

New Mexico Historical Review

Volume 90 | Number 4

Article 7

10-1-2015

Book Reviews

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/nmhr>

Recommended Citation

. "Book Reviews." *New Mexico Historical Review* 90, 4 (2015). <https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/nmhr/vol90/iss4/7>

This Review is brought to you for free and open access by UNM Digital Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in *New Mexico Historical Review* by an authorized editor of UNM Digital Repository. For more information, please contact amywinter@unm.edu, lsloane@salud.unm.edu, sarahrk@unm.edu.

Book Reviews



Mexicans in the Making of America. By Neil Foley. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2014. xi + 344 pp. 22 halftones, maps, abbreviations, notes, acknowledgements, index. \$29.95 cloth. ISBN 978-0-674-04848-5.)

Neil Foley's *Mexicans in the Making of America* is a deeply learned, confidently argued, and beautifully written synthesis of Mexican American history. It is perfectly pitched to appeal to general readers and students, but will also doubtlessly generate discussion among specialists in the field. The book is organized chronologically and elucidates an array of important transformations and trends from precolonial America to the present. Overall Foley emphasizes two points in particular. The first is the durability and even inevitability of the connections between the North American continent's two largest republics. As Foley puts it, "the United States, from the moment it signed the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ending the war with Mexico in 1848, sealed its destiny—and Mexico's—as two nations, separate and unequal, inextricably linked by geography and bound together by generations of Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants" (p. 11). The second is that the book "illustrates what the United States has been reluctant to acknowledge for most of its history, namely, that it is a thoroughly composite culture of racially blended peoples that defies the notion of some normative or static understanding of what it means to be 'American'" (p. 12).

Prominent among the book's recurring themes is the economic interdependence of the two nations on either side of *la frontera* and the contradictory ideas, policies, and behaviors that have resulted from this relationship. For

example, Foley explains how Mexicans have been absolutely indispensable as workers. Their labor fueled the expansion of agribusiness in the early twentieth century, made it possible for the United States to engage fully in the Second World War, and undergirded the continued growth of the national economy in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Yet, at the same time, U.S. politics have been characterized by regular episodes of xenophobia. Among many examples, Foley discusses the mass deportations of the 1930s and 1950s, the viciously anti-immigrant legislative campaigns of the 1990s and the 2000s, and the near-constant demonization of Latinos generally—whether in the spittle-flecked discourse of talk radio or with the better table manners of elite commentators fretting about cultural fragmentation. The nation's relationship with its Mexican-ancestry population, Foley shows us, has long been a deeply conflicted one.

Another major theme is the uncertain position of ethnic Mexicans in the protean racial landscape of the United States: Foley closely examines the way they tried to negotiate the complex process of racialization, attempting to maneuver among the varieties of prejudice in the dominant Anglo American culture. In certain times and places, for example, after the U.S. seizure of northern Mexico, Mexican Americans were perceived as mostly indigenous and therefore unsuited for citizenship. Under other circumstances, as when trying to avoid legal disability, they sought to be designated as primarily European. Very often they ended up in an intermediate status along the nation's racial spectrum: sometimes at the edge of legal equality, at other times segregated like African Americans, or deemed alien like Asian Americans. And in all cases, of course, an individual's phenotype and economic circumstances strongly shaped the way she or he was categorized.

It should be noted that this book is a stylistic triumph. Foley is an enormously talented writer who keeps his reader engaged, informed, and even entertained. He has a keen ear for the telling detail. When explaining the deep roots of Native and Hispanic history long before Anglo settlement of North America, he notes that even at "first contact," "the ancestors of Anglo Americans encountered Mexican food" in the form of foodstuffs that had been selectively bred in the lands of modern Mexico by the ancestors of modern Mexicans. Elsewhere, in his description of Anglo Americans' sexual response to Mexicans, Foley finds just the right words to diplomatically describe this aspect of cross-border relations. And only the hard-hearted will fail to be emotionally moved by the extraordinary declarations of principle and faith by undocumented activists and their religious supporters in the book's epilogue.

The tasks of synthesis and narrative require a historian to make difficult decisions. The study of Mexican American history has expanded dramatically over

the past few decades, and no author could have fully incorporated the findings of all the brilliant monographs in the field. Foley's priorities are quite clear, and although this reviewer sees good reasons for the author's choices, it may be that not all specialists will find them agreeable. For instance, the book moves very quickly from the nineteenth-century grounding of the history of Mexicans in the United States, moving into the twentieth century after only about fifty pages. Foley also devotes a great deal of attention to military service and other war-related topics. In the broadest sense, his narrative and rhetoric are imbued with a sense of determination, sacrifice, patriotism, and gradual progress won through patience and struggle. These authorial decisions necessarily mean reduced coverage of other areas and ideological perspectives. But they also mean that *Mexicans in the Making of America* reflects the importance that its subjects place on particular aspects of their past—in other words, Foley's is a history that will be both recognizable and intuitive to Mexican Americans themselves. For them, and for all seeking an introduction to the field, this book will be a perfect place to start.

