their distinctive culture without jeopardizing their political and economic union with England" (233).

Yet it was not only the empire builders who shaped these tribal myths. According to Calloway, American Indians and Scots "confront—and sometimes play upon—entrenched images of what it means to be Scottish or Indians" (262). In an effort to reinforce the "concentric rings" of identity that tribal peoples experience as members of tribes and larger nation-states, American Indians and Scots "adopted and recrafted new symbols as markers of their survival and identity" (255). Kilts, tartans, Highland games, powwows, feathered headdresses, and any number of identifiers became—through an intricate process of history, memory, and heritage—recognizable cultural markers of tribal status to tribal members and outsiders. These markers, combined with remembered incidents of historical trauma such as Indian Removal and the Highland Clearances, create powerful narratives used to reinforce tribal identities in the present. The same tribal markers that once negatively signified their "otherness" within the empire have been transformed into positive proof of their continued survival and resurgence.

In broad terms, Calloway's book fits easily alongside other works dealing with the English Atlantic world, such as Martin Daunton and Rick Halpern's *Empire and Others* (1999). Specifically, given the subject matter and comparative approach, *White People, Indians, and Highlanders* immediately falls into the same category as Margaret Connell-Szasz's *Scottish Highlanders and Native Americans: Indigenous Education in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (2007). The books compliment each other well; Calloway offers a broader thematic perspective, while Connell-Szasz concentrates on a single issue over a specific period of time. Each forms a complex picture of an increasingly intricate Atlantic world. Although Calloway constructs a compelling narrative, would a similar study focused on the experiences of tribal peoples in the French, Spanish, Dutch, or Russian overseas empires reveal similar results? Perhaps not, but as Calloway reiterates with this book, the differences are often as illuminating as any similarities could possibly be.

The role that race played in the eventual acceptance of the Highlanders in North America also offers questions worth exploring further. Calloway examines the negative impact that hardening Euro-American racial attitudes had on Native Americans and their dealings with English and US authorities. Although policy makers said American Indians could join American society if they renounced their tribal ways, the realities of Indian Removal and Indian-American relations proved that this was not the case. Calloway agrees with scholars like Charlotte Erickson, Matthew Frye Jacobson, and Noel Ignatiev

that *white* was "a constructed and fluid category" that led to greater opportunities in the English-speaking Atlantic world. Highland Scots earned their "white" status in a variety of ways: through military service, as settlers, or as economic agents and state administrators. Although it took some time, Highland Scots ultimately "faced fewer obstacles to admission" than even the Irish faced and became "white" (234). The chapter "Highland Men and Indian Families" clearly highlights this process of "whiteness." At first, Scots traders involved in the fur trade "took up with Indian women in large numbers, far more proportionately than did their English counterparts" and their American-born neighbors (149). By the nineteenth century, many Highlanders living in North American fur trade society were succumbing to notions of white racial superiority. Traders increasingly abandoned their Indian and Métis wives and families as the number of white women and missionaries increased and strengthened the racial divide (159, 162). However, although Calloway effectively outlines the processes involved in constructing "whiteness," is there something else that helps explain the speed of the process? Was it ultimately easier for Highland Scots in a multiethnic American environment to prove that they were "white" because they, like the other colonizers, were fair skinned? If hardening racial lines negatively impacted Native Americans, did those same racial barriers conversely benefit the tribal Highlanders by speeding up their process of "whiteness"? It seemed that Calloway circled around that particular idea without ever directly stating it.

Despite that minor criticism, Calloway has created a well-crafted study that should fit in well with any course dealing with the Atlantic world, colonialism, and comparative tribal histories.

Shawn Wiemann
University of New Mexico

On Zion's Mount: Mormons, Indians, and the American Landscape. By Jared Farmer. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008. 455 pages. $29.95 cloth.

Jared Farmer's *On Zion's Mount: Mormons, Indians, and the American Landscape* offers a story about the creation of a local Utah landmark called Mount Timpanogos as a means to understand larger questions about how Americans have perceived the landscapes on which they live. Utah Lake was the center of an oasis in an arid Great Basin region. For hundreds of years, it served as the subsistence and cultural center of life for Ute Indians who lived on its shores and fished in its depths.

The richness of Utah Lake's resources did not go unnoticed by the Mormon settlers who streamed into the Great Basin in the late 1840s. By 1849, these invaders began to colonize the valley and lay the foundation for an agrarian economy. Mormons believed that the Utes, like all Indians, were ancient Israelites, a branch of the covenant people whose skin God darkened as a sign that they had rejected his truth. Mormon leaders, such as Joseph Smith