from the societies described in ethnographies: Chaco Canyon was a capital city; over much of the region, there were brief periods of serious warfare; and the Hohokam had rulers. Native histories refer to these events, and the archaeology confirms that the region had a dynamic history. This is not to deny connections between modern Native peoples and their past; that connection is very strong and it is, above all, historical. Up-streaming makes that history hard to see.

Stephen H. Lekson
University of Colorado Museum of Natural History

The Settlers' Empire: Colonialism and State Formation in America's Old Northwest. By Bethel Saler. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015. 392 pages. $45.00 cloth and electronic.

In 1836 Congress created the vast territory of Wisconsin out of the northwestern portions of the earlier Indiana and Louisiana territories. Although leading Anglo-American settlers may have assumed that the American colonization of Wisconsin would prove straightforward, in *The Settlers' Empire* Bethel Saler presents a nuanced case study that belies such a reading of state formation in the Old Northwest. Territorial history has largely fallen out of fashion in recent decades, but Saler makes a persuasive case that a reexamination of state formation in the region can illuminate not only the creation of the Anglo settler state in North America, but also the profound impact that this process has had upon historical production itself.

In seven dense but absorbing chapters, the author outlines a multilayered history that begins with the transfer of the Old Northwest from Great Britain to the United States in the 1780s and concludes with Wisconsin statehood in 1848. The first three chapters of *The Settlers' Empire* examine the ideologies, policies, and administrative mechanisms that formed the central axes of political rule of what Saler terms America's "domestic empire" (6). Beginning in the 1780s, American policy makers and leading political theorists articulated the idea of an expanding American state grounded in a republican political culture. This culture would be based on a territorial period, eventual statehood, the imposition of a land grid system, local government following the township model, group migrations of Anglo-American colonists, common law, private property, and state regulation of intimate matters and family relations. However, realities in the Old Northwest disrupted the straightforward application of these plans, most notably due to the presence of both the indigenous inhabitants and the long-standing, culturally heterogeneous French-Indian communities in the region.

In the treaty process that followed the War of 1812, federal officials sought to unilaterally impose their vision of a republican state on the Indian peoples of the region, including multiethnic groups such as the Stockbridges and Brothertowns as well as the Menominee and the Ho-Chunk. And while the indigenous peoples did become "enmeshed in a colonial legal system" (100), several historical realities constrained both the power and the reach of the national state: disagreements among

the settlers about local governance, jurisdictional and political rivalries between the federal government and the territory government, intertribal conflicts, and federal officials' dependence on the willingness of the Indians to accede to their demands.

In chapters 4 through 6 Saler explores the sociocultural realties that were also central to the state formation project: a market-based economy, private property, Christianity, and middle-class Anglo-American notions of marriage and family. American policy makers viewed these institutions as forming the bedrock of the American republic—their ascendance would ensure the florescence of the American state in the new western territories. By the 1820s the long-standing French-Indian communities and their Native kin came under intense pressure to accept the transformation of their political economy—from one based on reciprocity and social relations to one based on depersonalized exchanges, capital accumulation, and private property. The intense drive to incorporate the Old Northwest directly into the national mercantile capitalist system was most notably evident in the Anglo-Americans' sustained and largely successful campaigns to wrest control of the regional fur trade from the leading French-Indian families and the lead mining fields from the Indians. In this effort the settlers and federal officials portrayed both the French-Indian and Native communities as socially and economically backward.

The state formation project in Wisconsin also included an assault on the inner lives and social and intimate relations of the French-Indian and Indian communities. Protestant and Catholic missionaries, together with territorial and federal authorities, saw the marriage patterns, family forms, sexuality, gender roles, and spirituality of both groups as heathen and disordered and thereby fundamentally threatening to the republican state. However, in their efforts to remake these communities in the image of a middle-class, Euro-American ideal, they came up against a larger heterogeneous culture that confounded such visions of an orderly and unified Christian republic. This larger culture included nonconformist and unchurched settlers, sectarian conflicts between Protestants and Catholics, a large influx of Catholic immigrants, an exceedingly varied spectrum of responses to religious colonialism within the Indian communities, and a determination on the part of federal authorities to retain ultimate authority over missionary activities among the Indians. Further complicating matters were ambiguous perceptions of race that "signified the deeper insecurities and ambiguities intrinsic to settler societies" (235).

In the final chapter, Saler takes up these insecurities and ambiguities when she moves to the 1840s and outlines the unsteady steps by which Wisconsin became a state in 1848. In the context of the rancorous partisan and sectional debates of the time, Wisconsinites engaged in a kind of "political science fiction" in order to craft a settler state that could enter the Union (249). The Wisconsin settlers were not only deeply conflicted over key issues such as nativism, black male suffrage, the power of banks, married women's property law, and homestead exemptions, but also divided over suffrage and citizenship for Indians and their mixed-race kin. After the rejection of the first proposed state constitution in 1847, the second constitutional convention, promoting the rhetoric of the inevitable creation of an Anglo-American settler state, side-stepped the most divisive issues through vague language and the use of the

popular referendum. In the end, "civilized" *individuals* of Indian ancestry gained the vote while black men did not.

Following the admission of Wisconsin as the thirtieth state in 1848, the Anglo-American settlers then embarked on initiatives of historical production intended to solidify the process of state formation. The mechanisms of this historical production—the collecting of material culture and documentary evidence, as well the publication of local and state history texts—were undertaken from a historicist perspective, one emphasizing progressive, positivist, and universal assumptions about the past. However, the collecting projects and oral history interviews conducted at the state and local level were more reflective of historical materialism and, as such, provide evidence of the "contradictory impulses of state-building in Wisconsin" (285). Thus, as Saler ably demonstrates, although Wisconsinites sought to create a narrative of "a cohesive, finished, rational state by means of a constitution and an official history," the actual story of state formation was never entirely finished nor straightforward (285). This discussion of the interconnections between state formation and historical production provides a fitting conclusion to *The Settlers' Empire* and offers ample proof that territorial history is both a dynamic and enlightening field of study.

Melinda Marie Jetté
Franklin Pierce University

Spirits of Blood, Spirits of Breath: The Twinned Cosmos of Indigenous America. By Barbara Alice Mann. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016. 364 pages. $99.00 hardcover; $29.95 paperback; $19.99 electronic.

Since the early colonial period, the colonizers of indigenous America have been working to undermine tribal sovereignty and traditions. An interesting era is now underway, a time in which these colonizers attempt to adopt and make their own the very traditions they previously aimed to destroy. More than the hypocrisy of the colonizer, what frustrates Barbara Alice Mann is just how misinformed and misguided things have become. This is especially true when Christian concepts and theories have been applied to indigenous knowledge that in no way, shape, or form is meant to fit into these doctrines. Mann attempts to correct many of the errors and misconceptions that have been put forth, reshaping a conversation that has been hijacked by the colonizer. The premise of *Spirits of Blood, Spirits of Breath* is straightforward. There exists a twinned cosmos in indigenous America, and every aspect of life on Turtle Island played a part in this binary system.

Mann's second chapter is dedicated to explaining how these binary systems work in indigenous America. This is no easy task because the Western mind-set has no point of reference for this particular system. In the binary system Mann references, there are spirits of blood and spirits of breath, both of which achieve their own unique tasks for creating balance within Turtle Island. However, colonizers are often unfamiliar with concepts that allow for two different spirits to be part of achieving