Andrew K. Sandoval-Strausz
University of New Mexico

Advocates for the Oppressed: Hispanos, Indians, Genízaros, and Their Land in New Mexico. By Malcolm Ebright. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 2014, xvii + 430 pp. 19 line drawings, maps, charts, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index, \$60.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8263-5505-8.)

Malcolm Ebright is an author, historian, attorney, and land rights advocate. In this surprising follow up to the intensely researched and annotated study about the Pueblo League by Ebright, Rick Hendricks, and Richard Hughes (*Four Square Leagues: Pueblo Indian Land in New Mexico*, 2014), Ebright takes the reader on a journey into New Mexico's complex and complicated world of land, politics, and cultural clashes in his *Advocates for the Oppressed*.

Starting with the Protector de Indios, Ebright shows from the outset that Native Americans were advocated for in the Spanish colonial system. This is not to say there were no abuses or injustices. What Ebright reveals are the complexities in the legal, social, and cultural relationships between Natives and colonizing outsiders. Through the course of the book, outsiders become natives as well, and the Natives become versed in the laws and ways of the Spanish. Both groups vie for access to water, land to cultivate and graze animals on, and woodlands for construction materials and hunting.

Much of the book is legal history, as one would expect. This can make for some dry reading for all but the most devoted aficionados of government and

its operations in the Spanish colonial period. Still, the author does not let his own background get in the way of painting a larger, more human picture. There is much here for local historians and those interested in how families acquired land and lost it. One example is the Ojo Caliente Grant which, when finally established in 1793 by Gov. Hernando de Ugarte y la Concha, was given to fifty-three heads of household (p. 74). Ebright not only provides the names of those men, but also shows how complex and human such endeavors could be. There were earlier attempts to acquire access to those lands, but a previous governor had denied that petition, calling the men vying for it “churlish types of settlers” (p. 76).

As with many studies of this type, the appendixes and footnotes can be of great interest. In the first appendix, Ebright provides a list of advocates, their cases, and land grants, starting in 1704 with Alonso Rael de Aguilar all the way up to 2002, though most are from the Spanish colonial period. Although one would have hoped for more biographical data on the principal players in these events, Ebright does a good job of placing them square in the center of the controversies and issues of the day.

Advocates For The Oppressed, although somewhat narrow in scope for those interested in a more general approach to New Mexico history, is nonetheless a must-read for anyone interested in the legal aspects of Spanish colonial life and the land rights of the lower classes, Hispanos, and Native Americans alike.

Robert D. Martínez

Assistant State Historian of New Mexico

Return to Aztlan: Indians, Spaniards, and the Invention of Nuevo México. By Danna A. Levin Rojo. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2014. xii + 307 pp. 16 color plates, halftones, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$34.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8061-4434-4.)

The starting point for Danna A. Levin Rojo's *Return to Aztlan* is an astoundingly obvious if rarely recognized insight. The name “Nuevo México” reproduces the term for the indigenous metropolis of Mexico-Tenochtitlan and is the only toponym formulated by Europeans in the early colonial period that reproduces the name of an Amerindian place. Levin Rojo's book ultimately demonstrates that both European and indigenous Spanish colonial peoples established New Mexico in the course of their shared search for the source of the Aztec/Mexica migration as described in indigenous Nahua tradition. More broadly this book contributes to academic debates on colonialism and postcoloniality by

challenging the assumption that colonizers and the colonized operate in worlds unknowable to each other.

Levin Rojo is a Mexican anthropologist who teaches at the Universidad Autonoma Metropolitana in Azcapotzalco in Mexico City and earned her doctorate in anthropology at the London School of Economics and Political Science. Her chief intervention is her demonstration that the narratives and understanding of the dominated interpenetrated those of the dominant in New Spain and its northernmost frontier of New Mexico. In keeping with current trends in Latin American Cultural Studies, anthropology, and postcolonial studies, Levin Rojo conceptualizes the Borderlands dialectic in Spanish colonial New Mexico and New Spain through Fernando Ortiz's notion of "transculturation" and Walter D. Mignolo's notion of "cultural semiosis." More specifically *Return to Aztlan* analyzes New Mexico's place name to reveal the social interaction embedded in toponyms and the complexity of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Spanish colonial expansion from central Mexico to New Mexico. In terms of her scholarly praxis, her innovation is her recognition of the large numbers of Mesoamerican indigenous peoples who took part in this expansion and her serious consideration of indigenous documents including Nahua pictographic codices.

The body of the text itself consists of six chapters divided into two parts. The author's work chiefly pays off in the final two chapters where she dives into the indigenous texts on their own terms. One could only wish this section of the book were longer, as it is the remainder of the text's chief reason for existence. Part I of the book narrates the historical facts and contextual information upon which later interpretation is built and reveals that interpretation's stakes. Part II details why and how Nahua ancestral migration narratives oriented the Spanish understanding of New Spain's human geography rather than European mythologies. Revealing the significance of the book's name, *Return to Aztlan*, Levin Rojo details how the "Aztec pilgrimage" story contributed to the articulation of cross-cultural conquest alliances in the north.

Levin Rojo asserts that New Mexico's interpenetrating colonial and indigenous Borderlands narratives are typical. Rather, they exemplify a process of cultural interpenetration that characterized Spanish colonization of Mesoamerica. *Return to Aztlan* reveals the weakness of prior scholarly works that elide the indigenous voices in the Nahua codices and other undercited indigenous sources.

This book will be of interest to scholars and advanced students interested in Borderlands history, Southwestern anthropology and archeology, Chicana/o Studies, Native American Studies, and Mexican postcolonialism. Perhaps more provocatively, Levin Rojo challenges scholars to understand how those voices shaped Spanish colonization for divergent but sometimes colluding ends. In her

rereading of New Mexico's invention, her study forces us to consider colonial encounters' fraught collusions in addition to its oppositions.

Michael L. Trujillo
University of New Mexico

The Pastor of New Mexico: Peter Küppers's Memoirs. Translated, Edited, and Annotated by Tomas Jaehn. (Santa Fe, N.Mex.: Sunstone Press, 2014. 186 pp. 14 halftones, line drawings, map, notes. \$22.95 paper, ISBN 978-1-63293-014-9.)

Born in 1885 in western Germany and the first of fourteen children to devout Catholic parents, Peter Küppers was recruited as a missionary priest to New Mexico in 1911, even though he did not speak Spanish and knew nothing about the rural Hispanic culture. This little book is Küppers's own story written in the 1930s as an unsuccessful publication venture primarily concerning his struggle to adjust to life as a pastor and his often turbulent experiences in rural villages and towns in northern New Mexico. After more than a year in Santa Fe, where he worked feverishly to gain command of Spanish, Küppers was assigned to the isolated Hispanic parish of Chaparito in the Canadian River country east of Las Vegas near the present-day Conchas Dam. He also served at and built or repaired mission chapels in several neighboring parish settlements until he landed at the Peñasco-Dixon parish in 1920. Later, in the 1950s, the well-known Dixon court case revealed the influence Küppers exerted in promoting public funding for schools with Catholic nuns and priests as teachers. The New Mexico Supreme Court held that the school system used at Dixon violated the constitutional separation of church and state doctrine.

Covering the widespread Chaparito parish was no simple matter. Since Küppers could not afford an automobile, he had to make long, tiring trips by buggy or on horseback. In addition Küppers has been described as a "stubborn Westfalian German" who was often at odds with his superiors and fellow priests (p. 10). Accused of issuing church funds and having affairs with his housekeepers, he was excommunicated, although briefly.

The concluding chapter and the chapter pertaining to the Penitentes may be the most interesting and important sections of this book. This historic offshoot of Catholicism was recognized for its charitable activities, but was best known for the practice of self-flagellation. Fascinated by the Penitentes, Küppers studied their organizational structure and religious practices. "This writer worked for years in areas of New Mexico with many Penitentes," Küppers declared, "and he admitted that the Penitentes are among his best friends, but more importantly, the same Penitentes listen to his concerns and follow his advice." He

quickly added, however, that he wished the Penitentes followed more closely “the rules and regulations of the Church” (p. 138).

Although this book provides valuable primary source material, its title claims too much. Küppers was a pastor in one relatively small part of New Mexico, but hardly of the entire state. Also, coverage of his most important contributions are poorly skewed, with the first 73 pages of his story devoted to his early life and brief stay in Santa Fe, and only 65 pages allowed for his work in the Hispanic villages. The editor compensates for this last shortcoming with a good introduction, and his interpretive article on the life and historical importance of Küppers in an appendix.

David H. Stratton

Washington State University

We Remember, We Celebrate, We Believe/Recuerdo, Celebración, y Esperanza: Latinos in Utah. By Armando Solórzano. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2014. xxii + 273 pp. 18 color plates, 150 halftones, maps, charts, tables, appendix, chronology, notes, bibliography, index, \$19.95 paper, ISBN 978-1-60781-358-3.)

Relying primarily on photos and oral histories of Latinos in Utah, Armando Solórzano sets out to regain historical consciousness of an often-overlooked and underappreciated segment of the state’s population (p. xiv). What began as a photo exhibition viewed by more than 100,000 people throughout the state of Utah has transformed into a historical narrative of Latinos who have migrated, worked, and contributed to the formation of the Utah region since the pre-American period.

Solórzano begins his study with the legacy of the Utes and Aztecs more than 5,000 years ago, guiding the reader through a history of the region where migratory patterns and economic opportunities drew an early Latino presence. The first groups of Hispanics arrived in Utah in the second half of the nineteenth century, hailing from the nearby states of New Mexico and Colorado (p. 25). This was followed by the arrival of Latino miners in 1912 as part of a massive effort to recruit more laborers to work alongside other ethnic groups. Continued economic opportunities drew more Latino workers to Utah in subsequent years to build railroads and work in the agricultural fields.

There is a notable shift from economic necessity to more focused themes relevant to the individual lives of Latinos in the second half of Solórzano’s book, including examinations of Latino veterans, the fight for civil rights, religion and spirituality, and the shift of identity markers from the 1980s to the present.

Aligning with other accounts of Chicano history is the affirmation that although Latinos participated to the fullest extent in military recruitment efforts and fought in many wars for the United States, they were still viewed as second-class citizens (p. 123). Social groups such as the Spanish-Speaking Organization for Community, Integrity, and Opportunity, the “most powerful expression of the Chicano Civil Rights Movement in the state,” formed in response to Civil Rights politics (p. 146). The focus on religion and spirituality is important here, as Solórzano notes the exchanges between the different religious and spiritual constituents of the state, most notably the interaction between Mormons and Latino communities.

Solórzano’s work highlights the ability of Latinos to endure various economic, political, and cultural hardships in Utah, often as a silenced minority, while reinforcing the notion that oral histories and photographs are vital aspects of community preservation efforts. Solórzano credits the communities who worked to make this history possible, looking to them as the main source of guidance and information for the scholarship (p. xv). Equally valuable is the bilingual text, which provides historical and contextual information in both English and Spanish. This, I believe, adds to the notion that these rich and varied stories are the voice of bilingual identities. Although Solórzano does not claim to represent a full account of Latino lives in Utah, this book is a major contributor to our understanding of the historical narratives of this geographic area and is praiseworthy in its validation of the experiences of an under-documented community with deep roots in Utah.

Vanessa Fonseca

University of Wyoming

Contested Spaces of Early America. Edited by Juliana Barr and Edward Countryman. Early American Studies series. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014. ix + 427 pp. Color plates, halftones, 16 maps, tables, notes, contributors, index. \$49.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8122-4584-4.)

This edited collection honoring the late David Weber is a veritable “who’s who” of Borderlands historians working to reshape our understanding of early American history. The editors challenge scholars to rethink cores and peripheries and reassess the directionality of influences. Their introduction emphasizes the centrality of indigenous knowledge in the production of maps, encouraging scholars to “focus on the Indian cores” that shaped the contours of colonial peripheries (p. 24). The ambitious essays are geographically and chronologically sweeping, taking a hemispheric perspective that does not assume current political

boundaries. Here the volume offers suggestive models, as the essays range from Argentina to Canada, but the majority focus on North America.

Divided into four sections, the book opens with Pekka Hämäläinen's ambitious effort to synthesize recent scholarship through "a biography of power" (p. 33). This story of the centuries before 1848 reveals a contested space "encrusted with historical layers but broken in all the right places" in order for the United States to take the shape it did (p. 68). Allan Greer likewise rejects the notion that contemporary political and spatial configurations were inevitable by denaturalizing the "underlying logic" of treaty-making in the dispossession of Natives and the creation of Anglo property regimes (p. 91). Section Two, "Landscapes," begins with Elizabeth Fen's elegant essay on the environmental ramifications of contact at the geographical center of the continent. Cynthia Radding meditates on historical contingency while examining the two-century rise and fall of Ostimuri province in New Spain. Like Radding, Raúl José Mandrini asserts that colonial spaces, in this case the city of Buenos Aires, cannot be understood apart from their relationships with indigenous neighbors. Part Three, "Resettlements," opens with Matthew Babcock's essay on Apache strategies. He and others remind scholars to look at accommodation as well as conflict and at patterns that span geographic and chronological borders. Chantal Cramaussel's demographic analysis of baptismal records reveals the importance of colonial administrative units in shaping indigenous lives in New Spain. Alan Taylor compares the strategies employed by British Upper Canada, Spanish Louisiana, and Mexican Texas in confronting immigrants from the United States. Regional differences arising from global imperial conflicts and diplomatic relations with Natives explain the outcomes of those settlements. Four lyrical essays on "Memory" conclude the collection. Brian DeLay asks how the fairly peaceful relations between Navajos and New Mexicans in the eighteenth century broke down and were forgotten. His answer includes policy, but also addresses storytelling and community coherence. Birgit Brander Rasmussen's delightful essay re-examines the Fort Marion prisoners' ledger book "art" as indigenous literary tradition. Along with Ned Blackhawk's contemplation of the creation of the Segesser hide paintings, Rasmussen calls for an expansion of the American literary and art historical past.

The book focuses on Borderland encounters before the rise of the modern nation state, but Sam Truett bridges that bifurcation by examining how stories of "lost worlds" were recycled and molded to fit expansionist desires ultimately allowing Americans to "ignore the history underfoot" (p. 324). This conclusion is fitting for a volume that peels back the layers of forgetting and creative remembering to reveal the dynamic worlds that arose, shaped each other, created possibilities, and only later resulted in the familiar present. Although sometimes schematic, the volume offers a compelling and unavoidable message that

scholars can no longer ignore the place of Natives in shaping early American history, a seemingly obvious statement, but one that has not fully penetrated the field.

Cathleen D. Cahill

University of New Mexico

Ancient Paquimé and the Casas Grandes World. Amerind Studies series. Edited by Paul E. Minnis and Michael E. Whalen. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2015. xii + 254 pp. 11 halftones, maps, charts, tables, graphs, line drawing, references cited, contributors, index, \$60.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8165-3131-8.)

This volume, comprised of nine chapters by sixteen senior and junior scholars, synthesizes five decades of fieldwork in northwest Mexico since the 1958–1961 project at Paquimé (or Casas Grandes), a late-prehispanic site in Chihuahua, Mexico, that was excavated by Charles C. Di Peso in conjunction with the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia and the Amerind Foundation. Paquimé was a major regional center, and the rise and fall of this society lies at the center of debate regarding the origin of social complexity in the region. Di Peso argued for direct Mesoamerican influence in the region, and although key elements of his interpretation such as chronology were proven incorrect, it is the expansive scope of his vision of northwest Mexican history in considering archaeological, ethnohistoric, and ethnographic data that remains his enduring legacy. This volume's editors, in contrast, assert that Paquimé was a local evolutionary development—a central position of their scholarship since the 1980s. The chapters in this book examine Casas Grandes on a local and regional scale by various themes: the antecedents to the Medio period florescence (1200–1450 CE); ecology and food economy; organization of production; religion; settlement patterns; subregional views of the Casas Grandes polity; the end of Paquimé; and the relation of Casas Grandes to cultures to the west, south, and north.

A detailed assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of each chapter is deserved, but must be abbreviated here. One strong point is the new data and refined insight on local and regional variability the articles provide. However, the primary focus on local data and regional variability—which all scholars can agree is vital to understanding the Casas Grandes region during the Viejo and Medio periods—often comes at the expense of Di Peso's broader-scale vision of placing Paquimé within its proper continental-scale historical context, excepting the two final chapters.

Although western Mexico is briefly mentioned in chapters by Gordon Rakita and Rafael Cruz, Christine and Todd VanPool, and Linda Cordell as being important for understanding Paquimé, a meaningful assessment of data

from this region (i.e., the other half of the data set) remains sparse in much of this volume but for one chapter (pp. 71, 101, 192). This is reflected in the omission of Paquimé's relation to the then-contemporary West Mexican Aztatlán culture as a topic in the rank-order list of six critical avenues of future research agreed upon by the contributors (Minnis and Whalen, p. 14). John Douglas and A. C. MacWilliams's dismissal of data-driven, big-picture models as purportedly ignoring regional variability is curious considering that small-picture models of Casas Grandes regional variability rarely consider the implications of interlinked, continental-scale social transformations (p. 127). They correctly note that "Paquimé did not develop in a vacuum" (p. 128).

Indeed, the fact remains that Paquimé existed as an international site in an international world. Casas Grandes scholars still grapple with the fact that the rise of Medio-period Paquimé coincided with the expansion of an international world system that connected much of Postclassic Mesoamerica, including the Aztatlán culture whose heartland was centered on the Nayarit and southern Sinaloa coast. Paquimé's economic networks extended south of the Aztatlán core (José Luis Punzo and M. Elisa Villalpando, p. 178). It is also worth noting that the tremendous social, political, and religious changes in the Casas Grandes and Pueblo worlds after 1200 CE were preceded by very similar transformative changes 900 km distant in Aztatlán core-zone city states by 900 CE, including the feasting-ballcourt-solar complex that Michael Whalen and Todd Pitezal describe for the Casas Grandes core (p. 116). Little of this west Mexican data is factored into local-origin models.

Despite Linda Cordell's aversion to historical models, ethnography and indigenous oral traditions can play a key role here (Cordell, p. 195). For example, David Phillips' and Eduardo Gamboa's discussion of Hopi models for the end of Paquimé can benefit from the nuances of Hopi accounts of Awatovi, Palatkwapi, and Oraibi, which I have discussed elsewhere. In the latter accounts, destruction of the social order was not due to rebellion by the masses in reaction to imposition of foreign religion by elites (p. 166). Instead, the purposeful dissolution of villages—sometimes violently and by internal and external means—was instigated by ritually powerful priests in reaction to detrimental moral behavior by the populace.

A balanced approach that considers the heterogeneity of Paquimé and its sub-regions in conjunction with detailed data on social dynamics of the Aztatlán culture and the broader Pueblo world remains the best road forward. With both strengths and shortcomings, this volume is a welcome addition to Casas Grandes literature in its presentation of some current perspectives on the most complex polity in prehispanic greater Mesoamerica and the U.S. Southwest.

Michael D. Mathiowetz

Riverside City College

El Paso's Muckraker: The Life of Owen Payne White. By Garna L. Christian. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2015. ix + 192 pp. Halftones, notes, bibliography, index, \$45.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8263-5545-4.)

In the first half of the twentieth century, "Wild West" or frontier historians largely overlooked western writers. Rather, they peopled the West with intrepid Indians, explorers, soldiers, settlers, farmers, outlaws, and uncouth masculine types. Even throughout the rest of the century, authors did not capture the attention of historians and biographers. The volume under review attempts to correct this oversight, at least as far as the life and career of Texas author Owen Payne White is concerned.

White, born in El Paso, Texas, in 1879, first made a name for himself in his journalistic writings about his natal region. He attracted editors and readers with his lively style and abundant wit. Building on that expanding notoriety, White became an increasingly recognized journalist and magazine writer from the 1920s into the 1940s. His sardonic, humorous prose caught the attention of H. L. Mencken, editor of the *American Mercury*, who helped spread the word about White's writerly talents. Soon thereafter, White left El Paso for New York City, where he became a regular contributor to *Collier's* magazine, producing dozens of muckraking essays on a wide variety of national and western political, economic, and cultural topics. His wry, tongue-in-cheek style appealed to general readers, but his biting assertions also alienated politicians, religious leaders, wealthy Americans, and other self-satisfied residents.

Author Garna L. Christian, emeritus professor of history at the University of Houston-Downtown, clearly details the chronological progression of White's career. He also embeds his subject in libertarian ideology (individualist, freedom-loving, anti-big government), muckraking, and other political-social-cultural-intellectual crosscurrents of the interwar United States. Christian likewise describes White's most important books, including his career-jump-starting *Out of the Desert: The Historical Romance of El Paso* (1923), his later *The Autobiography of a Durable Sinner* (1942), and also his attention-gathering essays in *Collier's*.

One wishes the book were even stronger, however. On several occasions, the author allows interesting backgrounds to push White off the scene. He is also reluctant to make precise, in-depth evaluations of White's major books, permitting, instead, the comments of reviewers to replace his needed but missing authorial literary criticism. Nor, surprisingly, does Christian make use of the abundant books and essays that would have helped him place White's writings in the context of western historiography and literature of the time. One would not know, for example, that White's regional writings appeared during a

highpoint of western regionalist writing and in an era of intense interest in the history of the frontier West.

But emphasis should be on the author's contributions. Christian has resurrected Owen Payne White as a significant western writer and urges us to reconsider this overlooked author. In doing so, his book models what can be accomplished in dealing with other western writers we have lost.

Richard W. Etulain

University of New Mexico

Making an American Workforce: The Rockefellers and the Legacy of Ludlow.

Edited by Fawn-Amber Montoya. (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2014. xv + 213 pp. 28 halftones, tables, bibliography, contributors, index, \$34.95 cloth, ISBN 978-1-60732-309-9.)

This volume is a collection of essays from a symposium held in 2009 at Colorado State University, Pueblo, as part of a Ludlow memorial labor commemoration. The essays explore varying perspectives of the fraught relationship between labor relations in Southern Colorado coal and iron mines and the efforts by the management of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company (CF&I) to reshape its image and its labor force in the wake of the bloody confrontation at Ludlow. In the end, these essays suggest that the company's efforts, although extensive, were less successful than it might have hoped.

As Sarah Deutsch adumbrates in her historiographic chapter, the scholarship on Ludlow enjoyed a renaissance in the early 2000s. The emergence in recent years of similar anxieties about growing corporate power, income inequality, and immigration may be impelling scholars to reexamine similar issues. Recent scholarship raises new questions about the role of women and the Mexican American community in the work and life of the region and places this extractive economy in an environmental and social context.

The essays in this volume cover a range of issues related to the establishment of what became known as the "Rockefeller Plan" of industrial relations designed to forestall labor unrest in the wake of Ludlow. Robin C. Henry's essay on John D. Rockefeller Jr.'s role in the plan, for example, outlines the way Rockefeller intended to use the plan to "reconstruct the miner," by controlling workers' personal behavior and instilling in them "Protestant, middle class values" to "decrease worker agitation" (pp. 85-86, 89-90). The Rockefeller Plan included recreational and sporting events for workers' communities that often reinforced dominant cultural and gender norms, as Fawn-Amber Montoya shows; medical and sociological departments, influenced by the eugenics theories of its

director, Dr. Richard Corwin, sought to shape workers' health and behavior as well, as Brian Classon and Jonathan Rees demonstrate.

Central to the Rockefeller Plan was the "Employee Representation Plan" (ERP) that channeled worker representation through a company-controlled process of grievance resolution. As excellent contributions by Greg Patmore and Ronald Mize reveal, the actual operation of the ERP left much to be desired in the eyes of workers, and as soon as the National Labor Relations Act became law in the mid-1930s, CF&I workers traded their company union for real ones. Mize's article, in particular, contextualizes the actual working conditions that led to the company's labor strife in the first place and explores the chasm between the company's employee relations PR and the actual experience of workers.

Making an American Workforce is a useful addition to the historiography on CF&I's ERP, and raises new questions about the program's effectiveness in "making" workers.

John Lloyd

California State Polytechnic University, Pomona

Rebels in the Rockies: Confederate Irregulars in the Western Territories. By Walter Pittman. (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland and Company, 2014. vii + 251 pp. 10 maps, 17 halftones, chapter notes, bibliography, index, \$39.95 cloth, ISBN 978-0-78647-82-00.)

The American Civil War was a continental conflict. As such, the maw of war sucked up blood and treasure in a wide variety of places, including some that, due to the enormity of the conflict elsewhere, faded into obscurity. Secessionist flags bit the breeze across many of the western territories in the early days of the war, far from the concentrations of slave labor and staple wealth that seemed to be the underlying cause of the conflict. In 1861 the West was populated by individuals who failed to succeed in the east and went west to live on their own accord; when disunion broke the national bonds, many of these same men followed their instincts and joined the Confederate cause—the revolutionary and anti-establishment option of its day.

In his book, *Rebels in the Rockies: Confederate Irregulars in the Western Territories*, Walter Pittman examines a few groups of these contrary men, in particular the San Elizario Spy Company, the Arizona Guards, the Arizona Rangers, and the Brigands, all gathered during the Confederate invasion of New Mexico Territory in 1861–1862. Other groups, including pro-Confederates, who gathered in Colorado and utilized the southern cause to excuse simple brigandry, are also discussed.

Much of this book will be familiar ground to most students of the Civil War in the West. Interest in Gen. Henry Hopkins Sibley's New Mexico campaign enjoyed a renaissance in the 1960s, followed by another wave of scholarship thirty years later. The existence of these "irregulars" is not new or particularly shocking, but this book may present the material afresh for a new generation of readers. One of the challenges of presenting a book-length treatment on the subject, however, is the paucity of sources. The author gamely takes on the challenge and provides some new information that has not appeared elsewhere, providing a great strength of the book.

There are also some flaws. The author is most at home in New Mexico, Colorado, and the Great Plains. When he follows some of these men into Texas and Louisiana, he seems a bit out of his kin. His bibliography reveals some gaps in his survey of recent scholarship on the campaigns in Louisiana and the role of westerners in the region. The battlefield record of these "irregulars" in the bayou country is, if anything, more exciting than what they attempted out west. Nonetheless, the author may have been better served by avoiding being sucked into the mire of Louisiana—a confusing theater of war to the uninitiated—as it diffuses attention from the real strengths of *Rebels in the Rockies*. Even so, there is much to enjoy about the work. It will prove useful for enthusiasts interested in the Civil War in the West, and scholars may find some nuggets of inspiration among its pages.

Donald S. Frazier
McMurry University

Prep School Cowboys: Ranch Schools in the American West. By Melissa Bingmann. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2015. xxvi + 230 pp. 18 halftones, notes, bibliography, index, \$45.00 cloth, ISBN 978-0-8263-5543-0.)

Melissa Bingmann argues in this illuminating study that early twentieth-century national anxiety centered on the "rich man's son"—a boy who had inherited family wealth rather than earning it through his own hard work, and therefore feared to be lazy, effeminate, materialistic, and lacking in character. In response approximately twenty families founded "ranch schools" in the American West, the majority of them in Arizona, where they "offered to relive the experience of those who embodied the American spirit of individualism, bravery, strength, democracy, hard work, and fortitude—cowboys and pioneers—at the same time as they preserved boys' status as the next generation of American leaders" (p. xiii). To do so, ranch schools capitalized on the West's presumed moral and environmental qualities—for example, through

open-air classrooms, archaeological digs at indigenous sites, weekend camping trips, or “Spanish” culture clubs—while retaining the curricular and social dimensions of their East Coast counterparts with which they were closely intertwined. Indeed, the founders of the ranch schools were themselves usually children of elite families, as well as alumni of “Select Sixteen” boarding schools and Ivy League universities, and thus were well positioned to reproduce an elite education with a distinctly western tinge.

Bingmann has assembled an impressive archive of school brochures, yearbooks, diaries, and ephemera and conducted more than a dozen oral histories with founders and alumni. She organizes her analysis into five chapters and an introduction and conclusion. The first chapter outlines the problem of the rich man’s son and introduces the ranch schools and their founders. Chapters two, three, and four examine private school education in the West, constructions of the West, and the West as a moral space, respectively; these are clearly not distinct topics, and as a result, the chapters are somewhat repetitive. Chapter five engages concerns over the elite wife/mother, who was feared to be either absent or smothering; Bingmann then illustrates how ranch school families were structured to approximate middle-class families, which were held up as the national ideal. A concluding chapter examines the fate of the schools after the 1950s: while most closed down or changed ownership, some diversified their student bodies and adhered to liberal multicultural ideals.

Although the chapters suffer from protracted reviews of context (e.g., literary concerns with elite masculinity, trends in Progressive education) and occasional poor editing, the author’s evidence and analysis are consistently compelling. The memories of former students are particularly evocative, as are discussions of how owners and faculty controlled interactions with local American Indians, managed potential homosexual relationships, and dealt with the complexities of gun violence. Accessible and engaging, *Prep School Cowboys* is an important and well-evidenced study of a largely overlooked phenomenon—elite education—in the settlement, growth, and culture of the American West. It deserves to be read by scholars of education and masculinity in the American West.

Laura R. Barraclough
Yale University

Red Water, Black Gold: The Canadian River in Western Texas, 1920–1999. By Margaret A. Bickers. (Denton: Texas State Historical Association, 2014. xiii + 274 pp. 10 halftones, maps, appendixes, notes, bibliography, index. \$30.00 paper, ISBN 978–1–62511–002–2.)

Margaret Bickers has crafted a lively and engaging narrative of the Canadian River in twentieth-century West Texas, neatly blending together environmental, legal, and political history in *Red Water, Black Gold*. Although certainly not as well known nationally as the Mississippi or Columbia, nor regionally as the Brazos or Rio Grande, the Canadian has nonetheless played an important role in shaping the economy and population of the land through which it flows and reveals much of the people invested in the river.

In large measure, the story of the Canadian River is one of initiative, persistence, and competition. Seeking to harness the river for the purposes of flood control, crop irrigation, oil-well drilling, and human sustenance, among others, Texas Panhandle leaders in the 1920s began what would be a lengthy process of reaching out to and seeking agreement from nearby cities and towns; the state governments of Texas, New Mexico, and Oklahoma; and the federal government. Winning accord from the various stakeholders to dam the Canadian in Texas proved a daunting task, albeit seemingly necessary for the region's industrial development, and subsequent challenges from government bodies and nature continued to test the resolve and patience of the involved parties. Indeed, the coalition of thirsty towns that pushed for the dam was fractious and contentious throughout the process.

Bickers deftly documents a multitude of conflicts that arose in managing the waters of the Canadian and Lake Meredith—the dam-created body of water named after A. A. Meredith, who perhaps more than any other pushed the project to completion by guiding a fragile alliance of towns and navigating complex bureaucracies. The saga is distinctly of the West, with hints of Texas exceptionalism. The federal government dammed rivers across the West in attempts to beneficially allocate the arid region's water. With federal land holdings lacking in Texas, however, contracting for and managing the dam took a unique path which led to a series of lawsuits, magnifying the divide between what Bickers terms the “wet” river and the “paper” river.

A number of photographs complement the text and help provide a clearer impression of both river and region. Also included is a map of the Texas Panhandle-Plains that should prove useful to readers unfamiliar with the region, while possibly fomenting debate among those familiar with the region as to what counties comprise the Panhandle and South Plains of Texas. The only criticism is that one chapter acts as an awkwardly-situated intermission within

an otherwise consistent, chronological narrative. Regardless, *Red Water, Black Gold* is a well-researched, valuable, and overdue contribution to the history of both Texas and the West. Bickers adroitly shows how events and challenges within the Texas Panhandle-Plains are related and relevant to the region and nation as a whole.

Philip G. Pope

Texas Tech University